

MAKAWI - GENERAL

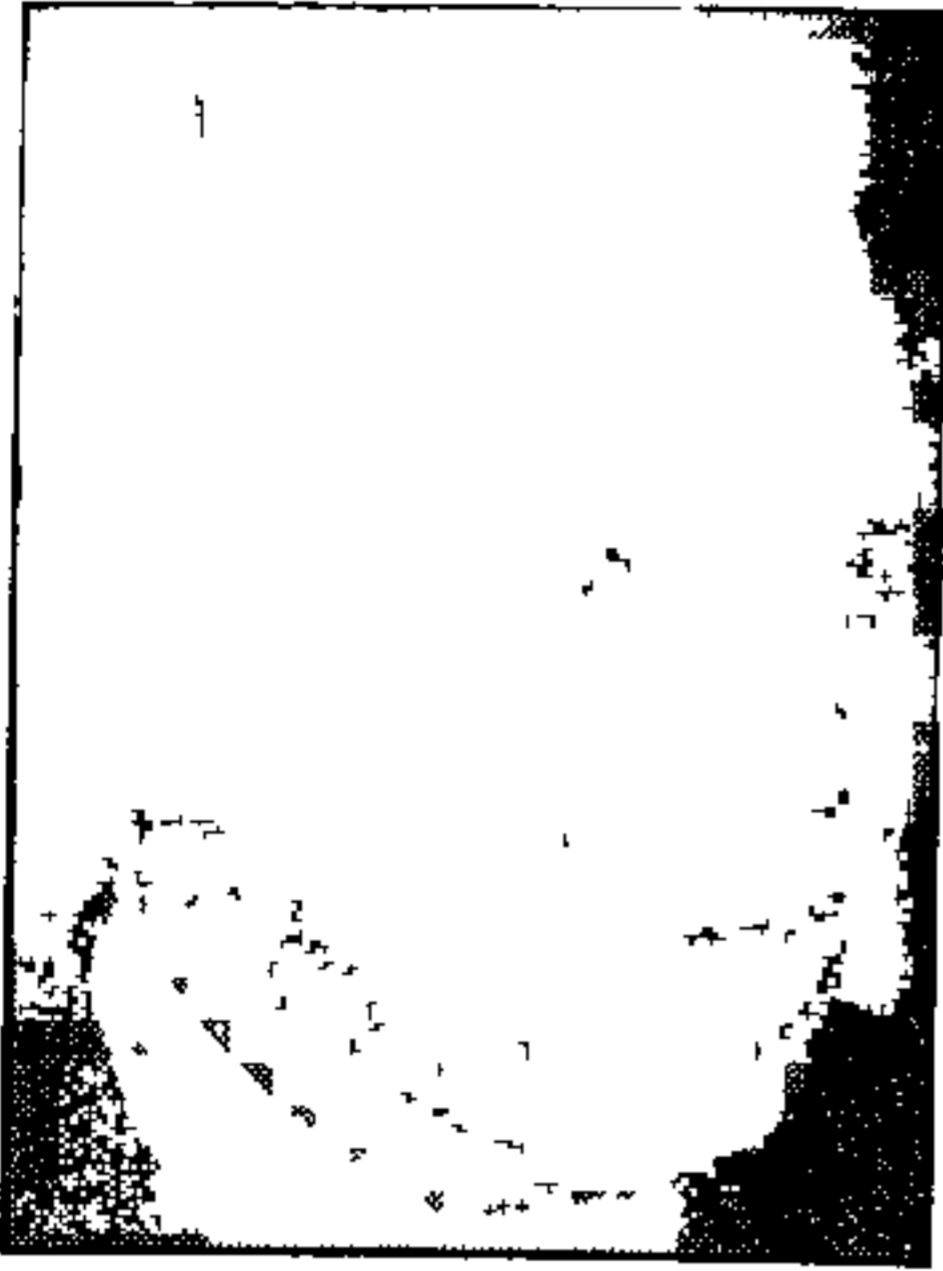
1994 - 1995

BUSINESS DAY

~~20/6/95~~

Banda calls for reconciliation

Star 7/11/94



Banda . . . appeal for political groups to co-operate

■ STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Blantyre — President Kamuzu Banda has declared 1994 a year of forgiveness, reconciliation and tolerance and offered amnesty to members of the Malawi Young Pioneers who have fled into Mozambique to escape being disarmed by the Malawi army

The Young Pioneers, the once-feared youth organisation that was used by Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) as its enforcement arm, were smashed in a confrontation with the army in November.

Many fled into Mozambique, where they are reported to have been given shelter in bases of the former rebel movement, Ren-

amo, which operated partly out of Malawi during the Mozambican civil war

In his statement, the president said all political groups in Malawi should learn to tolerate opposition (170)

"We must co-operate with each other for the good of the nation," said Banda, who had ruthlessly suppressed all opposition for years until forced by foreign pressure to hold a referendum last year in which Malawians voted overwhelmingly for multiparty democracy

As a result, the MCP government set an election for May and is now campaigning vigorously to be returned to power through the ballot box

Banda administration implicated

'I shot 3 Malawi govt officials'

Star 2/11/94

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Blantyre — A retired Malawi police marksman has claimed that he helped kill four government Ministers more than 10 years ago and implicated President Kamuzu Banda's administration in the murders

Lazaro Chakwiya told the Nation newspaper in an interview published yesterday that he used a revolver to kill Ministers Dick Matenje, John Sangala and David Chirwanga.

He said another marksman, whom he identified only as Likomba, had difficulty killing the other Minister, Aaron Gadama, who was a big man, and had to finish him off by stabbing him in the neck twice with a bayonet after shooting him several times.

Chakwiya said he did not know the motive behind the killing of the four Ministers, but said he was obeying orders from police headquarters "Orders were orders and had to be carried out," he said.

The four Ministers mysteriously disappeared on May 17 1983 after attending a sitting of Parliament in the southern town of Zomba.

FAMILIES of four leaders, officially said to have died in a car accident, believe they were murdered and demand an inquiry

Two days later police announced on state radio that the Ministers had died in a road accident in Mwanza, a district bordering Mozambique in the southwest. For the next decade, the government maintained silence.

But many Malawians believed the four were murdered for political reasons, with one theory being that they had refused to carry out an order by Banda.

Chakwiya said a senior police officer identified as Kadya fired a flare to provide light as the Ministers were shot in Mwanza district, 60 km from the commercial capital of Blantyre.

"After the shooting we cleared the place of bullet casings," he said.

Kadya is said to have told them "Don't tell anyone what

you have seen today or you will be in trouble."

The bodies were put in a white civilian vehicle and pushed down a slope to make it look like an accident, Chakwiya said.

With the recent liberalisation of Malawi's repressive political climate, the families of the dead men and newly formed opposition parties have renewed calls for an investigation, and the deaths have become a major campaign issue before elections in May.

Justice Minister Lovemore Munlo recently said there was no evidence to warrant an inquiry, but family members have said they can confirm that the bodies bore bullet wounds when they were returned to their homes for burial.

In a letter issued on Sunday, the family members said that their call for an inquiry was "purely based on our right to know the truth"

"We are determined to continue to press for an inquiry so that the rule of law may prevail above selfish political considerations," they said. — Sapa-AFP

Malawi govt implicated in killings

BLANTYRE — A retired Malawi police marksman has claimed that he helped kill four government ministers more than 10 years ago and has implicated President Kamuzu Banda's administration in the murders.

Lazaro Chakwiya told the Nation newspaper in an interview published yesterday that he used a revolver to kill ministers Dick Matenje, John Sangala and David Chiwanga. Another marksman, whom he identified only as Likaomba, had had difficulty killing the other minister, Aaron Gajama, and had finished him off by stabbing him.

BIDAM 211194
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Banda

Chakwiya said the four ministers were shot about 60km outside Blantyre. The bodies had been put in a white civilian car and pushed down a slope to make their deaths look like an accident.

(170)
With the recent liberalisation of Malawi's political climate, the families of the dead men and opposition parties have renewed calls for an investigation, and the deaths have become a major campaign issue before elections in May.

However, Justice Minister Lovemore Munlo said recently there was no evidence to warrant an inquiry — Sapa-AFP.

Nation welts as Banda fades

By JOHN EDLIN
in Blantyre

SENILE, sick and sorry for himself, Africa's oldest head of state, Kamuzu Hastings Banda, wastes away while his nation of eight-million Malawians drifts aimlessly like a rudderless ship.

The nonagenarian, the last in a long line of African strongmen, is not expected to see the year out.

The man who proclaimed himself life president after independence 30 years ago and ruled a one-party state, is recovering from a brain operation.

"He doesn't seem to be aware of what's happening around him," said a West African diplomat.



HASTINGS BANDA
Last strongman

"He kept rambling on about his old friend Harold Wilson, thinking he was still prime minister of Britain."

Once-cowed Malawians are seething with discontent, as most Western aid that once propped up Mr Banda's regime has been frozen until his human rights record improves and free elections are held.

Few Malawians want retribution for the assassinations, torture and detentions organised by Mr Banda against hundreds of perceived political opponents.

"We just want a whole new government and a new leader," said Mr Lackson Banda, a businessman who is not related to the president.

Several longtime opponents are campaigning to oust Mr Banda at the presidential and parliamentary polls to be held in the next few months.

They are no longer worried about Mr Banda's threat that anyone opposing him would end up as meat for his crocodiles.

Malawi abolishes exchange controls

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BLANTYRE. — Malawi announced on the weekend that it was floating its currency, the kwacha.

Governor Francis Pelekamoyo of the Malawi Reserve Bank said foreign exchange controls would be abolished from today and banks will buy and sell foreign exchange at rates determined by the market.

The currency has had a fixed official rate of 100 kwacha to R75 — about \$22 to the kwacha.

The currency reform is being made at a time of major political change in Malawi, a country of 9.7m people with an annual per capita income of about \$200.

A multi-party election is scheduled in May after a referendum last June in which voters overwhelmingly rejected the one-party system dominated by President Kamuzu Banda since independence in 1964.

The country is still struggling to recover from southern Africa's severe 1992 drought but foreign aid, which was held back by Western donors pressing for political reforms, has started to flow again.

The kwacha was devalued twice in 1992, by 15% in April and 22% in June. Inflation was about 30% last year.

Pelekamoyo said residents would no longer be required to convert any hard currency they obtain at authorised banks and will be allowed to purchase goods and services abroad without authorisation from the Reserve Bank, except for some financial services.

Exporters and others receiving foreign exchange on a regular basis will be allowed to open foreign currency accounts.

Foreign exchange traders will be allowed to open for business around the country.

Malawi residents travelling abroad will be allowed to buy the equivalent of \$3 000 for holiday expenses, \$4 000 for medical expenses and \$5 000 for business purposes. — Sapa Reuter

WORLD

Malawian foreign currency controls go

B Day 7/2/94

BLANTYRE — The Malawi Reserve Bank said on Saturday that it had scrapped foreign currency controls and introduced new measures in the financial sector.

Reserve Bank governor Francis Pelekamoyo said the bank would eliminate exchange controls and introduce a market-determined exchange rate for the Malawian kwacha from today.

Foreign exchange outlets would open in major cities across the country.

Under the new system imports of goods and services will no longer be subject to prior approval by the Reserve Bank, with the exception of some financial services.

Pelekamoyo said under the new regulations, Malawi residents would no longer have to sell any foreign currency they had to authorised banks

Exporters and other residents receiving foreign exchange on a regular basis would be allowed to open foreign currency accounts, he said

With effect from today, authorised banks would be allowed to buy and sell foreign exchange at market-determined rates. Malawi residents travelling abroad would be allowed to buy up to the equiv-

alent of US\$3 000 for holiday expenses, \$4 000 for medical expenses and \$5 000 for business purposes.

President Kamuzu Banda held a referendum in June in which an overwhelming majority of the country's 9.7-million people voted to end Banda's autocratic, one-party rule. In its place they wanted a multiparty democracy. (170)

Aid has since started to flow again after the government announced that the country's first multiparty elections were scheduled for May.

A combined effect of the freeze on aid worth \$250m, widespread industrial unrest and the worst drought of the century in much of southern Africa crippled Malawi's agricultural-dependent economy.

Businessmen and economists said Malawi's inflation had shot up to 30% in 1993 from 12% in 1992.

Business leaders said the resumption of aid should help breath new life into Malawi's export sector, where several factories were on the verge of closing down.

They had been hit by the unavailability of raw materials and cuts in lines of credit by suppliers because of the shortage of hard currency in the country. — Reuter.

30 killed as Unita artillery blasts Cuito

B Day

MORE than 30 people were killed in renewed fighting between government troops and Unita forces in the central Angolan town of Cuito on Saturday, the state radio reported yesterday

The radio, monitored by the BBC in Johannesburg, said most of those killed and injured were children and the elderly.

Unita forces were using guns and mortars to "decimate Cuito residents and reduce the city to ashes", the radio said.

It said government forces had sworn to avenge the death of their commander, Lt-Gen Alfredo Kussumue 7/2/94

The upsurge in fighting came a few days after Angola's state-controlled media said peace talks with Unita were going well and making progress

A UN mediator, too, said problems had been resolved

But the Jornal de Angola warned peace was still some way off — Reuter.



Star 15/2/94

Former detainee now Banda's deputy

Blantyre — One of Malawi's most famous political prisoners, detained by President Kamuzu Banda for more than a decade, was elected virtual successor to the ailing president at the weekend. (170)

Gwanda Chakuamba (58) emerged from a crisis meeting of the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) as the undisputed leader of a party that has governed Malawi with little opposition for the past 30 years.

Power vacuum

But ailing Banda surprised his country again yesterday when an MCP convention endorsed him in absentia as its presidential candidate for the May 17 general election.

Chakuamba's election as Banda's running mate was hailed as a timely move which left no power vacuum in the party.

Propelled to the number two post in the MCP, he would automatically become president in the event of Banda's incapacity or death.

"He is a survivor and he showed this today," an African diplomat said. "A few months ago he

was just a political prisoner known more for his alleged rebellion. Today he launches the MCP into a new but uncertain era."

Chakuamba was sentenced to 22 years in jail for plotting to kill Banda, ruler of Malawi since the country's independence from Britain in 1964. He was freed last year after serving 13 years.

In winning the MCP vice-presidential post — the first ever deputy to Banda — Chakuamba eclipsed frontrunners such as Foreign Minister Hetherwick Ntaba; Regional Affairs Minister Robson Chirwa; and John Tembo, Banda's closest ally for 30 years. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

Banda holds on

BLANTYRE — Malawians who expected President Kamuzu Banda to step down were visibly surprised yesterday when a convention of his ruling party endorsed him as its presidential candidate for the May elections. **15/2/94**

"It's a political gamble. Given Banda's old age and poor health, many Malawians would prefer to vote into office a young and energetic president which the opposition provides," a political analyst told AFP.

But the election of Gwanda Chakuamba, who comes from the south, as Banda's running mate, was hailed as a timely move that left no power vacuum in the party.

"The choice of Chakuamba creates an automatic line of succession," said a minister, who asked not to be named. **(170)**

The party's constitution provided no apparent heir in the event of death or incapacitation of its president, who was also head of government.

A leadership crisis developed last October when Banda underwent brain surgery leading to the appointment of a three-man presidential council that ruled on behalf of Banda till December when he recovered.

Many observers have ruled out Banda's capability to go on a punishing campaign tour of the country given his senility and poor health. Banda, whose age is officially given as 88, built a personal cult through the party's convention which also endorsed many of his landmark decisions, including making him Life President of both the party and government.

Political prisoner to succeed Banda

BIB 15/2/94

BLANTYRE — One of Malawi's most famous political prisoners, detained by President Kamuzu Banda for more than a decade, stormed back onto centre-stage, at the weekend when he was elected virtual successor to the ailing president.

Gwanda Chakuamba, 58, emerged from a crisis meeting in Blantyre of the ruling Malawi Congress Party as the undisputed leader of a party that has governed Malawi with little opposition for the past 30 years.

"Who said people can't make a resurrection from political death?" quipped one delegate.

Chakuamba, a tall, bespectacled and elegant former youth minister, suddenly found himself propelled to the number two post in the party and thus automatic successor, as president in the event of Banda's incapacity or death.

"He is a survivor," an African diplomat said. "A few months ago he was just a political prisoner. Today he launches the Malawi Congress Party into a new but uncertain era."

Chakuamba was sentenced to 22 years in jail for plotting to kill Banda, supreme ruler of Malawi since independence from Britain in 1964.

He was freed only last year after serving 13 years, as the democracy winds of change whipping Africa finally reached this southern African nation, virtually closed to the outside world by Banda's autocratic brook-no-nonsense rule.

In winning the vice-presidential post — the first-ever deputy to Banda — Chakuamba eclipsed political giants such as Foreign Minister Hetherwick Ntata, Regional Affairs Minister Robson Chirwa, and close Banda ally John Tembo.

Born in Malawi's populous southern region, Chakuamba joined the Malawi Congress Party as a youth and quickly rose through the ranks until being appointed commander of the much-feared paramilitary, Malawi Young Pioneers, disbanded last month after fierce clashes with the army. (170)

At the time of his detention — a fate shared with scores of others who dared challenge Banda — he was a youth minister and also in charge of regional development.

Shortly after his release — after a campaign for democracy by the opposition — he shocked many by rejoining his former party "I hold no bitterness against anybody," he said.

Chakuamba was later appointed to the powerful post of party secretary-general and, during Banda's illness late last year, presided over a three-member presidential council running Malawi, along with Tembo and Chirwa. He is also interior minister.

But analysts say he faces a tough task fending off a strong opposition challenge in Malawi's first post-independence democratic elections due on May 17. — Sapa-Reuter.

Banda's surprise crown prince

Star 16/2/94

AFTER 13 years in jail, the ruling party's new hope emerged without a trace of bitterness, reports Francis Mdongwa from Blantyre

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It is an astonishing comeback. Last year's political prisoner, Gwanda Chakuamba, is this year's running mate and successor-in-waiting to Kamuzu Banda, the president he was once accused of plotting to kill.

"Who said people can't make a resurrection from political death?" said a delegate on Sunday after a convention of the ruling Malawi Congress Party.

But if ever a party needed a master of the magical comeback, it is the Malawi Congress Party.

It was frowned by the voters of this poor nation when, under pressure from foreign donors, it sought endorsement for the ageing Banda's stern one-party rule in a referendum last year.

Some analysts have all but written off its chances of retaining power in May when it faces a confident opposition in the first multiparty election since independence 30 years ago.

Banda, who is widely believed to be in his late 90s, did not attend the party conference in the commercial capital Blantyre, but was unanimously named as presidential candidate.

The 800 delegates, however, pinned their hopes on the tall, bespectacled Interior Minister

Chakuamba. Now 58, he was once the rising star of Banda's Young Pioneers, a much-feared paramilitary force which was eventually disbanded after clashes with the army.

Regarded as a martyr to presidential wrath during his 13 years in prison, he shocked the opposition when he was freed by declaring "I hold no bitterness against anybody" and rejoining the MCP. And while Banda was in South Africa for brain surgery, he re-emerged at the top of

the party leadership

MCP heavyweights were losers in the leadership stakes as the conference brought younger figures into top posts.

"In many ways, the MCP felt that its hands were tied," commented a diplomat "It had to show respect for Banda because of what he has done for the country, so nominally he will still head the party. But on the other hand, some might have wondered if he was an asset politically in the new era."

Chakuamba is seen as a well-organised leader who could keep rival MCP factions together. Six opposition parties are lining up for Malawi's May 17 vote — Sapa-Reuter

Wide berth for Malawi

Sowetan 16/2/94

■ **WORST DROUGHT** Donors await

the results of the forthcoming election:

BLANTYRE, Malawi — Investors concerned about Malawi's landmark elections are giving a wide berth to its economy still sagging from the worst drought this century (170)

"Many investors have adopted a wait-and-see attitude until the election results are known," Mr Jerry Jana, head of Malawi's Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said on Tuesday of the May 17 polls

The small Central African country's first democratic elections in 30 years pit the ruling Malawi Congress Party of ailing President Kamuzu Banda against six vibrant opposition parties in the formerly one-party state

Jana told *Reuters* investors could have given a boost to Malawi's agricultural-powered economy, which crashed almost eight percent during 1992's drought that

devastated most of Southern Africa

Although the economy grew 11.1 percent last year — thanks to modest production of its chief export tobacco — the gains were stunted by a high annual population growth of 3.5 percent

Inflation up

"Given the fact that tobacco exports are likely to decline further this year because rains were late, the recent financial liberalisation measures that will push inflation up, plus the election factor, we are going to have a very difficult 1994," Jana said

Aid donors, who cut off more than R900 million in annual funding in 1992 to press for political reforms, have reinstated the aid "The only problem is that aid inflows are taking too long and the country is very short of hard currency," Jana said — *Sapa-Reuter*

Investors adopt wait-and-see attitude towards Malawi

BLANTYRE — Investors concerned about Malawi's landmark elections are giving a wide berth to its economy, still sagging from the worst drought this century. Malawi's Chamber of Commerce and Industry head Jerry Jana said this week of the May 17 poll "Many investors have adopted a wait-and-see attitude until the election results are known."

The country's first democratic elections in 30 years put the ruling Malawi Congress Party of ailing President Kamuzu Banda against six vibrant opposition parties in the formerly one-party state.

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rains were late, the recent financial liberalisation measures which will push up inflation, plus the election factor, we are going to have a very difficult 1994," Jana said.

18/2/94
"I cannot hazard a figure at this moment, but growth this year will be very slim, if any. It will be a year of trying to recover from the ravages of the drought as well as the cut of aid by foreign donors." Aid donors, who cut off more than \$300m in annual funding in 1992 to press for political reforms, have reinstated the aid.

The World Bank, main backers of Malawi's economic reforms aimed at boosting growth through exports, has forecast growth of 2%.

(170)
Tobacco accounts for 60% of export earnings of Malawi, a country of 8.7-million people. In 1993 farmers produced 48 000kg of tobacco — down 10 000kg from the previous year. The crop earned \$39m compared with \$66.6m in 1992. "But this year in some areas, the crop is a disaster," Jana said — Sapa-Reuter.

Malawi tackles constitution

BLANTYRE — The National Consultative Council, an all-party body overseeing Malawi's transition to democracy, yesterday began three days of talks to work out a new constitution for the country. *BISAJ*

The constitution is expected to be ready after elections on May 17. *22/2/94*

As the talks kicked off in Blantyre, London-based Amnesty International urged the council to draft a constitution enshrining international human rights. It noted that some amendments had been made to the constitution in November to try to improve the country's human rights record.

Human rights groups accuse President Kamuzu Banda of having presided over the jailing or killing of thousands of opponents. — Sapa-Reuter *(170)*

Politicians

haunted by Malawi's dark past

LILONGWE — Ghosts of Malawi's violent past have risen to stalk politicians jostling in an unprecedented election race.

The country has been ruled for the past 30 years by "president-for-life" Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP), accused by human rights groups of murdering thousands of people in defence of his iron-fisted rule.

As campaigning heats up for the first pluralist general election on May 17, hardly a day passes without parties or candidates accusing each other of involvement in what the local press has dubbed "Malawi's dark past"

Opponents of front-runner Bakili Muluzi, president of the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF), remind him he was once MCP secretary-general — effectively number two to Banda.

His deputy, Aleke Banda, was once the "bright and blue-eyed boy" of Malawi politics. He served in various cabinet posts until he was sacked.

The MCP, trying to present a new face to the voters, has picked former secretary-general Gwanda Chakuamba as Banda's first election running mate.

Until a few months ago Chakuamba had been serving a 22-year jail term for plotting to kill the president. On his release he stunned the UDF, which thought he supported it, by rejoining the MCP.

He was quickly appointed home affairs minister.

"Malawi's people can't forget what Chakuamba did before his detention," said UDF official Charles Kahumbe. "He had been youth minister and commander of the paramilitary Malawi Young Pioneers who were responsible for killing most of Banda's opponents."

Only the Alliance for Democracy (Aford), headed by former trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana, has been somewhat spared the criticism of being associated with the MCP.

But Western diplomats say Chihana is also widely being seen as dictatorial in running Aford.

Chihana has spurned the UDF's efforts to form an election alliance, insisting he wanted to "have nothing to do with recycled politicians — politicians associated with the MCP."

But Kahumbe said "We know a lot of unsavoury things that Chihana did when he was a trade unionist," adding that whoever rules Malawi will inevitably have been somehow associated with the MCP. "It was the only legal party in Malawi and people had no choice but to join it" — Sapa-Reuter.

Sowetan 28/2/94

ILONGWE - Ghosts of Malawi's violent past have risen to stalk politicians jostling in an unprecedented election race for control of the southern African nation

Politicians in Malawi are warming up for the May 17 general election, but they cannot escape the daily torment of that country's violent dark past:

The country has been ruled for the past 30 years solely by President Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP), accused by human rights groups of murdering thousands of people in defence of his iron-fisted rule

As campaigning heats up for the first pluralist general election on May 17, hardly a day passes without opposing parties or candidates accusing each other of involvement in what the local Press has dubbed "Malawi's dark past"

Opponents of front-runner Bakili Muluzi, president of the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF), remind him he was once MCP secretary-general — effectively number two to President-for-life Banda

So is his deputy Aleke Banda, the once "bright and blue-eyed boy" of Malawi politics

He served the ailing Banda, believed to be in his late 90s, in various cabinet posts until being sacked for apparently saying in public he was the president's deputy — a cardinal sin under Banda who tolerated no one with ambitions to replace him

Political spectrum

On the other side of the political spectrum the MCP, trying to present a new face to the voters, has picked ex-secretary general Gwanda Chakuamba as Banda's first election running mate

Until a few months ago Chakuamba had been serving a 22-year jail term for plotting to kill the president. Released after serving only 13 years of his sentence, he stunned the UDF who thought he supported them by switching back to the MCP

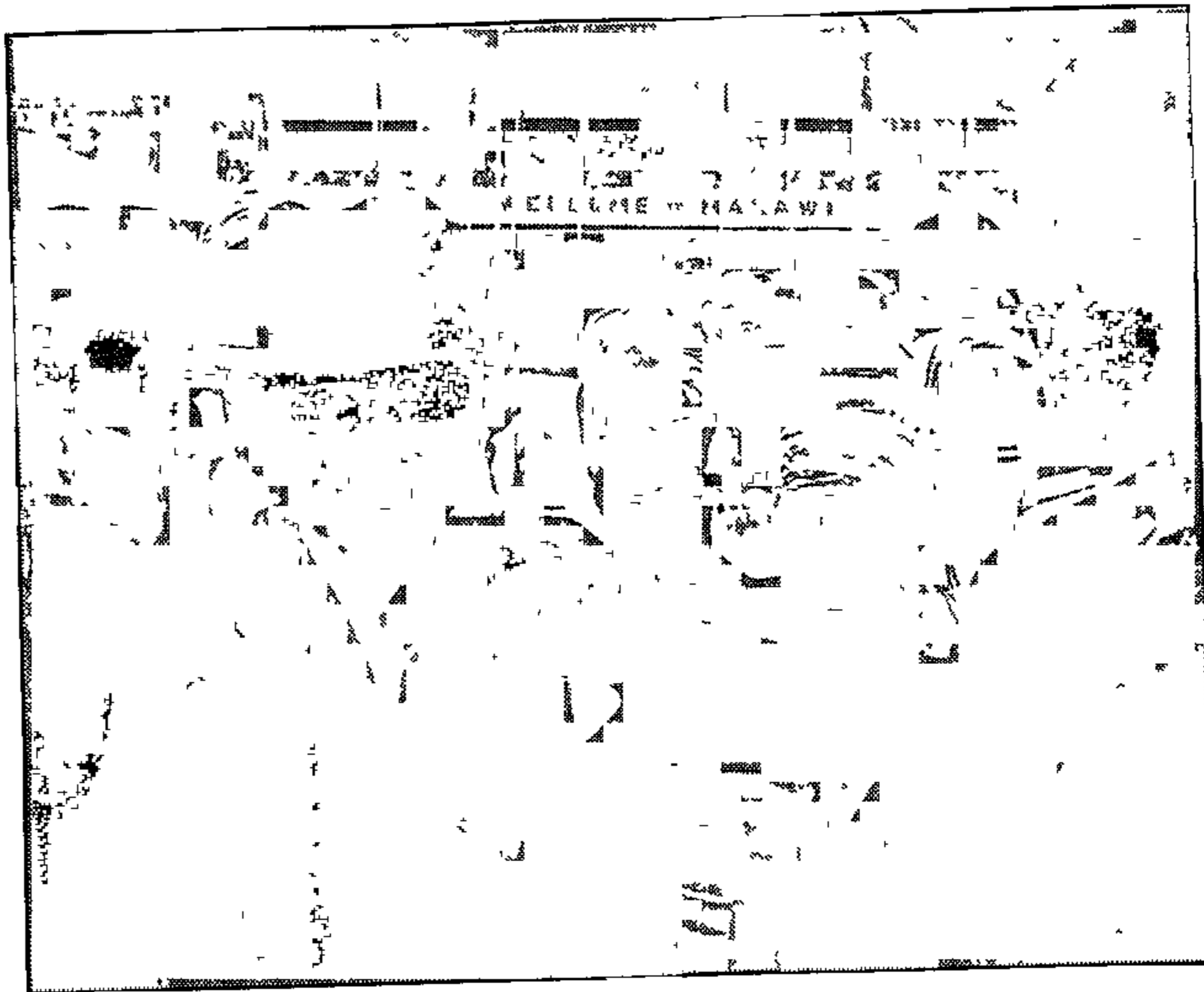
He was quickly appointed home affairs (interior) minister and head of a three-member presidential council that governed Malawi late last year when Banda had brain surgery in South Africa

"Malawi's people can't forget what Chakuamba did before his detention. He had been youth minister and commander of the paramilitary Malawi Young Pioneers who were responsible for killing most of Banda's opponents," UDF official Charles Kahumbe told Reuters

Before defecting back to the MCP Chakuamba told reporters "Never shall I forget those mass killings those people who were drowned in (Malawi's main) Shire river and tried to cry out to warn us, but nobody cared

"Never shall I forget those deaths that consumed my faith"

Human rights groups say thousands of Banda's opponents were systematically tortured and killed — even those who escaped into neighbouring countries. "The long arm of Banda's security always reached them," a vet-



FLASHBACK: President Banda surrounded by well-wishers during celebrations in 1979 of Malawi's independence in 1964. Now the ailing Banda has been forced to agree to a multiparty system in his country.

eran Malawi journalist told Reuters

Only the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD), another opposition group seen as a credible contender for power among the countries' eight parties, has been somewhat spared the avalanche of criticism of being associated with the MCP

Sparsely populated

Headed by former trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana, its main handicap is that it draws most of its support from the north, which is sparsely populated and has fewer parliamentary seats than either the central or southern regions

Western diplomats say Chihana is also widely being seen as dictatorial in running AFORD. "People keep on coming to us saying 'We don't want another Banda here'," one said

Despite repeated efforts by UDF to forge an electoral alliance with AFORD to challenge the MCP, Chihana has stood alone, insisting he wanted to "have nothing to do with recycled politicians — politicians associated with the MCP

"But we know a lot of unsavoury things that

Chihana did when he was a trade unionist," UDF's Kahumbe said "So far, for the sake of not sparking a fight among opposition parties, we have refrained from revealing these things. But our patience is running thin because of incessant attacks from him"

Both UDF and AFORD campaigned hand-in-hand against one-party rule in last June's referendum called by Banda to decide the political future of the nation of 8.7 million people

Malawians voted overwhelmingly to adopt multi-party politics. Since then sharp divisions, virtually all of them personal, have surfaced between the two parties

"The only way the MCP can win these elections is if we continue to be fragmented. We have to learn from what happened in Kenya and not repeat it here," Kaumbe said

A splintered opposition meant Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi was swept back to power in 1992, the country's first pluralist general election for 26 years

Kaumbe added "Whoever will rule Malawi will inevitably have been somehow associated with the MCP. It was the only legal party in Malawi and people had no choice but to join it" — Sapa-Reuters

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focus on MALAWI

Sowetan 10/3/94

WOMEN in bright, ankle-length dresses sang, danced and ululated in praise of the only master they have known — Malawi President Kamuzu Banda

One man gave a signal for all the "mbumbas" (women flock) packed in Blantyre's Kwacha International Centre to stand. They did, raised their clenched fists and chanted "Kamuzu Alithikithi Malawi (Kamuzu is here to stay)"

As chants grew louder one woman broke into tears and cried, apparently having heard that some men in dark suits seated nearby wanted Banda to stand down ahead of Malawi's watershed general election on May 17

In the event the extraordinary convention of Banda's Malawi Congress Party, supreme rulers of this Southern African nation for 30 years, surprised observers by re-electing the absent and ailing president to stand in the polls

"These people want Malawi ruled through emotion," a Malawi journalist commented, noting widespread rumours that Banda was unwell again after brain surgery in South Africa last year

"How on earth can these women force these men, who are senior party figures, to elect Banda through song and dance? Banda, who is in his late 90s, must surely be tired and not interested in standing for the elections"

Women power

But then in Banda's Malawi, the mbumbas — virtually all women — always had and still have more power. Husbands who dared tell their wives to cook for their children instead of attending Banda's rallies faced the wrath of the women and the president's Young Pioneers, the MCP's military wing

And so the mbumbas sang and backed the man whose picture and name features on Malawi's currency the *kwacha* (dawn) and on most key schools, roads and streets and buildings

They haven't changed now

As Malawi heads for its first pluralist elections since independence from Britain in 1964, there are strains all round at the realisation that the man known as *Ngwazi* (The Warrior), *Chatonda* (The Conqueror) and *Wamuvaya* (The Immortal) may either lose the polls or not be around anymore

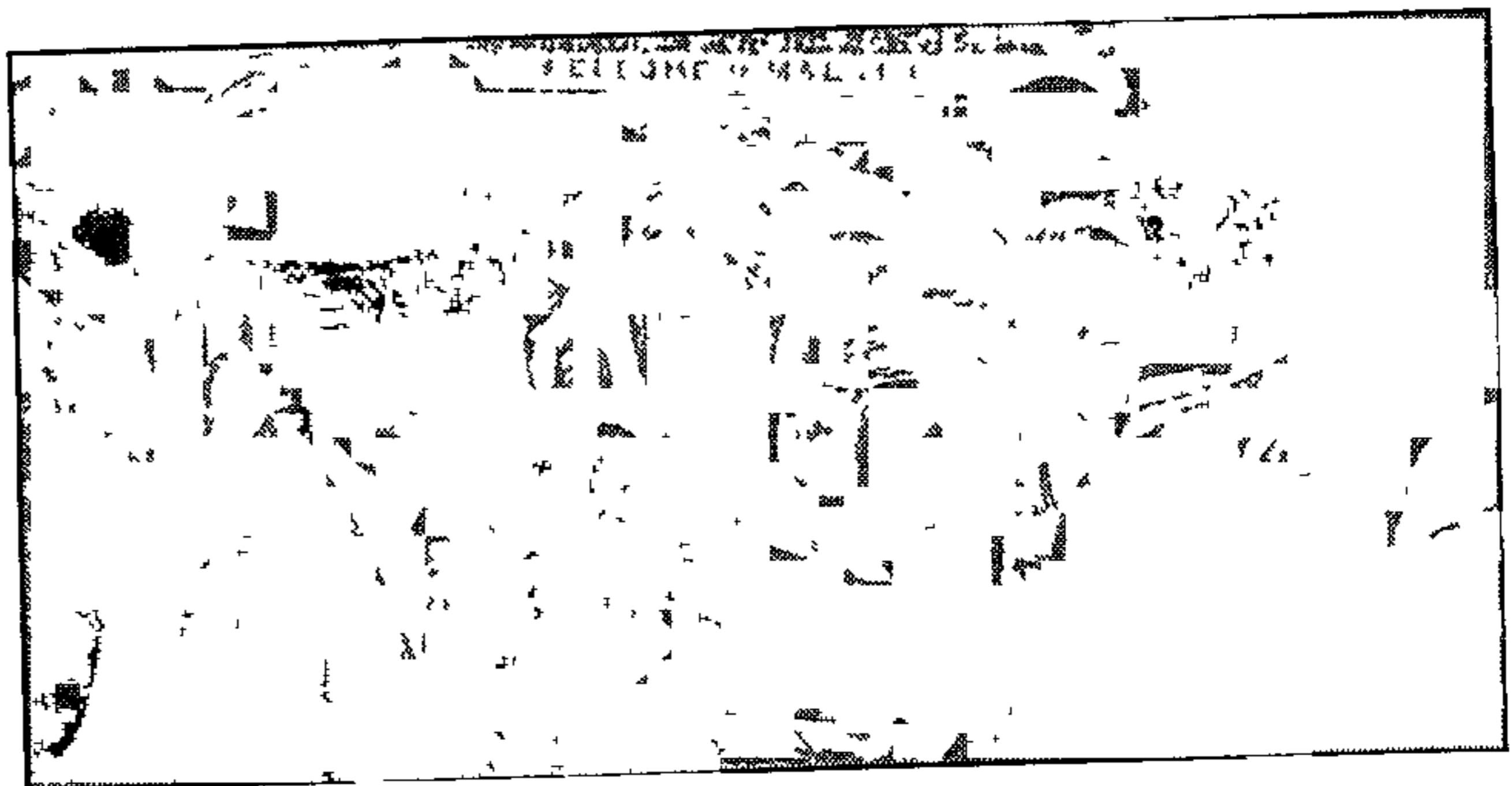
"It is hard for many to think of life without the old man. This is why the MCP, out of respect for Banda and maybe because he is the glue keeping the MCP together, voted for him," said a diplomat who attended the MCP meeting here last month

An opposition lawyer, sipping his imported wine at a top hotel in this southern city, admitted "Even we who have fought Banda realise he did help Malawi develop. This country was left by the British as a jungle. Things aren't the same any more"

Human rights bodies say Banda, a short, stocky, no-nonsense man, presided over the deaths of thousands of his opponents. Hundreds

Malawi's womenfolk have unshakeable faith in their Warrior, Conqueror and The Immortal Kamuzu Banda. They have forced their men to elect the ailing 90-year-old leader to stand for the May 17 elections.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Blantyre:



President Banda of Malawi

(170)

Of course there is relative peace now that the Pioneers have been disarmed, but who knows what they will do next when they regroup

of others were jailed and tortured as they tried to fight his one-party rule

Even after Banda was forced by Western donors to embrace multiparty politics after they cut off aid, every building or office in Malawi has Banda's towering portrait hanging menacingly on walls, reminding all who is the boss

"You can't deny that we are seeing the end of a great era, however turbulent," a taxi driver said, recalling how the notorious Young Pioneers had on several occasions dragged him from home for a beating for not attending Banda's rallies

"When they left you alive, you thanked your gods. Many never returned (to their homes). A sense of fear pervaded all"

It was in this climate that the army suddenly intervened on the side of the people one day last December

Young army troops, angered by the Pioneers' killing of two soldiers, took matters into their hands, launching a lightning strike against

the 7 000-strong red-shirted group

They disarmed and scattered it, but dozens of people, most of them Pioneers, died in the fierce clashes

"Of course there is relative peace now that the Pioneers have been disarmed, but who knows what they will do next when they regroup?" asked the taxi driver, clearly getting nervous

Already there have been unexplained killings of at least three civilians by marauding gangs in the capital Lilongwe, further north

The opposition blames the Pioneers, a group set up by Banda initially to help youths gain trade skills but which eventually became militarised and challenged the army's authority

Malawi newspapers are full of reports these days that the Pioneers, most of whom fled to neighbouring Mozambique, could be preparing to invade Malawi if the MCP lose the polls. The MCP denies this

As well as disarming them, the increasingly powerful army demanded — and got — the sacking of their commander and his two deputies who young soldiers saw as dragging their feet during the so-called "Operation *Bwezani* (Return Your Arms)"

"Maybe the army will keep the peace should Banda and his party lose," an opposition official said. It has shown that it is no longer partisan as the police still are. We pin our hopes on it whatever happens"

An army spokesman said "We do not dabble in politics. We will serve any party that emerges as the new government"

Malawi on the road to democracy

THE OBSERVER

Jan Raath in Lilongwe

THE fool-hugh iron letters on the tall concrete gate read ALAWING SPA. The bullet gouges have been plastered over and workmen have been busily restoring the expansive double-storey building inside, laying new mosaics and fitting enormous plate-glass windows and clusters of gaudy chandeliers.

