

MALAWI — GENERAL

1988 — 1989

D/B 29/3/88 (170)

Refugees hammer Malawi economy

ZOMBA — Malawi's economy declined 0.2 per cent in 1987/88, compared with 2.8 per cent growth the previous financial year, the Finance Minister, Mr Louis Chimango, said.

He told parliament the poor performance was due to low export prices, sharp rises in prices of imports and

transport bottlenecks faced by the landlocked African country.

Presenting the budget Mr Chimango said inflation increased from 15 per cent to 26 per cent last year but was expected to drop to 20 per cent this year.

He said government expenditure in 1987/88 exceeded revenue by

R150 million dollars because of food shortages caused by drought and worsened by an influx of 480,000 Mozambican refugees.

Malawi's economy is totally dependent on agriculture which suffered from severe drought last year, necessitating imports of staple maize — Sapa.

STW 9/5/85

Chissano praises Malawi's aid ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

MAPUTO — Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano has praised Malawi's little-publicised role in helping his country defend itself against rebels of the Mozambican National Resistance.

The official news agency AIM said he had called for stronger unity

between Malawi and Mozambique at a meeting with Malawian soldiers in the railway town of Cuamba in Niassa province on Friday.

Malawi has committed an estimated 600 men from its 5 000-strong army to defend the railway line.

The railway line, built in the early 1970s to link Malawi with the Mozambican port of Nacala 600 km away, has been disrupted by MNR attacks.

AIM said President Chissano had gone to Cuambo to inspect the Mozambican special forces who are being trained by British instructors to protect the line.

The training project is not part of Britain's official military aid to Mozambique — it is run by a private company and the instructors are mostly former members of the elite SAS, the British army's special forces unit.

Malawi had previously been accused by Mozambique of supporting the MNR, but its President, Mr Kamuzu Banda, agreed 18 months ago to help the Frelimo government to defend the Nacala line. — Sapa-Reuter.



Mr George Trail . . . "severing the trade route between Malawi and South Africa could seriously affect Malawi."

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Former US Star 24/1/88 consul now ambassador to Malawi 170

Foreign Editor

Mr George Trail, a former Consul-General to South Africa, has been appointed United States Ambassador to Malawi.

Mr Trail (51), who is married to a South African, was based in Johannesburg from 1980 to 1984.

During his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in Washington, Mr Trail said more sanctions "would only serve to isolate South Africa further and further disarm those people within South Africa who have stayed there and courageously worked for change".

INCREASE DIALOGUE

The United States should try to increase its level of dialogue with Pretoria and try to encourage the white minority government to meet the needs of its people, he said.

Mr Trail told the committee Malawi had done a "tremendous job" caring for 500 000 refugees who had fled to Malawi from the civil war in Mozambique, which, in turn, led to heavy demands on Malawi's infrastructure. Therefore, Malawi needed every assistance the US could give it.

Noting that 10 000 miners from Malawi worked in South Africa, Mr Trail said any cut off of the trade route between the two countries via Durban could have a serious effect on Malawi.

Malawi's 24 free years ⁽¹⁰⁾

BLANTYRE — Malawi celebrated 24 years of independence yesterday, and hailed "30 glorious years" under President Kamuzu Banda

It also renewed friendship with Mozambique, whose President Joaquim Chissano was the chief guest at the festivities — the climax of a nationwide party which began on Saturday to commemorate the homecoming in 1958 of Dr Banda, now 82. He led the country to independence six years later

He has been at the centre of poli-

tics in his country since returning home after nearly 40 years in the United States and Britain

President Chissano's state visit appeared to seal a rapprochement that began in 1986 after years of hostility caused by Mozambican allegations that Malawi was backing MNR rebels who have been fighting the Maputo government since shortly after independence from Portugal in 1975

Malawi has always denied supporting the rebels, who have forced some 600 000 Mozambicans to seek refuge in its territory — Sapa-Reuter

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PW, Chissano in first meeting

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ARG 49 12/19/88

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha and two Ministers are visiting Mozambique today and Malawi tomorrow in what is seen as attempts to bring greater realism to inter-state relations in Southern Africa

Although there is a deep ideological divide between Marxist Mozambique and South Africa, they are trying to establish better relations in economics, transport and security

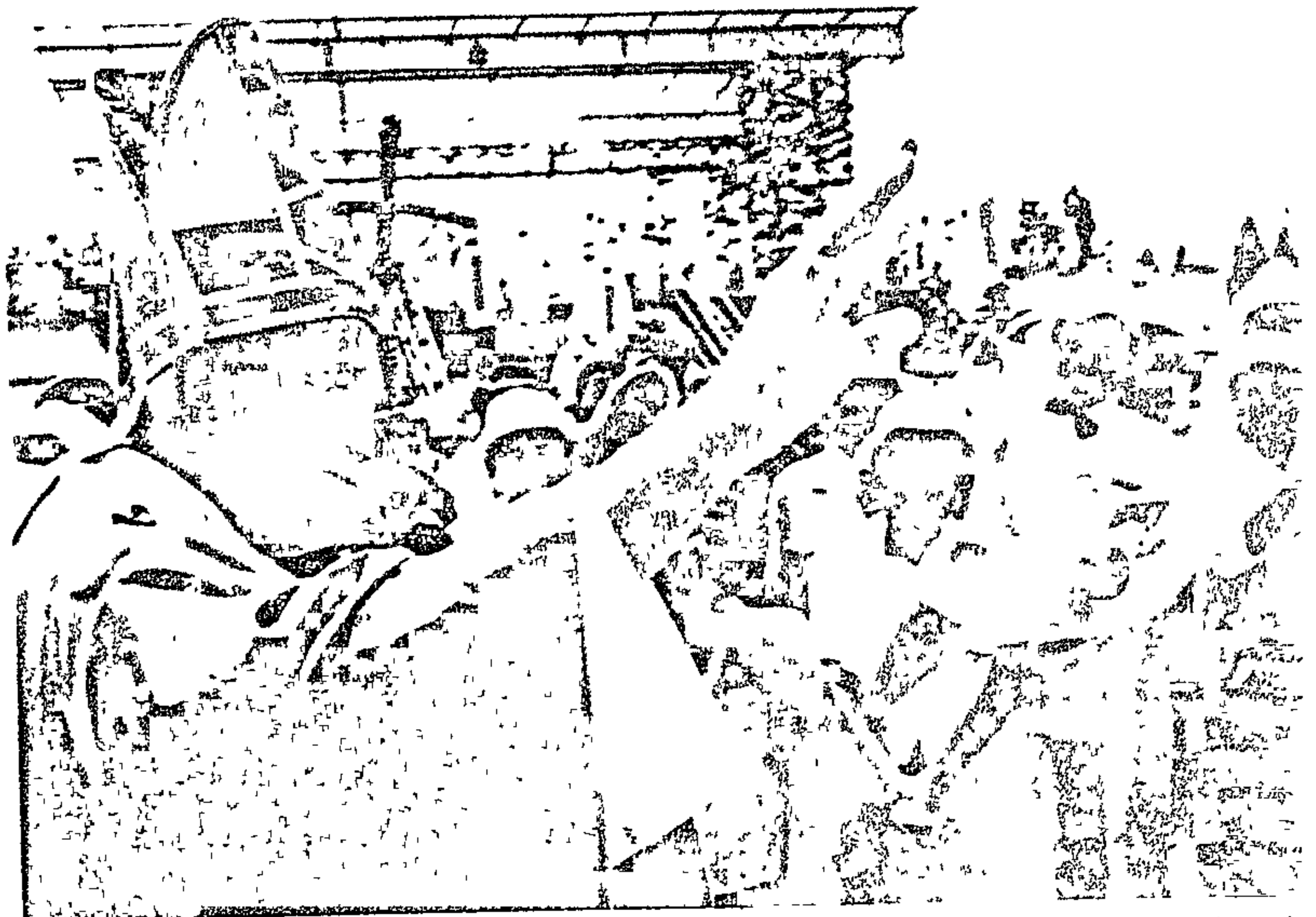
The meeting at Songo, a small town in northern Mozambique near the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme, will be the first between President Joaquim Chissano and Mr Botha

Talks with Banda

Later today Mr Botha, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, will fly to Malawi for discussions with President Hastings Kamuzu Banda. They will return to South Africa tomorrow night.

Today Mr Botha's party will visit Cahora Bassa before the talks with Mr Chissano. The huge Cahora Bassa scheme has been constantly sabotaged by the Renamo rebel movement.

Among the matters to be discussed are plans to revive the joint monitoring commission set up in terms of the Nkomati Accord to deal with border in-



PAPAL MASS Pope John Paul II walked through the crowd before the Mass for the 150 000 people at the Borrowdale Race Course in Harare, Zimbabwe. The Pope is currently on a five-country tour of Southern Africa.

● Another picture and report, page 3

tions in Southern Africa

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Among the matters to be discussed are plans to revive the joint monitoring commission set up in terms of the Nkomati Accord to deal with border incidents. South Africa may also raise the ANC presence in Mozambique, while Mozambique may express misgivings about help to Renamo from elements in South Africa.

Decisive step

The official Mozambican news Agency, AIm, said in an editorial that Mozambique hoped the Songo meeting would be a decisive step in rescuing the Nkomati Accord.