Later this week they will have painted the fire-blackened upstairs windows, changed the bullet-drilled steel gate, moved the gutted vehicles, picked up the glass and replaced the lettering so it reads once again Malawi Congress Party.

The source of all earthly power in an autocracy equalled only by the likes of Kim Il Sung's North Korea, the building was sacked last December by army troops pursuing members of the vigilante organisation the Malawi Young Pioneers. Its swift restoration gives the unnerving impression that the party still seriously thinks it can cling on to the power it has wielded absolutely for 30 years.

As disconcerting was the sight, the week before, of senior MCP Ministers in the front row at the country's constitutional conference in Blantyre, yawning and reading newspapers as delegates demanded provision in the constitution for reparations and a commission of inquiry into the government's past atrocities.

Malawians, a tolerant and industrious people, are excited by the democracy they won in last June's referendum, which forced President Hastings Banda to undo his one-party system. When taxi driver Abel Nyirenda says, "We are a democracy, friend," he glows with pride at what he and the other 9.7 million Malawians have overcome simply by putting their X on



Malawian president Hastings Banda: 'A very sick man'

the ballot paper "Then it was dark night. Now it is really *kwacha*," he grins, punning on the Chewa word for dawn.

But alongside the evident pleasure of being able to make jokes about plucking the Black Cock (Banda, in MCP vocabulary) is a palpable nervousness that it will be snatched away.

Not that he — the Black Cock, the Lion of Malawi, master of all women, destroyer of the federation, teacher and redeemer — will be able to do so. He is in his nineties, and had brain surgery last October.

Baroness Lynda Chalker, Overseas Development Minister, who visited him in Blantyre last January, said

afterwards that he was "a very sick man".

But Banda still seems to bear influence. Insiders say that the real reason a national convention of the MCP three weeks ago took the grotesque step of nominating him presidential candidate for the elections on 17 May was that no one had the courage to tell him he is beyond it.

Nor is there a role now for the Hera-like Mama Cecilia Kadzamura, Banda's glamorous receptionist before independence who became Malawi's most powerful woman as the Official Hostess. Two weeks ago she arrived unexpectedly at a symposium in Blantyre on political change, where no special seat was reserved for her and

there were no lawning *mbumba*, the praise-singing cohorts of the MCP women's league.

She was sitting with ordinary mortals when an opposition party official tapped her on the shoulder to ask, "How are you?" She smiled and replied "Fine." Five minutes later he tapped a second time "How's the old man?" Again Kadzamura graciously offered "Fine." "None of the gathering missed it." "It was the ultimate humiliation. The spell was broken," said a witness. "Two years ago a trick like that could have cost you your neck."

The 20 or so independent newspapers blaze with reports of MCP plots, of smuggling in arms for insurrection, bribing millions of Mozambican

refugees to register as voters, and retaining an elite of heavily armed Young Pioneer shock troops in Mozambique to seize power.

"There is a lot of imaginative speculation about all sorts of MCP skulduggery," said a local businessman. "But I don't think they would be that stupid."

The army showed the mayhem it was capable of last December when it disarmed the Pioneers, the most feared branch of Banda's apparatus of oppression.

The guards beneath the pair of concrete lions lounging above the gates at State House in Lilongwe, Banda's empty capital residence, are no longer Young Pioneers, but soldiers. "That's how it should be," said businessman Henry Manyozo. "The army did what should have been done long ago and kicked out the MTP. And that is all they wanted to do. It was not an attempted coup."

Many Malawians think that whichever party wins the elections will be bringing at least a little of the MCP with it. Malawi's political opposition is littered with former MCP secretaries-general and Pioneer commanders. "Banda was in charge for so long and so absolutely that anybody who was anybody could only be because he was a big wheel in the MCP," said a Western diplomat.

The political parties appear to have put a stop to the violence last year. The only sign of hunger for vengeance against the MCP came from the delegate at the constitutional conference who insisted on an inquiry into atrocities.

Vera Churwa is a lawyer jailed on phoney charges for 12 years. Her husband died in prison, and she is still trying to get her wedding ring back from police. She feels only pity for Banda now.

Such are its people that Malawi's election in May could easily be sober, fair, and "in-African." Then the country can get down to the really serious problems of grim poverty, rampant overpopulation and one of Africa's worst AIDS epidemics.

(176) LWM 11-17/3/74

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Apathy is the frontrunner as Malawi election looms

WITH Malawi's first democratic elections only two months away, electoral officials, politicians and international monitors are worried over lack of voter interest

Officials said only half of an estimated 4.5 million eligible voters in a population of 9.7 million had bothered to register by the March 12 deadline. *S Times*

The eight parties contesting the election are trading accusations of intimidation and bribery. *2013/194*

But political analysts say a major problem is lack of civic voter education in a country with a 60 percent illiteracy rate, and where 80 percent of the people live in rural areas cut off from mass information.

In a desperate bid to persuade people to register for the May 17 poll, the electoral commission extended the registration period to April 26. *(170)*

The commission, headed by Malawi's only woman judge Anastazia Msosa, faces a race against time.

Seven opposition parties plan to field parliamentary and presidential candidates for the first time against President Kamuzu Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP).

He has ruled the landlocked nation with an iron fist since it gained independence from Britain in 1964, but his grip on power has slipped since a June 1993 referendum

By AL OSMAN in Blantyre

in which Malawians voted overwhelmingly to end his autocratic one-party system.

Dr Banda, who is believed to be in his mid-90s and who recently recovered from a brain operation in South Africa, is the MCP's presidential candidate in a campaign marred by mudslinging and charges of bribery and intimidation

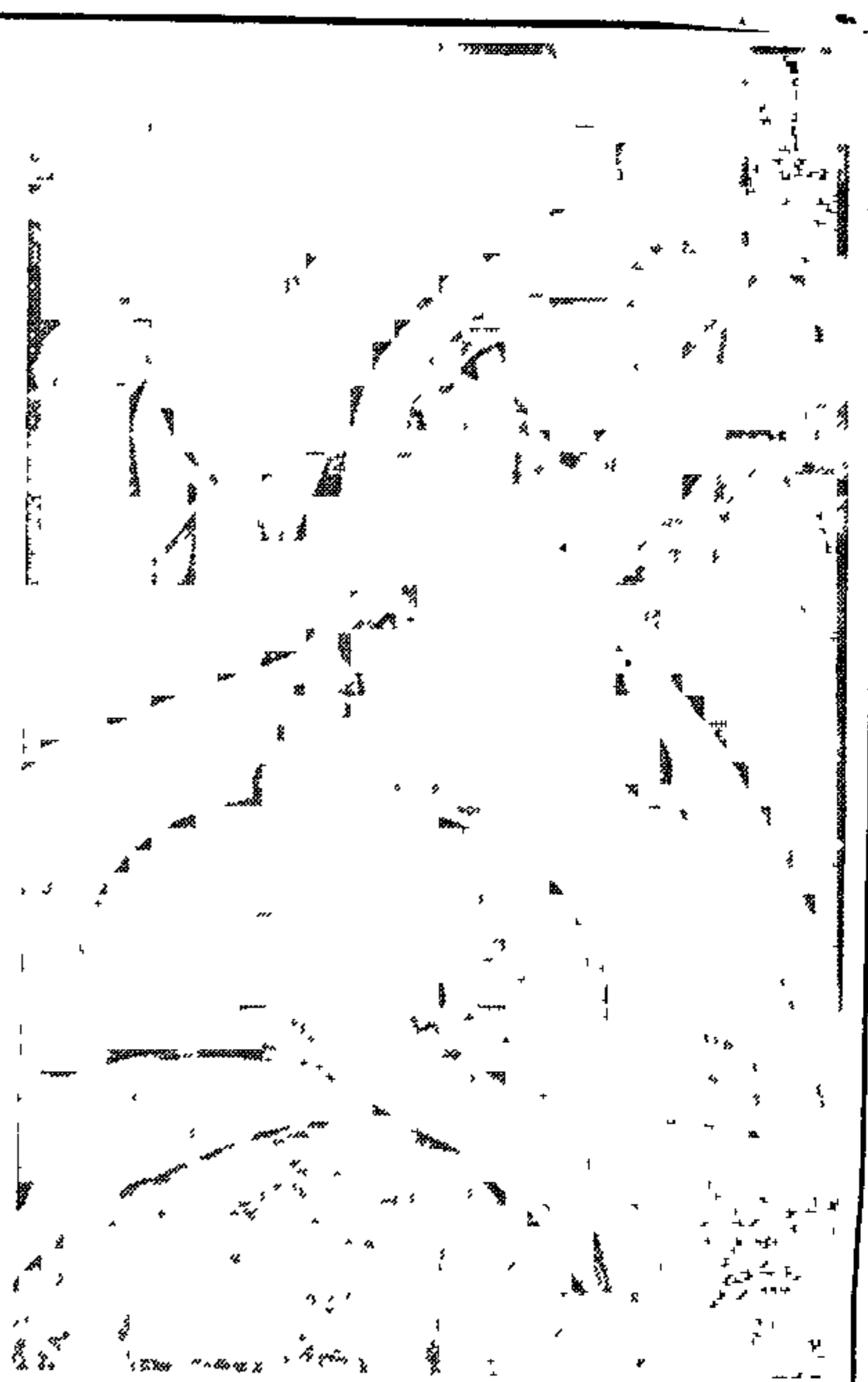
Reacting to this, Miss Msosa this week accused unnamed traditional chiefs and politicians of flagrantly abusing the electoral law and the electoral commission's code of conduct. She said chiefs would no longer be allowed to act as monitors for political parties and she appealed to politicians to stop insulting each other

She also warned that anyone continuing to use intimidation, violence or bribery to further their election ends risks fines of R2 400 or up to two years in prison.

But voter apathy is of as more concern

One political analyst said: "There has been very little, if any, civic education in a country which has no television

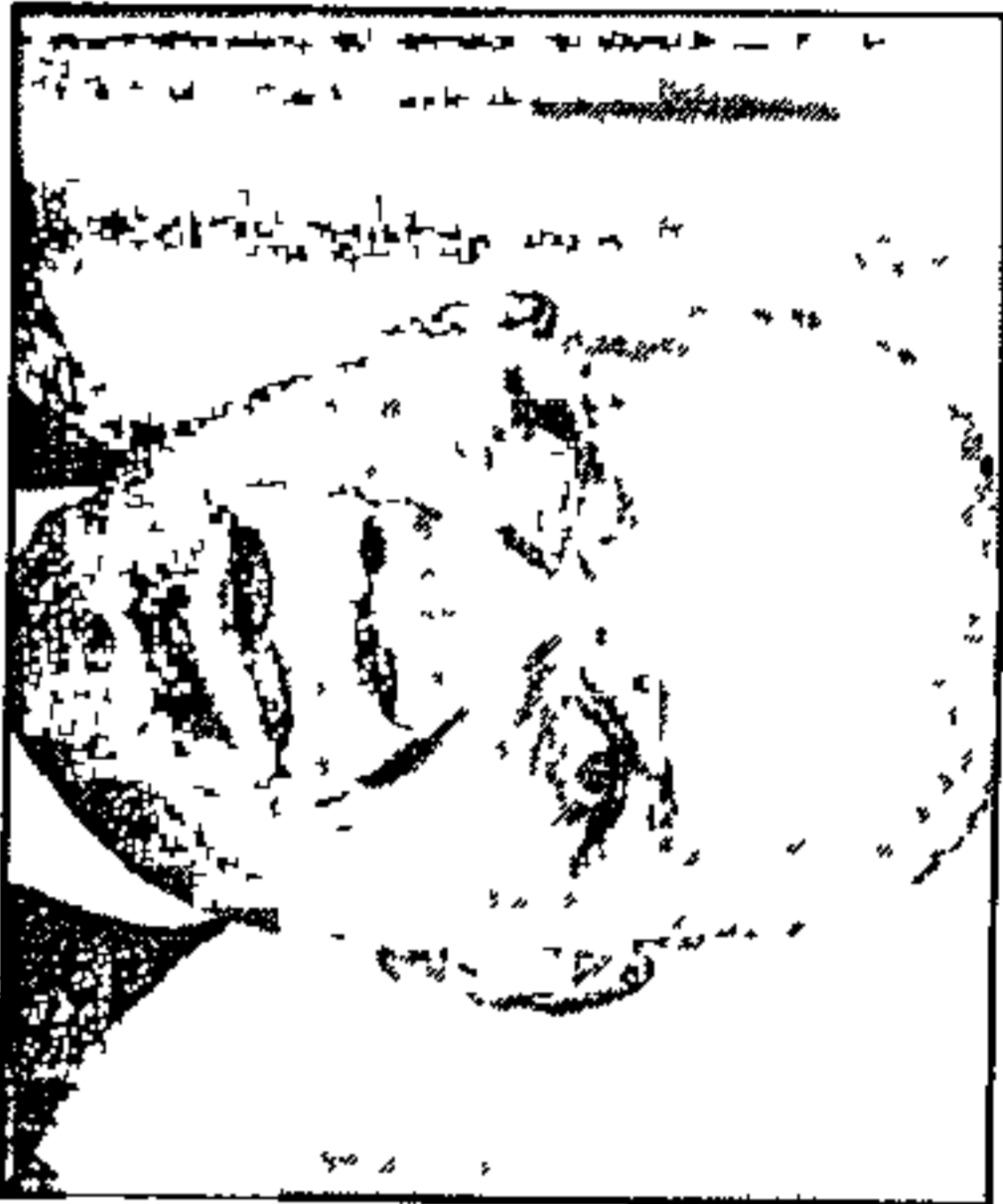
"It is served by only one radio station, which is state controlled, one pro-government daily newspaper and a fledgling weekly independent press that is published only in the main towns." — *Sapa-Reuter*



OLD BUT NOT OUT . . . President Kamuzu Banda

NEWS FEATURE Two months to Malawi's multiparty election, but no one cares

Malawi President Kamuzu Banda



Voter apathy is Malawi's malady

Sowetan Correspondent

CONFUSED NATION For most people, Banda is already history:

LONGWE — When Malawians voted by more than two-to-one for multipartyism in a referendum in June last year, many saw it as the beginning of a new era of political opportunity and activity.

The eight political parties that have been established to take part in the election in May — the first multiparty poll since independence — have been bombarding the voters with pleas and promises. But they are finding that interest has been declining steadily compared to the heady activity of the run-up to the referendum.

Sustain Interest

Local observers believe the parties have found it difficult to sustain interest because they have run out of issues.

The referendum aroused interest because many saw it as the means of getting rid of the autocratic rule of President Kamuzu Banda. There was an overwhelming vote against Banda's one-party rule but since then the opposition parties have not been able to find issues strong enough to keep interest alive. Anti-Bandastism is no longer enough to get people interested. For most of them, Banda is already history.

Political parties

In addition, the proliferation of political parties has confused the nation of 10 million, who have had no experience of multiparty democracy. Most of the parties registered have very little hope of even getting into parliament, let alone ruling the country.

So far, only 2 million Malawians have registered to vote in the election on May 17. This represents just half of the total number of eligible voters, estimated at 4.5 million by the National Electoral Commission. The voting age has been lowered from 21

to 18 years, but the expected flood of young people to register has not materialised.

The commission has had to extend the deadline for registration from March 12 to April 26.

Recently Banda made an impassioned plea to people to register for the election. But it seems there is more to their apathy than an absence of issues, the quality of the candidates for the presidency has also been found to be uninspiring.

All the parties have already published their lists of candidates for both presidential and parliamentary elections. In recent surveys the United Democratic Front has emerged as leading the pack but it has a major defect in its leader, Bakili Muluzi.

Financial scandals

Now in his fifties, Muluzi has a past riddled with financial scandals, to say nothing of his long period of loyalty to President Banda and the Malawi Congress Party.

Muluzi quietly resigned from the MCP in 1982 after rising to its highest position, the secretary-generalship. Recently, during a debate in the National Consultative Council on how far back in the life of a presidential candidate it should go in determining the suitability of a candidate, the UDF delegates argued for a cut-off period of seven years.

Their purpose was to secure the candidacy of Muluzi, who is said to have been convicted for theft when he was 23 years old and served two years in jail.

One of the UDF parliamentary candidates, Mr Alike Banda, was President Banda's right-hand man and lost the position only when he tried to assert himself as the claimant to the

throne. Another Banda lieutenant in the UDF camp is Mr Edward Bwanali who, under Banda, virtually served as minister of foreign affairs as he represented Banda (who held the portfolio himself) at almost every international forum.

The other leading contender for the presidency is the leader of the Alliance for Democracy (Aford), Mr Chakurwa Chihana.

Democracy movements

Although he is recognised as the man who inspired the democracy movement in Malawi, and is probably the best organised of the opposition candidates, Chihana has his own shortcomings.

He is said to be autocratic in his leadership style — something that Malawians have had enough of from Banda.

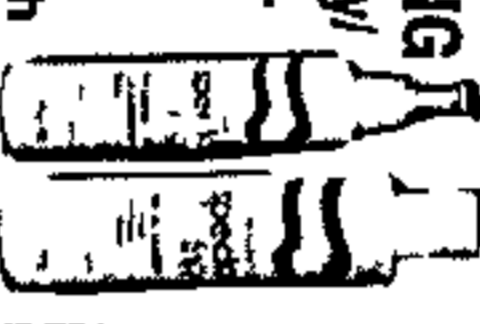


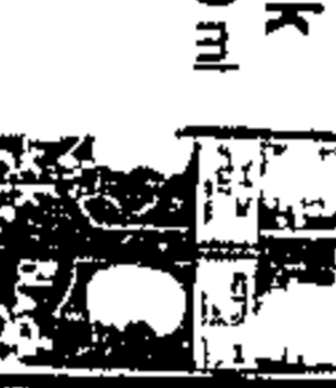






The ruling MCP is the worst in terms of leadership credibility. The party found that, with Banda clearly incapable of running the country, it did not have a credible enough candidate for the presidency, so it nominated Banda in the hope that grassroots support will carry him to victory, after which running mate Mr Gwanda Chakumbamba Phiri could take over.

Many remember

But many remember Chakumbamba as the leader of the notorious Malawi Young Pioneers.

He was so loyal to Banda that he would use his own handkerchief to clean Banda's shoes in public. As MYP commander, he was known to be ruthless in suppressing political dissent. Against this background, the apathy over the election seems more likely to grow than to decrease.

HOT EASTER PROMOTION
VALID FROM MARCH 25—APRIL 9 1994

<p>SPECIAL FEELING Gel/Spray/ Oil Moist 250 ml each</p> 	<p>REVLON Relaxers Reg, Super or Mild 450 ml each</p> 
<p>REVLON S-Look Relaxer 2 fl each</p> 	<p>BLACK CHILI HODISA T/-pack 2 x 250 ml each</p> 
<p>T.C.B. Twinpack 500/ 500 ml each</p> 	<p>SOF 'n FREE No-Lye Relaxer Kit Reg/ Super each</p> 
<p>SOF 'n FREE Relaxer Reg/ Super 450 ml each</p> 	<p>2-IN-1 CURLING TONGS each</p> 
<p>MINI UNIDIRECTION</p> 	<p>BLACK LIKE ME each</p> 

NEWS FEATURE High expectations may be the biggest hurdle for Banda's people

Malawi, the land of unfulfilled hopes

BLANTYRE — The death of Malawi President Hastings Kamuzu Banda or a defeat in the May elections would bring a collective sigh of relief from the mainly Asian-owned businesses lining the 15km of Kamuzu Highway, Blantyre's main road

Three years ago Banda declared all old single-storey buildings on the highway to be demolished and replaced by gleaming new steel-and-glass slabs. He ordered the front wall of certain buildings to be daubed with a large red star

The stars are still there but nothing has yet been done. No one has dared paint over the signs for fear it might provoke action. But when the day comes, the owners will be able to breathe again and get on with business. Getting on with business is part of the Malawian character, indicative of the qualities that hold out hope for this densely populated and poverty-stricken nation of 10 million people who endured one of the most effective systems of repression in the modern world for nearly 30 years

Real dangers ahead lie probably not with power struggles and politicking, but with the hopes that Malawians have stored up for their new-found democracy

The country goes to the polls on May 17 the first multiparty elections since independence in 1964. There is an atmosphere of busy political activity among the eight contesting political parties but almost no violence. After initial clashes between parties in the urban townships, campaigning continued

Sowetan 28/3/94

"There have been clear efforts from all parties to condemn violence," says Malawi's Bar Association chairman, Mr Mordecai Masisa, who is also active in the drafting of a new constitution. "At campaign level, we are seeing restraint all round. People are willing to listen."

Mrs Vera Churwa, in her sixties, was kidnapped with her husband Orton in neighbouring Zambia in 1981, and sentenced to life imprisonment in a sham trial. Her husband died in prison in 1991 and she was released in 1992.

"No, I don't bear any ill will," she says. "When I look at Banda and the condition he is in, I feel sorry for him." The rancour is also absent in Mr Aleke Banda, a former powerful figure in the ruling Malawi Congress Party who was detained for 12 years.

"It was politics," he says. Last month hundreds of Malawians from all walks of life gathered to lend their voices to the drafting of a new constitution. The meeting included a call to examine past atrocities and to

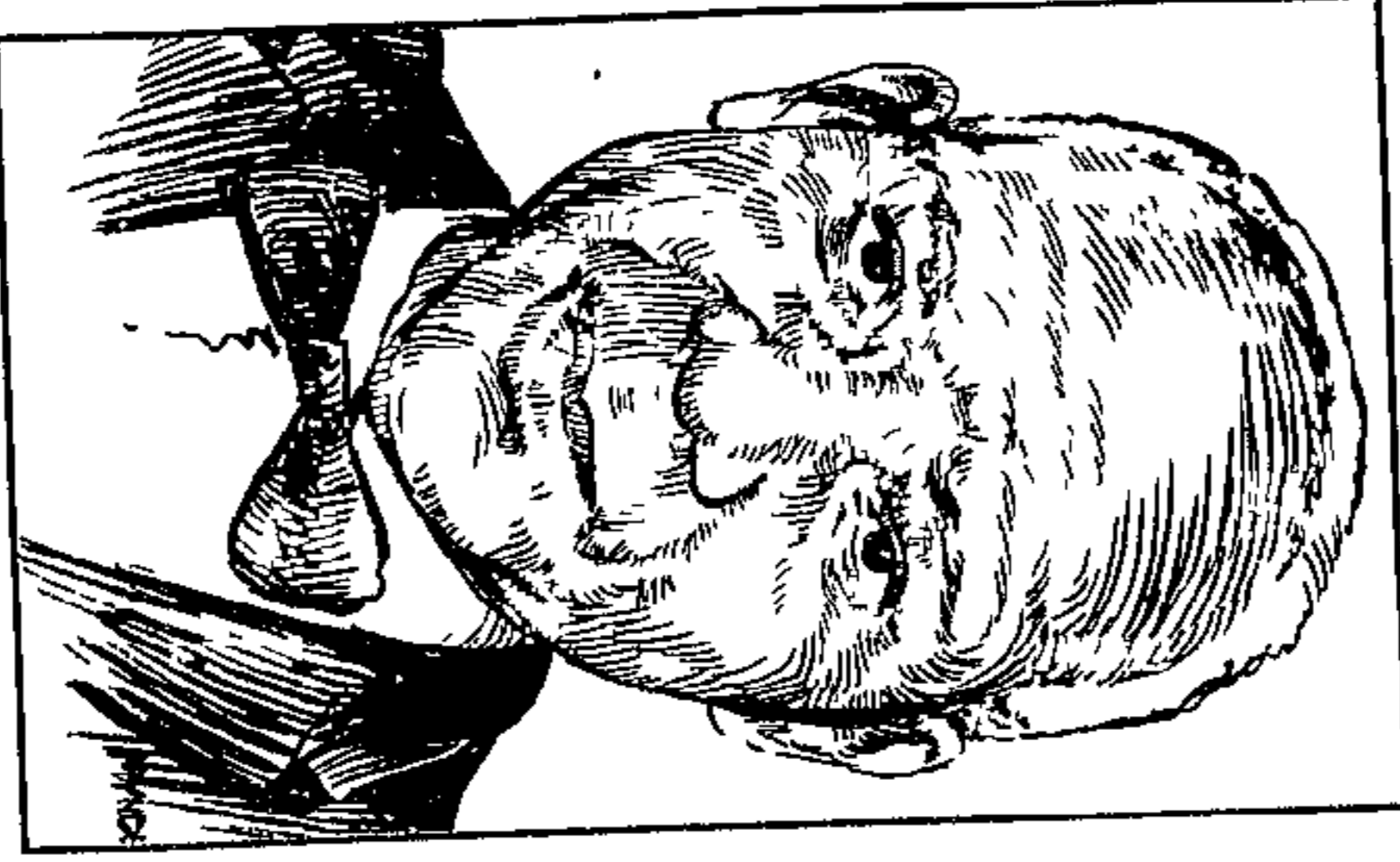
provide compensation for victims

Masisa backs the proposal for an inquiry "for full exposure of what went wrong, to ensure that it doesn't happen again." One of the reasons for the lack of recommitment is that nearly everyone of any political stature has a past closely associated with the MCP.

United Democratic Front president Mr Bakuli Muluzi, regarded as the front runner in the election campaign, is a former MCP secretary-general and commander of the dreaded Malawi Young Pioneers. UDF vice-president Aleke Banda was also MCP secretary-general.

"The MCP was so pervasive that it was the only conduit to almost any rank," says a Western diplomat. "So it's no surprise that the opposition parties feature so many ex-MCP born-again democrats."

The real dangers ahead lie probably not with power struggles and politicking, but with the hopes that Malawians have stored up for their new-found democracy — Sapa



Kamuzu Banda... daubed buildings with large red stars.

Malawi unveils 'popular' budget

BLANTYRE — Finance Minister Louis Chimango has unveiled a 1994/95 budget aimed at propping up Malawi's social sector, stimulating development and encouraging foreign investment.

He announced a series of cuts in tariff duties and elimination of income tax at the bottom end of the scale. But he also produced a 10% rise in taxes on beer, spirits and cigarettes.

Economic analysts said that the budget, put to parliament on Friday, was clearly aimed at winning support for President Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party in the country's first multiparty elections in May.

Opposition critics and Western donors have criticised the government in the past for neglecting the social sector in favour of costly prestige projects in a country where more than 60% of the 9.7-million people live in poverty.

Chimango said the government would be unable to import enough maize needed to feed thousands of starving people without help from Western donors. He appealed to donors to help meet the costs of importing 300 000 tons of maize.

Chimango said real GDP was expected to fall by 6.2% in 1994 because of a projected 22.9% reduction in agricultural output.

He estimated total revenue in the financial year starting April 1 at 1 992-million kwacha (\$301m), a 23.4 percent increase over the previous financial year following

tax reforms.

Total recurrent expenditure was expected to increase to 700-million kwacha in 1994/95 from 455.7-million kwacha the previous year.

Chimango said up to 40% of the budget would go to social services, including education, health and rural water supplies. Development spending would increase to 700.4-million kwacha from 455.7-million kwacha in 1993/94.

"The guiding principles behind our medium-term development programme will continue to be an assault on poverty, ignorance and disease among Malawians throughout the country," the minister said.

The deficit before grants was expected amount to 633.9-million kwacha in 1994/95. Chimango said the deficit after grants was expected to be 161.5-million kwacha, equivalent to 1.4% of GDP, compared with the 1993/94 figure of 320.8-million kwacha.

He warned Malawians that the government would tighten monetary and fiscal policies to revive the economy and halt rising inflation, which has risen to 30% this year from 22.8% in 1993.

Chimango said that to reduce poverty and minimise the tax burden on low income earners, he was cutting the income tax rate on the first 3 600 kwacha to zero from 3%.

He announced an immediate cut in general import duties to 40% from 45%, a decrease in textile duties to 65% from 100% and a fall in duty on luxury items to 45% from 65%. — Reuter.

Apathy may destroy Malawi's first poll

Star 4/4/94

TWO months before a multiparty election that Malawians have long fought for, disillusionment and apathy are growing among voters. Camil Daya in Lilongwe reports for Star Africa Service

(170)

throne

Another Banda lieutenant in the UDF camp is Edward Bwanali, who, under Banda, virtually served as Minister of Foreign Affairs as he represented Banda, who held the portfolio himself, at almost every international forum.

The other leading contender for the presidency is the leader of the Alliance for Democracy (Aford), Chakufwa Chihana. Although he is recognised as the man who inspired the democracy movement in Malawi, and is probably the best organised of the opposition candidates, Chihana has his own shortcomings.

He is said to be autocratic in his leadership style, something that Malawians have had enough of from Banda. He also comes from a minority tribe in the north, the Tumbuka, who are also known as Ngonis and are descendants of the Zulus in South Africa.

The ruling MCP is the worst in terms of leadership credibility. The party found that, with Banda clearly incapable of running the country, it did not have a credible enough candidate for the presidency, so it nominated Banda in the hope that grassroots support will carry him to victory, after which running mate Gwanda Chakumbamba Phiri could take over.

But many remember Chakumbamba as the leader of the notorious Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP). He was so loyal to Banda that after the president had done his dance ritual with women, he would use his own handkerchief to clean Banda's shoes in public.

As MYP commander, he was known to be ruthless in suppressing political dissent. Against this background, the apathy over the election seems more likely to grow than to decrease.



Kamuzu Banda . . . unlike the excitement which marked the country's recent referendum, a high degree of apathy may turn Malawi's first multiparty election into an anti-climax.

When Malawians voted by more than two-to-one for multipartyism in a referendum in June last year, many saw it as the beginning of a new era of political activity.

But the eight political parties that have been established to take part in the election next month — the first multiparty poll since independence — are finding that interest has been declining steadily compared to the heady activity in the run-up to the referendum.

Local observers believe the parties have found it difficult to sustain interest because they have run out of issues.

The referendum aroused interest because many saw it as the means of getting rid of the autocratic rule of President Kamuzu Banda. Anti-Bandaism is no longer enough to get people interested. For most of them, Banda is already history.

In addition, the proliferation of political parties has confused the nation of 10 million, most of whom have had no experience of multi-party democracy.

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The voting age has been lowered from 21 to 18 years, but the expected flood of young people to register has not materialised. The commission has had to extend the deadline for registration from March 12 to April 26.

Recently, President Banda made an impassioned plea to people to register for the election. But it seems there is more to their apathy than an absence of issues, the quality of the candidates for the presidency has also been found to be uninspiring.

All the parties have already published their lists of candidates for both presidential and parliamentary elections. In recent surveys the United Democratic Front has emerged as leading the pack, but it has a major defect in its leader, Bakshi Muluza.

Now in his fifties, Muluza has a past riddled with financial scandals, to say nothing of his long period of loyalty to President Banda and the Malawi Congress Party (MCP).

Muluza quietly resigned from the MCP in 1982 after rising to its highest position, secretary-generalship. Recently, during a debate in the National Consultative Council on how far back in the life of a presidential candidate it should go in determining the suitability of a candidate, the UDF delegates argued for a cut-off period of seven years.

Their purpose was to secure the candidacy of Muluza, who is said to have been convicted for their when he was 23 and served two years in jail.

One of the UDF parliamentary candidates, Alike Banda, was President Banda's right-hand man and lost the position only when he tried to assert himself as the claimant to the

Malawi's opposition seeks probe

BLANTYRE — Malawi's opposition United Democratic Front (UDF) went to court on Tuesday, just over a month before crucial elections, to demand an official probe into the mysterious deaths in 1983 of four cabinet ministers

The party told the High Court that an inquiry was in the public interest and essential to defending the rule of law and human rights.

Cabinet ministers Dick

Matenje, Aaron Gadama, John Sangalas and David Chiwanga disappeared on May 17 1983 ⁷¹⁴¹⁹⁴

The government announced they had been killed in a road accident

But family members suspect the men were murdered on the orders of President Hastings Banda's government and have been campaigning for more than 10 years for a proper inquiry. (170)

UDF lawyer Peter Fachi told the court there was

enough evidence for Banda to call a commission of inquiry.

He said many witnesses would be prepared to testify as long as they were legally protected

But state counsel George Phiri said the UDF had ulterior motives in calling for the inquiry

It wanted to disgrace Banda's government and win votes in the elections scheduled for May 17

At least eight parties are set to contest the elections for parliament and the presidency, held since 1964 by Banda

Judge Chatsika said there was no law requiring the president to institute a commission of inquiry.

The president's powers on commissions of inquiry were discretionary, he said, adding that "a court will not do anything which the law doesn't sanction"

The judge said he would pass judgment on the UDF's application before the elections — Sapa-AFP.

Poll could see Banda back

STIMWAD
15/5/94

Women hold key card in election

By FRANCIS MDLONGWA
in Blantyre

IF THE ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) of President Hastings Kamuzu Banda wins next Tuesday's landmark elections, he may well have his devoted "mbumba" to thank.

The mbumba are highly-politicised members of the MCP's Women's League whose unwavering support for Dr Banda could be an electoral trump card.

Until recently the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF) of Mr Bakili Muluzi appeared to have the edge in Malawi's first pluralist poll.

But now, thanks partly to the tireless efforts of the mbumba, Dr Banda's MCP may be gaining ground.

"There will be a shock, mother of all defeats for the opposition next week," said mbumba Grace Chitonda.

"Look at the crowds in this opposition stronghold," she said in Blantyre, seen as an opposition power base, as Dr Banda was mobbed by 6 000 drum-beating supporters in a show that must have worried Mr Muluzi.

"Ngwazi (conqueror), Ngwazi," they shouted.

Malawi political analyst John Lwanda writes in his book *Kamuzu Banda: A Study in Promise, Power and Paralysis* that Dr Banda has used the mbumba to achieve a degree of power enjoyed by few dictators.

Some women used this connection and power to keep their men in check both politically and in some cases at a personal level," she writes. — Sapa-Reuter



BACK ON HIS FEET ... Hastings Kamuzu Banda could be back in power after Malawi's first election

By JOHN EDLIN in Blantyre

IDI AMIN, the butcher of Uganda, has quit the African stage he once strutted to the enthusiastic applause of fellow despots.

Self-styled Central African Republic emperor, Jean-Bedel Bokassa, found guilty of cannibalism and murdering children, was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.

Mobutu Sese Seko, the one-time army sergeant who plundered most of Zaire's mineral wealth, but who never built a single new school, clinic or hospital, clings to tenuous power.

Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the benign autocratic head of France's former West African colony of Ivory Coast for over three decades, died peacefully in his bed some months ago.

The "black Stalin of Africa", Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia, has been under virtual house arrest in a Zimbabwe state villa in Harare since he was toppled in 1992.

And yet another of Africa's dictatorial dinosaurs, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, now faces his own testing time.

But unlike the others, the fate of the 94-year-old Scots-trained former physician will be determined at the polls — in the first democratic elec-



IN EXILE ... dictator Idi Amin now lives in Saudi Arabia

tions in the former British colony since independence in 1964.

Dr Banda outlawed political opposition by declaring a one-party state and proclaimed himself leader for life.

And he could very well find himself nudged, albeit narrowly, back to power after the May 17 elections — thanks to what his aides refer to as the K-factor.

That's the Kenya factor which returned Daniel arap Moi to the presidency in the last elections despite widespread, deep-rooted hostility towards him personally and the corruption, mismanagement and state brutality that surrounds his leadership.

A myriad array of opposition movements, previously banned when Kenya



IN EXILE ... dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam lives in Harare

was a one-party state, sought to boot the one-time village schoolteacher out of State House.

But the opposition parties — haplessly organised, hopelessly underfunded, frequently harassed — ignored repeated pleas from human rights groups at home and governments abroad to forge a powerful alliance under one leader as a certain strategy to oust Mr Moi. They couldn't agree on a unified front, and Mr Moi stayed in State House.

In Malawi, eight opposition groups are also fragmented as they approach their first free elections since independence. Efforts to marshal them under a single banner has failed.



IN JAIL ... self-styled emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa is in prison

Banda loyalists contend their main fear is advanced senility and brain illness of their leader, resulting in his death before the poll.

But this week Dr Banda was back on his feet after suffering serious age-related problems with his legs.

Walking with some difficulty, but aided by his famous walking stick, he was welcomed by about 6 000 chanting Malawi Congress Party (MCP) supporters at Blantyre Airport.

Speaking from the open top of his limo, Dr Banda urged his supporters to vote for him and the MCP on May 17 "Vote for your Kamuzu and shut up all these other parties," he said.

At one point, Dr Banda's memory

seemed to have left him — he referred to the elections "next month".

But his minister of state John Tembo, who is also known as "Banda's Rasputin", is confident that Dr Banda's party will not be the losers.

"There will never be opposition strong enough to take on the Malawi Congress Party," he said.

Mr Tembo has wielded the reins of power from behind the scenes while amassing a vast multi-million dollar business empire. This, predictably, has made him most unpopular at home.

"(This (Banda's reign) was a wicked chapter that must be closed," says Mr Bakili Muluzi, a one-time magistrate's clerk and former detainee of Dr Banda's, who heads the biggest opposition, the United Democratic Front.

Some chapters have already been rewritten by the multi-party authority that has effectively governed the country since Malawians voted in a referendum for democratic elections.

Laws Dr Banda imposed reflecting his obsession with modern dress, morals, moves and books have been lifted. Youths can now sport long hair, previously forbidden. Women can wear shorts, slacks and miniskirts. Playboy magazines are available. — *Additional Reporting by Sapa-AFP-AP*

BIBay
16/5/94

Malawian opposition confident

BLANTYRE — Malawi opposition leader Bakili Muluzi, triumphantly cheered on by 60 000 ecstatic supporters, predicted on Saturday his party would sweep the country's landmark elections tomorrow

"We are left with only four days to vote our party, the United Democratic Front, to a landslide win and vote out President Banda," he declared at a rally in Blantyre.

Muluzi, a former secretary-general of Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP), scoffed at his former mentor, who has been the sole ruler of Malawi since independence in 1964

"Banda and the MCP criticise my party for promising free education, saying we won't have money to do this. When Banda returned to Malawi from Britain in 1958, did he bring money for the country's development in his suitcase?"

Political analysts say tomorrow's ballot for the presidency and 177 parliamentary seats is likely to be a close race between the UDF and MCP, both pro-Western and free marketeers. But the analysts stress it is difficult to make an informed judgment in the absence of opinion polls.

Analysts noted that although Muluzi drew one of the largest crowds seen in the country in recent years, southern Malawi was his power base (170)

Earlier on Saturday in Blantyre, Banda mustered only 5 000 people at a subdued ceremony to mark his official birthday.

Muluzi said the main priority of a UDF-led government would be to attack endemic poverty in the nation of 9.7-million people, 80% of whom eke out a grim living as small-scale farmers — Sapa-Reuter

Last post for Banda?