"It is a further step in the policy of trying to resolve the aggression against Mozambique through dialogue with Pretoria."

South Africa, Mozambique and Portugal recently signed an agreement for the rehabilitation of the Cahora Bassa dam but the agreement still has to be ratified.

It is still not clear how the powerlines linking the dam to South Africa will be protected against rebels.

Delighted

South African diplomats are delighted about the visits, which follow one by an emissary from President Chissano to President Botha. Arrangements for the visits stretched over months.

It is President Botha's first official visit to African states, although he has been to southern Angola to visit troops.

Mr Botha has maintained that he has often received visitors from other parts of Africa but has never given details. At one stage this year there were plans for a visit to Congo-Brazzaville.

According to diplomats, the visit is meant to illustrate a growing realism and a more sober approach in Southern Africa about the role South Africa, as the economic power point of the region, can play.

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Chissano agrees to visit SA soon

PW jubilant at success of Africa mission

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Star
13/9/88

By David Braun
and Gerald L'Ange

The State President, Mr Botha, met Malawi's life president, Dr Kamuzu Banda, for lengthy talks on the shores of Lake Malawi today.

Mr Botha, two of his senior Ministers and Government officials were jubilant following the success of their meeting with the president of Mozambique, Mr Joaquim Chissano, near Cahora Bassa yesterday.

A source close to the party said in a telephone interview from Malawi that the South Africans were in jubilant mood at their dinner at the South African ambassador's residence in Lilongwe

The Mozambique talks appear to have been more successful than expected. An immediate result of the meeting was an acceptance by Mr Chissano of an invitation from Mr Botha to meet in South Africa soon

The talks between Mr Botha and Mr Chissano lasted so much longer than scheduled yesterday that the South African President was unable to spend the night in Dr Banda's lakeside cottage at Monkey Bay as had been arranged

According to sources in Malawi, crowds of people lined the streets to watch Mr Botha's motorcade leave for Lilongwe Airport early today

Mr Botha was to meet Dr Banda for private discussions between 9.30 and 10 this morning. The two heads of state were then to be joined by their Ministers and ambassadors for further talks between 10 and 10.45

The two presidents were scheduled to take lunch on a launch on Lake Malawi

Mr Botha is not expected to return to South Africa until later tonight

President Chissano's acceptance of Mr Botha's invitation to visit South Africa was announced at the end of yesterday's historic meeting at Songo in the Zambezi valley

Breakthrough

At the meeting they pledged to promote peace and co-operation in the region

No date was announced for the proposed visit, which would represent a major breakthrough in South Africa's efforts to promote closer ties with black Africa

The Songo summit is in itself regarded as a major advance in South Africa's search for new alliances on the continent

With warm handshakes and an exchange of gifts, the two leaders signalled the restoration of good relations between their governments after several years of increasing friction

Before their delegations began formal talks, the presidents met on their own for nearly two hours. The summit meeting in an administration building of the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric project was said by participating officials to have been held in an extremely cordial atmosphere

In a plenary meeting after the presidential talks, it was agreed to set up expert commissions to deal with transport, labour, economic co-operation, trade and other bilateral issues

A communique said the presidents reaffirmed their commitment to peace, stability and co-operation

One of several issues discussed was the question of property expropriated from South African owners in Mozambique

Other issues included the restoration and reinforcement of the Nkomati Accord, development of road and railway links between the two countries, the upgrading of the Maputo harbour, the supply of power from the Cahora Bassa project, labour relations and the employment of Mozambican mineworkers

At a news conference Mr Chissano said there was new confidence and trust on both sides



PRESIDENTS MEET: President P W Botha and his Mozambique counterpart, President Joaquim Chissano, talk to the media during their visit to the Cahora Bassa Dam in northern Mozambique.

Jubilant Botha meets Banda on lake shores

ARGUS 13/9/88 170

From **DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff**

PRETORIA — President Botha met Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda for private and general talks on the shores of Lake Malawi today.

Mr Botha, two senior ministers and a number of government officials were jubilant following the success of their meeting with the President of Mozambique, Mr Joaquim Chissano, near Cahora Bassa yesterday.

A source close to the party said in a telephone interview from Malawi that the South Africans were in a joyful mood at their dinner at the South African Ambassador's residence in Lilongwe.

The Mozambican talks appear to have been more successful than expected. An immediate result was an acceptance by President Chissano of an invitation from President Botha to meet in South Africa soon.

SECRET VISIT

It would be the first State visit by an African head of state to South Africa since President Banda visited Prime Minister Mr B J Vorster.

At least one African head of state is known to have visited President Botha secretly in South Africa in recent times.

The talks between Mr Botha and Mr Chissano lasted so much longer than scheduled yesterday that Mr Botha was unable to spend the night in Dr Banda's lakeside cottage at Monkey Bay as arranged.

The cottage, Shikoko, is about 300km north of Lilongwe.

Mr Botha and his entourage instead spent the night at the residence of the South African Ambassador, Mr George Stroebel, at Lilongwe, and flew to Mzuzu airfield, near Monkey Bay, early today.

PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS

According to sources in Malawi there has been great interest in Mr Botha's visit and crowds of people lined the streets to watch his motorcade leave for Lilongwe Airport early today.

President Botha was to have met Dr Banda for private discussions between 9.30 and 10 this morning. The two heads of state were then to be joined by their ministers and ambassadors for further talks between 10 and 10.45.

The two presidents were to take lunch on a launch on Lake Malawi.

President Botha is expected to return to South Africa tonight.

● See pages 3 and 14.

Cutback in terror attacks unlikely

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

Reviving the Nkomati Accord is unlikely to reduce significantly the number of guerillas entering South Africa

Whatever else it might achieve, the agreement between President Botha and President Joaquim Chissano to revive the Nkomati Accord is unlikely in itself to reduce significantly the number of terror attacks by insurgents in South Africa.

One of the pivotal terms of the accord is the joint undertaking by South Africa and Mozambique not to allow their territories to be used as springboards for insurgent attacks on one another.

Since the signing of the accord in 1984, Mozambique, once a major conduit for ANC guerillas travelling to or from South Africa, has become relatively insignificant as a guerilla transit route

According to figures released by the Chief of the Security Police, General Johan van der Merwe, less than a half-percent of infiltrators from neighbouring countries enter via Mozambique.

INFILTRATION

But some guerillas entering South Africa from Swaziland start their journeys in Mozambique, an intelligence officer told The Star — and 13 percent of terrorists come in via Swaziland, according to General van der Merwe's figures

The main infiltration route is through Botswana — nearly 50 percent.

There is a basic requirement for a dramatic decrease in the overall inflow of insurgents disrupt — if not destroy — the "Botswana connection".

So far President Quett Masire of Botswana has consistently resisted pressure from South Africa to conclude a non-aggression pact along the lines of the Nkomati Accord

But even if South Africa's pact quest were realised, a cessation of insurgency would not necessarily follow

At the time of the Nkomati Accord, Mozambique and Lesotho were important links in the terror trail to and from South Africa.

When the trail was severely disrupted by the accord — and nearly two years later by the fall in Lesotho of the pro-ANC regime of Chief Leabua Jonathan — new routes were forged

HOME TRAINING

The record, according to official statistics, is

In 1983 there were 56 terror attacks, in 1984 — 44, in 1985 — 136, in 1986 — 230 and in 1987 — 234.

By the the end of last month there had been 138 attacks

The reduction has given rise to cautious optimism in security circles

The state of emergency is considered to be the reason. The argument is that turbulence in the townships provided a congenial environment for guerillas to operate and to recruit new members — but the emergency clampdown is steadily restoring quiet to the townships

General van der Merwe has said that nearly half the guerillas captured or killed in the first nine months of last year were trained locally, suggesting that the guerilla war might have entered a new phase

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Start 14/1/88

Hopes of swaying Africa rise in Pretoria

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[Handwritten scribble]

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star's Africa News Service

MONKEY BAY (Malawi) — Pretoria officials are optimistic that President Botha's meeting with the presidents of Mozambique and Malawi will encourage African countries that are dealing covertly with South Africa to do so openly

Mr Botha returned to South Africa last night after meeting President Joaquim Chissano and President Kamuzu Banda

Evidence of the success of the trip is that not only did President Chissano accept an invitation to visit South Africa, but he and President Banda invited Mr Botha to visit them again

The hope is that this will have a snowball effect, strongly boosting the Government's efforts to win wider acceptance in Africa

After the meeting in Mzuzu, Malawi, yesterday between President Banda and President Botha, it was announced that South Africa had agreed to reschedule Malawi's debts to South Africa. The amount involved and the terms were not disclosed

South Africa also agreed to donate 3 000 tons of maize to Malawi to help feed the large number of refugees from the fighting in Mozambique.

Mr Botha briefed the Malawi leader on his talks on Monday with President Joaquim Chissano at Songo near the Cahora Bassa Dam

Speaking in the presence of journalists after the meeting, President Banda pledged to continue dealing openly with South Africa despite the criticism his policy has brought from other African states

Mr Botha's meeting with President Chissano is seen as a particularly promising advance. It is thought to offer hope not only for improving relations with Mozambique but also for opening new diplomatic doors elsewhere in Africa. The meeting is regarded in some official circles as even more promising than the Nkomati Accord itself

A major purpose of the Songo meeting was to mend the near-fatal damage done to the accord by Mozambique's conclusion that Pretoria had violated the treaty by continuing to help the MNR rebels. President Chissano said he had been given guarantees by President Botha that South Africa would not help the MNR.