BLANTYRE — A parade to mark the official 88th birthday of Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda turned into what many saw as his political last post.

Several women in the crowd of 5 000 sobbed as Malawi's army band played the presidential salute. Others wiped away tears as Praised be the Hero of Malawi echoed in Kamuzu Stadium. *B. Day*

The crowd and the military parade were honouring Banda, who took the southern African state to independence from Britain 30 years ago but whose political future now looks painfully uncertain. *16/5/94*

Malawi's 9.7-million people vote tomorrow in the country's first post-independence pluralist elections, and some analysts predict Banda will lose to rebels who deserted his ruling Malawi Congress Party.

Banda's main rival, Bakili Muluzi, a former member of his Congress Party, attracted 60 000 people to a rally earlier on Saturday to close his campaign.

Maybe sensing defeat, Banda, the man known as "The Lion of Malawi" because of the harsh way he dealt with political rivals, devoted his speech to reconciliation. *(170)*

During Banda's heyday, human rights bodies allege, thousands of his rivals died or disappeared mysteriously as he fought to maintain one-party rule.

But on Saturday Malawians saw a different man from "The Conqueror" who once vowed to feed crocodiles with the bodies of opponents. — Sapa-Reuter.

Muluzi should emerge winner

Malawi election will signal 'end of Banda's rule'

Star 16/5/94

170

■ BY JASPER MORTIMER
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Blantyre — Malawians vote tomorrow in multiparty elections that are expected to produce a close finish, but with analysts predicting defeat for founder president Kamuzu Banda.

The front-runner in the campaign, which until recently was marred by stonings and intimidation, is farmer-businessman Bakili Muluzi.

The polls are the first democratic elections since independence in 1964, and are being closely watched by opposition parties in neighbouring Mozambique and Tanzania. Mozambique is due to hold its first free elections in October and Tanzania next year.

Malawian opinion polls are unreliable, but observers expect Muluzi to win the presidential race, and his United Democratic Front (UDF) to emerge the largest party in parliament.

Muluzi has drawn by far the largest crowds during rallies in recent weeks. More than 10 000 people cheered him when he

ANALYSTS predict a defeat for Banda in Malawi's first multiparty elections tomorrow



President Kamuzu Banda

closed his campaign with a rally in Blantyre on Saturday.

Unlike Banda, Muluzi hails from the south, where nearly half of Malawi's 9 million people live. He also profits from a widespread desire for change after 30 years of Malawi Congress Party (MCP) rule.

But the opposition vote will be split by two smaller parties, one led by the respected dissident Chakufwa Chihana.

The election debate was basically a tussle between the UDF, accusing the government of squandering funds on unnecessary projects, and the MCP emphasising its achievements.

Human rights was not an issue in the campaign, largely because of last year's referendum on multipartyism.

In a frail, faltering voice, Banda, believed to be in his nineties, ended his campaign with a radio broadcast on Friday night that listed the number of schools and hospitals his government had built.

The editor of the Financial Post, Al Osman, said the campaign had been "sadly lacking in substance". Parties had indulged in character assassination.

The foremost target has been Muluzi. A weekend newspaper ran a front-page picture of the UDF leader when, as a 23-year-old court clerk, he was jailed for embezzling six Malawian pounds in 1968.

Malawians have a choice for first time in 30 years

AS 16/5/74 (170)

□ Multi-party elections expected to produce close finish

JASPER MORTIMER
Argus Africa News Service

BLANTYRE — Malawians vote tomorrow in multi-party elections that are expected to produce a close finish but with knowledgeable analysts predicting defeat for founder president Kamuzu Banda

The front-runner in the campaign, which until recently was marred by stonings and intimidation, is the farmer-businessman Bakih Muluzi

The polls are the first democratic elections since independence in 1964, and are being closely watched by opposition parties in neighbouring Mozambique and Tanzania. Mozambique is due to hold its first free elections in October, and Tanzania in 1995

Malawian opinion polls are unreliable, but observers expect Mr Muluzi to win the presidential race, and his United Democratic Front (UDF) to emerge the largest party in parliament

Mr Muluzi has drawn by far the largest crowds. More than 10 000 people cheered him when he closed his campaign with a rally in Blantyre on Saturday

Unlike Dr Banda, Mr Muluzi hails from the south, where nearly half Malawi's nine million people live. He also profits from a widespread desire for



SUPPLICANTS: Malawians at a prayer meeting for peace in the run-up to tomorrow's elections that could end one-party rule after 30 years.

change after 30 years of Malawi Congress Party rule

But the opposition vote will be split by two other smaller parties, one led by the respected dissident, Chakufwa Chihana

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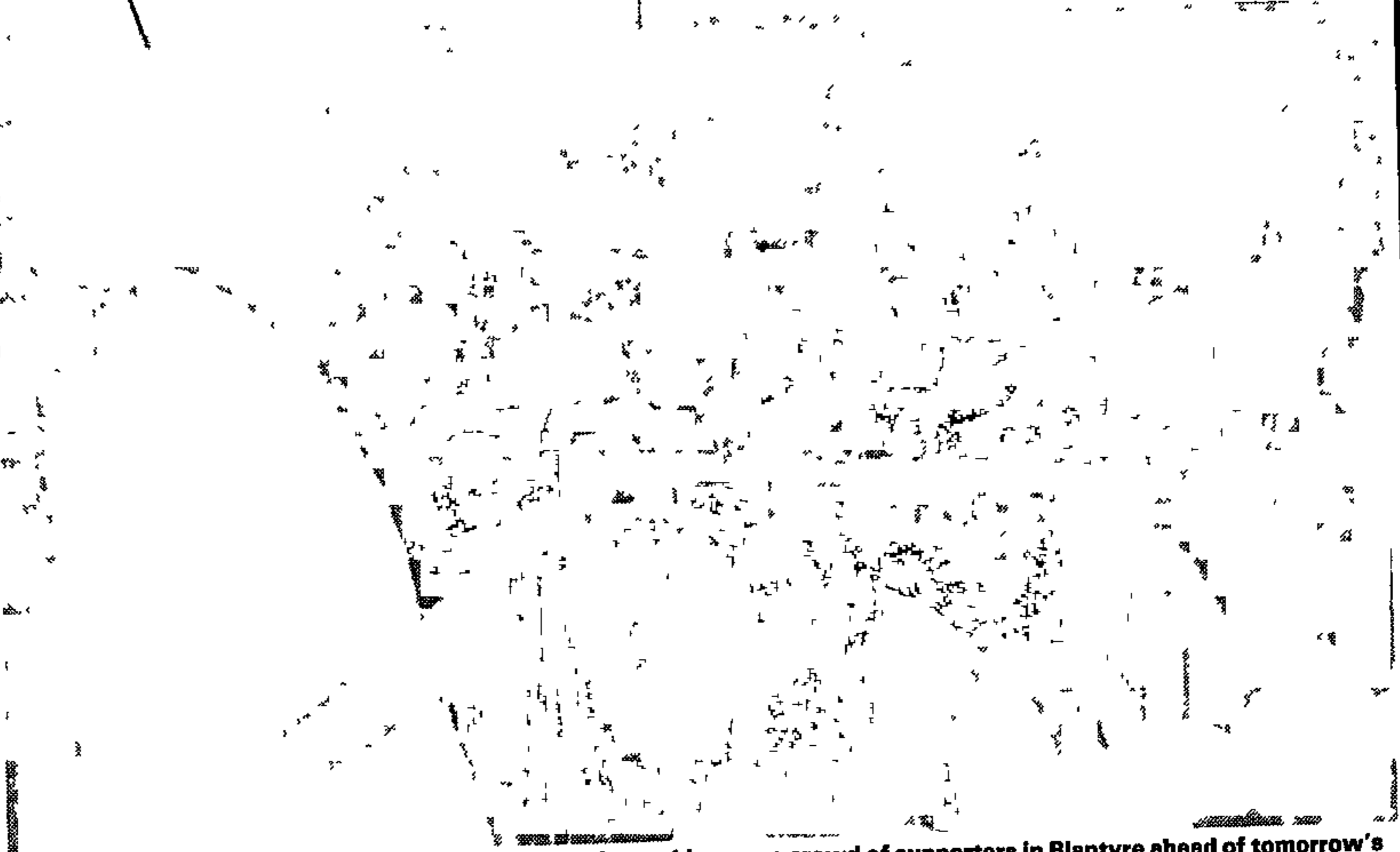
emphasising its achievements in a frail, faltering voice, Dr Banda, who is believed to be in his nineties, ended his campaign with a radio broadcast on Friday night that listed the number of clinics, schools and hospitals his government had built

Human rights was not an issue in the campaign, largely because since last year's referendum on multi-partyism it

has been elevated to the level of institutions

Today the parliament in Zomba is scheduled to pass a new constitution that overhauls civil rights legislation

The editor of the Financial Post, Al Osman, said the campaign had been "sadly lacking in substance". Parties had tended to indulge in character assassination



United Democratic Front of Malawi leader Bakili Muluzi addresses a crowd of supporters in Blantyre ahead of tomorrow's first multiparty elections in the country. Muluzi is widely tipped to oust President Kamuzu Banda Picture AP

Malawi election may end 30 years of Banda rule

ZOMBA — Malawi's one-party parliament approved an interim constitution yesterday, one day before the country's first democratic elections which threaten to topple veteran President Kamuzu Banda from power

Some 3.7-million people out of a population of 9.7-million are eligible to cast their ballots in the first multiparty poll today

Voting stations open at 6am in the elections for a president and expanded 177-seat parliament, and close at 6pm. Results are expected on Thursday

The new constitution, which comes into effect at midnight tonight, ran into opposition from some senior members of Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP), who described it as "half-baked" or a political manifesto

But the 141 members of the old legislature, meeting in special session, finally passed the Bill without a vote.

The constitution, which trims sweeping and absolute powers en-

joyed by Banda in the past 30 years of iron-fisted rule, is a provisional document subject to amendments within the next 12 months

It was worked out by an all-party panel earlier this year following Banda's legalisation of opposition parties, banned since 1966 in a crackdown on dissent

The ailing Banda, believed to be in his mid-90s, underwent brain surgery in SA last October

Political analysts said he could lose to the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF), a grouping of pro-democracy campaigners and MCP dissidents led by businessman Bakili Muluzi, 51

Muluzi is a former secretary-general of the MCP who was jailed in the 1960s on charges of stealing state funds. Thousands of Banda's opponents were jailed or disappeared during three decades of hardline rule

Besides the MCP and UDF, two other parties are contesting the presidential and parliamentary elections. They are the Alliance for Democracy headed by trade unionist

Chakufwa Chihana and the Malawi Democratic Party led by political scientist Kamlepo Kalua

During yesterday's two-hour debate in parliament, housed in Malawi's former capital Zomba, Foreign Minister Hetherwick Ntaba said the constitution had been rushed and was loaded with loopholes and political principles

Other members said it was half-baked, attacking its declarations to give free primary education. They said the new government might face a plethora of legal suits on behalf of children unless it fulfilled these promises

Most members who spoke expressed confidence that the MCP could still win the polls, forced on Banda by the pro-democracy campaign and a 1992 cut-off of vital economic aid by Western donors to try to speed up political reforms

Defence Minister Gen John Mponela pledged that the armed forces were ready to protect all citizens during and after balloting — Sapa-
Reuter

Banda tipped to bow out in first democratic election

Malawians flock to polls today

BY JASPER MORTIMER
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Blantyre — Millions of Malawians are expected to vote today in the country's first democratic elections, which are likely to oust longtime president Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

Yesterday, lawmakers of the ruling Malawi Congress Party unanimously accepted a new constitution, effectively ending 30 years of one-party rule



Star

Debate

There was little debate as parliament rubber-stamped the constitution, completing a formality that had to be finalised before voters went to the polls

In addition to permitting opposition political parties, the constitution abolishes scores of repressive laws, including those allowing detention without charge

Absent . . . an empty chair marks the spot where President Banda was to sit at the final session of the one-party parliament in Zomba yesterday.

PICTURE AP

The leading opposition candidate, tobacco farmer Bakili Muluzi, has said he expects the polling to be free and fair. His only concern was that Malawi Young Pioneers, the paramilitary arm of the ruling party, might try to disrupt the poll

Rumours have circulated for weeks that the Pioneers, who fled to Mozambique after the army used force to disarm them last year, would wreak vengeance on election day. In a broadcast last night, Banda called on the police and

the army to protect the voters

"I appeal to all Malawians to prove to the world that we are politically mature and that we can behave like civilised ladies and gentlemen," said the president, who in last year's referendum campaigned against the introduction of multipartyism

A Commonwealth observer group spokesman said yesterday that he expected a high turnout among the nearly 4 million voters. There was widespread enthusiasm and awareness of the elections

"The playing field is as level as it can be under the circumstances," the spokesman said. After 30 years of one-party rule, the difference between the state and the Malawi Congress Party was not always clear

Observers expect Muluzi, a Muslim in a Christian-dominated country, to win as he has drawn the largest crowds and hails

from the south, the most heavily populated region

He has campaigned for raising farmers' prices and free primary education

But the president, who left most campaigning to his lieutenants because of his advanced age and faltering voice, might do well in rural areas where he still enjoys respect as the country's developer

Unionist

The third-ranked candidate is thought to be Chakufwa Chihana, the ex-trade unionist whose return from exile two years ago stimulated the popular push for democracy

Analysts say his campaign suffered from focusing on personalities of rivals, and his roots in the north

First results are expected tomorrow

170

Malawians brave the cold to vote

BLANTYRE — Malawians, braving wintry cold, trooped to polling stations by donkey cart, bicycle, foot or any way they could, to vote in landmark elections. (170)

"We slept here because we want to vote. This is a chance of a lifetime," said John Malata, shivering outside Chigumula polling station, 15km from Malawi's commercial capital Blantyre, where he slept to be near the head of the queue. ARG 17/5/94

Thousands of people in an upbeat mood queued with him, chatting, laughing and waiting to cast ballots in the southern African country's first multi-party parliamentary and presidential elections since independence from Britain in 1964.

Kamuzu Banda, formerly life president and now a candidate

for re-election in spite of brain surgery last year, banned all opposition and jailed scores of opponents shortly when he came to power 30 years ago.

Malawians, after a period of political unrest, voted overwhelmingly last year to lift one-party rule.

In Lilongwe, the capital further north, and in Blantyre hundreds of thousands jostled to be the first in line.

"I don't care how long it takes but I will vote," Catherine Mulazu said outside a Lilongwe polling station. She and half a dozen other people had arrived there in a donkey cart.

Journalists reported long queues outside polling booths across the nation of 9.7 million people, 3.7 million of whom have registered to vote.

In Limbe, Blantyre's twin

city, United Nations and other international monitors mingled freely with jubilant Malawian voters in the morning mist.

Hours after voting kicked off in Malawi, there were no reports of violence although President Banda said overnight he had heard there had been some shooting in the southern district of Sanje. He gave no details and police declined comment.

Anastasia Msosa, head of the independent electoral commission supervising the polls, said "We don't know anything about the incident. Maybe later in the day we may give you a better picture."

The commission condemned what it said were violations of the electoral code by some parties but did not elaborate — Sapa-Reuter

INTERNATIONAL NEWS Close finish expected in Malawi poll • Human rights probe

Banda could lose first fair elections

Sowetan

#15194

BLANTYRE — Malawians vote today in multiparty elections that are expected to produce a close finish but with knowledgeable analysts predicting defeat for founder-President Kamuzu Banda.

The front-runner in the campaign, which until recently was marred by stonings and intimidation, is farmer-businessman Mr Bakili Muluzi

The polls are the first democratic elections since independence in 1964, and are being closely watched by opposition parties in neighbouring Mozambique and Tanzania. Mozambique is due to hold its first free elections in October, and Tanzania in 1995. Malawian opinion polls are unreliable, but observers expect Muluzi to win the presidential race, and his United Democratic Front to emerge the largest party in parliament. Muluzi has drawn by far the largest

■ BIGGEST DRAW Front-runner is farmer-businessman Bakili Muluzi:

crowds. More than 10 000 people cheered him when he closed his campaign with a rally in Blantyre on Saturday. (170)

Change

Unlike Banda, Muluzi hails from the south, where nearly half Malawi's 9 million people live. He also profits from a widespread desire for change after 30 years of Malawi Congress Party rule.

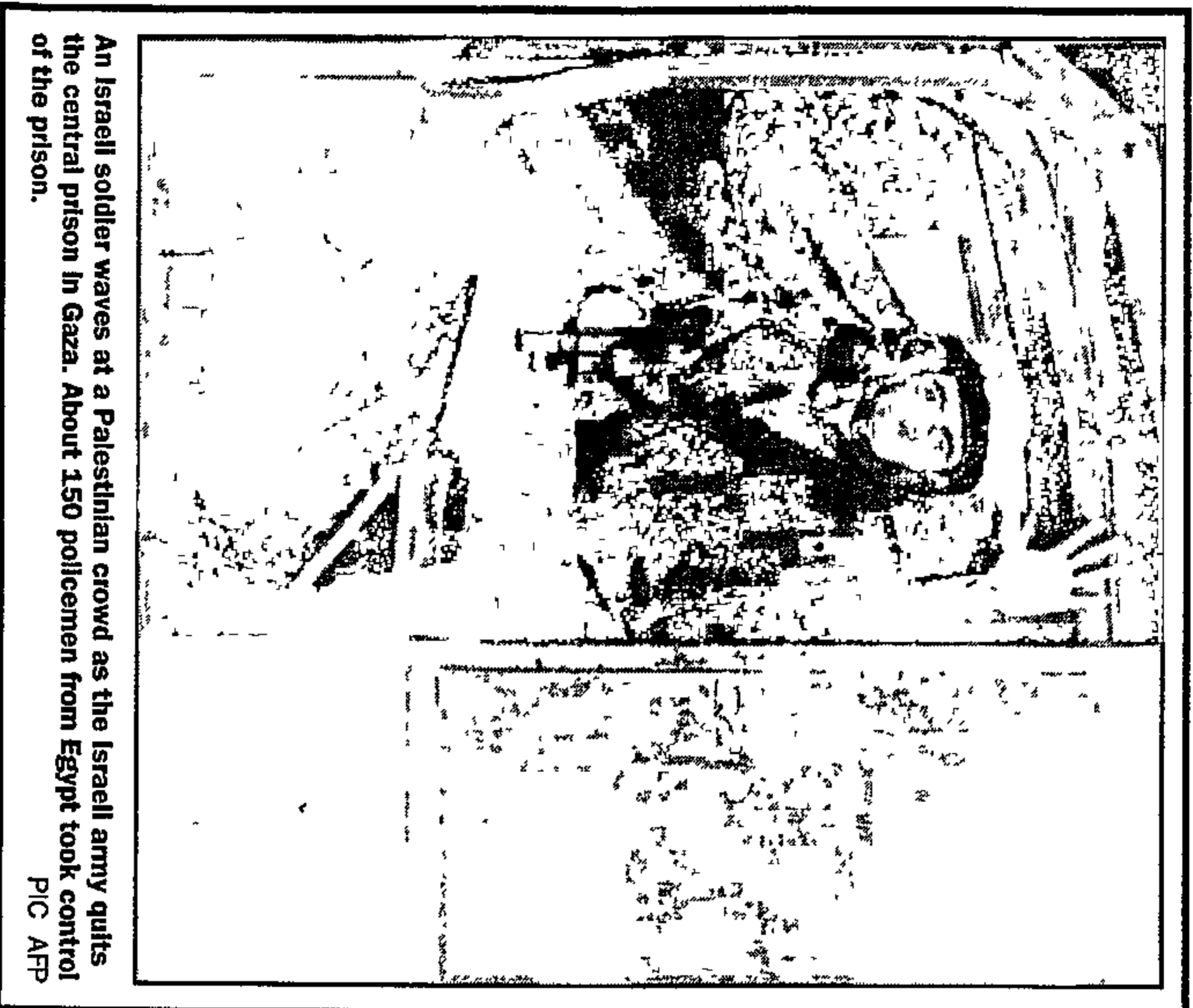
But the opposition vote will be split by two other smaller parties, one led by the respected dissident, Mr Chakufwa Chihana. The electoral debate was basically

a tussle between the UDF, accusing the government of squandering funds on unnecessary projects, and the MCP emphasising its achievements.

In a frail, faltering voice, Banda, who is believed to be in his nineties, ended his campaign with a radio broadcast on Friday night that listed the number of clinics, schools and hospitals his government had built.

Human rights was not an issue in the campaign, largely because it has been elevated to the level of institutions.

Yesterday the parliament in Zomba was scheduled to pass a new constitution that overhauls civil rights legislation — Sowetan Africa News Agency



An Israeli soldier waves at a Palestinian crowd as the Israeli army quits the central prison in Gaza. About 150 policemen from Egypt took control of the prison. PIC AFP

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Foreign Minister Jerome Bicamumpaka, centre, talks to Rwanda's ambassador to the UN, Jean-Damascene Bizimana, left, as political affairs director Jean Bosco Barayagwiza listens in prior to a UN vote yesterday

Picture AP

Malawians cast their votes in first democratic election

BLANTYRE — Malawians voted yesterday in their country's first democratic election, choosing a new president and government to end 30 years of one-party rule and start the country on the road to recovery from poverty and isolation

"We feel very high, because this is our chance to select the government we want," said 40-year-old Burton Chimwaza, one of about 1 000 people who waited in line in the cold, misty morning to vote at a Blantyre suburban primary school

Chimwaza was 10 years old when Malawi gained independence from Britain and fell into the iron grip of Kamuzu Banda. Little has changed since then except Banda's power, which became greater as his eccentricities became more intrusive on daily life

Banda's Malawi Congress Party is one of eight contesting the vote for 177 parliament seats and the presidency. Opponents have vowed to improve life for Malawi's 8.5-million people, and that should not be too difficult

One of the world's poorest countries, labourers earn an average of \$15 a month. Illiteracy is 60% and life expectancy 48 years. An estimated 30% of urban dwellers carry the virus that causes AIDS

Banda assumed absolute power at independence in 1964, banning opposition. He was accused of torturing those who

spoke against him and imposed laws that allowed detention without charge or trial.

Banda refuses to give his age, but he is believed to be in his 90s. He underwent brain surgery last year.

One of Banda's former cabinet ministers, Bakili Muluzi of the United Democratic Front, is expected to beat Banda for the presidency. The other possible contenders are Chakufwa Chihana of the Alliance for Democracy and Kamlepo Kalua of the Malawi Democratic Party.

Most of the politicians have shady pasts, but the election is more about ending Banda's rule than any particular issues.

Banda, a medical doctor trained in the US and Britain, named himself president for life in 1971. He was forced to call these elections after 1992 riots over the detention of Chihana, a popular opposition figure, killed more than 20 people and prompted foreign donors to freeze aid

Results are expected tomorrow

Banda's Malawi Congress Party did little to develop Malawi, instead propping up party faithful into a privileged middle class. "Some of us wished we went back to colonialism," said voter Goodwin Jere, 49, recalling the country's deterioration.

Banda's election opponents have vowed to build schools, houses and hospitals and to exploit the country's mineral wealth — Sapa-AP

Worried

Muluzi leads poll in Malawi

Star 18/5/64

BY JASPER MORTIMER
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Blantyre — Malawi has voted for change, with partial election results suggesting that the next president will be tobacco farmer Bakili Muluzi.

He was leading President Hastings Kamuzu Banda by as much as five to one in the south, where nearly half the electorate lives (170).

Significantly, the challenger was also winning in some districts in the centre, Banda's home region. Returns from the north, which has the fewest voters, favoured Chakufwa Chihana, the dissident who played a seminal role in the campaign for democracy.

This morning, the returns were too incomplete to say whether Muluzi's United Democratic Front would get a majority in the 177-seat parliament. But Muluzi has said he is prepared to form an alliance with Chihana's Aford party.

Foreign observers said the polls were free and fair, although the campaign has been marred by chiefs and traditional dancers harassing voters on behalf of Banda's Malawi Congress Party. All regions reported high turnout.

A major concern in the Blantyre area was that ballot boxes should be seen to be empty before voting began. One president



Day of reckoning . . . a young Malawian deposits her ballot under the watchful eye of a local monitor at the Chitauira polling station in Malawi's capital Blantyre. Millions of Malawians went to the polls yesterday in the first multiparty election since 1964

PICTURE AP

P.T.O.

Muluzi leads Malawi poll

◀ From Page 1

ing officer had to open the boxes in front of the public. (170)

Dissatisfaction with Banda's 30-year, one-party rule was personified by the case of Flores Chilewani, a 45-year-old mother of seven children who said she was voting for the first time.

"I didn't vote (in the one-party elections) because there was intimidation and I wasn't happy with the government."

She expected the elections to bring "freedom and jobs".

The depth of the disenchantment with Banda was shown by the number of civil servants who openly admitted to voting for the opposition. "The government was treating us cruelly," said Manfred Gombwa, a clerk in the Department of Lands and Valuation.

Staff at the state news agency said they had heard Banda did not vote, even in his Blantyre palace.

Muluzi, a Muslim in a Christian-dominated country, drew the largest crowds on a ticket of crop-price rises and free primary education. He profited from being the only presidential candidate from the heavily-populated south.

Final results are expected late today.

Malawians join the march to democracy

BLANTYRE — Ragged, but full of hope, Malawians straggled from their impoverished villages yesterday to vote in the first multi-party election since independence three decades ago.

(170) CT 18/5/94
They were expected to oust President Kamuzu Banda, the self-proclaimed life leader who has ruled for 30 years, but failed to develop his country, one of the world's poorest.

Mounting calls for democracy, backed by Western donors who froze desperately needed aid, forced President Banda to hold the election. Africa's longest-serving dictator, he governed through terror and intimidation, rejecting charges of human rights abuses by saying his people wanted leadership in the tra-

ditional autocratic African style.

But many voters yesterday said they wanted change.

"I'm excited," said Mr Willie Zingani, 40, a journalist who was detained without trial several times. "It's a right I want to be part and parcel of my destiny."

At rural polling stations, voters illustrated the abject poverty in which they live. Most had torn clothes and missing teeth, such as Ms Falice Kubala, 66, who said she wanted "new things."

Former Banda cabinet minister Mr Bakili Muluzi of the United Democratic Front is favored to win after campaigning widely among the largely rural, illiterate population. — Sapa-AP

(70)
ARCT 18/5/94
Muluzi
in big
early lead
in Malawi

Argus Africa News Service

BLANTYRE. — Tobacco farmer Bakili Muluzi appeared to be trouncing President Kamuzu Banda in Malawi's first democratic election as early results came in today.

With seven percent of the votes counted from a wide variety of districts, Mr Muluzi had polled 177 000 votes, Dr Banda 75 000 and Chakufwa Chihana 10 000.

Several rural districts in Dr Banda's home central region had not reported by mid-morning, but Mr Muluzi's lead looked unchallengable.

Mr Muluzi was outpolling Dr Banda by as much as five to one in the south, where nearly half the electorate live. Significantly, the challenger was also winning in some central districts.

Final results are expected later today.

Returns from the north, which contains the fewest voters, gave the lead to Chihana, the dissident who played a seminal role in the campaign for democracy.

By mid-morning the returns were too incomplete to say whether Muluzi's United Democratic Front would get a majority in the 177-seat parliament. But Muluzi has said he is prepared to form an alliance with Chihana's AFORD party.

Joy in Malawi as people vote

Sowetan

18/5/94

■ **UPBEAT MOOD** One-party state for after 30 years may be nearing the end:

BLANTYRE, Malawi — Malawians braving wintry cold trooped to polling stations by donkey cart, bicycle, on foot or any way they could yesterday to vote in landmark elections

"We slept here because we want to vote. This is a chance of a lifetime," said John Malata, shivering outside Chigumula polling station, 15km from Malawi's commercial capital Blantyre, where he slept to be near the head of the queue

Thousands of people in an upbeat mood queued with him, chatting, laughing and waiting to cast ballots in the Southern African country's first multiparty parliamentary and presidential elections since independence from Britain in 1964

President Kamuzu Banda, formerly life president and now a candidate for re-election despite having undergone brain surgery last year, banned all opposition and jailed scores of opponents shortly after he came to power 30 years ago

Malawians, after a period of political un-

rest, voted overwhelmingly last year to lift one-party rule.

In Lilongwe, the capital further north, and in Blantyre hundreds of thousands jostled to be the first in line

"I don't care how long it takes but I will vote," Catherine Mulazu said outside a Lilongwe polling station. She and half a dozen other people had arrived there in a donkey cart. Local journalists reported long queues outside polling booths across the nation of 9.7 million people, 3.7 million of whom have registered to vote

Hours after voting kicked off in Malawi, there were no reports of violence, although Banda said overnight he had heard there had been some shooting in the southern district of Sanje. He gave no details and police declined comment

Anastasia Msosa, head of the independent Electoral Commission supervising the polls, said "We don't know anything about the incident. Maybe later in the day we may give you a better picture" — Sapa-Reuter

Malawi opposition sweeps into the lead

BLANTYRE — The main opposition parties in Malawi's first free elections swept parliamentary races in their regional strongholds and businessman Bakili Muluzi looked set to end the reign of President-for-life Hastings Kamuzu Banda, preliminary results indicated yesterday

Election officials said vote counting after Tuesday's election had been suspended in some remote regions until today because of transportation problems as a result of heavy rains and fuel shortages

State radio reported that the opposition Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) had won

all 33 seats in its northern stronghold

Muluzi's United Democratic Front (UDF) won nearly 70 of the 76 parliamentary seats up for election in the populous south, said Mike Nambote, a member of the party's election monitoring task force

"Indications are that the UDF is leading in both presidential and parliamentary elections and is likely to form the majority in parliament," Nambote said

Radio reports said Banda's Malawi Congress Party had failed to take all 68 seats in its own stronghold, the central region, with the UDF having taken 15 so far

1915/94
Nambote said that initial results from the presidential race indicated that Muluzi was ahead with 170 000 votes, followed by Banda with 95 000 and Chakufwa Chihana of AFORD with 74 000 (170)

Most of Banda's ministers from the south and north lost their parliamentary seats, the partial results indicate But Vice-president Gwanda Chakuamba and John Tembo, an influential minister of state, won two of the 177 parliamentary seats being contested

In the opposition, all presidential running mates lost their races — Sapa-AFP



Next leader . . . Bakili Muluzi votes in Ntaja, his home village.

PICTURE AFP

Muluzi rides the ^{Star 19/5/94} democracy wave

The man likely to be Malawi's next president is something of an odd-ball Bakili Muluzi, 49 this year, is a Muslim in a Christian-dominated, not to say Roman Catholic, country

He has an old conviction for theft in a land where the outward manifestations of correctness, such as conventional dress and old-fashioned manners, are still highly valued

He is a former secretary-general of the ruling Malawi Congress Party and yet appears set to oust his former boss, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, from the presidency

He is also a southerner who plans to move the parliament from the southern city of Zomba to Lilongwe in the central region

None of this appears to have hurt his campaign. In fact, judging by the 10 000-strong crowds he drew, the people like the barrel-chested man who addresses them in Chichewa in comparison to Banda's speaking in English, and who wears an open-necked yellow shirt, against Banda's three-piece suit

"Malawians have lived under very heavy repression for a long time," Muluzi said in his spacious bungalow the day before Malawi's first democratic election

"It is really amazing that things should have changed so rapidly"

'Food for crocodiles'

It was a little more than two years ago, March 1992, that the Catholic bishops published their open letter criticising the violation of human rights. The next month the exiled trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana flew home and was put straight into prison. Banda had warned he would be "food for the crocodiles"

In May a strike in Blantyre turned into anti-government riots. A rumour swept the city that Chihana had died in detention. The Paris Club suspended all non-humanitarian aid to Malawi, pending political reform

Banda tried to carry on regardless, holding one-party elections in June. But the pressure was sustained. Political parties such as Chihana's Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) and Muluzi's United Democratic Front (UDF) set up shop despite prohibition

Finally, in June 1993, Banda allowed a referendum on multipartyism. He campaigned against it and lost

Muluzi has ridden the crest of the democratic wave. Observers say he overtook Chihana for two reasons. First, this son of a driver with the King's African Rifles hails from the south, where nearly half of Malawi's

SUPREME ruler Hastings Banda looks set for an enforced retirement, reports Jasper Mortimer of The Star Africa Service

170

9 million people live. He was born in a village called Kapoloma in the tobacco and maize district of Machinga, about 110 km north-east of Blantyre

Second, he ran a more policy-orientated campaign than any other candidate. Chihana, who comes from the north, often indulged in mud-slinging. And Banda, who hails from the central region and is believed to be in his nineties, left it to his lieutenants to promise more of the same in development

Crowds cheered when Muluzi reminded them during the election campaign of Banda's 13 palatial houses and the current construction of Malawi's third Reserve Bank building. Muluzi said his government would sell most of the state residences, turning that in Lilongwe into a bigger parliament building

However, sound allocation demands more than selling off Banda's extravagances. What, for instance, does Muluzi intend by his "poverty alleviation programme"?

Two things, he responded. Encourage small-scale agro-industries and raise crop prices. He is a farmer himself

He also promises universal, free primary education in three years. The MCP says this is over-ambitious, the schools are already overcrowded

"We have to begin somewhere," Muluzi retorted. He claims his target could be achieved "with a crash programme" of building schools and training teachers

South African investors will be pleased to know that, for all his populist talk, Muluzi is pro-business. Not only does he have extensive trading interests, but one of his UDF lieutenants owns a ball-bearing franchise and another runs a major bus company

When a Zimbabwean journalist asked if he would heed the "dictates" of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, Muluzi replied: "There is no other way"

He would also be careful about raising wages. "We have to look at the whole economic situation"

As for Banda, he comments: "The man is 96, let him go and rest"

Malawians reject Banda

Star 19/5/94

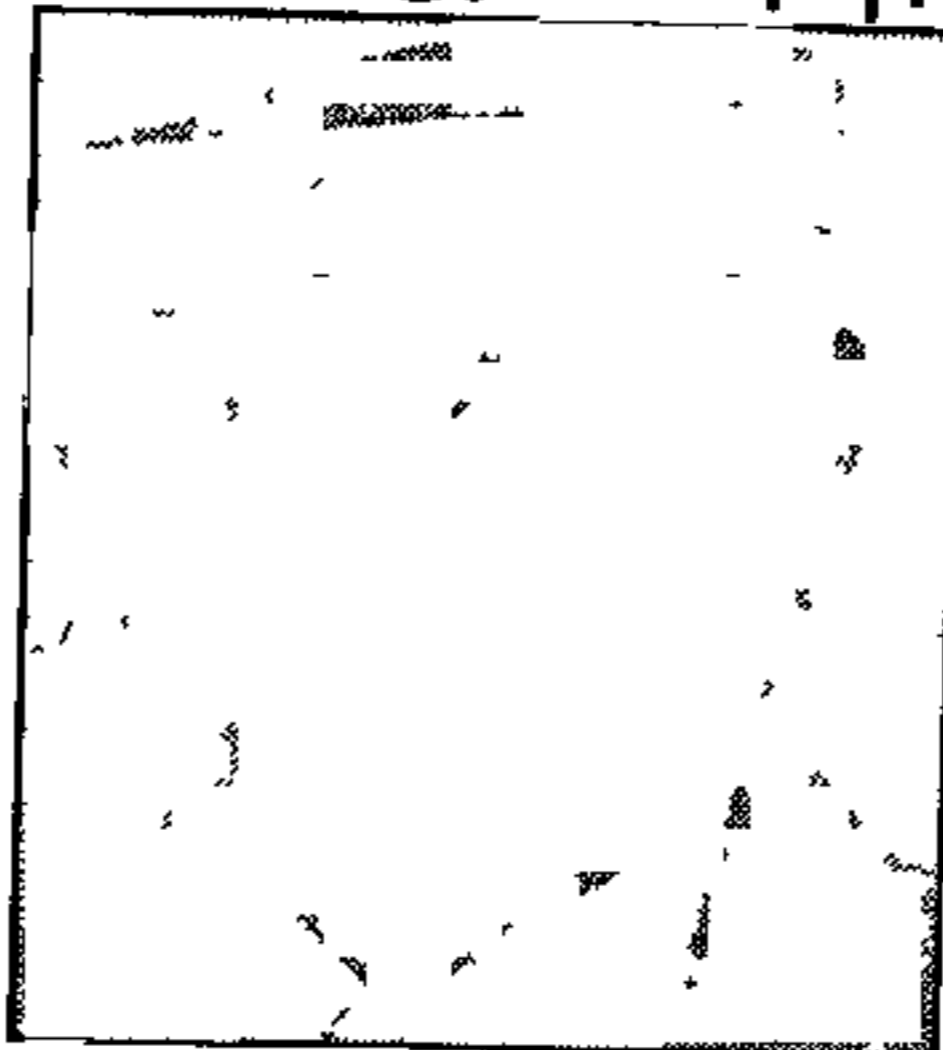
■ BY JASPER MORTIMER
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Blantyre — Malawians have overwhelmingly rejected President Kamuzu Banda, but could have failed to elect a majority government, substantive returns showed last night

With about half the votes counted, farmer-businessman Bakili Muluzi had polled 962 000 votes, Chakufwa Chihana 437 000 and Banda 418 000

Muluzi's United Democratic Front had won 56 seats in the 177-seat parliament, Chihana's Alliance For Democracy (Aford) 32, and Banda's Malawi Congress Party 25 according to provisional results

UDF secretary-general Harry Thomson said it was touch and go whether the party would gain the 89 seats required for a ma-



Loser . . . but Kamuzu Banda still won 418 000 votes.

(170)

majority, "but there is such a thing as a minority government"

Muluzi has said he would be willing to negotiate an alliance with Aford, but Chihana has so far not responded positively

A major concern is that the voting went along regional and

tribal lines. The UDF has virtually swept the south, Muluzi's home region. Aford has won every seat in the north, which is home to Chihana. And the MCP has done best in the centre, Banda's native region.

The north's voting solidly Aford worries the UDF, Thomson said

"When we form a government, what do we do with the north? We will need to have some representation from the north in our Cabinet"

Malawians took the results calmly, smiling broadly as the radio announced Muluzi's outpolling Banda by five to one in some constituencies

A hotel worker, who did not want to be named, said while people still loved Banda as the developer of the nation, his MCP had been cruel

► **Muluzi rides democracy wave - Page 19**

Banda defeated at polls

C.T. 19/5/94
(170)

BLANTYRE — President Kamuzu Banda, who has ruled Malawi as a one-party state for 30 years, has been defeated in the country's first democratic elections.

By last night Mr Bakili Muluzi of the United Democratic Front had received 960 000 votes in the presidential election, compared with Dr Banda's 418 000

In the parliamentary election, the UDF had taken 74 seats compared with 56 won by Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party

The Alliance for Democracy had won 36 seats. The results of 11 constituencies were still outstanding

Joyous citizens clutching black roosters, the symbol of the ruling party, began celebrating the end of the country's dictatorship yesterday as results showed Dr Banda headed for defeat

The UDF will be the strongest party in the new 177-seat parliament, but will be forced to form a coalition government.

"I feel overwhelmed to have defeated a system that has been there for 30 years. It's not easy in Africa," Mr Muluzi said.

The Commonwealth Observer Group declared — probably prematurely — the vote was "free and fair" and that they had few reports of intimidation or violence. Dr Banda has said he will abide by the result — The Telegraph plc London, Sapa-AP

PRESIDENT-IN-WAITING

Muluzi of Malawi

A barrel-chested Muslim farmer stops the Banda-wagon in its tracks

JASPER MORTIMER of The Argus Africa News Service reports from Blantyre

April 19/5/94

(17b)

THE man who will be Malawi's next president is something of an odd-ball Bakili Muluzi, 49 this year, is a Muslim in a Christian-dominated, not to say Roman Catholic country.