If the rebels' depredations continue unabated, Pretoria's problem will be to convince the Frelimo government that it is not aiding them

● See Page 15.

New deals ^{14/9/88} with Malawi ^{Monday}

MZUZU — President P W Botha met Malawian leader Kamuzu Banda yesterday and agreed to reschedule Malawi's unspecified debt to SA.

He also said 3 000 tons of SA maize would be provided to help Mozambican refugees in Malawi

Botha and Banda met in Mzuzu, 300km north of the capital Lilongwe, and discussed bilateral ties and the security and economic situation in southern Africa, said a joint communique.

Botha and his party, which included Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, later flew to Monkey Bay resort on their way home

Banda pledged to continue open dealings with Pretoria in defiance of most black African opinion.

"I believe in dealing with SA openly," Banda told a news conference at the end of his meeting with Botha

Malawi has remained the only state in black Africa that has diplomatic relations with Pretoria

It was Botha's first visit to Malawi and, following his trip to Mozambique on Monday, broke new ground in SA's relations with its black neighbours

Botha and his entourage received red carpet treatment

A statement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the President had briefed Banda on Monday's talks with President Joachim Chissano in Mozambique

After the talks President Botha congratulated President Banda on his clean and efficiently administered country

Banda said his three most basic goals for his country had been achieved there was sufficient food for all, everybody was decently dressed and lived in a "house that does not leak". — Sapa

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(170)

Botha meets

Chissano, Banda

in apparent bid

to create stability

in sub-continent

CP Correspondent

PRESIDENT PW Botha's historic meeting with two African heads of state last week should be seen as part of the greater peace efforts currently under way in the Southern African region.

After more than a decade of war in Mozambique and Angola, which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, caused almost eight-

million people to become refugees and displaced persons and resulted in uncounted economic destruction, it has now become clear that peace and stability are the only option left to save the region from disaster.

Especially significant

was the meeting on September 12 between Botha and his Mozambican counterpart, Joaquim Chissano, and the northwestern Mozambican town of Songo at the Cahora Bassa Dam.

The meeting took place in a region long ravaged by fighting between MNR

rebels and the Frelimo government.

The main objective of the discussion between Botha and Chissano was to revitalise the ailing Nkomati non-aggression pact, signed between Botha and the late Mozambican President Samora Machel on March 16, 1984.

The Pretoria government has long held the view that South Africa's way back into international acceptance goes through Africa.

Both meetings with Chissano and President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi were described by South African political observers as enhancing the chances of bestowing more credibility on South Africa.

The Songo meeting certainly took some positive steps towards revitalising the Nkomati Accord which in 1985 collapsed following

the discovery of the "Gongosa Diaries" which gave evidence of continued military support to the MNR rebels, therefore providing proof of South Africa's violation of the Nkomati agreement.

Relations between Pretoria and Maputo deteriorated further following the discovery of the diaries, and Mozambique on several occasions accused South Africa of supporting the MNR, while South Africa accused the Mozambican government of allowing the ANC to operate from its territory against targets inside South Africa.

Some efforts were made to put Nkomati back on track but following the death of Machel in September 1986, relations between the two countries virtually came to a standstill.

Efforts to restore these

SA starts peace moves

Spirit of Nkomati 'revived' at Songo talks

relations made a dramatic breakthrough when, in April this year, a special envoy of Chissano delivered a letter from the Mozambican leader to Botha conveying a message of peace to Pretoria.

In March it was agreed at bilateral talks in Maputo to revive the joint security commission which was established in 1984 to monitor the implementation of the Nkomati Accord.

A further strengthening of relations came about when Mozambique, Portugal and South Africa reached agreement on the resuscitation of the Cahora Bassa electricity project and to provide protection for the lines carrying electricity to South Africa.

The MNR, created by the Rhodesians and taken over by the SADF after Zimbabwean independence in 1980, was the one force responsible for Cahora Bassa having been dysfunctional for years - and it promised to continue attacking the power lines. According to a joint statement issued after the Songo meeting, the two leaders discussed the following:

- The re-activation of the Nkomati Accord and the promotion of the spirit of the accord
- Road and railway connections between South Africa and Mozambique
- Upgrading of the Maputo harbour which is of vital importance for import and export purposes not only for Mozambique but also for the nine-member SADC grouping
- Re-opening the Cahora Bassa scheme and the provision of power to South Africa
- The question of labour relations and improving employment conditions for about 93 000 Mozambican mineworkers in South Africa



Mozambique president Joaquim Chissano

meeting and arrived in Malawi on September 13 for talks with Kamuzu Banda at Mzuzu.

Relations between Malawi and Mozambique are back to normal after the countries reached a virtual state of war almost two years ago because of allegations that Malawi was supporting the MNR.

In July this year, Chissano visited Malawi on an official trip which marked a high point of reconciliation.

The Malawian government under Banda has for long been the only African country with official diplomatic links with South Africa.

Malawi has also suffered because of the war in neighbouring Mozambique as the port of Nacala in northern Mozambique had been Malawi's traditional outlet to the sea for both imports and exports.

During his visit to Malawi, Chissano disclosed that so far 250km of the railway line linking Malawi to Nacala had been rehabilitated.

Malawi also decided to send troops to Mozambique to defend the Nacala line and at least 50 Malawian soldiers have died in the process.

Once operational again, the air route will help to

percentage of Malawian trade goods and in this way save the country millions a year in transport charges.

The meeting in Malawi between Botha and Banda mainly served to strengthen the links between the two countries.

Talking after their meeting, Banda said he believed in dealing with South Africa openly and this is my policy as I stated at the Cairo OAU conference in 1964.

In an unexpected step, Botha announced during the talks with his Malawian counterpart that South Africa was to donate 3 000 tons of maize to Malawi following the strain placed on Malawi's economy by the presence of large numbers of Mozambican refugees in the country.

The United Nations High Commission for refugees said earlier this month there were 452 000 Mozambican refugees in Malawi.

The two heads of state also agreed on the resuscitation of Malawi's relations with South Africa.

They also discussed bilateral relations, regional economic development, co-operation in security



President PW Botha and the late President Samora Machel signed the Nkomati Accord in 1984.

Convoys keep Malawi's economy ticking over

(170) B/day
28/12/88

MWANZA — Nightfall at Mwanza on Malawi's western border with Mozambique is accompanied by the roar of 40-ton trucks pulling away from the bustling immigration and customs office.

They park on the Mozambique side. The drivers drink beer and sleep in the cabs of their trucks to wait for the next day's convoy across Mozambique to the Zimbabwean border.

This road through Tete province is the economic lifeline for landlocked Malawi, which pays a heavy price in foreign currency to the Zimbabwean army to protect it from Renamo attacks.

Since Malawi lost its traditional railway routes to the Indian Ocean ports of Beira and Nacala due to sabotage by Renamo, the Tete road corridor has carried the bulk of the country's exports and imports.

Last year, this road and the only other, much longer, road route south through Zambia carried more than 90% of Malawi's trade.

As the sun rises over the Mozambican border town of Zobue, the trucks begin to roar into life and, under instructions

from the Zimbabwean convoy commander, move off for the two-and-a-half-hour trip to the midway town of Tete.

The first 20-30 km is considered safe since the road runs along the Malawian border. But after that, as one Zimbabwean officer said, "There's nothing but bush, animals and bandits."

In most convoys there are about 70 vehicles, mostly container trucks, stretching for about five km. From Malawi, they carry tobacco, tea, sugar, groundnuts and other exports.

An armoured personnel carrier containing soldiers armed with automatic weapons and grenade launchers follows after every 10 or so vehicles.

The signs of rebel attacks are numerous. In many places, a band of tarmac had been dug up. The shallow holes showed where rebels had placed landmines which had been removed by the army. Most days, say truckers who use this route, the convoy passes without incident. But last week, a driver said, they were attacked by rebels firing from some distance. No one was hurt. — Sapa-Reuter

Banda clampdown on corruption

BLANTYRE — Malawi President Kamuzu Banda on Thursday ordered an immediate dismissal of corrupt civil servants, the Malawi news agency MANA reported

Speaking at a Christmas party, Banda specifically singled out police officers and immigration officials who received bribes from offenders to evade prosecution.

"We must not tolerate that kind of thing. If you

hear anyone is doing such a thing (bribing), sack him. The police force, the army and the civil service in this country must be above suspicion," he said

(170) star 24/12/88

Banda said immigration officials allowed people without passports to cross borders and police officers released traffic offenders at road blocks after being bribed — Sapa-Reuter

Mozambicans to be repatriated

23/12/88 The Star's Africa
News Service

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MAPUTO — Mozambique, Malawi and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees have reached agreement on a scheme to voluntarily repatriate the 600 000 Mozambicans now living in Malawi.

The agreement, signed yesterday in Tete, establishes a tripartite commission to deal with people who have fled Mozambique to escape MNR rebel attacks and severe drought.