He has an old conviction for theft in a land where the outward manifestations of correctness, such as conventional dress and old-fashioned manners, are still highly valued.

He is former secretary-general of the ruling Malawi Congress Party and yet has beaten his former boss, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, in this week's election and is set to replace him as president.

He is also a southerner who plans to move the parliament from the southern city of Zomba to Lilongwe in the central region.

None of this appears to have hurt his campaign. In fact, judging by the 10 000-strong crowds he drew, the people like the barrel-chested man who addresses them in Chichewa, in comparison to Dr Banda's speaking in English, and who wears an open-necked yellow shirt, against Dr Banda's three-piece suit.

"Malawians have lived under very heavy repression for a long time," Mr Muluzi said in his spacious bungalow the day before Malawi's first democratic elections.

"It is really amazing that things should have changed so rapidly."

"We are talking about the allocation of resources to productive areas," Mr Muluzi said, distinguishing his plans from those of Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party. "The difference between my government and that of MCP is that we would want to use money properly."

Crowds cheered when Mr Muluzi reminded them during the election campaign of Dr Banda's 13 palatial houses and the current construction of Malawi's third Reserve Bank building. Mr Muluzi said his government would sell most of the state



"WE'VE WON!": United Democratic Front leader Bakili Muluzi celebrates his election victory with supporters at his party's regional offices in Blantyre

residences, turning the one in Lilongwe into a bigger parliament building.

However, sound allocation demands more than selling off Dr Banda's extravagances. What, for instance, does Mr Muluzi intend by his "poverty alleviation programme"?

Two things, he responded. Encourage small-scale agro-industries and raise crop prices.

"The price which the government has offered to farmers is far less than the input cost. I'm a farmer myself, I can tell you."

Mr Muluzi grows maize and tobacco on four farms covering a total of 400 hectares.

He also promises universal, free primary education in three years. The MCP says this is over-ambitious, the schools are already overcrowded.

"We have to begin somewhere," Mr Muluzi retorted. He claims his target could be achieved "with a crash programme" of building schools and training teachers.

South African investors will be pleased to know that for all his populist talk, Mr Muluzi is pro-business. Not only does he have extensive trading interests, but one of his UDF lieutenants owns a ball-bearing franchise and another runs a major bus company.

When a Zimbabwean journalist asked if he would heed the "dictates" of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, Mr Muluzi replied "There is no other way. They are our development partners."

He would also be careful about raising wages. "We have to look at the whole economic situation." Critics charge that the real Mu-

luzi is a shady character. Taxi drivers talk of his profiting from sugar shortages. Members of other parties ask journalists if in the West a convicted thief could become president.

The MCP accuses him of hypocrisy. How can a man who served Dr Banda, rising to be party secretary-general until 1983, now attack the president for his mansions and helicopter?

"I must tell you, the way the government was run it was total autocracy. Banda was actually the sole man who gave directions. I don't accept that because I was in government I was part and parcel of those over-expenditures."

As to his 1968 conviction for stealing six Malawian pounds while working as a Lilongwe court clerk, Mr Muluzi said the smear makes him laugh.

"After that the government gave me a scholarship to go to Denmark, to go to England (where he studied at Huddersfield educational college). I came back I became a deputy principal of a technical school. I became an MP. I served as Minister of Education, as secretary-general. Okay, these people can raise this question today. I wonder why they didn't raise it when I was a minister."

But Mr Muluzi strained credibility in the interview when he said of the embezzlement "I can't even remember what happened."

If he cannot remember, one newspaper has tried its best to remind him, publishing a front-page photo of prisoner CRO 4517/68 holding his number.

As to the sugar allegation, Mr Muluzi acknowledges he was the sole distributor in the early 1980s, but denies he ever exported sugar and adds that his monopoly did not last long.

If he becomes president, he said he would proceed against Dr Banda only according to the rule of law.

Cheering as Banda concedes poll defeat

ARG 19/5/94

□ Ageing leader offers full support to successor

JASPER MORTIMER
Argus Africa News Service

BLANTYRE. — President Kamuzu Banda today conceded defeat in both the presidential and parliamentary elections in Malawi and offered his full support to his successor, United Democratic Front leader Bakili Muluzi

Minutes after Dr Banda had conceded in a national radio broadcast, people cheered and car horns blared in the streets of Blantyre as opposition supporters began celebrating.

With some results still outstanding, it was clear that Malawians had overwhelmingly rejected Dr Banda

But it seemed likely that Mr Muluzi would fail to get a clear

majority in parliament and might have to seek a coalition with Chakufwa Chihana's Alliance for Democracy, which was running second

Speaking in a ponderously slow voice on the radio, Dr Banda said that though the final results were not in there was every indication that Mr Muluzi was the clear winners

"I wish to congratulate him wholeheartedly for his victory," he said "May I offer him my full support and co-operation as he takes over the presidency.

"I wish to assure him that the Malawi Congress Party will work with the United Democratic Front government in building a better, democratic Malawi

"Personally, I wish to thank all Malawians for having allowed me to be your leader for the past 31 years

"You listened to me when I required you to uphold the four cornerstones of the Malawi Congress Party, namely, unity, loyalty, obedience and discipline"

With about half the votes counted, farmer-businessman Mr Muluzi had polled 962 000 votes, Mr Chihana 437 000, and Mr Banda 418 000, Malawi radio said

Mr Muluzi's United Democratic Front had won 56 seats in the 177-seat parliament, Mr Chihana's Alliance For Democracy 32 and Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party 25, according to the radio's provisional results

Malawi president ● Securities scandal

Banda set to take trouncing

Sowetan 19/5/94

■ **HIGH TURNOUT** Farmer Muluzi

looks unchallengeable after early results:

BLANTYRE — Tobacco farmer Mr Bakili Muluzi appeared to be trouncing President Kamuzu Banda in Malawi's first democratic election as the early results came in yesterday

With 7 percent of the votes counted from a wide variety of districts, Muluzi had polled 177 000 votes, Banda 75 000 and Mr Chakufwa Chihana 10 000

Several rural districts in Banda's native central region had not reported by mid-morning. But Muluzi's lead looked unchallengeable

Muluzi was outpolling Banda by as much as five to one in the south, where nearly half the electorate live. Significantly, the challenger was also winning in some central districts

Returns from the north, which contains the fewest voters, gave the lead to Chihana, the dissident who played a seminal role in the campaign for democracy

By mid-morning the returns were too incomplete to say whether Muluzi's United Democratic Front would get a majority in the 177-seat parliament. But Muluzi has said

(170)
he was prepared to form an alliance with Chihana's Aford party

Foreign observers said the polls had been free and fair. Earlier the campaign was marred by chiefs and traditional dancers harassing voters on behalf of Banda's Malawi Congress Party

All parts of the country reported high turnouts

A major concern in the Blantyre area was that ballot boxes were seen to be empty. At Nyambadwe primary school the presiding officer began the day by opening the boxes only in front of party agents

Voters outside shouted "The boxes are full", presiding officer Mr George Gondwe recalled. The people then refused to vote

After more shouting, Gondwe reopened the boxes in public. They contained only the 13 ballots of the polling staff and party agents

At another station in the afternoon an official held fresh boxes upside down in front of the crowd, but was still greeted by shouts of "We want to see" — *Argus Africa News Service*

Muluzi set to head Malawi

■ BY JASPER MORTIMER
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Blantyre — Malawians celebrated the defeat of President Kamuzu Banda late into last night, but results indicated the new president would not have a parliamentary majority. *Star*

With more than 95 percent of the votes counted, the United Democratic Front of president-elect Bakili Muluzi had 86 seats — three short of an absolute majority. *20/5/94*

Banda's Malawi Congress Party had 55 seats and Chakufwa Chihana's Alliance for Democracy 36, according to the Malawi Radio's electoral team

Provisional tallies in the presidential race gave Muluzi 49 percent of the vote, Banda 29 percent and Chihana 22 percent

At a press conference yesterday afternoon, Muluzi said he would not hesitate to approach Chihana to form an alliance, if necessary. *(170)*

"He is a friend of mine. We have fought together in this exercise," Muluzi said, referring to the two-year campaign for democracy

Muluzi said his priorities would be the alleviation of poverty and the improvement of health care and education

Asked how he would treat Banda, whose 30-year rule was marked by severe repression, Muluzi paid tribute to Banda as the founder of the nation

There would be no witch-hunt, Muluzi said

Banda admits defeat in multi-party poll

(170)

CT 20/5/94

BLANTYRE — President Kamuzu Banda, who has ruled Malawi for three decades, bowed out gracefully yesterday in favour of Muslim businessman Mr Bakili Muluzi after the country's first multi-party elections.

Mr Muluzi, leader of the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF), had emerged the winner of Tuesday's presidential poll. Dr Banda conceded in a state radio broadcast before official results were released.

News of Mr Muluzi's victory brought hundreds of chanting and car-hooting UDF supporters out on to the streets here.

"This is the real freedom we have been waiting for," labourer Mr Kondwani Phiri said as he downed his tools and rushed to the UDF headquarters here. "We have finally shown Banda the exit door."

Calm and magnanimous in defeat, Dr Banda, who is officially 89 but believed to be well into his 90s, said "I wish him well as he takes up the challenging assignment as president of Malawi."

"I wish to assure him that (my) Malawi Congress Party will work with the UDF government in



CELEBRATION Malawians sing and dance in the streets of the capital Blantyre yesterday after hearing the concession speech of long-time ruler President Kamuzu Banda.

Picture AP

building a better democratic Malawi." Dr Banda added that he would offer Mr Muluzi his full support and co-operation.

Mr Muluzi, 51, has promised a change of style, with the fight against poverty his main aim.

Incomplete results of parliamentary elections held simultaneously on Tuesday showed the UDF was also winning the race for seats.

With 70% of the vote counted, the UDF was projected to win 42% of the vote, ahead of the MCP's 35% and 23% for the Alliance for Democracy.

Initial analysis of voting suggested the electorate was divided along ethnic lines, but UDF leaders and other politicians were quick to play down tribal rivalry. — Sapa-AFP

president pledges support for new government

Malawi celebrates Banda's defeat

Sowetan 20/5/94

BLANTYRE — Thousands of Malawians took to the streets yesterday in an outburst of joy and celebration after President Kamuzu Banda conceded defeat in both the presidential and parliamentary elections

In a radio broadcast he offered his full support to his successor, United Democratic Front leader Mr Bakili Muluzi

Minutes later people began cheering, dancing and singing in the streets of Blantyre

With some results still outstanding, it was clear that Malawians had overwhelmingly rejected Banda but it seemed likely that Muluzi would fail to get a clear majority in parliament and might have to seek a coalition with Mr Chakufwa Chihana's Alliance for Democracy, which was running second

Clear winner

Speaking slowly on the radio, Banda said that though the final results were not in, there was every indication that Muluzi was the clear winner

"I wish to congratulate him whole-

■ **COUNTRY SIGHS** Relief as the democratic government takes over:

heartedly on his victory," he said "May I offer him my full support and co-operation as he takes over the presidency

"I wish to assure him that the Malawi Congress Party will work with the United Democratic Front government in building a better, democratic Malawi

"Personally, I wish to thank all Malawians for having allowed me to be their leader for the past 31 years

"You listened to me when I required you to uphold the four cornerstones of the Malawi Congress Party, namely, unity, loyalty, obedience and discipline"

Soon afterwards opposition supporters in pickup trucks began moving along Victoria Avenue, honking horns and waving the yellow-and-blue colours of the UDF

"Somebody's going to cry," chanted

the throng, referring to Banda and his Malawi Congress Party

Office workers abandoned their desks and lined Victoria Avenue, making the UDF salute of two clasped hands. Some sang derogatory songs about Banda's unpopular right-handman, Mr John Tembo

One of several beer-swilling people standing over a piece of yellow cloth laid out in the middle of the street said "This is our colour now, we are tired of black, red and green (the MCP colours)" Women crowded into a fabric shop to buy strips of the UDF colours

"This is the moment we have been praying for for years," said retired civil servant Mr Jack Mchenga

Legal clerk Mr George Phiri said "We've been released from 30 years of imprisonment" — *Sowetan Africa News Service*

Police called in to investigate poll rigging claims

Malawi's Muluzi takes the reins

Star 2/15/94

170

65 5 5 22

BLANTYRE — Malawi will turn a new page today when Bakili Muluzi (52) is sworn in this afternoon, replacing nonagenarian Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

The new president is likely to face a hung parliament.

Final election results gave Muluzi's United Democratic Front (UDF) 84 seats — five short of a majority.

Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) won 52 seats and Chakumbwa Chikwanda's Alliance For Democracy (AFORD) 36 seats.

Irregularities delayed the results in five seats in the southern district of Mwanza. Electoral Commission chairman Justice Anstasia Mosa said yesterday, adding that the commissioner had called in police after receiving complaints about rigging.

Lost — The UDF swept the south — Muluzi's home region — The MCP won most seats in the centre — Banda's native province AFORD took every seat in the north.

Hours later the station said Chakumbwa had won.

Observers say it is unlikely that a recount or even a rerun of the election would give all five seats in the area to the UDF, even though the south is the party's stronghold.

Muluzi has indicated that once all the results are known, he will approach AFORD with a view to giving it a share in

A NEW man replaces Malawi's aged president today

However, he is likely to face a hung parliament, as his United Democratic Front was five votes short of a majority, writes JASPER MORTIMER

The motive is not just to gain a majority but to bring on board the party that dominates the north.

The regionalisation of the vote gives the major disappointment in Malawi's first free elections since independence in 1964.

The UDF swept the south — Muluzi's home region — The MCP won most seats in the centre — Banda's native province AFORD took every seat in the north.

"It was a question of who comes from where," said Dr Hermes Chidammodzi, who heads Malawi University's philosophy department.

"Some people were joking that you could have fielded a degenerate-party-label and, if the party was strong enough in that region, the people would have voted for the dog."

Analysts give several reasons for this trend.

The MCP has ruled Malawi as a one-party state for all but the past 18 months.

It was dominated by people such as its treasurer, John Tembo, from the central region.

Chidammodzi said this meant that there was a sense of "this time it's our turn" in the elections.

The north is also something of a place apart, ethnically more homogeneous and the least developed of the regions in terms of economy and social services. It has the smallest share of the population.

Historically the north has always been strong in schools. However, in 1988 Banda decided that northerners were too dominant in the teaching profession and forced them to return to their home region.

So far no one is predicting trouble.

Clash — The north is not talking secession.

There were reports yesterday of a clash between northern UDF and AFORD supporters, but not many people were involved.

In the south, the mood among the parties was relaxed.

In Blantyre a truckload of UDF supporters drove past a squad of MCP youths in red caps.

They waved and shouted at each other in a spirit of friendly rivalry.

But the warning signs are there.

One Malawi paper spoke yesterday of the risk of civil war.

Chidammodzi was not as alarmed, but urged Muluzi to take stock.

"The cracks that have emerged should be repaired immediately, otherwise we are heading for serious trouble," he said.



VICTORY. Malawi's President-elect Bakili Muluzi, left, celebrates yesterday with Harry Thompson, secretary-general of the United Democratic Front, which won the Malawian election. PHOTOGRAPH AP

By JOHN EDLIN: Blantyre

BAKILI MULUZI was sworn in as Malawi's new president yesterday, ending more than 30 years of Kamuzu Banda's autocratic one-party rule.

Mr Muluzi was inaugurated at a festive ceremony attended by 70 000 — and immediately closed down three jails he said had been abused by Dr Banda's government. He ordered political prisoners freed.

Joyful workers spent the night before the ceremony tearing down pictures and other references to Dr Banda.

But Mr Muluzi has shown he will not be obsessed with removing all traces of Dr Banda — who conceded defeat before the final count of votes from Tuesday's first multi-party elections.

Mr Muluzi, a Muslim and former minister who heads the United Democratic Front, and his chosen vice president, Justice Malewezi, will serve five-year terms

Joy as 'Lion of Malawi' is replaced by new president

SITING

22/5/1994

Mr Malewezi hauls from the central region, which voted heavily for Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party in this week's polls. He was secretary to the "Lion of Malawi" until he fell out of favour three years ago.

Malawi, held together for three decades by Dr Banda's one-man rule, enters an era of democracy deeply split on tribal lines, with Mr Muluzi's party unable to gain an outright majority.

The poll divided the central African nation of 9.7 million into three tribal parts. Mr Muluzi swept seats in his southern powerbase, Dr Banda thumped opponents in his midlands homebase and trade union-

ist Chakufwa Chihana, of the Alliance for Democracy, triumphed in his native north.

The official ballot results gave Mr Muluzi's party 84 seats — five short of a victory it needed to carry parliamentary decisions, including rewriting the constitution, on its own.

Those five seats, whose results were withheld when all others were announced on Friday, are the subject of an inquiry by Malawi's independent electoral commission — which conducted the presidential and parliamentary ballot.

Final results were still awaited amid official acknowledgement of some voting

irregularities in the heavily populated south — Mr Muluzi's home region.

But election commission president Anasztaza Nsosa confirmed the strong showing of the UDF, which he said had so far won 84 of the 177 seats in parliament, compared with 52 for Dr Banda's party and 36 for Mr Chihana's party.

Malawians are waiting to see if Mr Muluzi will persuade Mr Chihana, his former opposition rival, to join a proposed coalition government.

Analysts say Mr Chihana is reluctant to join what he himself called "a party of politicians recycled from the MCP".

With the partying over after the inauguration, the issue of tribalism challenges Mr Muluzi starkly, if not dangerously.

Malawi's independent Nation newspaper said on Friday that tribalism was unacceptable 30 years after independence from Britain. — Additional reporting by Sapa-Reuters-AP

■ BY JASPER MORTIMER
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Llongwe — Malawi's two main pro-democracy parties started crucial talks today on the formation of a coalition government after final results confirmed a hung parliament.

If all goes well at the meeting in Blantyre, a Cabinet should be announced tomorrow, the secretary-general of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Harry Thomson, said yesterday.

Thomson, who will lead the UDF in the talks with the Alliance For Democracy (Aford), said discussions on the telephone had so far gone well.

But a source close to the parties said the negotiations could be scuppered by an expected Aford proposal that Malawi be-

President Muluzi 5 seats shy and seeking coalition

No majority in Malawi

Star 23/5/94

comes a federal state

Malawians view the talks not only in terms of a parliamentary majority, but as a means of bridging the division between the south, which voted overwhelmingly for President Bakili Muluzi's UDF, and the north, which voted solidly for Chakufa Chihana's Aford

Meanwhile the electoral commission yesterday ordered a re-election in two southern constituencies where irregularities

were discovered.

The commission found there had been tampering with ballots in Nsanje North, the seat of former vice-president Gwanda Chakumba, and Nsanje South-west. Both seats had been awarded to the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) of ex-president Kamuzu Banda.

Ballots and ballot counterfoils had disappeared and figures kept by election monitors did not tally with those officially record-

ed, the commission said

This is the first evidence of fraud in the elections, which foreign observer organisations, such as the Commonwealth, had previously declared to be free and fair.

The polls were the first multiparty elections in 30 years.

Giving the final breakdown of parliament, the commission said the UDF had won 84 seats — five short of a majority. The MCP had captured 55

seats and Aford 36

In a further development yesterday, President Muluzi, who was sworn in on Saturday, dissolved the boards of directors of the more than 40 parastatals.

Muluzi's office said new boards would be appointed soon. The organisations, ranging from the University of Malawi to the national airline, were manned by appointees of Banda. Former minister of state John Tembo chaired most of them or

was a board member in the major ones

The organisation arousing the most controversy has been the central bank. Governor Francis Perekamoyo is closely associated with the Banda regime.

The new government wants the bank to be independent of political influence and base its appointments on merit.

"This country is poor and we will not condone corruption," Muluzi said in his inaugural address to the nation.

The primary targets of the move are directors linked to the MCP.

Asked if Tembo would be axed, Thomson said, "We are not aiming at him only. We are aiming at MCP functionaries in places of importance."

1705

INTERNATIONAL NEWS Malawi's president announces immediate changes

New era opening

Sowetan 23/5/94

NEW DEMOCRATIC NATION

celebrates as the rule of Banda ends:

BLANTYRE — Newly elected Malawian President Bakili Muluzi was given a standing ovation at the weekend when he announced a general amnesty for all political prisoners, and committed to life imprisonment the death sentences of ordinary prisoners.

Muluzi (51) made the announcement in his first speech to the nation shortly after his presidential inauguration. The inauguration followed the country's first multiparty election, which stripped one of Africa's longest serving autocrats, Dr Kamuzu Banda, of power.

A crowd of 60 000 supporters packed Kamuzu Stadium on Saturday to hear Muluzi and to witness the birth of the new-Malawi. They chanted "Scenes

have changed in Malawi".

The amnesty and life imprisonment sentences will take immediate effect.

Along with these measures, Muluzi also ordered immediate closure of the country's three notorious political detention camps. Arndt wild applause from the crowd he said these camps were closely associated with the "shameful" violation of human rights under the rule of Banda's Malawi Congress Party. The president also invited all international human rights organisa-

tions to Malawi, saying, "They are free to visit this country and inspect our prisons as they wish."

Muluzi said the 300 million kwacha State House built by Banda in Lilongwe should be turned into a parliamentary chamber. He said Malawi could not afford the luxury of having state residences in each of the country's 24 districts. Muluzi said the day was a memorable occasion to be cherished forever as the moment that ushered real change into Malawi — *Sapa.*

Steps afoot to stop drug traffickers

Star 25/5/94

■ POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Government is to take steps against drug trafficking, "some of which is carried out by foreign nationals who are resident in the country".

On immigration, President Mandela said in his address. "The Government will also deal sensitively with the issue of population movements into the country, to protect our workers, to guard against the exploitation of vulnerable workers and to ensure friendly relations with all countries and peoples."

Speaking at a press briefing yesterday, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal said the country needed an "open, transparent and nonracial" immigration policy. (174)

Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Dr Ben Ngubane said South Africa was willing to share its resources.

Blend of veterans and fresh faces

New Malawi Cabinet named

Star 26/5/94

Blantyre — Malawi's first democratically elected president in 30 years has appointed a Cabinet blending veteran administrators with new faces, political analysts said yesterday

The 20-member team, announced on Tuesday night by President Bakili Muluzi, included various former Ministers who, like Muluzi, fell out of favour with Kamuzu Banda, the aged autocrat voted out of office in last week's multiparty election.

The four new faces are middle-aged lawyers or technocrats.

Cassim Chilumpha takes over as Defence Minister, Wenham Nakanga as Justice Minister and Attorney-General, Peter Fatchi as Home Affairs Minister and Collins Chizumila as Transport and Communications Minister

Muluzi, a 51-year-old Muslim businessman, was sworn in on Satur-

**PRESIDENT
Muluzi says his
government's
priority will be
the alleviation
of poverty**

day to replace Banda, who had governed since 1964.

Muluzi, a one-time education minister and secretary-general of Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP), vowed that his ruling United Democratic Front would improve the lives of Malawi's 9.7 million people.

"My priority in this government is poverty alleviation," he told reporters while presenting the Cabinet

"I'm talking about the provision of social services I'm talking about roads. I'm talking about hospitals and classrooms We have a lot of responsibilities to fulfil."

He appointed his most

experienced Cabinet member, Aleke Banda, as Finance Minister (170)

Banda, who is not related to Kamuzu Banda, served under MCP governments in the finance and tourism portfolios He was fired in 1976 after falling out of favour

Another former MCP veteran is Edward Bwanali (46), the new Foreign Affairs Minister He held the portfolios of health, education and local government before differing with Kamuzu Banda.

New Vice-President Justin Malewezi was a former secretary to Kamuzu Banda.

Former diplomat Tim Mangwazu's appointment as Economic Planning and Development Minister was a reward for the support of his Malawi National Democratic Party in the poll, analysts said.

Three extra portfolios have yet to be filled, bringing the Cabinet strength to 23. — Reuter

Malawi's new leader must deliver the goods

Star 30/5/94

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Drunk with beer and excitement, the woman stood in the middle of the high street, blocking the traffic and bellowing: "Now we change, change! change! change!"

Hopes of change filled the air here last week as thousands of Malawians took to the streets minutes after President Kamuzu Banda conceded defeat in the country's first free elections in 30 years.

Opposition supporters sang and danced in the street. Women rushed into fabric shops to buy the yellow cloth of the victorious United Democratic Front

The celebrations are now over. Bakili Muluzi, the tobacco farmer who beat Banda, reaping nearly half the vote, has been sworn in. The period of waiting-for-results has begun

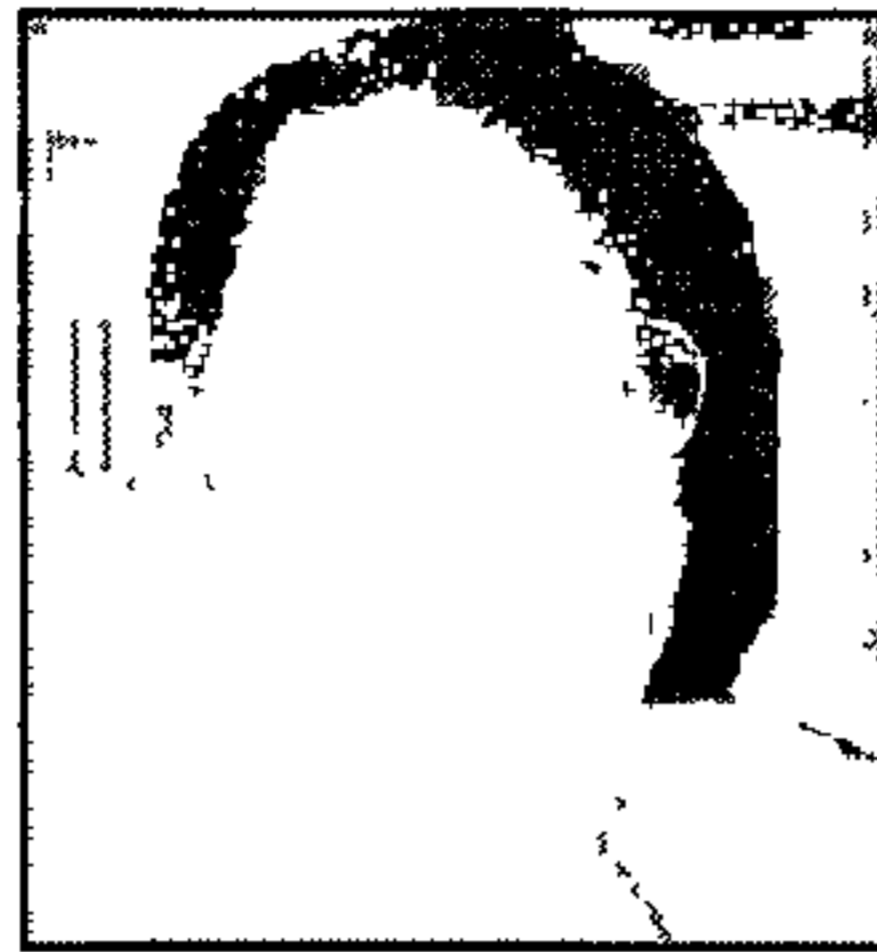
Expectations are enormous. From the mother of seven in Blantyre's Nyambadze location to the men selling bamboos for fencing in a village outside Lilongwe, one hears the same demand. "Freedom and jobs"

Muluzi has to deliver. He campaigned on a ticket of democracy, poverty alleviation, free primary education and an end to state extravagance

At his inauguration he showed he was willing to move fast on democracy. He ordered the release of the remaining political prisoners (thought to number fewer than 30), closed three prisons regarded as torture chambers of Banda's Malawi Congress Party, and granted international human rights groups access to all jails

He took office with a free press up and running, albeit recently established Malawian journalists walked away from Muluzi's post-election press conference in high spirits

Muluzi has to move on the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation. During the campaign, foreign observers criticised the



MALAWI'S new president, Bakili Muluzi (left), faces tough challenges in meeting the high expectations aroused by the defeat of the dictatorial Dr Banda, writes Jasper Mortimer of The Star Africa Service

MBC for giving too much play to the MCP. Diplomats say Muluzi will purge pro-MCP executives

He is also expected to remove Banda's racist restrictions. Banda took a series of steps against the Asians, prohibiting them from the sugar trade and the transport industry and closed their shops in rural areas

He also took it into his head that teachers from northern Malawi, which has a high proportion of schools, were too strong in the teaching profession. He decreed that all northern teachers must move back to their home region

Extravagance

At his first press conference, Muluzi said he would treat all Malawians equally, and allow anyone to apply for citizenship

Muluzi has also moved fast on extravagance. The 70 000 inauguration crowd cheered when he announced he would not be using the 13 state residences Banda maintained these mansions at a cost equalling the total outlay on hospital drugs

But these changes are the easy ones. The real test of Muluzi's presidency will be how fast he moves on job creation, rural poverty and primary education

Malawi, once an African success story, now posts some

alarming figures. Its rural population is the world's third poorest. Its population of 9 million has the second highest "crude birth rate" in the world: 54 live births per 1 000 people. Its women have the third highest fertility rate: the average Malawian mother has seven to eight children

This impacts on the country's one natural asset: its soil. In the drought of the early 1980s Malawi was the one central and southern African state that did not need to import food. But today the soil is being eroded as people plunder the forests in search of fuel for their homes

"Malawi can still feed itself," South African ambassador Llewellyn Crewe-Brown said in an interview, "(but) the population growth rate is too high"

Muluzi is aware of what is going on. "I'm concerned about the felling of trees," he told the press, "we don't want to turn Malawi into another desert"

He also knows that the erosion is fuelled by the competition for land between the millions of smallholders and the big tobacco and tea estates. Smallholders are now cultivating the mountain slopes, exacerbating the deforestation

"My government will have to address itself to (the land) prob-

lem," he continued. "How? I don't know. We definitely would not like to go around snatching some people's land."

The answer was typical of Muluzi's platform. He knows what needs to be tackled, but he lacks plans

Dr Hermes Chidammodzi of Malawi University's philosophy department said this is the legacy of 30 years of one-party rule: a certain "amateurism" in policy-making

"I didn't see any party coming forward with concrete proposals as to how they were going to solve the problems"

But Crewe-Brown is more optimistic. "The important thing," he said of the new president, "is that he is serious in wanting to (tackle poverty) and he knows he has to work out how he is going to do it."

A young Malawian manager said the people know that it will take Muluzi time to revive the economy and create jobs. But they expect him to deliver quickly on his pledge of free primary education

Crash

"If he doesn't do that, there will be trouble," the manager said

One of the biggest changes of Muluzi's presidency has already come about. It meant a lot to people in Malawi, but appears to have been ignored by the foreign press

Banda spoke only English. He used an interpreter to deliver his speeches in the other official language, Chichewa. He had forgotten his first language during the more than 30 years he spent abroad. After his return in 1958, he never bothered to re-learn Chichewa.

For the first time in its history, Malawi now has a president who speaks the language that most people understand

Malawi coalition government talks collapse

LILONGWE — Talks between Malawi's new ruling party and an opposition party to form a coalition government have collapsed after they failed to agree on key issues, officials said yesterday

The talks were between President Bakili Muluzi's United Democratic Front (UDF), which narrowly missed winning an overall majority in the elections on May 17, and the Alliance for Democracy (Aford) of veteran trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana.

"The talks are definitely off. No further dates have been fixed," said Defence Minister Cassim Chilumpha

Aford vice-president Peter Kaleso said "Our talks have collapsed"

Opposition leaders have urged the new government to consult various political groups to prevent the country polarising on regional lines

The elections for the presidency and the 177-seat national assembly split Malawi along tribal lines, with Aford sweeping the north, Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) taking the central region, and the UDF most of the south

The UDF won 84 seats, the MCP 55 seats and Aford 36. — Sapa-Reuter.

Malawi's bad start

S Times

1916/194

By JOHN EDLIN in
Blantyre, Malawi

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IN the warm afterglow of an election victory that ousted Africa's longest-ruling dictator, Malawi's new president faces the cold fact that democracy isn't an easy road.

The easy part was for wealthy businessman Bakili Muluzi, 51, to get rid of 96-year-old Kamuzu Hastings Banda at the recent polls.

The hard part is to erase the strains of three decades of ruthless, rapacious reign through which thousands of Malawians were detained, tortured, assassinated or hounded into exile while hundreds of millions of dollars were plundered from the state coffers.

Mr Muluzi, genial, bespectacled President of the Second Republic, has already got off to a bad start.

While he trounced the despot known as The Conqueror or The Messiah in the presidential elections, the Westernised southern Muslim captured only 84 of the 177 National Assembly seats, five short of a simple majority that would enable his United Democratic Front to govern on its own.

Instead, Mr Muluzi needs lawmakers in the opposition — Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party holds 55 seats, trade-union boss Chakufwa Chihana's Alliance For Democracy has 36 and two seats are in dispute — to pass legislation in the first democratic parliament since independence from Britain in 1964.

"The irony is that we've had free and fair elections but we end up with a lame-duck president," a Western diplomat whose government helped force the elections after joining other donor states two years ago in freezing \$70-million in aid.

Dr Banda, who outlawed opposition parties and declared himself president for life after independence, often argued that Western-style democracy was inappropriate in a continent that had traditionally been ruled autocratically by kings, chiefs, headmen and (in the Islamic world) emirs. He also prophetically warned that his tribally homogenous land would be split apart if multi-party politics were allowed.

Dr Banda was quite right. Northerners voted for their home boy, Mr Chihana. Central province voters opted for Dr Banda, who came from there. And the new president garnered most of the votes from his southern province homeland.

So Mr Muluzi has a problem with his minority government — to face up to the very real tribal divisions, try to play one off against the other to survive politically and to reward his southern voters while making sure the central and northern provinces get a slice of the cake.

That won't be easy.

Mr Muluzi has already alienated the opposition by naming a 20-member cabinet that included only people from his own party. Given the hung parliament, opposition leaders contend, he should have included some legislators from Dr Banda's MCP or Mr Chihana's Alliance.

It means that the old dictator, with the help of a fellow-opposition leader who was for months guest of Dr Banda's prisons, can in the name of democracy block any legislation the ruling party tables in the assembly.

Malawi emerges from Banda's control

**LIFE is undergoing
change with Banda
ousted, reports
Anderson Fumulani
from Blantyre**

Foreign nannies are out, and so are white professors of Latin and Greek. A ban on mini-skirts has been lifted, television will soon air and men can now grow their hair long.

Four months after coming to power, Malawi's first democratically elected government is dragging this poor African country out of a three-decade time warp fostered by former dictator Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

Prudish dress codes have already been repealed by the parliament, TV should be broadcast next year and new restrictions on work permits for foreigners stipulate that if locals can do the job, outsiders need not apply.

"We told the people we would create employment for Malawians there are many local nannies available," said Peter Faatchi, home affairs minister in the ruling Unified Democratic Front.

A fierce supporter of Western conservatism, Banda hired mainly British executives to run the central bank, the State airlines and his own business empire of farms, stores and a bakery chain.

As a classics scholar, he also gave his nation the largest educational institute in the world where Latin and Greek are still compulsory subjects, taught up to university level.

The 400-student college was built in 1981 to copy the exclusive private schools in Britain.

The new government has said it is not against private schools but wants them to be more accessible.

Faatchi said teaching ancient languages would be phased out unless Malawians — most likely former pupils — could take over.

Repealing dress codes enforced by Malawi's government since the hippie era of the 1960s, new President Bakili Muluzi has allowed women to wear pants instead of obligatory ankle-length dresses and permitted men to sport shoulder-length hair for the first time.

Television

Though pro-Western, Banda disapproved of liberal Western fashions and feared foreign influences that television could bring.

The former Presbyterian elder, himself always attired in a suit and Homburg, was unshakably old-fashioned in his rule.

Banda, ailing after brain surgery in South Africa last year, has rarely been seen in public since his defeat at the polls.

He was forced to call the election after anti-government riots and a Western aid freeze protesting human rights violations under his last years of increasingly brutal rule.

Faatchi said the new government was not trying to shut out foreigners, but in the future only investors and experts whose resources or skills could be found locally would be given permits to live in Malawi.

"We are not against expatriates as such. We invite them to come and invest," he said.

Under Banda, development was reserved for government facilities, with rural areas growing poorer and poorer.

Since the May election, several foreign companies have sought mining exploration rights in the mainly agricultural country and the government says a South African consortium is finalising a deal to mine minerals.

Proposals to build a casino on the shores of Lake Malawi, turned down by Banda on moral grounds, have also been revived, officials say. — Sapa-AP

The health picture in one of Africa's newest multiparty democracies contains a tragic paradox and a bold initiative from which South Africa can learn important lessons. Health Writer David Robbins reports from Malawi

Health hinges on reforms in Malawi

The publicity brochures call Malawi 'the warm heart of Africa', and tourists flock here to see the wildlife and experience the beauty of the lake. The other side of the coin is that life expectancy for Malawians is only 44 years.

Even more shocking is that one out of every four children dies before the age of five. Such health status indicators provide a glimpse of hardship and suffering which is difficult to imagine. But they do not necessarily indicate a health-care system in a state of collapse. Indeed, the contrary is true.

John Chikakuda, 20 years with the Malawian Ministry of Health and now health project officer with the United Nations Children's Fund in Lilongwe, is unequivocal. 'In terms of health structures and services we're probably ahead of most countries in Africa. Rural communities are in touch with the service. We have the staff and good referral systems,' he declares.

'Certainly, the health service has problems, but not so large as to explain why our indicators are among the worst in the world. The hidden factor can be expressed in a word. Poverty. We simply haven't been looking at the fundamental causes of ill health,' Chikakuda explains.

'More hospitals, clinics and medical services aren't going to solve the problem. I think the message is straightforward, anything which impacts on the well-being of people is a health issue. In our case, it's grinding poverty at the household level. If the cause can be expressed in a word, so can the cure. Alleviation. But how to do this?'

One of Malawi's better publicised achievements, in a country where more than 80 percent of people still live on the land, has been self-sufficiency in food. But the statisticians have been making these calculations at a national level, and omitting crucial elements.

For a start, a lot of the food is grown on commercial estates for export. Secondly, people have to sell a proportion of their own food production to meet their cash commitments in the form of school fees, essential supplies, clothing, and so on.

The arrival of nearly a million Mozambican refugees during the 1980s and the great southern African drought of the early 1990s have placed even more stress on family budgets.

So much so that a poor rainy season can bring the spectre of starvation very close to hundreds of thousands of Malawian households.

Pedal-power is still the main way to get round

When it comes to transportation in rural Malawi, the bicycle holds centre stage. Minibus taxis exist, and, of course, buses — amazingly, some of them double deckers — are always in evidence. But the humble bicycle easily outnumbered these forms of transport.

Considerable support activities line the village streets puncture repair places spare parts outlets, and mechanics offering everything from minor adjustments to complete overhauls. All this to keep the two-wheelers rolling on the roads and tracks and footpaths of this predominantly rural country.

It's fascinating to see just how much can be carried on a bike. Special attachments above the rear wheel enable a machine to be so loaded with fire wood that from behind there is no sight of the rider at all. And considerable quantities of cassava roots and other foodstuffs can be loaded fore and aft.

On the health care scene, nurses and health assistants are already cycling to outlying clinics, their medicines and essential equipment loaded behind.

Now a brand new innovation is being tested: the bicycle ambulance. It's a bike with a narrow trailer in tow, really like a stretcher on wheels.

As one nurse remarked, it gives the man something useful to do while the woman is in labour.

The cost of a ready-to-pedal bicycle ambulance? Just 1 500 Malawian kwachas, which is around R750.

In some areas I visited mud-way through the current dry season, nearly 70 percent of children were underweight, while the national average for moderate and severe underweight cases stands at 35 percent. An innovation in Malawi has

been the establishment of the Agricultural Development Marketing Corporation which provides a ready market for surplus crops, and then sells back to the populace in times of need.

It's a good idea but its been able to buy low and sell high, exacerbating the difficulties experienced by the householders," says Chikakuda.

But new President Bakili Muluzi has acted quickly to launch the Poverty Alleviation Programme.

The president himself will preside over a special council to monitor the work of a national steering committee charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating the work of task forces covering everything from agriculture to social welfare and the youth.

This strict monitoring of progress underscores the importance government attaches to the reduction of poverty in this country, Muluzi said.

From the point of view of improving a nation's health, it's a programme which speaks volumes for the multisectoral approach, and also for the close linkages which must be maintained between health and development.

Interestingly, most of the medium-term components of the programme do not require huge financial inputs but rather chan-

Volunteers are key to health care

Volunteers perform an important health promotion and monitoring function in hundreds of Malawi villages. They are trained to provide nutritional education, administer cooking clubs advise on sanitation and the protection of water supplies and record the weight of babies.

Mothers of 98 percent of all children in Malawi are in possession of health cards with weight and immunisation records. Health surveillance assistants (12 weeks training) also work in the villages, co-ordinating the work of the volunteers.

Health assistants and public health inspectors undergo two and four year technician training programmes. Medical assistants (three years) and clinical officers (five years) are trained in a clinical setting at a special school in Lilongwe.

Clinical officers form the backbone of Malawi's health services. They are trained in diagnostics and basic surgery. Often they are in charge of district hospitals, with qualified doctors serving only in the larger centres.

Malawi now trains its own doctors and will soon be producing around 15 a year. The brain drain has caused a shortage of doctors in the country. Administratively, the country is divided into three regions each region being broken into districts containing between 350 000 and 500 000 people.

The main problems facing the health services are skilled staff shortages and budgetary constraints. More than 40 percent of all services are delivered by mission hospitals and administered by the Christian Hospitals Association of Malawi (Cham). Government health services are free while Cham charges minimal cost recovery fees.

Conditions of service for health personnel also differ between the state and Cham. These differences are impeding the full integration and rationalisation of health care in Malawi.

"I am convinced," says Chikakuda, "that as these changes begin to bite, so the health of our people will improve. Then the existing health system can serve its preventive and promotive service much more effectively, and serve as a net to catch those who still need curative help."

Malawi's priority to fight poverty

Star 20/9/94

■ BY DAVID ROBBINS
HEALTH WRITER

Lilongwe (Malawi) — The poverty alleviation programme, launched last month to lift this recently democratised country away from some of the worst socio-economic and health conditions in the world, has been welcomed by major international agencies working here

Dr Natalie Hahn, the Lilongwe representative of the UN Children's Fund, told The Star "I've worked for the UN for 20 years, and I've never seen a country come up with such a thorough, determined and wide-ranging strategy"

Health experts also believe that progress can now be made in increasing life expectancy and reducing child mortality rates which place Malawi among the bottom 10 nations of the world

Malawi's new president, Baki Muluzi, has called poverty alleviation "the number one priority of the government's economic policies"

"Although Malawi may have achieved high economic growth rates at macro level in the past, this has not trickled down to the household level. More than half the population live below the poverty line," he said

About 450 000 tons of maize is currently being imported from Zimbabwe and South Africa

The poverty alleviation programme includes the establishment of task forces in agriculture, education, health, the informal and public works sectors, and youth and social welfare

These will be co-ordinated by a national steering committee and monitored by a council chaired by the president himself

► Health hinges on reform
in Malawi — Page 11

Malawi constitutional crisis

Star 28/9/94

Blantyre — The appointment of a former opposition leader as Malawi's second vice-president has created a constitutional crisis, legal groups in the country said yesterday.

President Bakili Muluzi announced the appointment of the opposition politician Chakufwa Chihana, a former trade unionist and leader of the Alliance for Democracy, as his second vice-president on Saturday.

However, the office is not provided for in the constitution and the Legal Resource Centre,

which acts as the justice watchdog Malawi, said Chihana's appointment was "tantamount to gross violation of the constitution, the supreme law of the land".

Parliament should have first passed the Bill to provide for the office of a second vice-presidency before Muluzi could make the appointment, the centre added.

"If this is allowed, we might be creating the foundation of another dictatorship," it said. — Sapa-AFP.

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Malawi 'saddled with debt'

BLANTYRE. — President Bakili Muluzi has said that former president Kamuzu Hastings Banda's regime saddled the incoming government with a deficit of about \$40 million (R140 million) and a foreign debt of \$1.9 billion (R6,5 billion).

"They took this money two months before the elections in May. We found no money in government coffers," Mr Muluzi — who defeated Dr Banda that month in Malawi's first multi-party poll — told a news conference on arrival from a two-week

official tour of Britain and the United States

Mr Muluzi said his government was trying to get donors to write off the foreign debt incurred by Dr Banda's autocratic regime (170)

"That's quite a big debt for a small and poor country like ours," he added

He said his trip was aimed at sensitising donors to Malawi's economic woes, seeking financial support and wooing foreign investors — Sapa-APF

ARG 12/10/94

Mr La government.

"The Namibian government stands ready to share with its brothers and sisters in Angola, in whatever manner they may deem appropriate, the successful experiences of its national reconciliation policy," the foreign affairs ministry said.

Mr Valentim denied reports that Mr Savimbi had been seriously wounded during recent attacks on Unita headquarters

● Angola's Unita rebels recaptured the western town of Catengue from government forces, an independent radio station in Luanda said

"Catengue is in Unita's hands again," the radio said. — Sapa-Reuter

Farmers want to go into Africa

PIETERSBURG. — More than 300 white farmers have applied to settle in African countries which have asked for agricultural assistance.

The South African Development Corporation and the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions will meet cabinet members today to discuss the move.

The meeting in Pretoria will deal with the government's involvement in the Africa Project.

About 300 farmers have applied for settlement in Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast and Zambia — Sapa

Florida removes barrier on investment in SA

TALLAHASSEE. — Florida's governor and cabinet have removed the last barrier to investing the state's \$38,5 billion (R135 billion) pension fund in South Africa now that apartheid has ended.

Governor Lawton Chiles and the six-member cabinet rescinded without comment an anti-apartheid resolution passed in 1985 that prohibited the state from most investments in South Africa. ARG 12/10/94

Ash Williams, the pension fund's executive director, said yesterday's action was part of an international trend to remove obstacles to investing in South Africa.

A national group that tracks anti-apartheid sanctions by

American states and cities said Florida's resolution was one of a few left on the books.

Since September last year, 157 state and local government authorities have repealed their sanctions against buying from or investing in companies doing business in South Africa, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington. Only 15 such authorities still have sanctions in effect.

The original resolution had prohibited the pension fund from investing in companies with their headquarters in South Africa, or owned by its government. It also barred the state from investing in any type of securities issued by the South African government. — Sapa-APF

Sapa-APF

Some doors aren't opening

Justin Pearce

WM 30/9-6/10/94

MORE than 300 candidates who were trained overseas last year with a view to bringing the South African diplomatic corps into the post-apartheid era are still waiting to take up posts with the Department of Foreign Affairs.

This is in spite of the fact that the diplomatic corps has been left understaffed by the opening of new diplomatic contacts by South Africa.

Frustrated former trainees who spoke to the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* said they were being barred from the DFA by a conservative bureaucracy which is intent on perpetuating itself.

A total of 320 candidates were trained in Egypt, India, Malaysia, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, at the expense of the governments of the host countries and the European Union.

While the trainees were not promised that the training would guarantee them a place in the diplomatic corps after the April elections, all of those who spoke to the *WM&G* said they had been given to believe they had a strong chance of qualifying for posts.

The spokesman for both the Ministry and the Department of Foreign Affairs, Jacques Malan, said the DFA supports the idea that the diplomatic corps should be made more representative of South African society. He said the applications were being processed by the Public Service Commission.

Overseas training would be considered "appropriate experience" when job applications were considered, but there had been no commitment between the ANC and either the Department or the Public Service Commission that the trainees would be employed.

However, in an interview in August, Deputy Minister Aziz Pahad named the deployment of the foreign-trained applicants as one of the issues which his department would have to confront in order to make it more representative.

In June, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo promised that the urgent review of the diplomatic corps requested by President Nelson Mandela would begin "soon".

Taboo hides Africa's secret shame:

CHILD ABUSE

Malawi

Like the governments of other southern African countries, the Malawian authorities pay little more than lip service to the care of their disadvantaged children.

Government social welfare officer Effie Banda says her office has no reports of child abuse or prostitution, but it is well known they exist. Another problem is the growing number of street children, who scavenge in bins for food and beg for hand-outs.

The social welfare ministry has begun an intensive campaign to focus on the plight of children, says Banda.

"Each year on the Day of the African Child (June 16) we try to respond to problems facing children. We are trying to publicise children's rights to protect them from maltreatment," says Banda — giving examples such as sexual exploitation, torture, economic exploitation and child labour.

Farhad Asani, a state advocate, says the constitution contains laws protecting children from abuse, sexual and otherwise, by adults, be they parents or employers. The constitution allows for separate prison cells for young offenders, and for adoption, he says.

But Asani admits some of the laws are not enforced — for instance, the separation of young offenders from hardened criminals.

Children in Malawi have a rough road ahead. Child labour and child prostitution are common in the urban and rural areas. Because of the high illiteracy rate, many people are unemployed. But if there is a wage-



SAVE THE CHILDREN . . . A group of South Africans, painfully aware of the widespread problem of child abuse, march to demand better protection for children.

earner, he or she normally has to fend for an average family of six children — usually unsuccessfully on the small incomes that are earned.

Such families are often forced to keep their children away from school to look for work. In the streets of Blantyre, Lilongwe, Mzuzu and Zomba, children selling sweets, roasted groundnuts and maize are a common sight. Most spend the whole day away from home

trying to collect the amount of cash specified by parents or guardians.

"If children don't make the required amount of cash, they avoid returning home.

They fear either physical torture or being denied food," says Jarvis Chakumodza, executive director of The Samaritan, a non-governmental organisation caring for more than 160 street children in Blantyre and

Limbe

Some parents even withdraw their girls from school to either marry so they can get the money paid for a bride or venture into "freelancing" — a euphemism for prostitution.

Many schoolgirls become pregnant as early as 15 — but only one or two out of every ten marry as a result. A girl often has child after child — most of whom are left with her parents. Sometimes there is no one but the girl herself to look after the child, so they take to the streets to beg.

Families destroyed

Aids also contributes to the numbers of street children. The National Aids Control Programme says that since the first Aids cases were reported in Malawi in 1985, more than 130 000 people have died of the disease — and 14 000 families have been destroyed. By the close for the century, 450 000 people will have died, leaving almost 500 000 orphans.

Edda Chitalo, the minister responsible for women and children's affairs, says her ministry has set up a special fund for orphans.

Despite all the gloom, there is one factor to be thankful for. In its 1994 report on the state of the world's children, the United Nations Children's Fund expressed satisfaction with improvements in Malawi's child health facilities. The report says many children have been vaccinated against the eight main deadly diseases and that the future, in this respect, looks brighter.

Many non-governmental organisations have also sprung up to advocate the rights and welfare of children. — AIA

34 percent of country below poverty line

Malawi in need of aid 'to fulfil democracy'

Star 24/11/92

Blantyre — Malawi's President Bakili Muluzi is banking on Western donors to help underpin the new-found democracy in one of the world's poorest states

"For democracy to succeed, economic problems must be overcome — all over Africa," Muluzi told Reuters in an interview at Sanjika Palace which overlooks the capital, Blantyre.

"If democracy is to succeed, the government has to provide. There has to be economic empowerment for the people. Poverty is a danger to democracy.

"All these quarrels we see in Africa are because people are poor. People cannot eat democracy, people cannot eat human rights," the president said, noting that 64 percent of Malawi's 10 million people lived below the poverty line.

Muluzi (51) ousted autocrat Hastings Banda last May, in the country's first democratic elections, but with the advent of parliamentary democracy, many Malawians now feel the international community has a moral obligation to keep the country's new-found freedom on track.

Malawi, with a foreign debt of \$1.9 billion (about R7.5 billion),

faces formidable problems

Around 74 percent of its foreign exchange earnings come from tobacco and inflation is running at around 33 percent on an annualised basis.

Several years of drought have left the country heavily dependent on food aid. The rains are again late this year.

Blantyre, the country's commercial centre with a population of around 350 000, currently faces acute water and power shortages due to the low level of the Shire River, which provides the country with most of its electricity.

The halt in donor development aid to back Western democracy and human rights demands is still being felt and even now donor countries are warily watching developments despite the elections.

The head of the country's AIDS awareness programme, Dr George Liomba, said 10 percent of sexually active adults were infected with the deadly HIV virus.

Paradoxically, Malawi also has a birth rate that could double the population to 20 million within the next two decades in a country where land is already in short supply and split into small

and often uneconomic holdings.

"The economy is going through a very difficult period at the moment," Finance Minister Aleke Banda told Reuters.

Banda said the government would present a package to a meeting of Western donors in Paris next month seeking funds for a public sector investment programme, a poverty alleviation plan and balance of payments support. (170)

Muluzi and Banda hope for a sympathetic hearing in Paris.

"The expectations of the people are very high," said Muluzi. — Sapa-Reuter

Malawi school crisis

THE TIME is 7 55 in the morning and the sun is already high. Young children are running up and down the crowded school yard.

In the background, a bell rings. Suddenly the children start running in a different direction under the trees where their teachers wait to start classes.

Since the introduction of free primary education in Malawi in September, the size of the country's classes — many of them sitting outdoors — has almost doubled.

There are now three million pupils where, six months ago, there were 1,8 million.

In a country where more than 90 percent of the people live on subsistence farming and can barely afford basic necessities, education has been an unattainable luxury until now.

Parents are cheering the free schooling policy and it has received the blessings of organisations both in and outside the country.

However, free schooling has created severely over-crowded classrooms.

Critics have warned that the influx of students and the resulting need for new classrooms will severely stretch the budget.

"The idea of free education is good but has been implemented a bit too early.

"They should have trained teachers first and increased our salaries. How can the government just introduce a system without considering our welfare?" teachers were quoted as saying in the Daily Times.

Hired 19 000 teachers

In response, the Education Ministry has hired and begun training 19 000 teachers in addition to the 29 000 it already employed.

In August, Malawi Railways donated computers and scrap paper to be bound into exercise books.

Sam Safuli, the Education Minis-

try's principal secretary, said the ministry has six million notebooks — enough to last for one-third of the first academic term.

Earlier this year, the previous government announced that young girls who had dropped out of school due to pregnancy would be allowed to return to classes.

That policy, combined with free schooling, has created classrooms that include a wide range of ages and may have affected discipline.

"The social implications of what will result in such a mix-up of ages and sexes is something the government does not seem to have taken into consideration," the Daily Times reported.

"Parents are reacting by either withholding their children from going to school until the case is clear, or those who can afford it are simply pulling their children out of public schools and putting them into private one" — *Gemini News*

Poor pollution management has resulted in contaminated drinking water and an environmental disaster in Malawi, reports Afrique Information Blantyre

Rivers of poison' threaten Malawi

4 Nov 10/1195 (170)

Chifundo Padambo, who has no running water at home, is resigned to the sad fact she cannot drink water straight from two rivers that pass through the heart of Blantyre.

It would be like committing suicide, she says of the polluted Mudi and Napezi rivers. Padambo is not alone.

More than 30 000 people who live in villages downstream know that the rivers are fouled by human waste, industrial effluent and litter.

"We only use the river for washing, bathing and watering our vegetable gardens," she says.

Water pollution and poor waste management are increasingly manifesting themselves as the most challenging areas of Malawi's already serious environmental problems.

A recent government report attempts to analyse the causes of pollution in the urban and rural areas.

It says that, in the former, industry generates gaseous, liquid and solid waste. There is poor waste management due to limited serviced areas, inadequate vehicles, machines, and equipment for cleaning purposes," says the report.

Lack of conventional landfill operations are identified as another major environmental hazard.

In the rural areas, pollution is caused mainly by the extensive use of agrochemicals, concentrations of pit latrines and, in some cases, lack of any disposal facilities at all for human and other waste.

Deforestation leading to soil erosion is another primary environmental degradation factor.

The environmental impact of these shortcomings is particularly felt in the urban centres and rivers draining these urban areas are the most affected, the report says.

The Mudi in Blantyre and the Lilongwe and Lingadzi rivers in Lilongwe are the worst affected.

Pollution of the Mudi by several manufacturing companies has particularly angered the Wildlife Society of Malawi, a leading environmental pressure group.

The society is now seeking the help of an environmental expert to recommend what should be done to clean up the Mudi. Without pointing fingers at the several companies which pour their effluent into the once picturesque and beautiful river, the society's executive secretary, Carl Brunsow, says: "We are trying to co-operate with such companies rather than confront them in attempts to solve the pollution problem."

He says the expert will recommend what can be done within the limits the offending companies are prepared to spend to treat their effluent.

"The expert will analyse effluents and look at the potential for developing control," says Brunsow.

A six-month study of the Mudi reveals that high levels of mercury, chromium and lead are present due to industrial discharges.

Brunsov says most of the companies, including a meat processing plant and a cooking oil company — might also be using the city sewerage system to dispose of their effluent. Any harmful poisons cannot be changed by sewerage systems, he adds.

The government says there are 80 industries in Blantyre alone connected to the public sewer. The city council demands that some pre-treatment be given to industrial effluent before it is discharged into the system but it is suspected this is largely ignored.

Another major source of urban pollution comes from the many old and decrepit vehicles which discharge highly unacceptable levels of gases and particulate smoke. The existence of vehicle workshops in the heart of the city and its surroundings add to the pollution.

Metal scraps, abandoned vehicles and old oil are a major pollution source. Oil from garages can be seen flowing into natural water courses and eventually finding their way into major rivers," the study says.

Septic tanks and pit latrines pollute ground water in areas where high urban densities exist. Sanitation for Malawi's population — 70 percent of which live in traditional, old-style housing areas — is poor, with only 10 percent having septic tanks and 65 percent pit latrines. Overflowing septic

tanks discharge into seasonal water sources, the report adds.

Unprecedented levels of water pollution probably explain why 50 percent of all illnesses in Malawi is related to water-borne diseases.

A 1990 government report said some 85 percent of the urban population and only 47 percent of rural people had access to water of acceptable quality.

The increasing use of agrochemicals, such as fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides, to boost crop yields, and poor land management, had also resulted in gross pollution of a number of areas, said the report.

"For example, the Linthipe river in the central region is always green in the dry season due to massive algae growth. This results from high phosphate and nitrate compounds and other types of fertilisers used in estates within the catchment area," it added.

(170) ¹⁷⁰ ~~170~~ **Banda under house arrest for murder**

BLANTYRE — Former Malawi president Kamuzu Banda — in his 90s and reportedly senile — and a close associate were formally charged yesterday with the 1983 murders of four politicians

A government inquiry said on Wednesday police acting on official orders had killed cabinet ministers Aaron Gadama, Dick Matenje and Twaibu Sangala and Member of Parliament David Chiwanga in May 1983 and disguised their deaths as a car accident.

After the commission made its findings public, the government placed Mr Banda under house arrest and former Minister of State John Tembo was taken to prison

Mr Tembo was regarded as the power behind Mr Banda as the ageing leader slipped into senility.

Information Minister Brown Mpinganjira said on Thursday the politicians apparently were killed for opposing Mr Tembo's appointment as acting president during Mr Banda's absence.

The diminutive Mr Banda, self-proclaimed life president, ruled Malawi for three decades from independence from Britain in 1964 until he was ousted in its first multiparty elections in May last year — Sapa/Reuter.

12/1/95

Exchange to be launched in Malawi (170)

BLANTYRE — Malawi formally launched a programme on Friday to develop a stock market.

The launching of the country's first stockbroking firm, Stockbrokers Malawi Limited (SML), moved capital market development in Malawi a step forward.

The company will initially list and act as broker for government stock.

SML will promote market development by providing a forum for trading and acting as agent in share transactions and will assist with and evaluate listing applications. 6013/295

The International Finance Corp has a 22,5% stake in SML, the Netherlands Finance Development Institution 17,5% and Zimbabwe stockbrokers Edwards & Co 10%. The Malawi Development Corp and the local Investment and Development Bank each have a 25% stake.

Malawi's two leading development finance institutions, the Malawi Development Corporation and the Investment and Development Bank, have pointed to potential listings of their holdings, SML said.

Malawian Finance and Economic Minister Aleke Banda said the government was confident the stage had been set for SML to begin a campaign to have the country's largest and most profitable companies listed.

SML said it had contacted one of the country's largest private sector companies, Press Corporation Ltd, which was owned by former president Kamuzu Banda. — Reuter.

Malawi 'too poor' for poverty summit

(170) CT 9/3/95

COPENHAGEN: Malawi's president has cancelled plans to attend a UN summit on poverty — because his country is too poor.

"The president has taken this decision because of the prevailing economic conditions in the country," a statement yesterday by Malawi's summit delegation said.

A small ministerial delegation will represent the country.

The Danish daily Politiken said a full-scale presidential trip would have cost Malawi \$200 000 (about R720 000) and President Bakili Muluzi had decided to use the money to help alleviate poverty.

A Malawian delegate at the summit could not confirm or deny the paper's report.

More than 100 heads of state or government are expected to attend the UN World Summit for Social Development, which opened here on Monday — Reuter

(2) Yes Steps to systematically eliminate the establishment backlog were already included in the Departmental Financial Management Plan for 1994/95, which aimed at eliminating the backlog within five (5) years. Due to Treasury under provision for the 1995/96 financial year, this could not be accomplished and consequently negotiations will recommence to eliminate the backlog.

(b) how long did the strike last or has it been lasting and (c) what are the estimated costs in this respect to (i) airlines and (ii) passengers,

(2) whether any steps have been or are being taken to end the strike; if not, why not, if so, (a) what steps and (b) by whom?

N148E

Staff of subsidiary of SAA at Jan Smuts Airport on strike

The MINISTER FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

(1) Yes

86 Mr J T ALBERTYN asked the Minister for Public Enterprises †

(1) Whether the staff of a subsidiary of the South African Airways which handles luggage at the Jan Smuts Airport and whose name has been furnished to her Department for the purpose of her reply, were recently on strike or are striking at present, if so, (a) what caused the strike,

(a) Labour dispute.

(b) Six hours

(c) (i) and (ii) Not possible to calculate

(2) Yes

(a) Agreement was reached

(b) SA Airways Management and Trade Union

HANSAID 28/3/95

377

WEDNESDAY, 29 MARCH 1995

378

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Zulu-imbizo: funding

1 Dr B E NZIMANDE asked the Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development

(1) Whether the Zulu imbizo held on 12 March 1995 was wholly or partly funded by the provincial government of KwaZulu-Natal, if not, how was this meeting financed, if so, what total amount was spent on the said imbizo,

(2) whether the KwaZulu-Natal Executive Council approved the funding of this meeting, if not, what is the position in this regard, if so, from which budget vote was it funded?

N272E INT

The MINISTER FOR PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT Mr Speaker, to enable me to reply to the question, the Director-General of the Department of Constitutional Development approached Prof Nxumalo, the Director-General of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. Prof Nxumalo indicated in writing that the imbizo was wholly funded by a private donation. He also supplied me with a copy of a press statement made by Mr T Memela, the public relations officer of the Office of the Premier of KwaZulu-Natal, in which he stated that he had been informed by the Premier that no Government funds had been paid for the imbizo held in Umhlanga on 12 March. According to this statement, during the week prior to the imbizo an account was opened into which private donations were paid and all expenses relating to the imbizo were therefore to be paid from private funds. Mr Memela also stated that the previous statement he had made, to the effect that the provincial government had funded the imbizo, was the result of a misunderstanding, and should be ignored.

My response is therefore the following regarding the first part of the question. No, according to the information at my disposal, which was obtained from the province concerned, the imbizo was financed by private donations. Prof Nxu-

malo did not convey any information regarding the total amount that was spent on the said imbizo. The second part of the question falls away. *HANSAID 29/3/95*

Dr B E NZIMANDE Mr Speaker, the answer that the hon the Minister has been given to table here is totally unsatisfactory. [Interjections.]

In fact, there is a possibility of a cover-up. Why do I say this? Firstly, in a statement issued to *The Daily News* by Mr Memela, spokesperson of the KwaZulu-Natal premier, immediately after the imbizo, he said that R20 228 was spent on refreshments and hiring a tent, chairs and toilets. He said that the money was made available "by the government of KwaZulu-Natal through a Vote on public functions". Later, on 16 March, Mr Memela retracted this statement by saying:

I have been informed by the premier that no government funds paid for the so-called imbizo. An account was opened during the week previous to the imbizo into which private donations were paid.

That is what he said.

Immediately two questions arise. Firstly, why did Mr Memela make the earlier statement in which he quoted an exact amount and gave details of the account from which this came? This is a very strange kind of misunderstanding, which he claims it is. Secondly, can a public official like a premier convene a meeting in his official capacity which is then funded from private sources? Is this not a basis for corruption?

A further question also arises as to how those private monies were disbursed from the special account that Mr Memela is talking about. Is it acceptable for a government to open special accounts with funds from unknown private sources and then to have it disbursed by public officials? That is the question.

We are very suspicious of this answer. When Inkathagate first hit the news, it was denied. Later it was proved that the apartheid government did indeed secretly fund the IFP through slush funds. Now we have the same situation here. In the light of this we call upon the Minister to ask the Public Protector as well as the Auditor-General actually to investigate the fund-

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HANSARD 08/13/95

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Sick Banda again fails to appear for murder trial

Blantyre — Malawi's former leader Kamuzu Banda failed to appear in court to face murder charges yesterday

Banda, who is in his mid-90s, was too ill to stand trial, defence lawyer Clive Stanbrook told the court, urging that the charges be dropped

"Whatever people may feel about Dr Banda, he is now nearing the end of a long life. The prospects for him to improve must now be regarded as remote," Stanbrook said

Banda, his close associate and former cabinet minister John Tembo, Banda's longtime companion "Mama" Ceceha Kadzamira and three policemen are accused of killing four politicians in 1983

Public prosecutor Kamudon Nyasulu said on Monday the State would press ahead with the trial whether or not Banda was in court, but yesterday the hearing was devoted to whether the trial should go ahead.

Nyasulu will make his submission today. — Reuter.



No show . . . a Malawian policeman sets his dog on supporters of former president Kamuzu Banda at the Malawi High Court in Blantyre yesterday as a large crowd waits for his arrival. Banda is charged, along with five others, with the 1983 murders of four Malawian members of parliament.

PICTURE AP



AFRICA

New Malawian charter slated

CT 19/5/95
BLANTYRE: Malawian opposition leaders and human rights activists have attacked the new constitution, which came into force yesterday (170)

President Bakili Muluzi, celebrating a year in power as Malawi's first democratically elected leader, assented this week to the country's new constitution, after it was legislated by parliament recently

Mr Kamlepo Kalua, leader of the opposition Malawi Democratic Party, said yesterday the new constitution was manipulated to serve the interests of those in power.

The leader of the opposition Christian Democratic Party, Mr Eston Kakhoma, said the constitution "left a lot to be desired", saying it disregarded key resolutions passed at the February constitutional conference

Tunisia 'must up investment'

TUNIS: Tunisia's Central Bank governor said yesterday the Tunis Bourse must open up to foreign buying to increase investment in the North African country.

"The bourse must integrate itself more in the international financial markets to attract foreign investment," Mr Mohamed Beji Hamda told a university seminar on external financial resources

Foreign investment and repatriation of income and capital are free in Tunisia, but foreign investors at the Tunis Bourse need to obtain authorisation from the central bank

Mr Hamda said Tunisia wanted to attract medium- and long-term capital and discourage short-term investors who could have a destabilising effect.

Money urged for steel project

CT 19/5/95
LAGOS: Officials in charge of Nigeria's much-delayed Ajaokuta steel project have urged the military government to provide funds for the completion of the plant which has already cost \$4 billion (about R14,46bn)

Mr Musa Wakawa, managing director of Ajaokuta Steel Company, was quoted as saying if the funds were provided, his company could activate the wire rod and light sector mills and start production next month.

He said revenue thus generated could be used to put two other mills on stream by the end of the year and the entire plant could be operational by the end of 1996 — 17 years after construction started

Still benefiting from the SA connection

(172) Star 13/9/95

MALAWI seems not to have lost out in relation to the new South Africa. Julius Kalya reports from Blantyre for the Independent Foreign Service

It's hard to tell whether it's old habits that die hard or new fraternal links between the majority-elected governments in South Africa and Malawi, but this little African state is still benefiting, if modestly, from big brother

Patuma Alubi, a widow of over 70 who lives near Mwanbo, about 100km north-east of Blantyre, no longer walks long distances to grind her maize

The SA Government answered her prayers, she says. Not only was a maize mill donated to the women in this area, but nearby, at the village Mlenga, a borehole has been drilled.

"South Africa would like to assist Malawi at the grassroots level," beams the ambassador to Malawi, Lewlyn Crewe. Brown as he hands over these instruments of pride to the rural poor.

Old Alubi, like most of the womenfolk in Chief Mwanbo's area, walked

long distances to collect water and grind maize.

"Without water you die, and without food you die as well," observes the old woman.

Malawi knows this only too well. This year the country will import 300 000 tons of food. The old capital Zomba, near Mwanbo, saw water rationing last year when the Mulunguzi Dam dried up.

Many rivers and streams throughout the densely populated countryside have slowed to a trickle or stopped altogether.

Recently Malawi's seat of government, Lilongwe, was almost without water given the combined effects of a water shortage and strikes by Water Board workers demanding higher pay.

Crewe Brown says the

emphasis of the SA Government is to help the most needy.

South Africa's record of interest in Malawi dates back to this country's independence in 1964. South Africa was

influential in the capital moving from Zomba to Lilongwe and security co-operation was always evident.

But Crewe Brown stresses a different sort of co-operation today. He

says South Africa is keen to support development in Malawi and 180 Malawian students recently received scholarships.

In Chitipa on the border with Tanzania, South Africa has also given assistance to the Chitipa Distance Education Centre.

"We are very thankful to the South African Government," says the

district education officer, Macnail Ngyura.

For the maize grinder and the borehole, assistant district commissioner Harris Potani gropes for words to adequately express his thanks.

And for widow Alubi, with no sense of historical irony, they mean the world. "Without water you die and without food you die as well," she says.

What Banda left Malawi

14-20/7/95

(170)

As President Hastings Banda goes on trial for murder this week, his legacy of poverty lives on in Malawi, reports **Georges Marion**

EVEN though Hastings Kamuzu Banda is not entirely free to go where he likes — the government recently confiscated his armoured stretch limousine — Malawi's former dictator and president for life can't complain too much about the treatment he is getting.

During his rule, people were jailed without trial, or simply assassinated. But he is only under house arrest waiting for the courts to rule on his responsibility in the 1983 deaths of three of his former ministers and a Parliament member killed in a "car accident".

Facing the same charges as the senile and nearly 100-year-old Banda is Cecilia Kadzamba, his once all-powerful mistress who is still with him. Cecilia's uncle and the regime's former second-ranking man, John Tembo, is not so lucky. He is in custody, as are three policemen.

After several delays, the trial started this week, but was suspended on Wednesday so officials could find more jurors. Judge Maekesa Mbatia

ruled six of seven potential jurors selected so far could not hear the case because they were not from the same district as those on trial. Residential qualification is the first jurors must meet to form a seven-member jury. Jury selection includes lengthy cross examination of candidates.

The chief accused, Banda himself, will not be in the dock because he is too weak to be brought to court.

Malawians were not unduly surprised to hear of the recent arrest of four former senior government officials on suspicion of preparing the assassinations of several Roman Catholic bishops. The bishops in question published a pastoral letter in March 1992 condemning human rights violations in Malawi. They were arrested and then released. The violent rioting that broke out two months later in Blantyre sounded the death knell of Banda's regime. He was forced to step down in March 1994 following a defeat in the first free elections held in the country since independence in 1964.

Emerging from a dictatorship is always a painful Malawi's 10-million inhabitants are discovering that today. A year after duping Banda they are wrestling with overwhelming problems such as poverty, AIDS and one of the worst levels of malnutrition

In Africa.

Many of Malawi's problems can be blamed on the economic legacy left by the former regime, but the climate is also chronically unfavourable in a country that economically depends heavily on its soil. President Bakili Muluzi's government seems unable to come up with a suitable recovery plan.

Malawi is kept alive by a drip-feed of international aid from foreign sources, including the European Union — the largest donor — which gives \$250-million, and the former colonial power Britain, whose wishes cannot be ignored. Under such constraints, Malawi's independence is debatable. Donor countries and aid organisations acknowledge that they impose extremely strict conditions on the Malawians in return for helping them.

The country has been through 30 years of bloody dictatorship under Banda glorified to the point of ridicule — judging by the various institutions named after him — Banda ruthlessly hounded his political opponents. The western powers obligingly looked the other way, for they were all backing anti-communist Malawi against neighbouring countries that favoured Moscow. Thousands of soldiers and militia lords of the land had no alternative but



Malawi's Hastings Banda: A rare public appearance in 1992. Now he's too old and sick to attend his own murder trial

PHOTOGRAPH PETER BAKER/WAP

to claim up in terrified silence.

A year after the elections the country has changed radically. Although Banda's party complains — with some justification — that it does not have access to radio, Malawi sports about 10 daily newspapers, mostly owned by politicians who use them to further their own careers. The MCP does not lack resources, and the many publications it owns do not have a kind word for the new government.

Malawians now openly express their opinions and even go on strike. And, in a marked change, the country no longer has political prisoners.

But the social and economic fabric is disastrous. This year's harvests have helped the country to do without the usual emergency food aid from

partly supplied under the United Nations World Food Aid Programme. But the yield remains insufficient. A joint 1993 UN-Malawi University study showed that low farm output, lack of training, poor health, and a rapidly growing population are combining with shaky institutional structures to turn the country into one of the world's poorest.

The government has launched a programme, financed by aid, to combat poverty. Meanwhile the 120 members of Parliament from the ruling majority recently received a gift of \$3 400 each from the president. The money came from funds earmarked for fighting poverty. Corruption in Malawi is still rampant — *The Guardian*

Banda haunts Malawi

Prison conditions have not changed since multiparty elections last year

By Julius Zava

TORTURE IS STILL COMMON in Malawi's prisons and police cells despite last year's downfall of Hastings Kamuzu Banda's repressive regime, according to an official investigation. Human rights abuses abound, repressive laws remain on the statute book and the courts are in urgent need of reform, say lawyers critical of the system.

Fral Banda, now well into his 90s and on trial accused of murdering four political opponents in 1983, has been deemed medically unfit to appear in court. But recently, after months of house arrest, he appeared at a window of his home in Blantyre to wave his fly-whisk at a crowd of 300 supporters and shout his old slogan "Kwacha" (Down) Ufulu (Freedom) Mendera' (Peace!)"

But freedom and democracy were not in evidence under the ruthless machine he constructed to prop himself up for 30 years in power. And they remain elusive for ordinary Malawians

Banda's legacy to his political successors left little money to reform the old system. However, the Govern-

ment of President Bakili Muluzi, who won the country's first multiparty elections last year, has been accused of simply stepping into his shoes.

Prison conditions are nearly as bad as they were during the Banda era, when many jails were built to serve as execution centres. The International Committee of the Red Cross inspected the prisons about two years ago and proposed many changes.

A High Court Judge, Justice Tambala, chairman of the Prisons Inspectorate Committee which has recently completed a tour of jails, told *Gemini News* that the Red Cross recommendations had yet to be implemented.

Tambala said torture still existed in prisons and police cells, and that during the tour, his team had met prisoners who had been beaten with hosepipes on their backs, hands and soles of the feet.

Prisoners seemed to accept torture as the norm and did not complain until the Inspectorate Committee pressed them hard.

Tambala said that he saw evidence of torture in police holding centres. Conditions in cells were "very bad, filthy and dehumanising".

Lawyer 10/11/95 (170)



Former Malawi leader Hastings Kamuzu Banda ... torture is still common in Malawi's prisons and police cells.

Inmates were using buckets or blocked toilets in their cells, which posed a great health hazard because the prisons were the most overcrowded places in the country.

There were still no beds in the jails and blankets donated by the Red Cross two years ago needed replacing. In many cases, said Tambala, prisoners had to sleep with tattered

blankets even in cold weather.

The prison diet was poor and monotonous, the source of frequent complaints.

Malawi's Minister of Information, Brown Mpinganjira, advocates the transformation of prisons into "active rehabilitation centres", but says the Government has no money to do the job.

Meanwhile, lawyer and prominent human rights activist, Mwedeni Msiska, has painted a grim picture of human rights abuses in Malawi. "Just as in Banda's era, the police and prison officials are an extension of the army bent on obeying orders from a government who thinks it can make decisions without constitutional obligation."

Msiska tells that in Malawi, "that it uphold human rights. People will think they are the property of a government, which can do whatever it wants with them. The nation has forgotten sleep and no-one sees that human rights violations are still going on. No efforts were being made to halt torture in prisons and police cells. Police always handcuffed suspects, whatever the nature of the crime, and often failed to bring detained suspects before the courts within the legally required 48 hours."

Msiska called on the Government to carry out a big human rights education campaign to protect ordinary citizens from arbitrary police action. He adds that it is the duty of the courts to remind the state machinery to respect human rights.

Other lawyers in Malawi say the courts require reform because they are still operating as they did in the old days - viewing Parliament as being superior to the constitutional provisions on human rights.

Many of Banda's repressive laws have not been repealed and the means to return to one-party dictatorship remain, say human rights activists. Legislation on sedition, state secrets and censorship still exist. - *Gemini News*.

Malawi makes first of 30 000 public service retrenchments

ET 24/11/95 2170 (170)

By PATRICK MWANZA

Blantyre — The government of Malawi has started laying off civil servants in line with an independent inquiry into civil service conditions

About 30 000 jobs out of a workforce of 105 000 (1992 census) are on the line, following recommendations by the Chatsika Commission to improve efficiency and productivity and to increase salaries.

The government, under the auspices of the World Bank, Malawi's economic backer, has just completed a civil servants' census, the results of which are yet to be announced. The census came after a scandal in which the government had employed "ghost" workers. Some officials taking advantage of free primary education — introduced to boost literacy levels where 47 percent of a total population of 10 million cannot read or write — were cashing in as "shadow teachers"

Owing to the demand created by the new education system, the government was forced to employ more teachers, most of them being "temporary"

Government records show cases where four teachers bear the same number, same grade, same station, and come from the same district but get different pay. Yet the ministry of education says a teacher is supposed to have one employment number. "The other salaries are pocketed by some-

one within the ministry," says Viva Nyimba, civil servants' trade union adviser.

The Chatsika report also comes at a time when the government, which has taken all donor prescriptions, enters the second phase of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund structural adjustment programme. Structural changes in the economy, which have thrown the future of many into doubt, began in February 1994. Inflation stands at 71 percent.