Repatriation will be carried out in stages to ensure the Mozambicans will be able to return safely to their places of origin.

The accord stipulates that no one will be forced to return unwillingly.

Transport will be provided for those who wish to go home and they will be cleared through border and customs formalities.

They will be given food and other aid to allow them to settle down.

Malawians win praise for help

3/10/89
LILONGWE — A visiting US senator has praised Malawi, one of Africa's poorest countries, for its help to more than 600 000 Mozambican refugees.

16/1/89
Senator Paul Simon, chairman of the African affairs subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is on a tour of Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

"It is an incredible thing this government has done — as far as I can see — without hesitation and without any bitterness," he said on Friday.

"It has been a great illustration of humanity at its best."

Simon said the number of refugees in Malawi would be equivalent to an influx into the US of 20-million people.

The Mozambican refugees have fled the civil war in their own country. (70) (SAC)

Simon said he wanted the US to spend more on foreign aid, particularly to African countries, but some countries discouraged assistance by not being fiscally prudent. Malawi had shown the prudent use of foreign aid — Sapa-Reuter

Black trade mission heads for Malawi

IN THE first trade mission of its type, 80 black SA businessmen will visit Malawi this month as guests of the Malawi Chamber of Commerce

The trip is being arranged by a firm of black business consultants, WR Consultants

CE Willie Ramoshaba says those chosen for the trade mission have made a mark in the business arena and have some sizeable equity behind them

The aim is to expand each person's market in their existing field and broaden their scope into Africa and beyond. Once in Malawi, they will meet people involved in business and identify a niche for themselves

Ramoshaba says Malawi traders find themselves in the embarrassing position of having to trade with white

1/10/87
ZILLA EFRAT

SA businessmen and would prefer to deal with black South Africans

He says Malawi's total trade is R450m a year — 40% with SA

There is no meaningful black-run manufacturing industry in SA, but SA has a good industrial infrastructure in which blacks could share, says Ramoshaba

Share the pie

Black importers and exporters will be supporting SA manufacturers by taking on the trading hassles

"We can enlarge the pie and then share it," he says

Companies trading with Malawi,

or planning to, can appoint a person on the trip to research the market for their products. The person will be linked to the company and act as its ambassador

Ramoshaba says all attempts to develop blacks have been through the informal sector, and while there is room for this, black business should be seen in a broader context

He believes import and export trade will give blacks an immediate entry into meaningful business

He says "Disinvestment has excluded the black businessman in SA. We are trying to create a body of black businessmen that people can deal with"

"One deal, if successfully put together, can transform a backyard operator into a millionaire"

Earthquake hits Malawi Two killed

*Cape Times
13/3/89
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BLANTYRE — At least two people were killed and about 60 hurt when an earthquake destroyed buildings in central Malawi, officials said yesterday.

They said 24 people were taken to hospital after the tremor in Selima around midnight on Friday. An earlier tremor was felt in the country on Thursday.

In Maputo, state radio said the tremor had also affected two provinces in neighbouring Mozambique, but there were no reports of casualties or serious damage.

In Zimbabwe, the Goetz observatory in Bulawayo said a tremor originating outside the country was recorded on Friday at 11 51pm local time (2151 GMT), measuring 4.5 on the Richter scale, strong enough to cause severe damage in a populated area — Sapa-Reuter

6 drown in Malawi in raging floods (170)

BLANTYRE — Torrential rain and floods in southern Malawi left six people dead and about 37 000 homeless, government and Red Cross officials said yesterday.

The six dead, including two children, were drowned in floodwaters that swept away mud-built huts and prefabricated shelters in Chikwawa and Nsanje districts, local administrators said.

A government administrator at Nsanje said about 20 000 people were homeless in his district, near Malawi's south-eastern border with Mozambique.

Red Cross officials said 17 000 homeless were receiving relief food and tents at Chikwawa, 110km south of Blantyre.

Some displaced families were housed in schools, churches, government buildings and brick-built trading stores that withstood the flooding, they said.

Travellers arriving in Blantyre from Chikwawa and Nsanje spoke of entire villages being destroyed and widespread damage to corn crops in the worst floods recorded since 1956.

About 600 000 refugees have also fled into southern Malawi to escape the conflict between government forces and armed rebels in Mozambique. — Sapa-AP.

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B1509 14/3/87

Govts rescue flood victims

Star 15/3/89 (170)

BLANTYRE — Rescue operations have been mounted in Malawi and Zambia to evacuate thousands left homeless and stranded by torrential rains and floods

In Malawi's worst flooding since 1965, six people have been killed and 47,000 trapped

Police, officials and youth volunteers used canoes and motor launches to rescue stranded families in the central and southern provinces of Nchala, Chikwawa and Nsanje, a police spokesman said

In Zambia, the air force is engaged in an airlift to rescue nearly 3,000 villagers trapped on islands in the Mazabuka district. No casualties have been reported

An estimated 50,000 people have been left homeless since the torrential rains started in January

Zambia appealed for international aid last month — Sapa-AP-The Star's Africa News Service

Steaming in, armoured, to save Malawi's economy

Capt Times 31/3/89

170
248



Mrs Thatcher...
Timely visit

Own Correspondent
NAMPULA, northern Mozambique — The first train in almost two years to run all the way from the Indian Ocean to Malawi should arrive, with luck, in that landlocked African state in the next few days.

The re-opening of the line linking Malawi with the Mozambican deep-water port of Nacala will be more than just a triumph of engineering and endurance. It may, in fact, save Malawi's economy.

Attacks

Since deliberate sabotage by Renamo began to hamper the line's operations in the mid-1980s, and eventually shut it down altogether 18 months ago, Malawi has had to spend 40% of its foreign exchange earnings conducting its trade through distant South African ports. The effect of this disruption on Malawi's small-scale but once-healthy finances has been disastrous — in 1987 its economy suffered a net decline for the first time since independence.

Many see the concentration of rebel attacks on the railways as strong evidence of South Africa's continuing support for Renamo, despite official denials.

The timing of Mrs Thatcher's visit to Malawi is not insignificant. Much of the work that has gone into re-opening the 400-km Nacala line has been paid for by Britain and there are British experts directing operations on the ground.

Bill Halpin is the man who runs the railway in the northern Mozambican town of Nampula, headquarters of the Nacala line. A former head of operations for British Rail, his problems now as deputy director-general of the Caminhos de Ferro do Mozambique-Norte are tropical weather and well-armed guerillas.

For the past two years he and engineer John Wreford have struggled to keep the track open and the trains running. In spite of the obvious frustrations and discomforts of life in Nampula, they have come to see the re-opening of the line as a worthwhile challenge and they are currently trying to persuade the British Overseas Development Administration to fund them for a further two years.

As the first through-train trundles towards Malawi, in the workshops at Nampula the two Britons are putting together a project they

hope will make such trips easier in future.

Bill Halpin explained the project by outlining the two ways that Renamo operates to disrupt the line.

For preference, the guerillas find one of the remote bush areas through which the line runs for most of its length. They tear up the short pieces of track, toss them into the bush and burn the wooden sleepers.

A French project to replace the wooden sleepers with concrete ones and long-weld the track to make it impossible to pull up has progressed about a quarter of the way along the line. But as the general security situation in northern Mozambique has deteriorated in recent months the French team have refused to continue without permanent protection from the Mozambican military. The government cannot spare a force at the moment, so the project has ground to a halt.

Last week Halpin learned to his disgust that more than 1000 metres of track had just been destroyed near Mulema, halfway to Malawi. His teams could repair that in a couple of days, he said, but it all added up to a further delay in resuming full oper-

ations. Where Renamo cannot destroy the track, Halpin says, their practice is to ambush the trains, firing automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades at the driver's cab.

The drivers tend to flee and the guerillas then usually light a big fire under the abandoned locomotive which effectively warps the engine frame, putting it completely out of action until John Wreford's maintenance department can bend it back into shape.

The sidings at Nampula are full of similarly disabled locomotives.

The important thing, Halpin says, is to prevent the guerillas from being able to stop them and light their fires.

"Two weeks ago there was an attack on a train between here and Nacala — they fired a rocket which went straight through the cab and out the other side — it didn't explode but it killed both the crew on its way through."

"The officer commanding the soldiers on the train had the presence of mind to keep the engine going."

At the workshops at Nampula they are building the prototype of a secret weapon — an armoured locomotive.

On advice from the

Ministry of Defence in London, the workshops in Nampula have borrowed technology developed in Northern Ireland and use materials from a West Midlands firm which supplies the ministry.

The driver's cab on the three-metre Brazilian locomotives is to be encased in 6cm manganese-steel, and that armour is itself to be shielded at a distance of about 3 of a metre by Kremlin Mesh — a grid of hardened steel bars that has proved effective on army landrovers in Ulster.

Obvious idea

The theory is that the grill will catch a rocket-propelled grenade before it hits the armour-plating and the distance between the grill and the armour will deaden its explosive effect.

It may seem an obvious idea, but for rocket-propelled grenades that can penetrate 12 inches of mild-steel, a rather special form of protection is required.

The rest of the locomotive will have lower quality armour and mesh — top priority is being given to the driver's safety.