Pledge

The idea to reorganise the civil service was conceived in 1992. The Nation, a daily newspaper, reported in a recent edition that two weeks before the general elections last year, Hastings Banda's government made a pledge to the World Bank that it would declare thousands of civil servants redundant to improve the performance of the public sector.

Former finance minister Louis Chimango said "Government realises that uncontrolled growth in the civil service establishment could undermine its future fiscal stability"

Chimango said there was "considerable overstaffing in the junior ranks" and recommended "an overhauling and harmonising of the government's current personnel and financial information system"

Now, as then, the rank and file of civil

servants come to work late and knock off early. Asked why they approach their work so casually, the response is usually "Work for what you earn." Civil servants are among the lowest paid in the country.

In July this year civil servants went on a two-week nationwide strike demanding better working conditions. The government said the strike cost the country \$1 million a day. Malawi's economy is in the doldrums and is drip-fed by aid. The largest donor is the European Union, which provides \$250 million a year.

Civil servants complained recently that a recent increase in the price of maize, the staple food, had made life unbearable. A 90kg bag of maize now costs \$17, up from \$4.46. They also complained about big allowances for cabinet ministers and their deputies.

Donors have complained about government's uncontrolled expenditure. Peter Christiansen, the European Union's representative, has warned of possible donor fatigue if the government does not stamp out corruption in this impoverished state, where three out of five people live below the breadline.

Recently, the president gave gifts of \$3 400 to members of his ruling majority from funds sourced from local and international donors that were earmarked to combat poverty — Independent Foreign Service

Banda cleared of all charges

182
24/12/95
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The S. High Court yesterday acquitted former President Kamuzu Banda, two close associates and three policemen of conspiracy in the 1983 murder of four opposition politicians.

"We came up with a unanimous verdict of not guilty of all charges," said the foreman of the seven-member jury in a short statement after deliberating for 90 minutes.

More than 1 000 Banda supporters thronged the court, erupting into cheering after the verdict was announced.

Prosecutor Kamudoni Nyasulu said he would appeal against the acquittal of Mr Banda, who ruled Malawi for three decades until being ousted in the

country's first multiparty elections last year, his former top aide John Tembo, official hostess Cecelia Kadzamira and three senior policemen.

"The judge was part of the defence. He was not being impartial," Mr Nyasulu said.

The state had originally planned two trials, one for murder, the other for conspiracy, but dropped the murder charges.

Mr Banda, Mrs Kadzamira, Mr Tembo and the police officers were charged with the 1983 murders of three cabinet ministers and an MP. All six had pleaded not guilty.

Mr Banda, who is in his mid-90s, did not appear in court because of frail health. *ST Reuters*

Banda not guilty, says jury

CP 24/12/95

FORMER Malawian president Kamuzu Banda (96) was found not guilty yesterday on murder charges.

Banda, who ruled Malawi for three decades before being ousted in elections last year, was acquitted of conspiring to murder four prominent politicians in 1983.

Found not guilty along with him by a seven-member High Court jury after a five-month trial were his constant companion Cecilia Kadzamira, close aide John Tembo and three former police officers - MacDonald Kalemba, Leston Kikaomba and MacWilliam Lunguzi.

Hundreds of Banda's supporters inside and out-



KAMUZU BANDA

side the courtroom erupted with joy when the verdicts were announced, and were controlled by riot police with dogs.

The charges stemmed from the deaths in 1983 of four parliamentarians.
- Sapa-AFP

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MALAWI - GENERAL

1996 - 1997

Malawi feels downside of free market

Sowetan 4/1/96

By Chatonda Mahone

BLANTYRE – Malawians had not read the small print when they dumped former dictator Hastings Banda and elected the free-market government of Bakili Muluzi just more than a year ago

In 1994 the exchange rate became market determined and the Malawi kwacha crashed

Its dive was accelerated by a shortage of foreign exchange due to delayed donor capital inflows, and a savage drought

By the end of that year the kwacha had depreciated by 220 percent against the United States dollar, finally stabilising at MK15 to the dollar

This was against the backdrop of an economy in serious trouble

Malawi's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined by a drought-induced 12.4 percent in 1994, a dramatic reversal from an official growth rate of 10.8 percent the previous year, and a further blow to the 80 percent of Malawians below the poverty line

The weak kwacha has led to a mounting fuel import bill. Things came to a head in July last year when the energy and mining ministry announced a 32.2 percent hike in the price of petrol, diesel and paraffin

Petrol now retails at MK10 (from MK8.04 a litre) and diesel is up from MK6.68 to MK8.40

This has meant steep rises in the cost of cargo and transport in this landlocked country

Price rocketed

Since subsidies were removed on fuel in 1993, the pump price has rocketed by 200 percent, taking the cost of imports and retailed goods with it

"We have no money, we cannot afford these prices," complains Stanford Nthala, a salesman in a shop in the commercial centre of Blantyre

While Malawians were still recovering from the shock of last July's fuel increases, the government announced a 160 to 300 percent hike in fertilizer prices the next month

Although the government had earlier raised the producer price on a 50kg bag of maize by 70 percent, the fertilizer increase was seen as unreasonable and unrealistic

Villagers, who had just managed to eke out a living as subsistence producers, argued that farming was now no longer viable

Agriculture is the mainstay of Malawi's economy, contributing 25 percent of its GDP and affects the livelihood of more than 80 percent of the population

Poverty

Poverty in the rural areas is pervasive. While the commercial estates have land and labour, population pressures mean smallholders farm on average less than a hectare, hardly enough to sustain most households

Malawi has had a decade of International Monetary Fund/World Bank structural adjustment but it is only with Muluzi's government that the reforms have been applied with enthusiasm

under the watchful eye of the donors

Over the last year, the income gap between the poor and rich has widened in a country with a per capita income of just R200

In agriculture, commercial farmers are able to absorb rising input costs while the smallholders are squeezed

In the urban areas, the merchants pass on their costs to the consumers

Several measures were put in place to achieve some stability in the exchange rate. These focussed on curbing monetary expansion through prudent monetary and fiscal policies, the Reserve Bank says

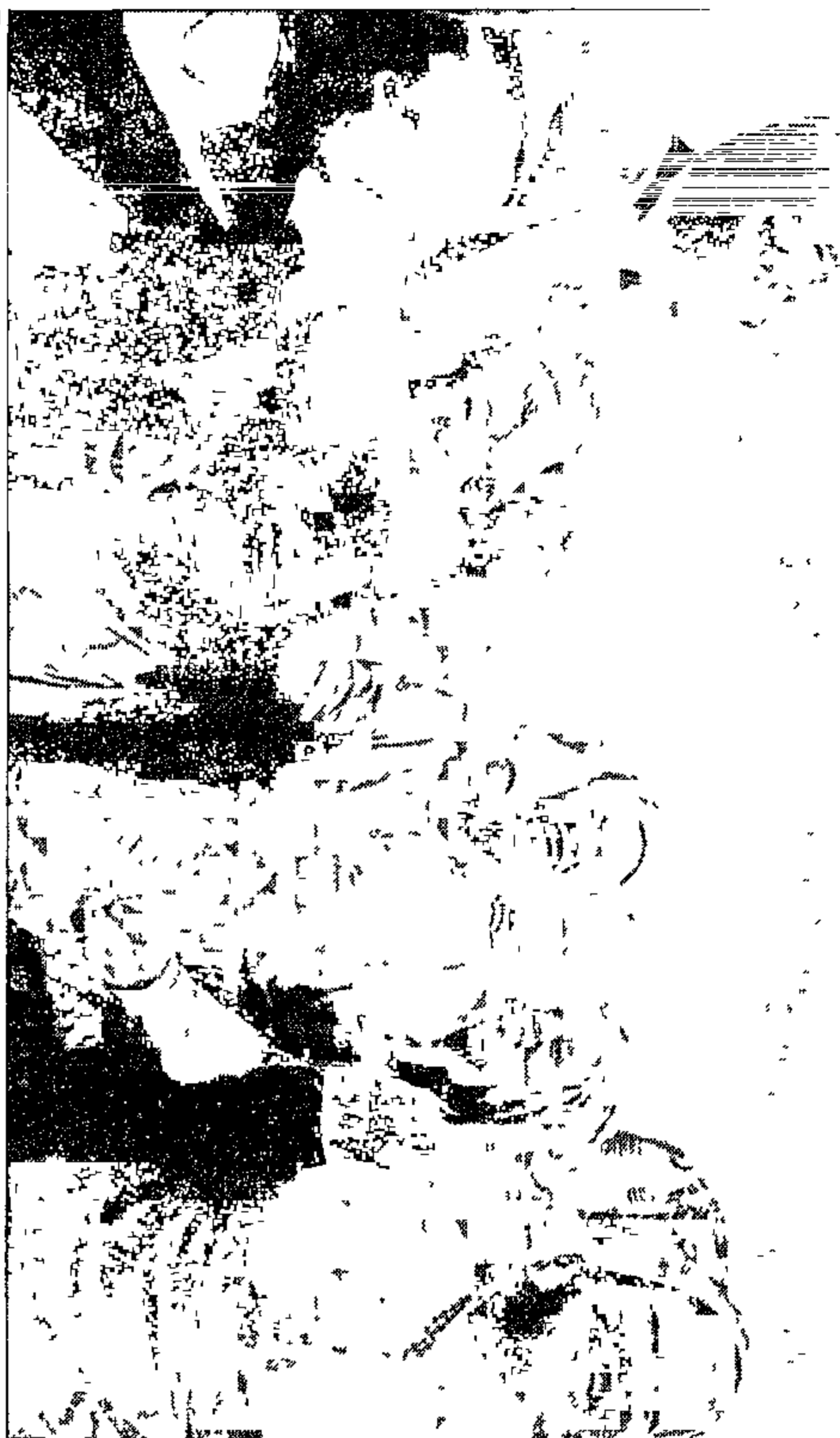
An investment bank economist countered "This will lead to a decline in long-term investment which, in turn, will lead to declining output

"Certain policies such as currency devaluation and high interest rates have a negative impact on production"

Commercial bank lending rates are currently pegged at 48 percent

For the thousands of former public servants retrenched under government spending cuts, going back to the overcrowded land is not an alternative and, along with the rising cost of living, has come an urban crime explosion

The good old days? Former dictator Hastings Banda at a rally during the days when he ruled Malawi with an iron hand. The country's economy is now struggling under his successor President Bakili Muluzi



Poverty is becoming institutionalised, with real wages declining due to rising inflation (currently estimated at more than 60 percent)

For the urban poor, the removal of subsidies on basic commodities has hit them hard

Along with the squeeze on people's pockets have come cuts to social spending in education and health

Already one can see survival tactics at work. Households no longer rely on the breadwinner's paypacket, and an informal sector of street vendors and petty traders has blossomed

After being triumphantly elected, ending 30 years of Banda's one-party rule, Muluzi faces a deeply despondent Malawi

But, with donor support depending on his government sticking with the reform programme, he appears to have few options but to press on – Sapa-IPS

Malawi's TV revolution

MALAWI is preparing for a social revolution, reports LAWRENCE BARTLETT of Agence France Presse in Blantyre.

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ARF 6/13/96
national programming

The coming of television and miniskirts are hot topics in Malawi, decades after most of the rest of the world succumbed to their charms

As this sleepy southern African nation emerges from three decades of dictatorial rule by puritanical Presbyterian Hastings Kamuzu Banda, miniskirts appear more welcome to some than television

"If you asked (most Malawians) whether they would be interested in having television their answer would probably be 'What does it taste like?', wrote a commentator in a recent issue of the *Malawi News*, owned by Banda's Malawi Congress Party

He feared that television, due to be introduced in June, "is bound to accelerate the degeneration of moral decency now eating at the very heart of our society."

A columnist writing in the same newspaper, however, took

his fellow citizens to task for their less than modern views on women's clothing

"It should be emphasised that any man who thinks that a woman in miniskirt or trousers is a whore, exposes his own stupidity, ignorance and primitiveness," he wrote

Banda, 96, who ruled this tropical former British colony from independence in 1964 until he was ousted in elections in May 1994, would not have liked that

He introduced a dress code which outlawed skirts above the knee and trousers for women, and guests checking into hotels in Malawi would find polite notices warning them of this fact

But Malawi is changing, and the introduction of television - in what must be one of the last TV-free countries in the world - is bound to accelerate that change

The man in charge of setting up the public TV broadcasting system, Postmaster General Steve

Mjiga, dismisses fears that the box which holds audiences around the world in thrall will be a tool of cultural imperialism

"That is naive. Whether we like it or not there will be TV in Malawi through satellite broadcasting," he said in an interview

"There are about 17 channels available by satellite. My argument is that if we are afraid of cultural imperialism the only way to fight that is to have our own local interpretations of what is going on out there."

Satellite TV is expensive in Malawi, one of the world's poorest countries, and there are just 2,000 subscribers out of a population of around 11-million

Mjiga is obviously enthusiastic about the prospect of turning the rest of the country on

He acknowledges arguments that poverty and a lack of electricity will make it difficult for many Malawians to enjoy his

proposed diet of "education, information and entertainment"

But, he says, a small black and white set will be available for around R380 and those without electricity can get on their bicycles and get their batteries charged at the nearest power point

Those for whom even this would be too-much - and that would be the majority of Malawians - will have access to sets run off solar panels in high schools and in some 200 rural community centres

With around 60 percent of the population illiterate and no cinemas in the country, Mjiga believes TV is the medium with the magic touch for the education of Malawians

Along with imported soap operas and movies and a possible deal with CNN and the BBC for international news, he hopes to achieve a 50 percent local content of educational and infor-

The Japanese government has offered one scholarship for staff training, and Mjiga is hoping for more

He says the initial investment to get television broadcast in the four main urban areas will be just R380-million

The optimistic Mjiga, who takes obvious pleasure in Malawi's move into the modern age, hopes that with advertising, sponsorship and licence fees, TV will make a profit in Malawi after six years

Sapa-AFP

Malawi expects huge deficit cut as national revenues rise

CT (BR) 26/3/96 (170)

Zomba — Aleke Banda, Malawi's finance minister said his country would have a deficit of about 1,2 billion Malawi kwacha (about R324 million) compared to last year's 2,1 billion kwacha deficit, when he presented his budget for the year last Friday.

"Revenues are expected to increase substantially from 2,2 billion kwacha to close at 4,5 billion kwacha, an increase of more than 100 percent," Banda said.

He said donors' grants increased from 1,6 billion to 2 billion kwacha last year.

Recurrent expenditure would rise by 21 percent this year to 6,57 billion kwacha. If interest payments were excluded, recurrent spending would increase at a lower percentage of 17,7 percent, Banda said.

This year's development expenditure

would increase 16,4 percent to almost 1,8 billion kwacha from last year's 1,57 billion.

He said more than 80 percent of that would be financed by the international donor community.

Real GDP increased more than 8,5 percent last year.

"The overall objective of the economic programme for 1996-1997 will aim at the achievement of a real GDP growth rate for the fiscal year of about 10,9 percent," Banda said.

He said the programme would aim to bring inflation down to 20 percent by the end of December this year. Malawi's annual inflation rate by January this year was 70 percent.

Banda said real output was expected to grow 8,8 percent in the year compared with last year's 8,5 percent — Reuter.

1996
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Malawi to sell loss-making public service enterprises

ET (BR) 30/4/96 (170)

By ANTHONY LIVUZA

Blantyre — The government's plans to sell loss-making public enterprises are partly intended to spread ownership of the economy, but observers doubt that most Malawians have the money to buy shares in the state companies.

Officials manning the programme said privatisation would improve efficiency in the economy by increasing competition and disposing of monopolies.

They said the programme would promote Malawian participation in the economy through discounted share offers or management and employee buy-outs.

The programme is part of a strategy to attract direct and indirect foreign investment and raise government revenue. It entailed an overhaul of labour, tax, foreign-exchange and financial policies.

Employees would be guaranteed a 10 to 15 percent of share in parastatals. These would be sold on a preferential basis using refrenchment packages or concessionary credits from a government fund.

Some observers said even with such arrangements, few people had the money to take up shares. Besides, employees who bought shares in state companies were required to hold them for two years before they could sell them.

"The idea is that the employee share-ownership scheme should not be speculative but should be an actual investment," said Dyress Mawindo, the controller of statutory corporations and the candidate favoured to head the proposed privatisation commission.

Aurlings Ngwira, a civil servant, said people were financially strained and burdened with high prices for commodities.

He said people could not afford to invest the little money they had in an unpredictable venture.

Tough conditions have been set for the sale of the parastatals. All sales have to be in cash, except for shares sold to employees.

The future of about 500 000 employees in the parastatals is bleak. The draft policy gives buyers the authority to hire and fire.

"No parameters on local versus foreign employees or management should be set," the draft policy said.

A bill to privatise or commercialise the parastatals is before parliament and is supported by ruling and opposition party backbenchers.

The bill provides for a privatisation commission to oversee the disposal of public enterprises, commercial entities and commercial assets. A comprehensive plan has not yet been worked out, at least one entity, the Malawi book service, should go at the end of this month.

Parastatals account for about 20 percent of Malawi's total gross national product and 22 percent of the total fixed investments.

Except for the Electricity Supply Commission of Malawi and the Blantyre Water Board, the parastatals have consistently underperformed, forcing the government to hand over at least 1 billion kwacha (about R300 million) every year in direct subsidies.

The parastatals' losses totalled about 19 million kwacha in the 1993-94 financial year.

The government, which has majority and minority stakes in the state-owned statutory bodies, registered companies and treasury funds, wants to cut spending on parastatals to release more resources to the productive sectors of the economy — Independent Foreign Service.

Malawi (170)

eases Asian restrictions

MTG 17-23/5/96

Anthony Livuza in Blantyre

MILLIONS of Malawians are eagerly awaiting the return of Asian businessmen to the rural areas from which they have been legally barred for the past 26 years. Ruling and opposition parliamentarians have put a tentative seal of approval on government plans to repeal a law prohibiting Asians from running rural businesses.

The Business Licensing Act was enacted by the government of former president Hastings Banda, ostensibly to promote businesses run by black Malawians who did not successfully compete with the Asians.

When the Asians left they sold off buildings and assets to blacks, but most of the infrastructure is now run down and the businesses have collapsed, largely due to lack of financial resources and business acumen.

Debate on the return of Asian businesses — mostly retail traders — was sparked by the democracy movement which ended Banda's 30 years of autocratic rule in May 1994. The rallying cry for those favouring the repeal of the Business Licensing Act was that freedom of movement is a basic human right, and that to confine Asians to cities and towns was a gross violation of that right.

But the Asians are said to doubt if the time is ripe for them to return. They are worried about security, which has reached the same precarious level as in cities and towns, and are concerned with the crumbling road network, decayed telecommunication systems and deteriorating health and education services.

Most of all, they doubt that there is a profitable market for their businesses in the rural areas, where few people can afford basic necessities.

"Why should I go into rural areas where the security situation is as bad as in towns, where the police do not respond even if there is a burglary a stone's throw away from their station?" asks Iqbal Hassan, an Asian running a hardware shop in Lilongwe, Malawi's administrative capital.

Some Asians have been trading in rural areas by proxy, appointing black businessmen to sell their merchandise. For now, this option seems more palatable to most Asians — AIA

Malawi retains death penalty

M+G 24-30/5/96 (170)

Angeis Mtukulo

MALAWI is to retain the death sentence despite ongoing attempts by Amnesty International to have it abolished

High court judge and chairman of the Prison Inspectorate Commission, Duncan Tambala, says there is no option but the death sentence for murder because this is endorsed by the country's Constitution

Amnesty members from all over the world have lobbied Malawians to seek the abolition of the death sentence. They write letters to individuals, groups, the press and senior civil servants as well as to President Bak-

ili Muluzi

Amnesty's hopes that the death penalty would be abolished rose in 1994 after Muluzi commuted all death sentences to life imprisonment

But in May 1995 Muluzi endorsed a new Constitution which included the death penalty. Earlier that year at a conference to discuss the Constitution, 157 delegates voted in favour of the penalty, 28 against and 23 abstained

The reasons for the overwhelming vote in favour of the death sentence are reflected in the observations of a traditional chief who said that since Malawi adopted pluralistic politics in

1993, there had been more murder, rape and armed robbery

"Already we have witnessed a breakdown in security and increased lawlessness in the country. If we endorse that those who commit murder should walk away scot-free, we are indirectly empowering criminals to intensify their brutal acts," said the chief

Sources say that hundreds of people were executed for various crimes when the Banda regime was in power

A recent survey by the Prison Inspectorate Commission said there are more than 800 murder suspects in remand prisons awaiting trial

Prisons Public Relations Officer Winston Manyera says there are 10 people waiting to be sent to the gallows. At least seven people have been executed since Malawi changed leadership in 1994 — AIA

Malawian reforms are on target

By Emelia Sithole

Harare — Malaw. is on track to meet the fiscal and monetary targets it has agreed with the International Monetary Fund for this year, Matt Chikaonda, the governor of the Central Bank, said at the weekend. The fund is backing the country's economic reforms.

Chikaonda said that annual inflation had declined sharply to an estimated 29 percent from 64 percent at the beginning of the year. He ascribed the drop to tight monetary and fiscal policies, and bumper harvests this year after good rains.

He said that under a three-year extended structural adjustment facility programme (Esaf) that was adopted last year, President Bakili Muluzi's government had to reduce its spending and bring inflation down to 20 percent by December.

"Right now the economy in Malawi is on track to meet the targets of the three-year Esaf programme. All the indications are that we will achieve the 20 percent target in annual inflation by year end," Chikaonda said in Harare.

He was in Zimbabwe to attend a symposium of southern Africa's central bank governors held on Thursday and the commissioning of a new Z\$584 million (about R261,45 million) headquarters for the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.

He said the government had

imposed tight fiscal discipline to curb inflation and had cut down on its spending.

It had also curtailed its borrowing, mainly from the central bank, to finance the budget deficit. State-owned firms that were burdening the fiscus were being streamlined.

"We are running a cash budget system under which government ministries can only spend what they get. What we are saying is we have to live within our means," Chikaonda said.

The Bank had also frozen the government's overdraft facility. Purchase orders that contributed to overspending by the government had been suspended, Chikaonda said.

He said the government had drawn up a three-year plan to privatise, rationalise or liquidate more than 100 state firms, most of which relied on subsidies.

Chikaonda said the Malawian government had taken advantage of the euphoria in the impoverished southern African country that greeted the advent of multiparty polls in 1994 after 30 years of one-party rule to introduce the harsh measures.

"One of the key issues to make structural adjustment successful is quick implementation of the measures.

"If that implementation is half-hearted it won't work," he said. "The best is to say let's bite

the bullet, don't prolong the pain.

"Our government has been fortunate because most of these tough measures are taking place at the beginning of its term.

"The timing couldn't have been better. I'm not sure they (political leaders) could have done it if we had been heading towards elections," he said.

He said that with the fall in annual inflation the bank could reduce the discount rate from its present level of 50 percent. It could also lower the lending rates, which had been between 48 percent and 57 percent, despite the lower inflation rate.

However, he would not be drawn into saying when or by how much the bank would cut its discount rate.

"We are looking to see a significant drop in the rate because we need a significant drop to make an impact to draw investment," Chikaonda said.

He said that Western donors were fully supporting Malawi's efforts to mend its economy because of the successful economic reforms to date.

They had pulled out of the country to force the former president, Kamuzu Banda, to introduce multiparty elections.

"It looks like people wanted to see whether the changes were real and now they (donors) are jumping back in, which is exciting for the country," he said. — Reuter

CT (M) 4/6/96

(170)

Opposition chiefs in Malawi do some wishful thinking to get rid of Muluzi

Star 11/6/96
BY JULIUS KALIYA
Star Foreign Service

Blantyre - Opponents of Malawian President Bakili Muluzi have one thing in common - they want the Muslim president of this predominantly Christian country out of office. But how? This is the question that has captured the imagination of the nation.

Muluzi's critics are frustrated because they say he has failed to deliver on promises made in the runup to the referendum in 1993 and the general elections of May 17 1994.

But there is nothing in the country's constitution that allows them to take such action.

The right-hand man of former president Hastings Kamuzu Banda, General John Tembo, who allegedly authorised the murder of three cabinet ministers and a parliamentarian 13 years ago, says: "Malawians

want a referendum or elections."

Tembo also wants to know where the money donors give this nation goes.

In June 1993 Malawians voted in a referendum to decide whether the country should opt for political pluralism or stick to unipartyism of the iron-fisted Banda who ruled Malawi for more than 30 years.

The electorate opted for multipartyism which ushered in Muluzi's administration. But now political leaders insist on a referendum.

Kamlepo Kalua, president of the Malawi Democratic Party (MDP) started the ball rolling when he called for Muluzi's impeachment.

Kalua strongly believes a referendum "is the only way that the people of Malawi can redeem themselves from their

suffering"

He says his party and its supporters will not stop pressuring Muluzi until he bows to the demands of the electorate.

Kalua's endeavours to unseat Muluzi led to his arrest by security police.

They swooped on him last month when he marched to Muluzi's Sanjika palace to petition the president on what he says are the people's demands and rights to hold a referendum.

Kalua is on bail after being charged with disturbing the peace. He spent one night in solitary confinement.

Eston Kakhoma, president of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) also supports the idea of a referendum but he wonders how to go about it.

The leader of the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD), (and former second vice-president of Malawi), Chakufwa Chihana, explains "the constitution does not provide a provision

for opposition parties to call for a referendum".

Education Minister Cassim Chilumpha describes calls for the referendum as "mere wishful thinking".

Chihana accuses the government of corruption and nepotism and does not substantiate his allegations.

However, some cabinet members have been sharply criticised for evading customs duty when they return from abroad.

Last week Bitwell Kawonga resigned as minister of research and environmental affairs.

He followed his cabinet colleague Chihana amid the rumours that he was going to be axed for his attacks on the government.

People see referendum as way to relieve the suffering

(170)

Malawi govt tries to erase Banda's name from history

Star 6/6/96

Blantyre - The two years that Malawi's former president, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, has been out of power is too short a period for Malawians to forget him. The many entities and structures, some built under his rule and named after him, help to keep his name fresh.

Roads, schools, colleges, hospitals, bridges, airports, recreational facilities - some built by colonialists long before he took over the reins of power - he named after himself. Kamuzu Bridge, Kamuzu Barrage, Kamuzu Barracks, Kamuzu Military College, Kamuzu Institute for Youth, Kamuzu International Airport, Kamuzu Central Hospital - the list goes on and on.

But this is now changing. The United Democratic Front (UDF) government is obviously not amused with the continuing obsession with the former president's name on structures, roads and other entities. It is set to erase Banda from history. In September last year, the new government directed that Kamuzu International Airport and Kamuzu Military College should forthwith be called Lilongwe International Airport and Malawi College of Armed Forces respectively.

Works and supplies minister Shaibu Itimu says Banda had an obsession for himself. "He wanted everybody to think about nobody else apart from himself," Itimu says. One of the reasons why the people voted for change to a multiparty system of government was to put an end to this type of indoctrination.

Ex-president obsessed with self, say critics

Last month the government renamed several structures bearing Banda's name. Kamuzu Highway became Masauko Chipembere Highway. Chipembere fought the

colonial system of government together with Banda but fell out with him soon after independence. He died in exile fighting the former president's autocratic rule.

Kamuzu Highway in Mzuzu, the northern region city, has been renamed after another national hero, Orton Chirwa, who died in 1992 while serving a life sentence imposed on him by the Banda regime. Amnesty International adopted him as one of its prisoners of conscience.

But Banda is not solely to blame for some of the excesses associated with his government or himself. It is true he cherished pasting his name literally on almost everything, the majority of which he claimed to have been established with money from his own pocket.

But for a number of these structures it was his followers - cabinet ministers, some of whom are now in government - who decided on Banda's behalf in order to gain favours from him.

The government's critics say renaming all entities that bear the name of the former head of state is an exercise that is not only fruitless but also expensive, which the cash-strapped government can ill afford. "The government wants to erase Banda's name from history because they themselves have not done any development in the country," says deputy leader of the opposition Malawi Congress Party (MCP), George Bundaunda Phiri.

"Although the UDF government may succeed in removing Banda's name from structures, his face, which he printed on all the country's currency notes during his 31-year rule, will continue to haunt the government for many more years to come," says Phiri.

President Bakili Muluzi has also started printing his face on the country's currency, even after parliament resolved recently that the currency should not carry the features of any politician, dead or alive. Critics say Muluzi is doing exactly what his predecessor was doing. This, they say, weakens his argument for erasing Banda's name from history - Sapa-dpa.

Malawi peasants voice protests

Star 28/6/96 (170)

By ANTHONY LIVUZA
Blantyre

A conflict over the land rights of peasants living near tea estates and on the shores of Lake Malawi remains unsolved and could turn violent

While subsistence farmers encroach on land that belongs to tea estates along Lake Malawi, local people are denied the right to fish in tourist areas

In a compromise statement last month, the government declared that local people should have the same rights and access to the shore as developers with leasehold titles. The declaration can only solve a small part of the land problem

Although the land crunch is rampant throughout Malawi, it is most acute in the tea-growing districts of Thyolo and Mulanje in southern Malawi, where vast tea estates take up most of the fertile land, leaving hilly areas of marginal soils for the peasants

Unable to grow enough food on their plots, many villagers are encroaching on estate land

Skirmishes between villagers and estate security guards are on the increase

Farmer Samson Kaundama posts his son as a sentry to look out for security guards while he illegally tills a plot of estate land between the British-owned Nchuma Tea Estate and his village

Initially arrested for encroach-

ing on estate land, Samson was ordered by the High Court to leave after Nchuma sought a court injunction to bar local people from estate land

On a second occasion, Samson was arrested with other farmers, charged with contempt of court and jailed in Blantyre for 21 days

Most Malawians depend on the land for their livelihood. But, the tea estates are a source of needed foreign currency and jobs, and the government is unwilling to antagonise them

Some desperate villagers have vowed to stay on the land in defiance of the High Court order

Observers say chances of more bloodshed are high unless the government finds a solution

Villagers say they are only reclaiming the land of their ancestors, but Nchuma Tea Estate manager William Patterson argues that the company owns the land because it was legally acquired from the Thyolo people's ancestors. The estate has a 99-year leasehold title

Government officials are not keen to intervene

"Where is the freedom and justice we fought for?" people ask, alluding to the democracy movement which toppled Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda. "There is no justice for people living in fear in the land of their birth" - Independent Foreign Service/Africa Information Afrique

Good rainy season saves Malawian economy

By Edward Mute

Blantyre — A good rainy season has saved Malawi's economy from disappearing into a quagmire of rocketing inflation, currency devaluation and empty government coffers.

After two years of drought, the rains brought a turnaround in agriculture, the pivot of the country's fortunes. Total exports, led by tobacco, more than doubled from \$220 million in 1994 to \$440 million last year and are expected to grow to \$526 million this year.

The trade balance has moved from a \$28 million deficit to a surplus of \$16 million last year. Foreign reserves have increased from two weeks cover to five months.

The most welcome effect of the improved prosperity has been on inflation which has

fallen from 90 to 50 percent and is expected to drop to 20 percent by the end of the year.

Bad luck played a part in the country running into its economic difficulties. An austerity and liberalisation programme was introduced, along the lines of those in other African countries, just when drought was taking its toll. The combination almost crushed the economy.

For the World Bank, the devaluations of the kwacha, now at 15 to the dollar, have helped the country become more competitive against foreign goods.

Arif Zulfqar, a resident representative, says a loosening of the government's price controls has allowed market forces to dictate

prices, hence higher productivity. He urges the government to wean itself from donors.

Economic analysts caution against over-optimism about the future, saying that a move is needed away from the reliance on agriculture, particularly tobacco which accounts for 64 percent of exports.

Chibagali Thundwa, the principal marketing officer for the Malawi export promotion council, says Malawi needs an aggressive private sector that provides quality goods to stand up to competition from outside markets.

He says the manufactured products are too expensive, partly because traders always want to make big profit margins. But he also

calls for official support for manufacturing. There is a downside to the economic turnaround. Subsidies have been removed and the price of a 50kg bag of fertiliser has risen threefold to \$23.30 in the last year.

Godfrey Phiri, a small-scale maize producer outside Blantyre, says that though maize prices are encouraging, this year his profit will be badly hit because of high fertilizer prices.

It is possible that much of the immediate gain of economic reform could be taken up by higher costs for the struggling small-scale sector — Independent Foreign Service/ALA

Economic analysts caution against over-optimism about the future

(170) 2 CT (09) 12/8/96

Central bank predicts inflation will fall to 20 percent by the end of the year

Malawi's battered economy takes a turn for

By Felix Mponda

Blantyre — Despite drought and recession, Malawi's agriculture-powered economy has achieved substantial economic gains this year with falling inflation and a massive 50 percent boost in exports

Inflation fell to 51,1 percent in June, from 71,4 percent in January, economists said

But donors and some independent economists said the real verdict would come in the next six months, depending on the

availability of the country's staple, maize, which was the key to inflation levels

"Under the present prospects, this downward trend should continue and our target of reaching 20 percent by December this year looks achievable," said Matthews Chukaonda, the central bank governor

Inflation traditionally declines and stays down for seven months after the maize harvest but rises during the planting and growing season "Maize has a large impact on

the economy," said John Smith, the deputy resident representative of the World Bank in Malawi

This year's good rains guaranteed Malawi's food security with maize production expected to reach 1,9 million tons up from 1,3 million tons last year

Smith said the government of Bakili Muluzi deserved credit for having controlled inflation through spending cuts and a halt to the printing of more new notes of the kwacha to cover up the budget deficit, which was

15 percent of the GDP in the 1994-95 fiscal year

The budget deficit in this poor southern African state has now been reduced to 6 percent of GDP, according to Smith

Malawi is implementing tough Western-backed economic reforms, which have led to the scrapping of subsidies and to mass dismissals in the public service, as well as industrial redundancies

The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and several other donors have put

money for the private sector to borrow

"This has resulted in lower yields on treasury bills," he said The economy was buoyed by exports which soared to a record high last year, rising by about 50 percent over the 1994 levels

"This arises from improvement in the country's competitive position on the export market as a result of the depression of the kwacha," he said

Tobacco, tea and sugar exports account for 85,8 percent of foreign exchange earnings

pressure on the government to tighten fiscal and monetary policies, mainly through public expenditure cuts and raising revenue

Since April, state departments and ministries have been operating on a cash basis with ministry accounts held at commercial banks and funded monthly by the central bank based on revenue collected in the previous month

The fiscal discipline resulted in budget deficit being reduced from 15 percent of the GDP last

year to 5,2 percent this year

The foreign exchange rate has stabilised since last year and foreign exchange reserves have been sufficient

Kalonga Shambuli, the economic adviser to President Bakili Muluzi said "It is very crucial to safeguard the kwacha against any risks of devaluation and consequent inflationary pressures"

Shambuli said the government's share of net domestic borrowing declined from 60 to 50 percent last year, leaving commercial banks with excess

Last year's exports were equivalent to 27,6 percent of GDP, compared with 17 percent in 1993

The marked export growth enabled a trade balance to turn around from a 1994 deficit of 42 million kwacha (R12,6 million) to a surplus of 240,4 million kwacha last year, and foreign reserves rose by 93 percent in last year from the previous year's Exports this year are expected to rise 21 percent

Real GDP grew at 8,5 percent against a drop of over 10 percent in 1994 — AFP

the better

CT (BR) 2/12/96
Controls set
Malawi back
on track

FRANÇOISE BOTHA

Johannesburg — Rigorous fiscal and monetary controls by the Malawian government have righted the country's beleaguered economy and sparked foreign investment interest, Chakakala Chaziya, Malawi's commerce and industry minister, said at the Africa International Trade Centre last week.

He said Malawi could expect more than R2,5 billion of foreign investment over the next year. The investment interest, mainly from the US, Malaysia and South Africa, followed tight monetary controls implemented when the new government took over in 1994. The liberalisation of financial and structural reforms stipulated by the World Bank and IMF had also played a role, he said.

Inflation had fallen from 98 percent in 1994 to 8 percent in October, and was expected to be at 4 percent by the end of the year. During the same period, interest rates were reduced from a record high of 59 percent to 27 percent.

Over the past two years, Malawi has established an export processing zone allowing for duty free imports of equipment and raw materials, and boosted the establishment of industrial businesses by cutting red tape, industrial licensing has been mostly abolished, except in industries which pose certain security, pollution and health risks.

Price control has been eliminated and export and import licensing cut to a minimum. "Because of these measures, the country has become more attractive to foreign investors," Chaziya said. "Already, a number of South African companies have made a firm commitment to invest and we have had inquiries from at least another 200."

Malawi imported nearly 1,123 billion kwachas (about R341 million) of goods from South Africa last year, exporting 284 million kwachas' worth. Chaziya said he had held discussions with Alec Erwin, South Africa's trade and industry minister, to encourage investment and improve the trade balance.

Many South African companies have established manufacturing bases in the export processing zone, benefiting from the trade agreement that allows most goods to enter South Africa duty free. Chaziya said this had boosted exports to South Africa and other countries in the Southern African Development Community.

Malawi opts for privatisation

BD 2/12/96

(218) (170)

Patrick Wadula.

MALAWI has embarked on a privatisation programme in an effort to enhance business efficiency and also to attract foreign investments, Malawi's Commerce and Industry Minister Chakakala Chaziya said.

At a meeting of the African International Trade Centre in Johannesburg, he said detailed information on the programme and the selling of public companies and shares were available at the Privatisation Commission. "We realise that business is best and most efficiently run when left to the private sector."

Chaziya said the main incentive for investment in Malawi was its dedicated and disciplined

labour force and natural resources. Malawi has a bilateral agreement with SA that, with a few limiting factors, allows for goods made in Malawi to enter SA duty-free.

He said the Malawi kwacha, floated in 1994, accompanied the liberalisation of foreign exchange markets. This had helped the currency to stabilise from the end of that year. Inflation had fallen to 8% this year from 98% two years ago. Interest rates had also dropped from 59% to 27% and were expected to fall below 20% by the end of the year.

He said Malawi had fiscal incentives, including export processing zones aimed at encouraging production for export. Duty-free importation of equipment and

raw materials and other incentives were also available.

Industrial licensing had been abolished with the exception of industries that had to be controlled for security reasons, such as radio-activity or pollution.

He said the prices of all products in the domestic market, except petroleum products, had been decontrolled. "Business organisations are now free to make their own pricing decisions. We are convinced that business decisions should be made by the right people, the business people."

Most goods that were subject to import and export licensing had also been decontrolled. Chaziya said the Malawi Promotion Agency had been set up to co-ordinate the services required by investors.

Search for new managers takes to the townships

(172)

AUDREY D'ANGELO *CT(BR) 8/1/97*

Cape Town — Market research has shown that South Africa will be faced with a shortage of at least 400 000 business managers by the year 2000, Alan Barrable, chief executive of the Southern African Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators, told *Business Report*.

Barrable said that to alleviate this situation the institute, which was affiliated to the worldwide Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators based in London, planned to double enrolment for its entry-level courses and achieve a 35 percent increase in those studying for its internationally recognised CIS diploma.

The institute's plan took into account the impact of global and local issues such as unbundling, downsizing, restructuring, corporate governance, office mechanisation and affirmative action.

"We need to be sure we are equipping our graduates to play a role in the new South African business environment," Barrable said.

"The overall goal of the plan is to reinforce the institute's position at the sharp end of corporate governance through adherence to global standards at a time when accounting is being reshaped in South Africa and the quality of many educational qualifications is uncertain."

He said the strategy was "outward-focused and aggressive, taking the fight into the townships through a programme known as Operation Outreach. We can't wait for youth to come to us. We are reaching thousands of youngsters in schools and community centres in their own areas. The response has been overwhelming".

Change of attitudes a key to firms' transformation

Reneé Grawitzky

WHILE the old guard in business sits back at the "ranch", bemoaning and struggling to accept change, the new guard, under pressure to perform, is finding it difficult to transform organisations because of a lack of joint commitment and a common vision.

Human resource consultant and director of Von Hirschfeld Levy & Associates, Ilana Levy, said yesterday that companies in transition were finding it difficult to effect change.

Problems often arose between the old and new thinkers, with people who were caught in old thinking patterns unwilling to change because of fear that "keeps them stuck in old thinking, beliefs and behaviour patterns".

People generally, whether they were workers or senior executives, tended to be hesitant

and often obstructive to new ideas, largely as they got caught up in fears about what they could lose rather than the potential of what they could gain.

In such a situation, organisational change could be accelerated only if the "old guard" was brought to the realisation of the need for change and persuaded to "make this leap", and not be "knocked over the head" for refusing to move away from their old paradigm.

The old thinkers were generally caught in a bureaucratic approach to change while the new thinkers had already made the shifts that were necessary.

Levy said that change could be achieved through the development of a learning attitude within organisations.

"You start to change if learning

(172) BD 16/1/97
is internalised and goes beyond self-imposed blockages," she said. People at all levels of the organisation had to take responsibility for themselves and their jobs.

"Training until you are blue in the face" was not the way to provide people with a reason to change. Managers had to get people to change their thinking about themselves and what they did.

An appropriate approach to learning and changing behaviours could have a big effect on the shop floor. Workers needed to learn how to refocus attention and energies in a way that

worked for them, not only as workers but as people. Workers had the ability to empower themselves in a positive way.

"Organisations need to ensure that workers really become an integral part of the learning process and that training is the process but learning the result," said Levy.

It was not always necessary to start with the change process at the top of the organisation. It was possible to start change management intervention at varying levels.

"Changing a habit takes a great deal of energy and effort," she said.

Entrepreneurs hate rules and conformity they impose

(172) BD 28/1/97

The King report gives guidance on the responsibilities of corporate governance, but **Ronnie Lubner** looks at why some entrepreneurs hate the rules

ACCORDING to the King report, corporate governance is simply "the system by which companies are directed and controlled"

Understandably, the focus of the report is on those aspects of the system that modern society considers most in need of attention: accountability, transparency, ethics, stakeholder communications, environmental responsibility, social responsibility and the like. But the report also gives some valuable guidance on the more traditional responsibilities of corporate governance:

- If shareholders cannot earn an acceptable return on their funds, they will not invest, and there will be no growth in commercial or industrial activity. Enterprise and profitability must be among two of the important driving forces,
- Enterprise is the disposition to engage in undertakings of risk. Business is the undertaking of risk for reward; and
- The basic element of good governance is to make decisions honestly and in the best interests of the corporation.

Do modern corporate governance standards help or hinder the businessman's task of undertaking entrepreneurial risk in the best interests of the corporation? I ask this question not because I disagree with the commercial laws of the countries in which we operate, or with anything that has been said in the King Report. However, I do think business people have a duty to stakeholders to consider the full implications of implementing corporate governance.

On the positive side are the disciplines and certainties that corporate governance brings to the process of doing business. Minority shareholders, employees and other stakeholders, and the environment, are protected from the unscrupulous. The poor and the needy are assisted. And at a macro level, well-regulated businesses create what the Centre for Development and Enterprise calls a "thickening of civil society".

The process of listing a firm on a stock exchange brings into play a network of institutions, rules, monitoring processes, values and procedures, requiring the input of independent professionals for proper evaluation. This in turn requires information that is reliable and honest, and the freedom to publish and debate such information. And finally, an independent judiciary is needed to oversee the process. Clearly, the control of business practice contributes to the democratic web of civil society, and who can argue with that?

But imposed and self-regulating mechanisms can also affect the competitiveness of business in ways that are perhaps not intended. Perhaps we might examine the life cycle of the PG Group to explore the consequences of laws, standards and governance requirements.

The group was born out of the entrepreneurial spirit of its pioneering forefathers. Their belief systems and their business practices were largely influenced by their family and spiritual upbringing — and, of course, by market forces. They prospered through their intuition, creativity, courage, flexibility, judgment and general ability to hold things together when the going got tough. As with most fledgling businesses, their aggressive focus was on getting the job done and "never mind the administration and bureaucracy".

Then came a point when the business grew to an extent that a wider range of stakeholders developed expectations regarding corporate behaviour. In addition to expecting the common values of integrity and morality, employees, suppliers, customers and bankers developed expectations on issues such as quality, pricing, reliability and predictability of financial performance. Although none of these expectations was documented, stakeholders took their comfort from their day-to-day relationship with the business. They could see and feel if things were going right. There was no need for administrators and regulators to "keep the score".

Then came a time when the fast-growing PG Group, having been listed, was increasingly obliged to adopt formal reporting procedures — a process that has become ever more complex and demanding over the years. As the group developed into a market leader, so did it attract more attention and controls: health and safety laws, transport regulation, Competition Board investigations, foreign exchange controls, decentralisation incentives, export incentives and stock exchange requirements, to mention but a few. And, in due course, there followed new expectations in regard to working conditions, social responsibility, environmental responsibility and

competitive behaviour.

This is not to say that these legal and social requirements are not all justified. But any true entrepreneur just hates rules and regulations, because they impose conformity and costs on businesses that are big enough to fall under the public spotlight. Conformity and cost are the enemy of the entrepreneur.

Remember, PG is competing against true entrepreneurs in every village, town and city — the "one-man bands", the momma-and-poppa stores which follow no standard other than their own conscience and the dictates of the market. They pay the rate for the job and focus on adding value, not cost.

As in SA, not every trader that competes against us in the global village is subject to the same rules of engagement and standards of governance. The PG Group is competing with hard-nosed entrepreneurs from all over the world who probably regard our sophisticated Western models of corporate governance and self-regulation as some kind of self-inflicted injury. And who is to say that those developing countries that use their comparative advantages — for example, cheap labour or a greater tolerance of pollution — are not justified in their actions? As a recent article in *The Economist* noted: "That's how poor countries grow less poor. Often, people in the rich world who rail against the exploitation of the poor are mere protectionists in disguise, afraid that competition might steal their own jobs."

There is another leg to the governance debate — the law of unintended consequences. The pressure on major corporations to deliver the goods year on year for a wide range of stakeholders with different interests places considerable strain on managements to perform to the very limit of their competence.

Paradoxically, in spite of the constraints on their prerogative, managers are obliged to take ever greater risks "in the best interest of the corporation".

Potential

One of the most appealing notions is to diversify, or acquire. We assume we can manage new businesses, or at least choose the right managers to do so, which brings to mind the words of Warren Buffett, the business sage who just happens to be one of the richest men in the world. He says you should acquire only businesses that any fool could run, because one day one will.

When I look back on more than 100 acquisitions, I wonder whether we in the PG Group have added more value than cost to flourishing entrepreneurial business. Sure, the new subsidiary might have added to our bottom line but, given our size and level of bureaucracy, have we fully realised the potential of these businesses? So, having had some experience of building a so-called conglomerate, I am forced to ask another rhetorical question: are conglomerates a good idea in the modern economic world?

They offer many advantages in terms of size, financial muscle and global networking. But they are also

- Large and unwieldy,
- More subject to innumerable laws, regulations and standards of governance, and
- Less competitive than the sum of the entrepreneurial parts.

Perhaps I am expressing a concern that the entrepreneurial spirit of business and our ability to compete on even terms on world markets is in danger of being overshadowed by the requirements of legislators and administrators.

Could it be said that our finest entrepreneurs have been constrained in direct proportion to the degree of corporate governance imposed on them? Perhaps some of our managers, short on the ability to live with business risks, find bureaucratic controls a comfortable shield behind which to shelter?

Some of what I have mentioned is deliberately provocative. I am not arguing for a return to the "Wild West" of business practice. Rest assured, the PG Group will meet its obligations as a solid corporate citizen. However, I am suggesting that we carefully consider not only the need for sound corporate governance, but its consequences in a highly competitive world. As an entrepreneur, I am committed to qualitative rather than quantitative corporate governance, and enterprise with integrity.

*Ronnie Lubner is chairman and CEO of Plate Glass and Shatterproof Industries. This article is adapted from an address to a recent conference of the Institute of Directors, and first appeared in the institute's journal *Directorship*.*

New management association formed

Business Day Reporter (172)

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in improving productivity

A GROUP of management organisations in Africa has established the Association of Management Organisations of Africa.

The initiative was led by the institutes of management of Kenya, Mauritius, SA and Zimbabwe, with the Ghanaian and Malawian institutes joining as founder members

The association will form an African regional chapter of the World Association of Management Organisations.

Similar groupings already exist in Asia, Europe and America

According to the latest newsletter of the Pan-African Productivity Association, it is generally accepted that management plays the most important role

Management development has therefore been stressed throughout the world, and it is not surprising that many productivity and other organisations have devoted considerable time and effort to this topic.

The African association has the mission of promoting management excellence throughout Africa.

It aims to stimulate contacts and exchanges of experience between member organisations, and to facilitate an exchange of information to managers to complement those of the productivity association

Further information can be obtained from the productivity institute at (012) 341-1470. The e-mail address is npipapa@africa.com.

Malawi Pepsi deal unfair — Coke

(170)

BD 8/4/97

BLANTYRE — An \$11m investment deal involving US soft drink manufacturer PepsiCo and the parastatal Malawi Development Corporation is going ahead later this year following a delay because of bureaucratic and logistical problems

Sources within the finance ministry say the delay was caused by PepsiCo demanding special fiscal concessions and incentives

After extensive talks with Finance Minister Aleke Banda, the company was apparently granted incentives like exemption from duty on all capital equipment, and a five-year tax holiday. This is the first time such incentives have been granted to a foreign investor

Existing and prospective investors have complained about a multiplicity of taxes and levies,

high corporate tax, lack of appropriate infrastructure, the limited domestic market, as well as a tight money market in which risk taking by financial institutions is almost nonexistent

Pepsi's rival Coca Cola — which has been operating in the country for the past 30 years — is complaining about the special treatment, saying this gives an unfair edge to its competitor

Malawi Investment Promotion Agency research and planning director Watipaso Mkandawire says the cabinet has already discussed tax and duty incentives which had been recommended by his office

He says the issues were likely to be presented before the budget session later this month which will ensure that they do not favour any particular organisation

After five years, PepsiCo's investment capital is likely to double to as much as \$23m, so employment opportunities will increase, says Mkandawire

The investment agency says investment in Malawi in the past has been hampered by erratic electricity supply, poor telecommunication facilities and lack of official appreciation of the role of foreign investment

An investment agency official says the government must realise that low-cost labour is only part of the package. "Investment in the 90s has become a complex and high stakes game in which companies seek to discover the perfect mix of stability, infrastructure, educated labour and nascent consumerism before their competitors leap in" — AIA

Malawi woos business with incentives bouquet

CT(BR)17/4/97 (170)

SHIRLEY JONES

KWAZULU NATAL EDITOR

Durban — A Malawian trade delegation tried yesterday to tempt South African business investors with startlingly low wage rates and generous incentives. Speakers at the Malawi Investment and Promotion Conference in Durban offered a minimum wage of \$20 a month (less than R100, as opposed to South Africa's minimum wage of R1 200).

Charles Nthendu, the princi-

pal secretary of the office of the Malawian president, said Malawi's extensive privatisation programme presented local business with opportunities to invest in 135 state enterprises.

Incentives include free access to foreign exchange, full remittance of dividends, generous tax allowances and no licence requirements for inputs. Malawi has also entered into agreements for avoiding double taxation and reducing withholding tax with other countries.

Banda too old and ill to stand trial on charges of embezzling R45-m, lawyer says

Blantyre - The fraud trial of Malawi's ailing nonagenarian former dictator, Kamuzu Banda, failed to open on schedule yesterday as the defence counsel sought to have the case thrown out on account of his client's advanced age.

"A man in Dr Banda's health cannot be tried. It's as simple as that," said Bernard O'Sullivan, a British lawyer who heads the three-man team defending Banda against charges that

Star 15/97

(170)

he embezzled about R45-million of government funds. Banda's exact age is not known, but he may be as old as 99, and he is thought to be suffering from senility. Three others accused in the case - Banda's companion Cecilia Kadzamura, close aide John Tembo and former finance minister Louis Chumango - have not yet entered pleas. If convicted they face a maximum of seven years' jail.

Former leader may suffer from senility

O'Sullivan argued that the trial could not proceed if the accused's absence from court was beyond his control. "Principally it's unfair for a defendant to be tried in his absence," he said.

Health reasons were cited to excuse Banda from a court appearance last year during a murder case in which he was acquitted. Specialists said he was unfit for the marathon trial that arose from the deaths of four prominent politicians during his 30 years in power, which came to an end with elections in 1994.

O'Sullivan said common law plainly said proceedings should be stopped when a defendant was too unfit to give evidence, regardless of the seriousness of the charges. The defence lawyers also challenged a state directive that the case should not be tried by a jury on the grounds that the financial matters involved were too complex. But public prosecutor Kamudonhi Nyasulu has insisted the trial should go ahead without Banda. Mr Justice Duncan Tambala is expected to make a ruling next week. - AFP

(170) CT (Gr) 215197

Malawi tobacco auction halted by riot

CHATONDA MHONE

Blantyre — Sales at the country's largest tobacco floors in Malawi's capital Lilongwe came to a standstill this week after farmers went on a rampage. Farmers, protesting against the low introductory tobacco price, tossed samples of tobacco leaf at buyers, sending them scampering for cover.

The average price for the majority of the first hundred sales was US\$1.40 a kilogram, well below the average price of \$1.70 a kilogram recorded last year.

The rioting led to the closure of the tobacco floors, prompting auction officials to hold an emergency meeting with the buyers to see if they could come up with a better introductory price.

Following talks between the farmers, middlemen and buyers, prices firmed after two days. The average price shot up to \$1.65 a kilogram and the weekly average price settled at \$1.62, 81.

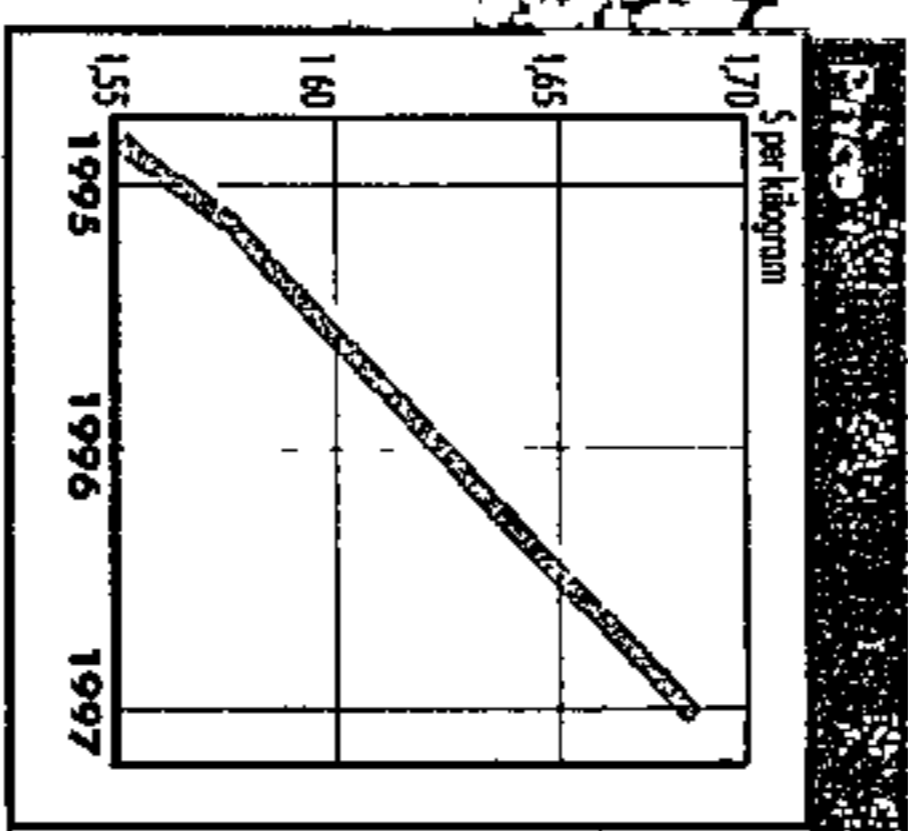
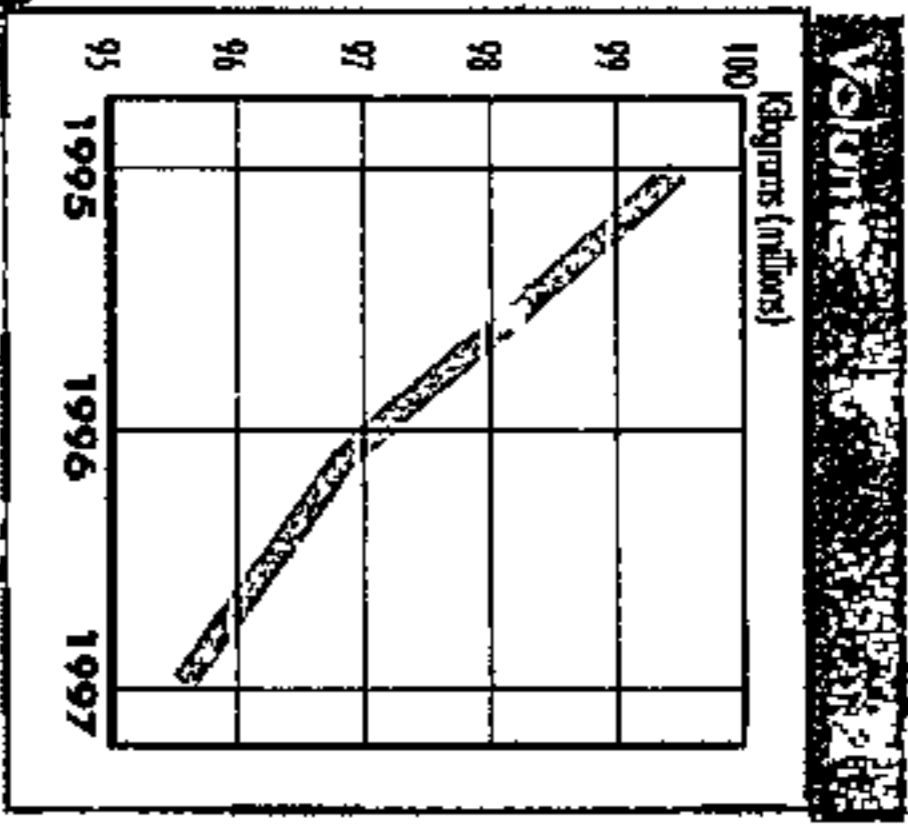
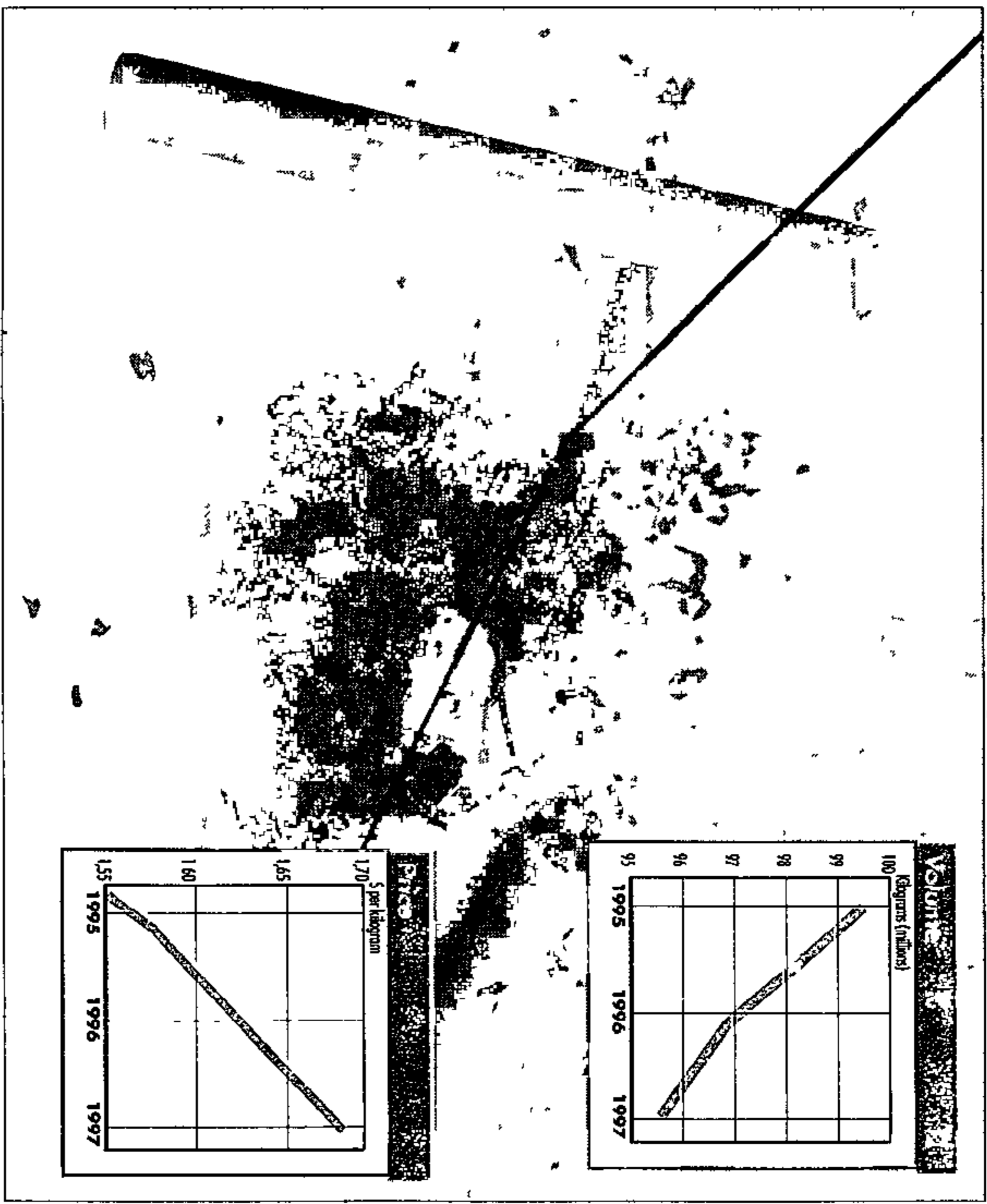
According to auction sources, the price started at a high of \$2, but instead of firming began to drop to \$1.80 until it reached a low of \$0.60.

The low prices were mainly attributed to the poor quality of the leaf.

That is when farmers felt cheated and got into a fierce argument with the buyers, which ended in a fracas resulting in the closure of the sales for the day. One concerned grower from the main tobacco district of Kasungu said:

Meanwhile, the second tobacco auction floor in the commercial city of Blantyre opened on a better note.

Average prices started on a high of \$1.65 a kilogram and firmed at an average of \$1.63 at the close of trading.



This performance was attributed to better quality leaf.

In 1995 sales of all tobacco at the auction floors reached 130.2 million kilograms at an average price of \$1.55 a kilogram. Last year sales reached 141.7 million kilograms at an average price of \$1.68.

Trade demand for that season was estimated at 176.5 million kilograms.

Tobacco continues to be the main foreign exchange earner in this impoverished southern African nation of nine million people, 80 percent of whom live below the poverty line. Exports of tobacco increased

from 3.9 million Malawian kwacha (about R1.1 million) in 1995 to 4.2 billion Malawian kwacha last year.

But volumes declined from 99.5 million kilograms in 1995 to 95.7 million kilograms last year.

The shaky start to the tobacco sales season came a month after Ernest Tsonga, the executive secretary of industry watchdog TAMA (the Tobacco Association of Malawi), forecast output some 120 million tons below trade demand.

However, because of high local prices of tobacco offered to intermediate buyers by growers, the high prices at auction floors in

overall quality of the crop did not reach the high standard achieved during the 1995-96 season, especially in the central region where the Lilongwe auction is based.

The southern region is able to command higher and better prices because, unlike the central region where most tobacco farms comprise small holders, the large estate holdings are owned by multinationals with a track record in tobacco grading and handling.

The poor price offers were also attributed to the 4 percent levy — previously 8 percent — imposed on tobacco. This raises substantial amounts of revenue for government but is not entirely well taken by exporters who have delayed their transactions in the hope that the government would eventually rescind the tax.

The tax, introduced three years ago, is cutting into profit margins and making the Malawi tobacco uncompetitive in global markets.

The Malawian government, which has a narrow industrial base and a dwindling manufacturing sector in the face of cheap import substitutes, depends on a multiplicity of taxes to raise government revenue to meet budgetary obligations and service its 4.2 billion Malawian kwacha deficit.

The tobacco industry is also under intensifying pressure from traditional buyers.

Political and public pressure for pollution control and environmental protection, backed by stricter and more unified international regulations and legislations, are becoming more apparent and a threat to the industry — Independent Foreign Service/Africa Information Afrique

LIMAWA

ET (PR) 6/6/97 (170)

Customs workers may join strike

Malawi Customs Workers' Union has threatened to join a month-old civil service strike from today. The union demanded the government reinstate dismissed workers, restrain police from arresting striking workers and pay wage arrears.

Workers are taking part in a nationwide strike called by the Civil Servants' Trade Union to push for a 100 percent wage increase recommended by an independent commission. The government has said it could only afford a 47 percent pay increase for its 100,000-strong workforce without upsetting the economy. It has issued some workers with dismissal notices and suspended others without pay affecting an estimated 200 staff.

John Mampira, the secretary general of the union, said passengers arriving at the country's biggest airport would be allowed free entry. "Our members will be at the offices in uniform as usual but they will not be rendering services, he said." — *Reuters Blantyre*

Malawi gets a \$900m World Bank package for further reforms

FROM IFS (170)

Paris — Malawi would receive about \$900 million in the next three years from the World Bank, Aleke Banda, the finance minister, has said.

This year the country would get \$319 million, he said last week at a meeting with the World Bank in Paris.

The aid would go towards the government's plans to reform agriculture, further rationalise the public sector and alleviate poverty, Banda said. Malawi also asked for financial support of its planned local elections

The World Bank says Malawi has made great progress in implementing economic reforms after the first multi-party elections in May 1994. Inflation came down from 75 percent in late 1993 to 7 percent last year, and the country achieved a growth rate of nearly 10 percent in the past two years

"We want to register growth of more than 10 percent in the years to come," said Banda. "We want the international community to help us with finance and expertise, and I've got that commitment from the donors"

However, to achieve these figures, Malawi had to cut down drastically on its public service. Approximately 20 000 people were retrenched at the start of the reform programme

ET(BR)20/5/97
A new action plan is being prepared and, after a review of 27 ministries, the government has decided to contract out more than 90 functions that were previously part of the public service's responsibilities

Critics of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund structural adjustment programmes say cutting down on the public sector is only aggravating poverty in Africa.

Asked about this, Banda said criticism of the institutions arose from ignorance "The IMF and the World Bank are there to support us. We have stabilised the economy. Once this happens and inflation is low, this benefits the people. It strengthens their purchasing power"

Liberalising the agricultural production and marketing in Malawi also greatly improved the situation of ordinary people, he said "We are now enabling Malawians to grow Burley tobacco, hundreds of thousands of them. And millions of kwacha are going to their pockets. That is poverty alleviation"

Malawi's donors encouraged the government to continue with its agricultural reforms, including smallholder development. A vast land reform project is now also being studied by a land reform commission

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Street vendors helped vote Muluzi to power – and themselves into a

22/5/97

Straw

STAR FOREIGN SERVICE/AIA
Blantyre

In 1994 Bakili Muluzi encouraged vendors to sell their goods on the streets, as a ploy to woo voters. He did not realise that he was creating a monster that would not be easy to deal with when he later became Malawi's president.

Today vendors crowd the streets creating problems such as littering and traffic jams. Petty theft has increased and sometimes passers-by are assaulted by vendors.

In his efforts to win the votes of the peasant majority (more than 60% of the total 13 million population), Muluzi

promised that, should they propel him into power, he would allow them to trade or sell their merchandise at any suitable place they chose.

The promise was made to counter the then unpopular trading practices that prevailed during the rule of Kamuzu Banda.

In those days fierce red-shirted youth leaguers and Malawi Young Pioneers did not allow secondhand dealers in urban centres such as Blantyre, Lilongwe and Mzuzu.

Today, Blantyre, Lilongwe and Mzuzu, once referred to as garden cities, are teeming with mounds of dirt and refuse. The street vendors, many of

whom trade in secondhand clothing and electronic gadgets, ranging from tiny shaving machines to musical equipment and television sets – even though the country has no television station – sell their wares anywhere they find space.

The unlicensed vendors swarm busy streets forcing the traffic to move at a snail's pace and crowd the pavements in major trading centres making it impossible for people to move freely from one shop to another.

Residents now say the street traders are formidable and often not even law enforcement agents are brave enough

to try to tackle them.

Some residents accuse the police of accepting payoffs and bribes from vendors to turn a blind eye to theft and assaults.

Political analysts say Muluzi is faced with a dilemma. He has to deal with the wrath of civic authorities who complain of losing large amounts of money because the vendors do not pay any operating fees.

And Muluzi risks losing popularity if he takes any action to clean up the streets by force.

At present he appears to be handling the vendors with kid gloves, as evidenced by a speech he gave at the opening of a

kiosk market in Blantyre recently. He appealed to the vendors to use the facilities provided by the city.

"I need not command the police mobile force to come and persuade you to sell from inside Banda's rule," Muluzi said in his usual jocular manner.

He drew laughter from the vendors who made up the majority of the audience.

Since Muluzi assumed power in May 1994, some efforts have been made to get the vendors off the streets to specially designated areas.

However, these have been met with strong resistance which have verged on an upris-

ing against the administration. In October 1994, soon after the elections, Blantyre decided to tackle the problem through a process of civic education.

The city sent a delegation comprising vendors' representatives and others from the National Association of Business Women, on a week-long study tour to Zimbabwe, to "observe how their fellow vendors or hawkers conduct business".

Linda Phoya, public relations officer for Blantyre City, recalls "We had started talking to them with a view to per-

suading them to move away from the streets. As a starting point, we asked them to form committees that would negotiate with us and they obliged.

"On their return from Zimbabwe, they reported that their friends there ran businesses from kiosks," Phoya said.

However, when the city built trading kiosks in designated places, the vendors refused to use them saying that they could not conduct business in places which are not frequented by buyers.

Tobias Phuri who sells at the main bus stop, a stone's throw away from a kiosk, confirms this view.

He says, "We take our mer-

chandise where there are people. Who will buy from us if we are stuck in those silly structures built by the city?"

Few people dispute the fact that vendors offer many households the only solution to catering for their families' needs in the face of a rising cost of living.

Says Masozzi, a mother of four who works as a typist, "Thanks to trade liberalisation and the influx of secondhand clothing dealers, I am able to afford shirts, trousers and dresses for my children.

"With only US\$20 (R90) I can manage to buy something for my three sons and my daughter," she says.

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(170)
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Insecure on the streets

Malawi rules out competition for Internet providers 'to protect small

(172)

ANTHONY LUVUZA

Blantyre — The Malawi Posts and Telecommunications Authority (MPTC) has claimed a monopoly on Internet services, which are due to start this month under Internet Services, a joint venture company between the local corporation and the US's JVC International.

After turning down several applications from private concerns willing to provide World Wide Web services, Steve Mjuga, MPTC's chief executive, says a single service provider would cut costs for the limited Malawian market.

He told delegates attending an Internet introductory seminar "We are trying to help consumers save money, which would not be possible if we have a fragmented service market."

His contention is that the private applicants would have been working on visa terminals "with their accompanying high costs."

This would entail a severe drain on Malawi's foreign exchange as consumers would have to pay Internet hosts in hard cash through credit cards.

Internet Services, he says, will bill users in the local currency, the kwacha.

The announcement of the Internet service has surprised many who had given it up when bureaucratic gridlock threatened to stall the expansion of Malawi's online services, months after the baseline technology was laid.

The protracted negotiations seem to have borne fruit as Malawi will now be directly connected to the American IBM global network through a fibre-optic satellite link, bypassing other congested terrestrial connections

in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Mjuga says the MPTC will pay for the circuit lease to the US.

A plethora of technology, including a packet switched data network and an international transit facility, he says, will reduce the unit cost of leasing the US circuit through digital compression.

"The system will initially support some 2,000 users, with 100 users able to 'dial' into it simultaneously." "Our major concern is to reduce the costs at all stages. That is why we feel competition will

fragment the market," says Mjuga.

But Paulos Nyirenda, a University of Malawi lecturer, dismisses the argument, saying the MPTC, which has a 38 percent stake in Internet Services, wants to maintain a monopoly and keep service rates high.

"When you look at the MPTC you have a problem. They have maintained a monopoly on cell phones, and the cost is prohibitive. The cost of the Internet services will also be outside the bracket of ordinary Malawians," says Nyirenda, himself one of

the first to fruitlessly apply for an Internet service provision licence.

Nyirenda's project was supported by the United Nations Development Programme and would have made available Internet services to all secondary and tertiary institutions in the major cities of Blantyre, Lilongwe, Zomba and Mzuzu.

Nyirenda thinks it ironic that his \$400,000 project had official support, while the government sought to block local experts through its parastatal, the MPTC.

The MPTC has opted to approach the issue the other way — from top to bottom. Apart from individuals, Internet might be available in university and professional bodies' libraries at concessional rates.

Confidential sources indicate some bureaucrats are unnerved by the prospect of uncontrolled, grassroots communications and want access bound by some regulatory framework.

These are said to want to tailor Internet access in line with "acceptable norms" — Independent Foreign Service/AIA

market
CT(OR)19/6/97

Strict rules hamper Malawi trade

ANDERSON FUMULANI

Blantyre — Stringent financial regulations and government bureaucracy are hampering the massive growth potential of Malawi's fledgling capital market, a leading stockbroker said yesterday

Rob Stangroom, the chief executive of Stockbrokers Malawi Limited (SML), said high reserve ratios, strict rules on public borrowing as well as legislative anomalies made it difficult for institutions to trade in the market

The Malawi money market presently has 660 million kwacha (about R198 million) in long-term

stocks and 2.2 billion kwacha in Treasury bills outstanding

"It has tremendous potential to make progress but is hindered by high liquidity reserve ratios the Reserve Bank of Malawi imposes on qualifying financial institutions," Stangroom said

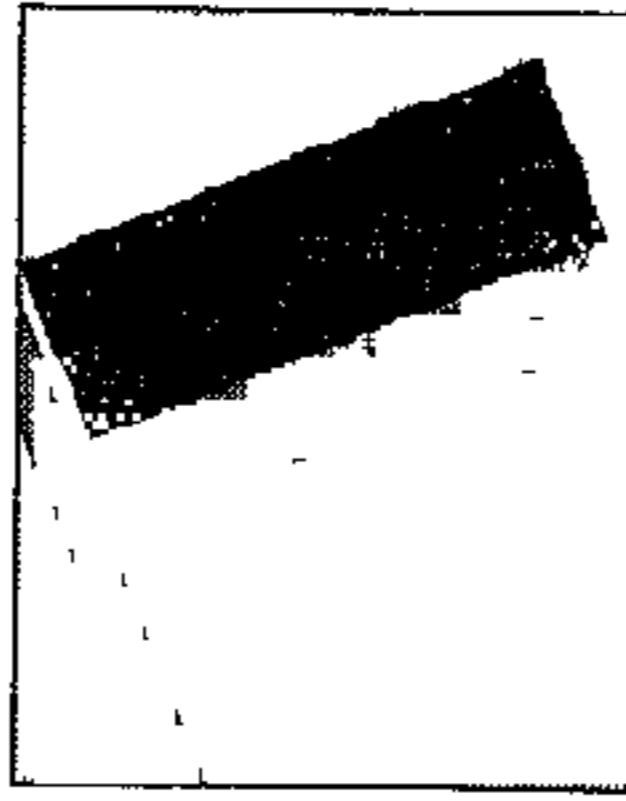
Financial institutions are required to place 35 percent of their deposits with the central bank. Because the money market was so illiquid, investment opportunities were limited and institutions tended to hold on to their stock, Stangroom said

And while Malawian companies were allowed to borrow from the general public, they had to do so under strict guidelines

"The private sector has no way to borrow directly from the public," Stangroom said. Capital market development laws require that the Reserve Bank of Malawi decide on all capital market issues. But anomalies in the legislation means reference has to be made to the finance ministry

"Government may not understand the private sector's need to develop this market but they are the ultimate decision makers," he said

Stangroom said SML had applied in February this year to launch commercial discount notes (CDNs) on the money market, but the government had not yet approved the proposal



Musical chairs in embattled Malawi

Star 29/7/97

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Main opposition parties are planning a merger which will effectively unseat government

The Malawi political scene took a sudden twist when the two main opposition parties, the Alliance for Democracy and the former ruling Congress Party, announced a proposal to merge

Following the first multiparty post-independence elections that ousted nonagenarian Hastings Banda in 1994, United Democratic Front leader Bakili Muluzi formed a new government, despite falling five seats short of an absolute majority in the 177-member parliament

Banda's Congress Party got 55 seats, while Chakufwa Chihana's Alliance won 36, all but three of them coming from his home in the northern region. All Banda's seats were also in his home area, the central region, as were Muluzi's, in the southern region

With the country split into three distinct tribal groupings, Muluzi should have made it an absolute priority to unite the people and form a government of national unity. But instead he has so far ignored the opposition

"If approved, the proposals for a merger will be referred to the parties' conventions," said Sam Kandodo-Banda, the Alliance administration manager

This is not the first time that the Alliance has got into a political bed with other parties. Two years ago, a few months after the multiparty elections, the party brokered an alliance with the Congress Party. But the alliance was short-lived when Chihana decided to break the accord and go into coalition instead with the ruling party, thus tilting the power balance once again.

The talks of a merger come at a time when there is growing apathy and loss of political confidence in the government of businessman Muluzi. Graft and sleaze have gradually taken over the country and worsened Malawians' hopes of a better future

Roads have deteriorated so fast that some drivers have dubbed potholes "death holes". National morale has also been affected

The opposition parties have bemoaned the fact that poverty is becoming institutionalised while ruling party politicians are overtly amassing riches which they could never have dreamt of a few years ago. Real wages are declining due to inflation and for the urban poor, the removal of subsidies on basic commodities has hit them hard. Along with the squeeze on people's pockets have come cuts to social

spending in education and health

Three years after being triumphantly elected, ending 30 years of Banda's one-party rule, Muluzi faces a deeply despondent Malawi. But with international donor support dependent on his government sticking with tough market-reform policies, he appears to have few options but to press on

The merger is intended to strengthen the opposition at a time when the Muluzi government is showing dictatorial tendencies, turning a blind eye to the deteriorating economy and poaching weak opposition members through bribes to endorse controversial bills in parliament such as the Press Trust Act

The move towards a merger threatens the political life of Congress Party stalwarts such as John Tembo. Political analysts say Tembo is still associated with the dark days of the Banda regime, and rising politicians want to change the image of the former ruling party, infamous for its human-rights abuses and political detentions without trial

Should the merger come into being, it will mean that the members of Parliament of the two parties will have to give up their seats. In effect this will lead to a mini-general election which could put the ruling United Democratic Front into a majority and reverse the status quo. The merger might just cut across regional and tribal differences in a country where regionalism has been difficult to solve. Because the southern region is more populated than the other two, an election based on "one man, one vote" will automatically favour that region

The Muluzi government has said its main priority is to reduce poverty and redress structural weaknesses in the economy. These include the narrow export base, stagnant smallholder agriculture, heavy import dependence, and inefficient public capacity for planning and managing resources

But so far this has appeared to be a tall order as the country continues to sink further into an economic morass - Star Foreign Service

ARC 28/8/97
Malawi AIDS disaster fear

Blantyre - Half of Malawi's professional people could be dead from AIDS by the year 2007, the country's National Aids Control Programme warned today (178)

It quoted statistics from a World Bank survey which said that between a quarter and a half of the people in the military, education and health fields "will have died of AIDS within the next five to 10 years" (18)

One in every three people in the 15-49 age group tested HIV positive in the commercial capital of Blantyre - Sapa-AP (18)

WORLD

AIDS may kill half of Malawi's professionals

BA 29/8/97

(170) (218)

BLANTYRE — Half of Malawi's professionals could be dead from Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) by the year 2007, the country's National AIDS Control Programme warned in a draft report published yesterday.