The Mozambican Tea Company a Lonrho subsidiary which depends

on the Nacala line for its shipments, is already paying more than £50 000 (about R170 000) for eight locomotives to be armoured in this way.

The British government is likely to put up the money for the armoured of a further seven locomotives.

The Mozambican drivers are certainly pleased about the idea, even if its effectiveness has yet to be tested in combat.

If the armoured train proves successful, Bill Halpin and John Wreford believe it could be one of the key factors in winning the railway war.

Surprise visit added to tour

Maggie due in Namibia at weekend

MANDY JEAN WOODS

BRITISH Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would visit Namibia tomorrow, the first day of UN control in the territory, Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed last night

Botha's announcement came amid speculation this week that Thatcher would make a surprise visit to Namibia — in spite of denials by British and SA officials. Thatcher ended her four-nation tour of Africa in Malawi today.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said government had been consulted about the visit and reacted positively to the suggested visit of Thatcher to the British contingent of Untag.

Sapa reports that Thatcher, when asked earlier yesterday if she intended visiting Namibia, said she had no plans for a Namibian stop-over. She said when she was to go somewhere she would make an announcement and "I have no announcement to make."

Botha said the usual courtesy arrangements had been made to the satisfaction of Thatcher's office and government. He would not say if he would meet Thatcher during his visit to the territory today and tomorrow, in part to oversee the POW exchange which will bring Rifleman Johan Papenfus back to SA after 11 months of captivity in Havana.

The Foreign Affairs spokesman said although Botha would be in Namibia today "we have no knowledge of a possible meeting with Thatcher. In fact if it



Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher holds aloft a pumpkin while on a visit to a British-sponsored resettlement scheme in Mount Darwin, Zimbabwe, yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

comes off we will be surprised. It is all just speculation at this stage."

A British Embassy spokesman said in Cape Town earlier yesterday Thatcher "had no plans to visit Namibia. She is in Malawi today and is scheduled to leave tonight for London."

He said the British ambassador to SA, Sir Robin Renwick, was visiting Namibia and was to meet UN special representative to Namibia Martti Ahtisaari on his arrival at the Windhoek airport this morning.

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BIDAY 31/3/89

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Malawi-Mozambique talks on refugees

LILONGWE — An eight-man delegation from Mozambique is in Malawi on a six-day visit to work out ways of repatriating Mozambicans now living in refugee camps here.

Malawi is host to more than 600 000 Mozambican refugees.

The delegation, led by Interior Minister Manuel Jose Antonio, has six other members of the Mozambican government and two members

from the resident office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Mozambique. (248) (170)

□ German ambassador to Malawi Wilfried Rupprecht promised at the weekend his government would help flood victims in the Chikwawa district of Malawi by sending in food supplies and clothes. An estimated 500 000 people have been made homeless by the floods. — Ano. (218)

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Woes for old man Banda

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South
13-19/9/89.



Malawi power-holders Hastings Banda and John Tembo

UNUSUAL political activity and open signs of discontent are surfacing in Malawi.

President Hastings Banda normally keeps a tight lid on any signs of discontent and rarely refers to serious political issues in speeches

The last few months, however, have seen a departure from these practices.

The first sign of problems for the ageing life president came in February when Banda was making one of his frequent crop inspection tours of outlying areas

Just before his departure for Mzuzu in the north, he launched a strong attack on teachers, civil servants and businessmen in the northern region

He accused them of harbouring separatist sentiments and of attempting to subvert his government

Banda went on to say that the northerners, particularly teachers in the central and southern regions, were abusing their positions by spreading the anti-government message of former Foreign Minister Kanyama Chume, who fell out with Banda in 1964.

Chume now leads a small and generally weak exile movement, the Congress of the Second Republic, based in Dar es Salaam

Mission schools

Banda's unprecedented attack was followed by an order banning northerners from teaching outside their own region.

This will create massive problems, as a large proportion of teachers come from the north. The area has a history of strong educational achievement,

Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda keeps a tight grip on Malawi, and protests and signs of open discontent are rare. Great interest has therefore been aroused by a university demonstration and a ban on teachers from the north. KEITH SOMERVILLE reports:

partly because of the presence of excellent mission schools

If northern teachers are sent home, other areas will be left short of qualified personnel. The move will also create enormous resentment among teachers who lose their jobs

The other sign of growing unrest occurred at one of Banda's most prized creations, the University of Malawi at Zomba.

There were demonstrations in February, sparked off by a draconian regulation providing automatic expulsion for any female student becoming pregnant

The regulation was followed by the discovery of a human foetus in a university toilet

Pregnant students

A witch-hunt followed in which all female students were required to have a strict and humiliating medical examination.

The authorities claimed to have discovered several pregnant students and some who had undergone abortions. They were expelled and sent back to their regions

Banda is nearing the end of his years but shows no sign of loosening his

grip on the country or of designating an heir

Many fear that he still intends John Tembo, treasurer of the Malawi Congress Party, to succeed him.

Tembo is unpopular and it is feared his rise to power could lead to a wave of political unrest and possibly a military coup

He is particularly hated by the army, which would prefer to see its commander, General Melvin Khanga, or the head of military intelligence, General Liyabuny, in power

Food deficit

The two recent outbursts may indicate growing restlessness over the succession and over the steadily worsening economic situation

The country has a serious food deficit as a result of the presence of 650 000 Mozambican refugees in the border areas, who now make up eight percent of Malawi's total population.

Their presence results partly from Banda's policy of supporting the Mozambican rebels

— GEMINI NEWS

CAPE TOWN 15/4/84 170

Fears for neurologist

LONDON — Fears for the safety of the only neurologist in Malawi, Dr Mtafu, were expressed on Thursday by Amnesty International, who said that the nerve specialist, of Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Blantyre, was detained with two other men in an unknown place

Star 19/4/89

SA-born man faces deportation to Malawi

By Montshiwa Moroke

A Tembisa man (30) born in the Transvaal and who has lived here most of his life, has been declared an illegal alien and faces deportation to Malawi.

Mr Denny Hamilton Mhango has been in police custody in Kempton Park since November.

He does not want to go to Malawi and believes he is a South African citizen, but authorities have declared him a Malawian.

Representations made by his attorneys to the Government this week met with a disconcerting response and if there is no change of heart, Mr Mhango may find himself in Malawi at the weekend — cut off from his widowed mother and family.

His mother, Mrs Tryphina Mhango, has been the legally registered tenant of their home in Tembisa since 1971 and lives there with her other children registered on the permit.

She married her husband, a Malawian, Mr John Maynard Mhango in Middelburg, Transvaal in 1951 where their children were born. Mr Mhango's birth was not registered.

All 10 members of the family moved to Tembisa in 1970.

Mr Mhango attended Moriting Lower Primary School in Tembisa, until the end of 1972. His father took him to Malawi to further his education and he received an electronics diploma.

Attorneys for Mr Mhango have informed Home Affairs they traced a school principal who will testify that Mr Mhango attended his school.

While he was in Malawi, a relative of Mr Mhango was issued with identity documents in South Africa in his name, without his consent. The relative, who needed Section 10 rights to stay in the city, is now prepared to testify to this effect.

A Home Affairs spokesman confirmed the arrest and said the initial deadline given to Mr Mhango to prove his citizenship had been extended from April 12 to April 21.

Malawi, SAA 'in covert link'

GABORONE — Anti-apartheid sources in Africa and Europe say Air Malawi is proposing to enter into a commercial arrangement with SAA. (170)

In terms of this arrangement, an SAA Boeing 747-SP aircraft would be painted in Air Malawi livery and would operate under a suitably contrived lease, the Botswana News Agency reported yesterday. 19/8/89

Co-operation, the sources said, was scheduled to commence on August 1. The objective is allegedly to operate services from Johannesburg to Europe

via Lilongwe without the cost and inconvenience of flying around the African continent, and to the US, where SAA is denied landing rights.

In Johannesburg, an SAA spokesman said the airline had been approached by Air Malawi for assistance in respect of the regional services and with the prospect of developing an international operation.

"It is understood Air Malawi is also in contact with other parties in regard to possible international operations," he said — Sapa

CHURCH
Southern 25/4/89
TALKS IN
MALAWI 170

BLANTYRE — Malawi will from today host a three-day annual conference of the Southern Africa regional committee of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in Blantyre, the committee's co-ordinator, Rev Dr Sindi Chipangwi said yesterday

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Rotary aims to spare Malawi's 'water patrol' children

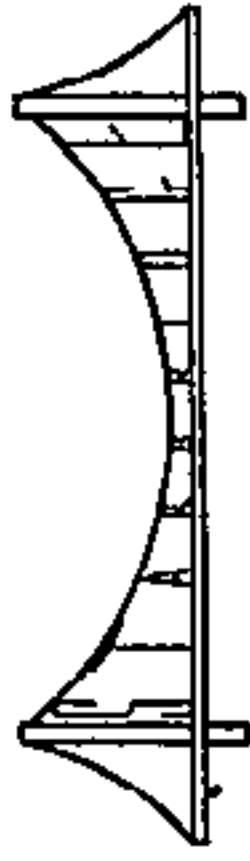
By Winnie Graham

Six-year-old children who walk 14 km a day carrying up to 20 litres of water have prompted the Johannesburg Main Reef Rotary Club to embark on a project which will provide potable water for the people of a Malawi village.

The club has already raised enough money to provide several boreholes. A Rotary club in Sweden has offered to contribute R25 000.

The president of the Main Reef Club, Mr Richard Robinson, said this week the project had been initiated at the instigation of Mr David Ben Be'eri, a Rotarian who had lived in Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania and Kenya before coming to South Africa.

"He travelled extensively in Africa and reached



the conclusion that Africa's most fundamental problem is the lack of clean water," Mr Robinson said. "David told us he had seen small children walk 14 km every day fetching and carrying water. The children have no time to learn to play. Their water-carrying chore is a matter of survival."

Waterholes, he added, were usually infested by bacteria, inhabited by lizards and shared — not always peacefully — with scavenging animals. Diseases such as dysentery, intestinal and digestive

illnesses often had fatal results. A UN study estimates a life expectancy of 35 in the arid regions of Africa.

"Malawi needs about 20 000 wells," Mr Robinson added. "The Main Reef Rotary Club embarked on this project because we hope that by providing water for the people in just one small region we would alleviate some of the hardship these friendly people have to endure."

Underground water in Malawi was usually reached at between six and eight metres

● Starbridge was launched to help close the gap between the races. If you have ideas of how communication can be improved, write to Starbridge, Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000.

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Malawi 'safari' for businessmen

Sowetan 19/5/89

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The South African Transport Services has announced that Mr M P Bodibe, of Sebokeng, is the **Sowetan** reader who has won the "win a free blue train trip to Cape Town and fly back SAA" competition. Here **Sowetan** staffer Miss Thandi Moloi and Sats' PRO, Mr Ephraim Mohale, sort out scores of entries.

The correct answers for the competition, which was published in the **Sowetan** are (1) Dr A Moolman, (11) Airway Railway and (111) Pretoria - Cape Town. The presentation will be made to day at Sats offices in Johannesburg.

Hurry to enrol

ABOUT 100 black businessmen, led by president of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce Mr Sam Motsuenyane, are to tour Malawi next month.

The tour represents a meaningful attempt by concerned black business entrepreneurs to explore potential import and export opportunities between South Africa and Malawi according to tour co-ordinator Mr Wilhe Ramoshaba.

Ramoshaba, who is also chief executive of WR Consultants said "The purpose is to broaden the horizon of our black business people and to expose them to meaningful business opportunities in Africa"

The safari mission is a result of numerous behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by Nafcoc in its thrust to foster and encourage business opportunities among its members

The scheduled tour programme covers virtually all meaningful business parts of Malawi, stretching from the capital Lilongwe, through the business heart of Malawi Blantyre

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

into the holiday resort of Lake Malawi

During the visit the Minister of Finance of Malawi is scheduled to officially open the one-day conference of the estimated 200 Malawian and South African business people on June 10.

A number of Malawian and local speakers, including Motsuenyane will also address the conference

The group will meet government officials, bankers, industrialists, farmers and other businessmen Ramoshaba did not rule out the possibility of the group meeting exiled leaders of South African political organisations

The cost of the trip is R2450 for people who will share and R2850 for single persons Contact WR Consultants for further information at (011) 331-7454

Black businessmen on Malawi trade venture

Star 2/6/59. (170)

By Jabulani Sikhakhane

In an attempt to expand their share of the economic cake, black businessmen are exploring opportunities of getting into the import and export trade — mainly with neighbouring African countries

Next Wednesday sees a group of about 100 black businessmen leave on a business tour of Malawi to explore opportunities of doing trade with their Malawian counterparts

The tour hosted by the African Businessmen's Association of Malawi, comes soon after several business trips to Africa by delegations from the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce Nafcoc has also twice visited Japan to explore business opportunities with Japanese firms operating in SA

The Malawian tour organised by business consultant, Willie Ramoshaba, has


the support of the country's black business and professional organisations.

Leading the tour is Dr Samuel Motsuenyane, president of Nafcoc, who will also address a seminar on "the need for economic co-operation among blacks in the sub-Saharan region"

Other organisations backing the tour are Sabta, the Association of Black Accountants of SA, Achib and six other organisations who will each send a representative.

The rest of the tour will be spent looking at regulations on import/export of goods between Malawi and South Africa, possible areas of co-operation between Malawian and SA black business professionals, the available sources of finance for export and import trade between the two countries and visiting specific industries in Malawi

The purpose of the tour, says Ramoshaba, is to expose black businessmen to trade opportunities in Malawi. They will also attend an all-Africa trade fair which will give them opportunities to identify goods for importing to South Africa



Dr Samuel Motsuenyane

(170) wmail 2-8/6/89.

THE WORLD

Malawi groans under weight of refugees

Twenty thousand fugitives from Mozambique cross into impoverished Malawi each month, yet all are made welcome as 'brothers and sisters'. MIKE HALL reports

ONE person in 12 in Malawi is now a Mozambican, and there seems to be no end to the stream of refugees fleeing the brutal bush-war across the border.

About 100 "half-naked and starving" Mozambicans are arriving every day at Mankhokwe, the largest refugee camp in Malawi, a district official said.

Last week about 2 000 people crossed Malawi's south-western border after a nearby resettlement camp for internally-displaced Mozambicans had been repeatedly attacked by Renamo rebels.

The United Nations high commissioner for refugees says the monthly average over the last year has been 20 000 which takes the total refugee population to a staggering 660 000 by the end of May.

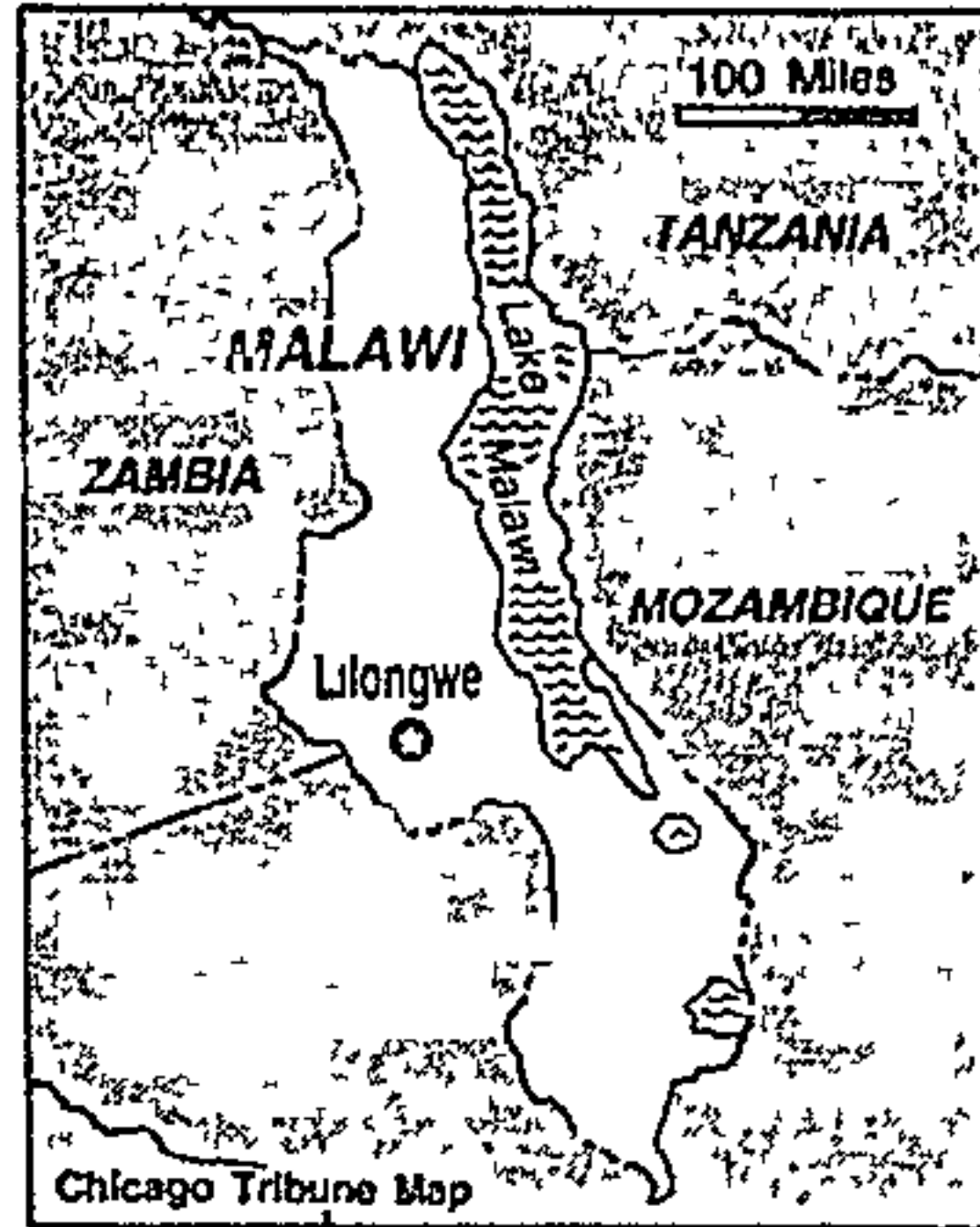
But the government of Life President Kamuzu Banda has made it clear that Malawians will continue to welcome their "brothers and sisters" from Mozambique.