It quoted statistics from a World Bank survey completed last month that said between one quarter and a half of the people working in the military, education and health sectors "will have died of AIDS within the next five to 10 years". One in every three people in the 15-49 age group tested HIV-positive in the commercial capital of Blantyre, although the national average for the group was 13%.

The World Bank team had said there was insufficient awareness of the looming effect of the disease,

especially at the highest levels of President Bakili Maluzi's government, in the country of 8-million, sandwiched between Tanzania and Mozambique.

AIDS programme manager Lester Chitsulo wanted to distribute free condoms to prisoners to reduce the soaring incidence of infection, but the prisons department yesterday rejected his appeal. "Sodomy is an offence and cannot be allowed," said spokesman Joram Chenjezi.

Chitsulo last year roused fierce controversy by saying many lives could have been saved had Maluzi passed a law requiring couples to test for HIV before marrying.

But the president has given strong support to AIDS awareness campaigns, and appealed to

Malawians to stop customs which might spread the virus, such as the requirement that widows marry their dead husbands' brothers.

The report said the highest rates of HIV prevalence were found among women whose partners were professionals, skilled workers, soldiers or policemen. "Women whose partners were farmers had significantly lower HIV prevalence rates," it said.

"An urgent response to the AIDS epidemic in Malawi must be factored into the development of the strategic framework for health, and all sectoral development plans."

It said since AIDS was first reported in 1985, 44 775 cases had been officially recorded, a fraction of the estimated total — Sapa-AP

Survey highlights Malawi's worsening Aids problem

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highest levels of President Bakili Maluzi's government in this country of 8 million sandwiched between Tanzania and Mozambique

The draft report said the highest rates of HIV prevalence were detected in 1996 among women whose partners were professionals, skilled workers, soldiers or policemen. — Sapa-AP

Star 29/8/97

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Fraud increases despite government census on jobs

'Ghost workers' dog Malawi's civil service

FELIX MPONDA

Blantyre — Fraud, especially in the form of "ghost" workers, continues to cast a shadow on Malawi's civil service

One of the latest cases involves a secondary school teacher, working as an education planning officer in a USAid-funded project, who requested K81 000 (R22 000) for school fees for 540 students at a distance education centre

The school was supposedly in the rural areas of Lilongwe district in central Malawi. However, the students and school were fictitious. His plan was nipped in the bud by suspicious education authorities

"It looks as if fraud in government will remain a jigsaw puzzle," said one civil servant.

Viva Nyimba, a lawyer in private practice who is a former civil servant, said the state should improve its accounting system which was liable to fraud

One observer believed the ghost worker syndrome was an organised syndicate which might involve personnel in the account-

ing offices. He said the only effective response would be stringent regular audits.

Ghost workers on the state payroll and those who cash in on bogus house rents cost the government K400 million last year

Efforts to clear up the problem started in October 1995, when the government conducted an 11-day census to determine the exact number of civil servants

The office of the president and cabinet said the census was necessary because the departments which paid out salaries and the department of human resources reported conflicting numbers of civil servants

The report showed that education among civil servants was poor, with only 2,3 percent university graduates and 18,9 percent with no education at all

However, the office did not mention the "ghost worker" problem

The issue of ghost workers seemed to have been forgotten until this year when the finance minister in his budget statement said he was distressed to reveal irregularities in payment of

wages and salaries

Citing an investigation from last year, Aleke Banda, then minister of finance, said there were inexplicable fluctuations in funding requirements for salaries and wages from month to month

He said the annual bill for the whole civil service should be K1,5 billion, but actual funding by the treasury hovered around K1,9 billion

Records also revealed the civil service workforce had increased by 9 000 from the census figure of 112 975 civil servants. Banda questioned how 9 000 staff could account for K400 million

Malawi has not determined the exact number of teachers in the country. The estimated number is between 45 000 and 47 000

It is speculated tricks to swindle the government originate from deliberate duplications by headmasters, who agree with district education officials to add extra names and pocket the money between themselves

Peter Fachi, the housing minister, said last year physical counting of houses whose rent was paid by government revealed "a serious and saddening malpractice which had meant losses of millions of kwacha to some unscrupulous characters"

Fachi said the count failed to determine the number of government-paid houses, but only determined privately paid houses.

Other fraudulent dealings were reported to include uncompleted and unoccupied houses paid for by government, rent payments to up to six different landlords for one house and an instance of double rent payment for one period — Independent Foreign Service, Africa Information Afrique



Malawi looks to paprika to replace tobacco crops

BD 11/9/97
Edward Chisambo

(170)

BLANTYRE — Malawi's export promotion council has taken steps to boost the production and export of paprika, particularly to SA, in a bid to reduce the country's reliance on tobacco exports as a source of foreign exchange

Attempts to boost paprika production have been motivated by growing international resistance to smoking, although the council is also seeking to identify other alternative products

The council's principal marketing officer, Chibagali Thindwa, said paprika was being sought by several SA entrepreneurs as well as by European markets.

Spain, the spice's largest producer, could no longer meet European demand. "Some SA companies will buy from Malawi and export to Europe," said Thindwa.

Although he did not name the SA companies involved, he said three had indicated they were prepared to work with local partners involved in contract farming. The three SA companies wanted to import the paprika, package it, distribute it in SA and export it to Europe.

Thindwa expected to make formal announcements about the companies involved when a Malawian trade delegation returned from SA. The Malawian delegation is expected to strike a variety of deals with SA businesses.

He said Nali Limited, the Malawian producer of a peri-peri sauce, was launching its product during the trip. Nali Sauce would be distributed by Haj Import & Export in SA.

Thindwa said paprika bushes were well suited to Malawi's climate and was already being exported. It needed less capital and labour to produce than tobacco.

He said the government should reconsider land and employment policies to encourage investment in Malawi.

Today has been designated Nali Day because the sauce is to be officially launched on the SA market.

Malawi's main river in danger of drying up

Level of Lake Malawi falling and Shire River, which provides power to the country and especially Blantyre, is suffering

REUTERS
Blantyre

Malawi's biggest river, which supplies the country's hydro-electric power plant and major industrial city, is shrinking and may dry up entirely as a result of falling water levels in Africa's third largest lake

Richard Watts, professor of hydrology at the University of Malawi, said the Shire River was already very shallow and a drop of one metre as forecast for Lake Malawi, its main feeder, could gradually dry the river up.

"The danger is that the Shire River will get critically low and Malawi's electricity depends on this river."

Malawi's entire hydro-electric power supply relies on water from the Shire River, as does Blantyre, the country's industrial hub

The larger part of the Sugar Corporation of Malawi (Sugoma) sugar plantations on the lower Shire in southern Malawi also rely on sprinkler irrigation water

Hydrologists say the level of Lake Malawi has been dropping over the past five years and will drop to about 473 metres above sea level by October

The lake's water level fell to 470 metres at the turn of the century, leading to the complete drying up of the Shire River

Watts said that unless the shallow strip between the Shire and Lake Malawi was dredged to increase its depth, or large pumps were installed to pump water into the river, hydro-electric schemes would be seriously affected

The problem was made worse by damage, caused by soil erosion, to Escom (Electricity Supply Commission of Malawi) equipment, he said

Experts from the British Institute of Hydrology who recently conducted a study on Lake Malawi also warned that problems could occur if the water level dipped too low.

"The possibility of a return to historically low levels is of great concern to hydrologists and engineers, particularly in relation to the maintenance and planning of future hydro-power developments," the institute said in a report

Raynold Duncan, chief executive of Escom, said contingency plans were being made to avert power cuts

Escom was planning to build a wall to control the flow of water in the Shire River, and studies were already under way to explore the use of coal in power generation

Escom was also discussing importing power from the massive Cahora Bassa dam in Mozambique, he added

Star 26/9/97

(170)

Malawi needs to use water resources

Felix Mponda

THE Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) launches a special food security pilot programme this month which will focus on controlling water in order to ensure a secure base of food production for Malawi.

"How much of the country's water is being used for irrigation?" FAO director general Jacques Diouf asked members of the private sector, during his visit to Malawi recently.

Diouf wondered how Malawi could experience effects of drought when Lake Malawi was a few kilometres away. He said the country was lucky to be endowed with abundant and rich water resources, and should not have its people sleeping on empty stomachs for most of the year.

He said the country should tap its good surface water, comprising a network of rivers and lakes, including Lake Malawi, covering 20 percent of the country to irrigate crops and turn around the sad hunger story which afflicts 60 percent of its 12 million people.

The project will seek to utilise the country's rich water resources for the majority of farmers to use cost effective irrigation systems, improve farm technologies and intensify crop production and diversify into livestock.

"We want to help governments deal with the problem of water," said Diouf, adding that water was the major factor hampering security of production.

He said only eight percent of Africa's arable land has water control while the rest depends on the vagaries of climate.

Lack of control

Diouf bemoaned Africa's lack of water control. He said more than half of the water control is in five countries - Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, Madagascar and South Africa.

He said the biggest problem in Africa was water. Africa loses four billion cubic metres of water to the sea every year. "Let us control that water like everybody else did around the world and use it for irrigation," Diouf said.

However, he warned that agricul-

ture development was not the responsibility of the FAO or the World Bank but of the government and its people.

"The FAO is not a financial institution. We only play a catalyst role. We are here to assist, advise and help mobilise resources," he said.

During talks with president Bakili Muluzi and the private sector on the need to adopt irrigation, Diouf said FAO would provide start-up funds of R2.3 million to launch the pilot phase and this would be supplemented with bilateral funds from the World Bank and the African Development Bank.

Muluzi told Diouf that it was unacceptable for the African continent to continue facing food shortages when it had the resources and the potential to produce enough food to feed its people.

Malawi suffers annual food shortages and has only 10 000 hectares of a possible 200 000 hectares of land under irrigation.

Over 50 percent of households in Malawi are reported to run out of the main staple food, maize, four to six months before the next harvest.

Malawi is a typical example of a nation whose people live under an eternal involuntary fast, says an official report on food security and nutrition.

It says Malawi's agriculture - the economic artery of the country - depends on rain-fed farming.

Malawi's agriculture minister Aleke Banda said that government plans to introduce 56 sprinkler irrigation schemes this year.

"For Malawi to survive, we have to develop agriculture. For agriculture to advance, we have to develop a proper irrigation system," he said.

Reverse trend

He said there was no reason why Malawi could not reverse the present negative trend in the next five to 10 years and treble its crop productivity.

In 30 years the productivity of maize per acre has not grown - it is still four bags an acre today.

"We need to intensify extension. The things we need to do to double or even treble production are very simple, very basic, but they are simply not being done," he said.

Of the problems in the past, Banda said, there was too much stress on estate agriculture while neglecting the small land holders.

He said the new government had a lot to do to develop small holder farming activities and provides for about 80 percent of total food production.

Agriculture - dominated by tobacco, tea and sugar - also accounts for 43 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and 90 percent of exports.

During the 1980s, a significant portion of customary land was converted into estates.

By 1993, the number of estates had grown to 23 000.

They accounted for 1 148 000 hectares, in sharp contrast to 229 estates in 1970 covering a total area of 79 000 hectares.

Experts say the growth in the number of estates occurred because farmers wanted to benefit from preferential policies available to estates. Among these are legal entitlement to grow Malawi's number one cash crop - tobacco.

Banda has little to celebrate as he reaches his century

Jan Raath

MTG 3-9/10 | 97

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Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, the world's oldest surviving ex-tyrant, turns 100 this year, according to what reliable authority there is. There is no proof of his birth date, so he won't qualify for a century-o-gram from the Queen of England.

Birth certificates were introduced in Malawi long after he officially decreed his birth date at 1906. It is no longer an offence to discuss his age, and 1906 is regarded as a *fab*.

Taken as fact now is 1897, if for no better reason than his British advocate named the year and thereby made it public record in the 1995 trial where Banda was acquitted of charges of ordering the deaths of four Malawian politicians.

Three years after the end of 33 years of Africa's oddest dictatorship, Banda's reputation is still intact, a combination of juju and state terror. He is Ngwazi (Spearman) Dr H Kamuzu Banda, the *Former* President "His excellency" and "life president" have been dropped.

The staff at Mudi House, the former British governor general's residence in central Blantyre, still refer to him as "the big man." The government provides him with vehicles, an administrator and maintenance staff for the uncut grass and dying pine trees in the expansive grounds.

Also provided for is Mama Cecilia Kadzamina, his former receptionist who, as "the Official Hostess", terrified Malawians only slightly less than Banda did. "It was not possible to exclude her," said an aide. "She is the only one who knows how to handle the big man." She

is now "the Former Official Hostess."

South African neurologists testified at Banda's trial that his failing memory rendered him incapable of giving evidence. Requests for interviews are now declined for the same reason.

Two weeks ago he was visited by a choir from the Presbyterian church who sang and prayed for him. He couldn't hear the prayers. Occasionally he is taken for drives around Blantyre and the countryside of baobab trees and stunted maize stalks. Crowds stare silently, probably fearfully.

Kamuzu Highway in Blantyre is gone, replaced by Chipembere Highway, named after a colleague Banda chased into exile at independence. Kamuzu stadium is renamed Chuchuri stadium, and Kamuzu airport in the capital is now Lilongwe airport.

The government has bitten off huge chunks of the vast financial empire he acquired during his rule. Two state residences he appropriated have been taken back, and the government is challenging the title to Mudi House. In January this year, Banda finally lost his court battle for the Press Trust, which owned the Press Corporation, a multi-faceted consortium which he, with his former ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP), owned.

With an annual turnover of one billion Malawi kwacha (R120-million) and embracing 60% of the economy, the Press Corporation was considered important enough by the World Bank and the IMF in 1982 to be lent money when its business collapsed and it threatened to take the rest of the economy with it. The Press Trust was set up to make the loans kosher.

An Act of Parliament has restored it to the government and denied Banda compensation



Those were the days: Heads of state no longer visit Banda, the world's oldest ex-tyrant

Alarm broke out among Banda's relatives in August when he signed a mortgage on his Chayamba building, at seven storeys Blantyre's tallest, for 25.5-million kwacha (R7-million). No one would tell them what he wanted the money for, and his relatives complain that Mudi House staff, most of whom are MCP officials, refuse to allow them to visit him.

Last week attorney Khuze Kapeta confirmed he had been engaged by the family to protect Banda's assets. "Kamuzu is too old," he said. "Gifts he may be giving out now can't be out of his conscience."

The suggestions are that the MCP has been persuading Banda to hand over his assets to

the party, which is considered capable of staging a comeback in elections due in 1999.

The Blantyre Printing and Publishing Company is the flagship of his still-considerable empire. It is now chaired by John Tembo, Banda's *ennuence grise* and uncle of Kadzamura.

In the shadows of upstairs Mudi House, Banda dreams on. As heads of state arrived in Blantyre for the Southern African Development Community summit last month, a statement of welcome from the Office of the Former President was broadcast on Malawi radio. It was killed by Muluzi's officials by the next bulletin. None of the heads of state came to pay their respects to the Former President for Life.



Star 7/10/97 (170)

After a century, Banda fades away

His name is being removed from
view and his assets are being
reclaimed, writes Jan Raath

If you wait for long enough on the other side of Victoria Avenue opposite the rambling walls of Mudi House, the former British governor-general's residence in Blantyre, you may see him in the shadows of the upstairs verandah, the oldest ex-tyrant in the world. Occasionally he comes out there for the air. Otherwise, the only public glimpse of the tiny, Homburg-hatted figure with dark glasses is in the back of a sedan when he is taken for drives.

Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, the former self-appointed president-for-life of Malawi, turns 100 this year, according to the most widely accepted estimate. Birth certificates were issued by colonial authorities in Malawi well after the turn of the century. However, Banda's defence lawyer in his trial in 1995 for murdering three cabinet ministers, put the date at 1897. Stated in open court, it acquired official status and now stands as the only formal public record of the event.

A devotee of Caesar and Napoleon, Banda is one of the very small class of African leaders to have stepped down with dignity when he lost elections in 1994, and ended 33 years of idiosyncratic rule that combined brutal systematic repression with efficient administration, careful environmental conservation and a hate for hippies.

He is settled into retirement in comfortable surroundings at Mudi House, accorded the official status of "the office of the former state president" and provided by the new government of President Bakili Muluzi with staff, security and vehicles.

With him also at state expense is Cecilia Kadzamura (59), his former receptionist and the powerful "official hostess" during his rule, as well as officials of his former ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP). They still refer to him by his fearsome official title, Ngwazi (the spearman).

He was spared having to be present at his trial - in which he was acquitted - after neurologists testified that his memory was severely defective. He is also hard of hearing. Modest Msisha, his lawyer who saw him six months ago, says Banda is alert and coherent, "but it's an effort on his part to talk, and listening tires him quickly."

But beyond the threadbare trees of Mudi House, the scene has changed significantly. The ubiquitous Kamuzu that named nearly every major road, bridge, hospital, building or school in Malawi is dis-

appearing. Kamuzu national stadium has become Chichiri stadium. Kamuzu airport in the capital is now Lilongwe airport.

Last month, as heads of state of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) arrived in Blantyre for their annual summit, a statement of welcome was issued by "the office of the former president," and broadcast by Malawi radio.

Government officials promptly ordered the item removed from bulletins. None of the visiting presidents bothered to pay a courtesy call.

Muluzi's government has been busy dismantling the vast financial empire Banda built up during his rule, much of it acquired by edict, and often shared with his former ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP). Two state residences which he had converted to his name have been returned to the state.

He did the same with Mudi House in what Msisha says was "a less than arms-length deal" and the government is now challenging Banda's ownership. He has just won a court order which provisionally bars the government from taking over huge Lower Shiri cattle ranch, which he also owns.

Earlier this year, he lost the battle for his biggest asset when the supreme court stripped him of control of the Press Trust, a nominally independent and charitable trust that controlled an estimated 60% of the country's agricultural, industrial, transport, retail and property business.

Members of his family say that staff at Mudi House have been refusing to let them visit Banda, and last week announced they had hired legal help to block what they think may be attempts to have Banda sign away his property.

"Kamuzu is too old, and gifts he may be giving out now cannot be out of his conscience," said lawyer Khuze Kapeta. "The family has this responsibility, and they cannot leave these obligations entirely to employees," he said, in what is believed to be a veiled reference to the MCP - Sapa-AP.

Malawi exchange boosted by Sucoma listing

Tim Cohen

(170)
BD 14/10/97

LONDON — Analysts are giving Sucoma, which is the third company to list on the Malawi Stock Exchange, a positive rating

It was announced this month that the company, whose majority stakeholder is SA-based Illovo, would be listed on the fledgling exchange and the Malawi government would reduce its holdings to about 30% of the company.

Illovo would hold 56% of Sucoma shares, while private investors would

hold about 14% of the shares which the government plans to divest

Standard Bank London analyst Christopher Hartland-Peel rated the company a "strong buy" based on consistently high levels of profitability, a low price earnings ratio and an 11.1% dividend yield.

The absence of competition and price controls in its domestic market, as well as access to European and US markets under well-established quota arrangements above international market prices,

were additional positive factors, he said

The company is forecast to produce 205 000 tons of sugar in the 1997/98 year and exported 25% of its 1996/97 production. Illovo's interests in Malawi include Sucoma in the south and Dwangwa in the north, both with sugar factories and their own sugar estates

Edward Chisambo reports from Blantyre that stock market sources said the impending listing would propel the Malawi Stock Exchange's market capital-

isation to 1.6-billion Malawian kwachas (\$94m) from the present 22-million. They maintain the initial listing will be followed later by an international private placement of up to 62-million shares once the company is listed

Agriculture Development and Marketing Corporation (Admarc) GM Eunice Kazembe said the plan was "evidence of government's commitment to divestiture from state-owned companies" Admarc — which previously owned a 40% stake in Sucoma

and a 35% stake Sucoma's Dwangwa Sugar Corporation — is the largest parastatal in the country

Sucoma's public offer runs from September 30 to October 28

Malawi may open up its airwaves

STEVEN NHLANE ET (POR) 21/10/97

Blantyre — At long last there is a ray of hope that Malawians wishing to establish independent radio stations may see their dreams become a reality

This follows the announcement of a task force to look into issues relating to licensing and the allocation of frequencies by the government.

Beaton Munthali, the principal secretary for the ministry of information, said the interministerial task force would eventually become an independent regulatory authority for all communication sectors in the country

The six-man task force comprises the law commissioner, an official from each of the ministries of justice, information and finance, and representatives from the privatisation commission and the Malawi Posts and Telecommunications Corporation. The group has toured Ghana, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and South Africa to learn how such bodies have been instituted and how they function

Munthali said the responsibility of issuing licences had always been in the hands of the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation, but the corporation was a concerned party as it also ran other subsidiary companies, including Malawi Television and an Internet service provider

He said the body to be established would be transparent and deal with all aspects of communication on a professional level now that the sector was becoming increasingly competitive globally

"There is stiff competition and our systems have to meet international standards," said Munthali

The Posts and Telecommunications Corporation was both an operator and regulator, which was not ideal

The surfacing of independent radio stations could be a reality if Malawi takes a leaf from Ghana's experience. There the task force, which is now a commission, started issuing licences even before it became a commission

"The airwaves were regularised before a regulatory body was put in place," says Munthali, adding that this was why the task force would use study tours to learn from the experiences of other countries — Sapa-DPA

INTERNATIONAL

Air Malawi struggling to stay aloft

By [unclear] (170)

BLANTYRE — While Air Malawi strives to cut losses by forging alliances with other airlines and opening new regional routes, lack of funding has resulted in airport facilities deteriorating drastically to the point of being unsafe.

However, Air Malawi GM Wisdom Mchungula firmly believes his company can fly the national flag and make money. His three-pronged strategy entails restructuring company operations, delving into new flight routes and expanding the fleet.

The government, which wholly owns the airline, seems eager to go it alone, although company officials indicate they would prefer to use the private sector as opposed to public financing for the buy.

— not a good position for an airline gearing to grow at a 9% rate. The growth is based on regional markets and the new lucrative Dubai route.

A team of officials is hunting for consultants to restructure or offer some or all of the airline's shares to investors. The other option is liquidation, which Mchungula refuses to consider.

joint ventures and alliances. Meanwhile, Malawi's civil aviation officials have to worry about intermittent electricity blackouts and the deteriorating state of landing aids and accessories at the country's airports.

Air Malawi has achieved the last two, but is still grappling with restructuring. It plans to buy a Boeing 737-300 to beef up its fleet.

Initially, the Boeing, a 17-seater Dornier and a leased ATR 42 were the only aircraft. Only the Boeing and the ATR could be used for regional flights and belly cargo haulage.

The restructuring will most certainly include trimming down the 700-plus workforce. Running in the red for years, Air Malawi has, in the past two years, been trying to re-

Many company officials describe Malawi as a pioneer in the creation of alliances with other African carriers. A few are averse to equity splitting

Some aviation officials caution that it is important to proceed cautiously to ensure that investment into such a venture can be sustained. —AIA

Malawi's plans for television hit by cash crisis

BLANTYRE — Previous boastful statements by the Malawi government that its television project would see the light of day even without infusion of donor funds have been revealed as false hopes

The cash pot of the sole shareholder in the project, Malawi Posts and Telecommunications, is empty. New Information Minister Zam Mpasu was asked in parliament last week to shed some light on the fate of the project

Mpasu admitted the department was struggling to procure equipment to kickstart the project which is years behind schedule. It should have started broadcasting in October.

Signs of trouble started when a private Malaysian firm dumped the joint agreement it had entered into with the department to introduce television in Malawi.

Mpasu said initial plans to broadcast over a limited area were

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overtaken when it was decided the project should go full swing to cover the whole country, but this made the project very expensive.

Karonga North MP Greenwell Mwamondwe pinned Mpasu down to explain the funding problems.

All that Mpasu could say was the department was finding it tough to fund the project but that the government was also busy looking for other interested investors — Sapa-DPA.

BD 5/11/97

Former president Banda dies aged 99

By Gill Gifford

Former president Hastings Kamuzu Banda died in the Garden City Clinic last night from respiratory failure and will receive a state funeral in Malawi, Malawian High Commissioner John Chikago said today

Clinic spokesman Amelda Swarts said Banda died at 9 45pm, and the official diagnosis was "death from respiratory failure at the age of 99"

She said he had been with Cecilia Kadzamura (59) and his Malawian medical practitioner Doctor Nthabo, although he had been "under full Garden

City Clinic treatment"

The Malawian government was meeting in Blantyre this morning to give direction to embassy officials in Pretoria, he said

"We have lost the founder of the nation.. we will miss him," said Chikago, who was informed at 1am of Banda's death

Banda's body had already been moved from the clinic to a funeral parlour near the Malawian consulate in Johannesburg "At 8am I asked the consulate-general to prepare the body for transportation to Malawi," said Chikago, al-

though arrangements still had to be finalised

Banda took ill almost two weeks ago with pneumonia and a high fever. He was flown to Johannesburg on November 17 and was admitted to the Garden City Clinic in a coma

He regained consciousness a few days later, and appeared to be improving. He was transferred from the intensive care unit to a normal ward last Friday

Banda ruled Malawi from its independence in 1964 until he was ousted in elections in May 1994. The Malawian dictator was known as the "Lion".

Star 26/11/97

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Death of a dictator

FORMER MALAWIAN president Hastings Kamuzu Banda a hero of independence who went on to become a symbol of brutal dictatorship and eccentric autocracy has died

Ms Amelda Swartz spokeswoman of the Garden City Clinic in Johannesburg, where Banda had been under intensive care for more than a week said he died of respiratory failure on Tuesday night at 9.45pm

Though his official birthday was given as May 14 1906, long before birth records were kept in the former British colony of Nyasaland Banda was believed to be in his late 90s. Swartz gave his age as 99

Banda was hospitalised in Malawi on November 15 suffering from fever and pneumonia. He was transferred to the Johannesburg clinic a few days later in a coma

"At 99, the battle to recover from pneumonia is very difficult," said Swartz, who added that Banda's longtime companion, Ms Cecilia Kadzamura, was at his bedside when he died

Banda led his nation to independence in 1964 and ruled until he was ousted in the first democratic elections in 1994 after three decades as head of one of Africa's most brutal and isolated dictatorships

The elections were held only after anti-government riots and an aid freeze by Western donors to pressure Banda into abandoning repressive policies

As a prelude to the elections, Banda was forced to hold a non-binding referendum in which Malawians voted overwhelmingly to end Malawi's one-party system

During Banda's rule thousands of political opponents were killed, tortured, jailed without trial or hounded into exile. In 1995 Banda and top aides were cleared in an eight-month trial of the 1983 murders of four dissident politicians

Lawyers defending him said then he was 96 and the High Court in Blantyre, the commercial capital, ruled him too ill and frail to appear in court

Cleansing the nation

The democratically elected government of president Bakili Muluzi said it charged Banda and his aides as a first step towards cleansing the nation's bloody past

Banda was acquitted along with his former police minister Mr John Tembo and Kadzamura, his longtime "official hostess", one of the country's most powerful people during his reign

Kadzamura, in her 60s, met Banda when she worked as a young nurse at a Blantyre clinic he owned before independence. Though constant companions, the couple never married and Banda never admitted to having children

Tembo, Kadzamura's uncle, was seen as the

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Few will mourn the going of Malawi's Kamuzu Banda, who died in Johannesburg on Tuesday at the age of 99.

Angus Shaw recalls his rise and fall.



Former Malawi president Kamuzu Banda during whose rule thousands of political opponents were killed or jailed. PIC AP

heir apparent and the real power behind Banda in the last years of his rule

Tembo later lost control of Banda's Malawi Congress Party to a former party dissident, Mr Gwanda Chakuamba, but still heads a business empire built while in power

Known as the Ngwazi, chief of chiefs or conqueror in the local Chewa language, Banda was always seen in public in an austere dark suit, black Homburg hat and waving a lion's tail fly whisk

Banda's death ends an extraordinary era in the history of this tiny, impoverished land of eight million people. At the height of his power, Banda was renowned for his caustic humour, oratory and searching, analytical approach

The former elder in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland forbade the introduction of television, which he considered a corrupting influence, though he regularly watched foreign programmes from satellite broadcasts

For most of his quirky rule men were not permitted to wear bell-bottom trousers and women were not allowed to wear skirts above the knee or pants. The bans were extended to foreign tourists

Male visitors with long hair were denied entry unless they allowed themselves to be shorn by airport barbers

See also 27/11/97
Banda also banned the broadcasting of the Simon and Gartunkel song *Cacela* on state radio in deference to Kadzamura

Throughout his presidency Banda controlled extensive private business interests. He often hired foreign whites to run his companies and also favoured expatriate managers in key posts in state-owned enterprises, the national airline and the central bank

In later years he eschewed local languages and expressed fierce pro-British sentiments only in English leading to criticism that he blocked African advancement

Banda left his country as a young man after working as a hospital orderly. He walked 1 600km to South Africa to seek work in the country's burgeoning gold mines and travelled on to the United States. He was the first black student at the Chicago University in 1931 and graduated from Meharry Medical School in Nashville six years later

Banda practised medicine in Scotland and later decorated his seven palaces at home with a mix of animal skins, tartans and Scottish baronial insignia

Working as a doctor in Britain for nearly 40 years before returning home in 1958, Banda's London practice became a meeting place for African intellectuals and independence leaders, including Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah

Banda was given a hero's welcome when he returned in 1958 to campaign for independence. He was jailed for inciting violence against British colonial authorities, but later freed to negotiate for independence in London

Summarily jailed

A few months after independence, he summarily jailed 400 opponents he said were planning armed rebellion. Others fled into exile as he vowed to crush dissent

Banda declared Malawi a one-party state in 1966 and in 1971, almost a decade after being freely elected as Malawi's first black prime minister, he declared himself president for life

He was a founder of the early pan-Africanist movement and the Organisation of African Unity, but he stayed away from its meetings as his isolation grew

Under Banda Malawi was the only independent African nation to maintain open and formal ties with apartheid-ruled South Africa and Israel - *Sapa-AP*

Former Malawian president Hastings Banda

Kevin O'Grady

FORMER Malawian President Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who led his country to independence from Britain in 1964 and ruled until the first democratic elections in 1994, died of respiratory failure in Johannesburg's Garden City Clinic on Tuesday night.

A clinic spokesman confirmed Banda had died at about 9.45pm after being admitted with pneumonia more than a week earlier.

Two days after his November 17 admission in a coma, Banda was said to be semiconscious and stable but was still in the clinic's intensive care unit.

His death from respiratory failure was a complication of the pneumonia, the spokesman said. Although Banda's birthday was said officially to be May 14 1906, long before birth records were kept in the former British colony of Nyasaland, Banda was believed to be several years older.

The Garden City clinic spokesman gave his age as 99.

Reuter reports that Banda ruled Malawi with an iron fist for more than 30 years before he lost power in the country's first multiparty elections in 1994.

A diminutive medical doctor who favoured three-piece suits and homburg hats, he never appeared in public without a fly whisk. Diplomats said his rejection in a 1993 referendum on multiparty rule panned him deeply.

For years, challengers to his rule had been banished, jailed or found dead, and Banda often threatened to throw his opponents to the crocodiles.

But unlike Zaire's toppled dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, who died from cancer in exile in Morocco two months ago, Banda left home voluntarily to seek treatment.

He retired from politics in July after his final years were marked by the new government's attempts to convict him of the deaths of four

political opponents during his long years of rule.

The courts found Banda not guilty. The government of Bakili Muluzi, a former protégé turned foe, asked for a retrial but failed. Muluzi also accused Banda of stripping Malawi's wealth for his own personal gain.

Banda was prime minister when the colony of Nyasaland gained its independence from Britain in 1964, and quickly outlawed all opposition parties.

He became president in 1966 and proclaimed himself president for life in 1971, crushing all voices of dissent. But a vocal campaign for democracy grew rapidly from March 1992.

Roman Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter condemning his human rights record and Malawian exiles and critics formed a united front for change.

Two months later about 40 people were killed in rioting stemming from labour unrest.

Feb 27 1997
Dies
1997

Banda the dictator ruled tiny Malawi as personal fiefdom

BD 28/11/97

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HIS three-piece suit and Hom-burg symbolised Victorian values, the dark glasses and twitching fly-whisk smacked of voodoo

Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who died in a Johannesburg hospital on Tuesday, seemed to cast a spell over Malawi, holding the country in his thrall from independence in 1964 until his defeat in multiparty elections in 1994

He was ruthless towards his enemies, real or suspected, and authoritarian by instinct. But it is a measure of the extraordinary sway Banda exercised over the people of Malawi that neither dotage nor his defeat in the 1993 referendum on multiparty elections could dislodge him.

Only when he and his ruling Malawi Congress Party lost the general election that followed did Banda reluctantly accept that his political career was over.

Banda had taken the traditional path to power in colonial Africa from prison to premiership.

His authority stemmed not only from the one-party system, it was reinforced by harassment and assassination of opponents, including three cabinet ministers.

Born about 1898 and educated by Scottish missionaries, Banda worked as a hospital orderly in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) before travelling to SA and getting a job as a mine clerk.

A Methodist scholarship took him to the US in 1923. High school studies in Ohio were followed by university in the US and Scotland, he completed his medical studies in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

From his London surgery he campaigned against the Central African Federation of Southern and Northern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe and Zambia) and Nyasa-

Hastings Kamuzu Banda was a ruthless autocrat who held a nation in thrall, writes Michael Holman



BANDA

land, created in 1953 without consulting the African majority.

"They said it meant development, but there was none," said Banda. "It meant everything settled in Salisbury, a little bit in Lusaka, and nothing here."

In 1957 Banda left London for the Gold Coast, embittered by what he saw as Britain's betrayal of his country. "I was furious for years the British had said they were in Nyasaland not to rule us forever, but only to guide us until we could rule ourselves."

A year later he was invited home by the Nyasaland African Congress to lead the struggle for independence. "I came back home and said 'Look, you have called me here to get rid of this federation, but there are certain things you have to do first. The first of

these is unity. I do not want to live among a collection of quarrelling tribes'."

Barely a year after his return, Banda was arrested. It did not stop the winds of change. After his release in 1960, constitutional talks in London were followed by self-government in 1963 and independence in 1964. "One leader, one party, one government and no nonsense about it," Banda was quoted as saying at the time.

Banda served Malawi best during his early years in office. At independence the country had no exploitable mineral resources, only 75km of tarred road, and a handful of university graduates.

From the start he emphasised the need to concentrate on agriculture. "In Africa it is stupidity to use state agriculture. It must be ordinary farmers. Local people must be allowed a plot of land."

The outcome of his exhortations, in the first years of independence, was remarkable. Real gross domestic product grew at an average 5.5% a year between 1967 and 1979. By the end of the 1970s, however, its export routes to the sea cut by the war in Mozambique, Malawi was in serious economic trouble. Economic reforms were hampered by the fact that Banda treated leading companies as part of his financial fiefdom.

Above all, fear of offending the president made debate on economic policies impossible. Banda not only dominated his cabinet, he himself held most of the key portfolios, provoking the description of Malawi as a "One man Banda" — Financial Times

OBITUARY

Was Kamuzu an American imposter?

MTG 28/11-4/12/97 (70)

Mail & Guardian reporters

The death of former Malawian president Kamuzu Banda invites the following question: who was he really?

President Nelson Mandela seemed in two minds this week. Asked for thoughts on the departed despot, he acknowledged that Banda did not "have a very good reputation" because of his support of the old apartheid regime, but then had redeemed himself through his subsequent generosity, personally sending him a large sum of money following his release from prison — without his even asking. And then when he did ask for contributions on behalf of the African National Congress, Banda had "responded magnificently".

But the identity issue academics have been debating is of a different nature

It seems the old dictator may not have been the man he appeared to be. There has been a story circulating for decades in Malawi that Kamuzu Banda died young, while a

nents were killed, tortured, jailed without trial and hounded into exile

Banda amassed enormous personal wealth during his reign, building a vast financial empire in an otherwise impoverished nation

He declared Malawi a one-party state in 1966 and in 1971 made himself president for life

Malawi was the only independent African nation to foster open and friendly ties with the apartheid government in South Africa

His age, like his real identity, was under constant question. Some of the obituaries published this week say he was 95, others say 99. For many years, it was a criminal offence to discuss his age in Malawi

But whichever version of Banda's life story you choose to believe, both recount his past as a "father and founder" of the Malawian nation

The official version depicts a hard-working man, imbued with ancient Chewa wisdom, who was

called to lead the struggle for independence. The other version depicts a stranger of mixed parentage who,

after failing to realise his medical ambitions abroad, conquered a country through careful planning



President for life: Malawi's Kamuzu Banda 'lived like a white man' and refused to eat the staple food of the country



"I do want to make the right investments want to invest too much time selecting them need Standard Chartered

It seems the old dictator may not

have been the man he appeared to

be. There has been a story circulat-

ing for decades in Malawi that Ka-

muzu Banda died young, while a

medical student And that an Amer-

ican medical student who had be-

truded him had taken his place.

Who died in the Garden City Clinic

this week? Was it Kamuzu Banda, or

Richard Armstrong?

In the 1996 book *Postcolonial Identi-*

ties in Africa, edited by Richard

Werber and Terence Ranger, the is-

sue is addressed, though left unre-

solved, in the chapter entitled, *Be-*

tween God and Kamuzu.

According to the counter-biogra-

phy of Banda, he and Armstrong

met as medical students, and spent

hours talking and sharing the sto-

ries of their lives. Banda became se-

riously ill and died before complet-

ing his studies

Armstrong departed for Africa

and spent some time in Ghana — his

mother's ancestral home — before

travelling to Nyasaland, as Malawi

was then known.

"In order to succeed, he had to re-

veal his identity to a small band of

collaborators ... With their help he

bought relatives in Kasungu Dis-

trict. These relatives have been kept

well paid ever since, but every once

in a while one of them has been de-

tained in order to deter others from

revealing the truth," the book

claims

When Banda returned to Malawi

in 1958, he confounded his closest

friends by refusing to eat *nsima*, the

staple food of the country. He per-

sisted in speaking only English,

with an interpreter translating his

messages into vernacular languages.

He "lived like a white man", his

nationalist comrade Kanyama Chi-

ume recalled, insisting on moving

into an area declared white residen-

tial and never giving up his famous

costume of a three-piece suit, black

homburg hat, beige raincoat and

brown leather gloves

But whoever ruled Malawi for 30

years, Armstrong or Banda, it was a

brutal and isolated dictatorship in

which thousands of political oppo-