This is despite the considerable burden on their poor and already densely populated country, where this year some 1.5-million Malawians are themselves also in need of aid after a series of natural disasters destroyed homes and crops earlier this year.

Now that the rainy season is over it appears that military activity in Mozambique has been stepped up.

This time last year some 140 000 refugees entered Malawi over a two-month period as the Frelimo government launched an offensive against Renamo.

Malawi had to cope with those caught in the cross-fire. Relief agencies were severely stretched to provide for the newcomers. This year



Malawi's long border with Mozambique

they are better prepared. "We don't want to be caught short again," said one relief official.

Malawi is the only country in the region to actively welcome Mozambicans. In South Africa they are treated as illegal immigrants. And both Zimbabwe and Zambia suspect Renamo rebels of disguising themselves as refugees.

The huge influx has placed a considerable burden on Malawi, according to the government officials. Western aid agencies, including the World Bank, agree.

The refugee programme has pushed up transport costs; food convoys have reduced good roads to pot-holed tracks; maize reserves were long ago depleted and scarce resources have been diverted to providing for the health, educational and other needs of the refugees.

In the southernmost district of Nsanje, the 230 000 Mozambicans now outnumber the Malawian population by three to two.

Across the country, refugees have settled on scarce agricultural land and cut down thousands of hectares of trees for fuelwood.

"I'm amazed at the way the Malawians put up with it," said one foreign relief worker. "In other countries you find a great deal of animosity between refugees and local people."

94 on business safari

ABOUT 94 black business people arrived last night at Jan Smuts after a week-long visit to Malawi. *Some for 14/6/84*

Addressing a crowd of people after their arrival, co-ordinator of the trip, Mr W R Ramoshaba, said the journey was an eye-opener. They met with various people including community and business organisations, and politicians including Malawian President, Kamuzu Banda. *170*

He also announced that Nafcoc president, Mr Sam Motsuenyane who was due to arrive with them last night, has gone on yet another "safari" to Zambia.

Malawi offers export scope for black business

170 By Jabulani Sikhakhane

Provision for small businessmen to enjoy benefits from the trade agreement between Malawi and South Africa should be made in the new agreement to be signed soon by the two countries

This is one of the proposals made during a business tour of Malawi by a group of South African black businessmen

The tour was backed by 15 black business, professional and service organisations and led by the president of the National Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc), Dr Samuel Motsuenyane

Willie Ramoshaba, the tour organiser and MD of WR Business Consultants, said that SA's black businessmen and their Malawian counterparts felt that the revised trade agreement between the two countries should accommodate small businessmen

"Specific provisions must be made for the small businessmen in both countries to enjoy the benefits of the new agreement. For instance a certain portion, about 10 percent of the volume of trade between the two countries, could be set aside for small businesses in terms of the available foreign currency and product categories

"A need was also identified for the financial institutions to devise schemes to finance export/imports by the small

businessmen. In SA one would be looking at the financial institutions, the Small Business Development Corporation and the Development Bank of SA to come out with tailor-made financial packages for import/export," Ramoshaba said

There is also a need for simplified export and import procedures to make the entry of the small businessmen to the import/export trade easy. A directory of services and goods that both countries require would make life easier for the small businessmen

Ramoshaba said five black businessmen had concluded 'meaningful' business deals with their Malawian counterparts during the tour and would be going back to Malawi to tie up further loose ends

"The primary objectives of the trip were to expose SA black businessmen to potential business opportunities in Malawi, look at Malawi's business practices and see if there were any lessons for us, look at import and export regulations and explore possible areas of joint business ventures

"Black businessmen in SA have developed to the level where something drastic and imaginative has to be done to save them. They service a small dwindling market which has limited business capacity. There is the growing need to look for something new and the import/export market is one possible area," he said

Malawi not ashamed of its ties with Pretoria

STAV
4/7/89

170
LONDON — A glance along the shelves of any PTC Kwiksave, the main supermarket chain in Malawi, reveals that it is not a country ashamed of its commercial links with white-ruled South Africa. From wine to skin-lightening cream, a substantial array of the Republic's products greets the shopper.

This is no surprise. Not only is Malawi the only African country to host a fully fledged South African embassy, but SA food giant, Score, has a minority holding in People's Trading Centre, which owns Kwiksave.

Despite its active membership of the SADCC, which aims to reduce member states' dependence on SA, Malawi's links with Pretoria are strong.

This month there was a huge South African stand at Malawi's second international trade fair, a four-day visit from Trade Minister Dame Steyn, and a week-long visit, the first of its kind to any African country, by a group of 94 black South African business people.

Soon after independence in 1964, President Kamuzu Banda broke with the fledgling Organisation of African Unity by advocating a policy of "contact and dialogue" with Pretoria.

In 1967, a trade agreement, intended to provide greater market access for Malawian

Despite its active membership of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), Malawi's links with South Africa are strong. Here **MIKE HALL** of the Financial Times assesses SA's influence on the commerce of Dr Banda's country



Dr Kamuzu Banda . . . policy of contact and dialogue.

exports, was signed with SA.

Relations between the two countries remain close, although Malawi's SADCC membership illustrates the government's view that links with its neighbours are at least as important as ties with Pretoria

South Africa is Malawi's largest source of imports, accounting for 35 percent of the total in 1987, according to Malawi government figures.

Fuel, fertiliser, chemicals and machinery make up the bulk of SA imports, which in 1987 totalled about R280 million. Exports from Malawi are mainly tea, tobacco and other primary commodities, and amounted to about R78 million.

Wheat flour is an increasing Malawian import. SA subsidies mean it is cheaper for Malawi to import than to grow and mill wheat at home.

The trade imbalance is believed to be the reason Malawi has been renegotiating its trade agreement with SA. Negotiations started almost three years ago, say Malawian officials. South African sources say they are close to signing.

Malawi is almost totally dependent on South African transport routes. More than 80 percent of trade goes via road and rail to and from Durban.

Links with Pretoria remain a potential source of controversy, but Malawian officials and traders take a pragmatic view. "It makes economic sense," says a local businessman. "South Africa is close — it's quicker, cheaper, and usually more efficient."

170
Covers
9/1/89

Malawians celebrate 25 years of autonomy

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WITH military pomp and spectacular displays, Malawi celebrated 25 years of independence from British colonial rule on Thursday.

Tribal warriors clad in animal skins and buxom women "Mbumba" dancers of the ruling Malawi Congress Party gyrated to traditional drums and the sound of military marches at Kamuzu stadium in Blantyre

Hassan Ali Mwinyi, on the first official visit to Malawi by a Tanzanian head of state, joined the dancers in ceremonies praising Malawian President Hastings Kamuzu Banda

Banda, wearing his characteristic dark business suit and Homburg hat, waved a lion-hair fly-whisk, a traditional symbol of authority

Mwinyi's presence, with Tanzanian ruling party officials and traditional dancers, indicated a major thaw in relations between the two ideologically-opposed African nations

Banda, a capitalist, has frequently accused socialist Tanzania of harbouring Malawian dissidents bent on overthrowing his pro-Western government.

Authoritarian

The authoritarian Malawian leader, believed to be in his nineties, accompanied Mwinyi in an open jeep to Thursday's celebrations, attended by about 120 000 people

Malawian women wore cotton clothing emblazoned with Banda's portrait

Earlier, 3 000 "born free" Malawian children - those born after independence on July 6 1964 - waved coloured placards depicting economic progress

Tanzania has been among the African nations that have criticised Malawi, one of Africa's poorest states, for maintaining full diplomatic relations with Israel, South Africa and Taiwan

Banda returned to Malawi in 1958 after working as a medical doctor in Britain and the United States for nearly 40 years

He was imprisoned for a year by British colonial authorities but became his nation's first black Prime Minister in 1962

Mwinyi on first visit to Malawi

TANZANIA'S President Ali Hassan Mwinyi returned home on Friday after his first visit to Malawi

The visit brought a new warmth to the once-troubled relations between the two neighbours

During the trip Mwinyi joined President Kamuzu Banda in celebrating Malawi's 25th anniversary of independence - Sapa

In 1970, Banda declared Malawi a one-party state and himself president for life
Many political opponents have been detained without trial under his rule
Since 1987, Malawi has been widely commended for providing sanctuary for about 660 000 refugees from the civil war in neighbouring Mozambique - Sapa

Sect1

Malawi government approve unit trust plan

BLANTYRE — The Malawi government has approved in principle a unit trust plan for local investors as a first step in developing a capital market, financial sources said

(170)
Consultants are drafting arrangements for the trust which will be presented to

interested parties later this month

810am 12/7/81
The trust would maintain a portfolio of investments in Malawi's top companies and commercial parastatal bodies totaling 20m kwacha (\$7.5m), the sources said

Insurance companies, pension funds and individuals are likely to invest. — Reuter

Pumps for Malawi

TWO more Monax pumps from South Africa are to be exported to Dwangwa Sugar Estate on the shore of Lake Malawi to assist with irrigation

The two high-capacity pumps worth R340 000 will bring to 11 the number engaged in taking water more than a kilometre from the lake to cane fields

Candidate for power starts clearing the way



Official hostess . . . Ms. Cecilia Kadzamura.

LONDON — At least three political prisoners died in Malawi prisons this summer, apparently from malnutrition or torture.

The deaths seem to be related to growing persecution of northern Malawians who, since independence in 1964, have been increasingly excluded from power. In January, the government began dismissing and detaining northerners employed as civil servants and teachers.

Because of a higher level of education in British colonial mission schools in the north, northerners once did better in the official apparatus than people from the south or centre. Not so now.

One recent victim is Ms Margaret Marango Banda, in her 50s, a prominent Anglican and a former employee of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation. She is also the northern regional chairwoman of a na-

By CAROLINE MOORHEAD
President Hastings Banda's official hostess, Miss Cecilia Kadzamura, disposes of a rival.

tional women's group called Chituko Cha Amai Mu Malawi, which has been riven by rivalries.

The group is led by Ms Cecilia Kadzamura, President Banda's official hostess and a candidate for power when the elderly president dies. She is a Chewa from the central region. The attack on northerners is thought to be one way of disposing of rivals.

Ms Banda is held, apparently uncharged, in Zomba Central Prison where such political prisoners as poet Jack Mapanje have been held, as well as two lawyers kidnapped by Malawian agents on the Zambian border in 1981. — The Independent News Service



The President of Malawi, Dr Hastings Banda.

Leading Malawi poet in jail for two years

stay
26/9/89
By CAROLINE MOOREHEAD 170

Malawi's best-known poet, Jack Mapanje, has been in solitary detention in Mikuyu Prison, near Zomba, for exactly two years.

He has never been charged and the government refuses to explain why it is holding him.

Malawi is a country where freedom of speech does not exist.

It has been ruled since independence in 1964 by President Hastings Banda, an octogenarian who leads the sole permitted political organisation and who has had himself declared president for life, in which capacity he can order indefinite detentions.

Dr Mapanje has upset the authorities by writing verse in which criticism of Dr Banda and his party is only thinly disguised. He is also the author of many mocking metaphors that have entered Malawi's vocabulary.

Jack Mapanje was born in south-

ern Malawi in 1943. After taking a first degree at home, he went to London University for a master's degree in philosophy and then a doctorate. He is a poet and a distinguished theoretical linguist, and he is the head of the English department at the University of Malawi.

Until 1981, Dr Mapanje managed to outwit the censors. But that year his collection of poems, "Of Chameleons and Gods", was published and though no one was prosecuted for having a copy, the bookshops were not allowed to display it.

Then, in 1986, when Dr Mapanje was planning to bring out a second volume, provisionally entitled, "Out of Bounds", and take up a post at the University of Zimbabwe, the police seized his manuscripts and arrested him.

Until this summer, he was allowed no visits, but it is thought he has now been able to see his wife and at least one of his three children — The Independent, London.

The future looks sweet for Malawi's sugar producers

8/10/89 18/10/89 (170)

LILONGWE — Pressures to expand sugar production in Malawi are mounting.

Domestic sales rose 17% last year, but a large part of the country's increased production is thought to have been smuggled to neighbouring countries. Local government-controlled prices are far lower than those obtainable abroad.

Meanwhile, since the industry is obliged to meet domestic requirements and is working at full capacity, it is losing potentially valuable export earnings.

Experts say the cost of sugar production in Malawi is among the lowest in the world, mainly because of cheap labour. But there are major obstacles to further large-scale development.

The industry began soon after independence in 1964 with the help of Lonrho, the UK-based multinational, which also owns sugar estates in Mauritius, Swaziland and SA. Output has since grown to an annual average 165 000 tons.

Sugar has become Malawi's third most important export, after tobacco

and tea, and is estimated to account for about 10% of the country's total export earnings this year. Fuel ethanol is an important parallel industry with 12-million litres being produced annually, saving \$4.7m, the equivalent of 13-million Malawian kwacha, in reduced oil imports. Local fuel contains 20% ethanol — said to be one of the world's highest ratios for use by normal vehicles.

Cost-efficient

The Sugar Corporation of Malawi (Sucoma) established the first estate in the Shire River valley in 1966. It now covers 9 200ha. Another was opened in 1979 by the Dwanga Sugar Corporation (Dwasco) on the western shores of Lake Malawi where a smallholder scheme with 200 growers covering 660ha also operates.

The Dwanga estate covers 5 200ha and experts say it is among the most cost-efficient in the world, with a modern mill and very low labour costs. However profitability has been hit by low sugar prices and rising debt repayments to overseas creditors after successive devaluations of

the kwacha.

Lonrho manages both estates. It holds a 51% stake in Sucoma with the parastatal Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation holding the rest. Government and the marketing corporation hold 68% of Dwasco, Lonrho 28% and foreign financial institutions the balance.

All cane land is irrigated, enabling a faster-maturing 12-month crop.

The domestic market takes about 60% of Malawi's production while about 13% is exported to the EC at about double world market prices. Malawi has a 21 500 ton quota under the Lomé trade and aid convention between the EC and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group countries. Slightly less, about 18 500 tons, is exported at preferential prices to the US, comprising 1% of the total US import quota.

About 13 000 tons goes to Portugal at world market prices under a long-term agreement. The balance of about 12 000 tons is exported to other African countries, including Zaïre, Burundi, Tanzania and Mozambique.

— Financial Times



Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer Richard Sauve says goodbye to his son in Ottawa after a farewell ceremony for a police contingent on its way to Namibia for peacekeeping duties.

Picture REUTERS

Sea link is open again

BLANTYRE - Malawi's shortest and cheapest route to the sea, the Nacala railway line through Mozambique, has officially re-opened for the first time in five years of rebel sabotage.

The Government has urged Malawi's merchants to re-route external trade through the Indian Ocean port of Nacala which is only 815km from this land-locked country - a distance three times shorter than the current route through Durban, South Africa.

Tobacco, tea and sugar are the main exports likely to be transported on the Nacala line.

Tobacco alone earned 60 percent of this impoverished nation's export income last year. But it should yield even more when railed through Nacala

Test

No goods have yet travelled on the line that re-opened last week. But armour-plated locomotives have made test runs since late May.

Since 1984, Malawi's traditional rail routes to the Indian Ocean ports of Nacala and Beira have been closed because of repeated attacks by right-wing Mozambique rebels fighting the government in Maputo, the capital of neighbouring Mozambique. Ship owners fear the

Malawi depended on links through South Africa to carry more than 90 percent of its trade as well as a new northern route through Tanzania which carries the remaining traffic

Costly

Until now, Malawi paid one of the costliest transport bills in the world, amounting to more than 100 million US dollars (R400 million) last year

Freight will be transported in stages by road to Lake Malawi, container vessel across the waters, highway to the Tanzanian border and then by Tazara railway to the port of Dar es Salaam

Many prospective shippers fear the route will prove a "white elephant" because it will never ferry more than a quarter of Malawi's trade over a longer, difficult and more expensive route

Once the Nacala line is at full steam, it would be able to carry more than three-quarters of Malawi's trade and cut its transport bill by two-thirds, said a railways spokesman - Sapa.

Dependence on South Africa reduced

Vital Malawi trade route to be reopened

(170) Star 20/10/89

Malawi's almost total dependence on South African railways and ports will be considerably reduced once Malawi's exports start being transported through the port of Nacala in northern Mozambique.

The railway line was closed in 1984 after the Mozambican rebel movement Renamo stepped up its attacks in the northern province of Nampula through which the line runs.

Traditionally, landlocked Malawi exported 90 percent of its goods through the 1 600 km line to Beira or the alternative 800 km route to Nacala. After Mozambique's independence in 1975, the Nacala railway line assumed a vital importance for Malawi because the line to Beira was affected by the border war between Mozambique and Rhodesia.

In 1980, Nacala took 745 000 metric tons of Malawian traffic but this was reduced to 274 000 tons in 1983, the year before the railway line became inoperative.

The closure of the Nacala line meant that Malawi had to use the much longer 4 000 km rail and road network through Zimbabwe and Zambia to Durban.

Zimbabwean troops were deployed in the north-western Mozambican province of Tete to protect truck convoys travelling from Zimbabwe into Malawi via that war-torn Mozambican province.

At the same time, plans were drawn to build a 65 km road linking Malawi to the Tazara railway line between Tanzania and Zimbabwe in an effort to di-

Malawi said at the weekend a vital trade route through Mozambique, closed for five years because of rebel attacks, was again open for traffic. The Mozambican authorities have not commented on the report, but as **JOAO SANTA RITA** of **The Star's Africa News Service** writes, the reopening of the Nacala railway line would have positive implications for Malawi's economy.

versify the foreign trade route from the longer and more expensive transport network to Tanzania.

Several western countries also agreed to finance a \$110 million (R297 million) "Northern Corridor" involving 750 km of the Tazara railway line and a 250 km road to be operational by 1992.

But the war in Mozambique was not only throwing Malawi's economy into disarray, it was having a negative impact on its foreign relations.

In 1986, relations between Mozambique and Malawi plunged after the Maputo authorities accused Malawi of supporting the rebel movement.

Malawi denied the allegations, saying it was not logical that it would support Renamo's guerilla activities which had almost doubled the costs of its imports and exports, and was causing delays in its foreign trade with adverse internal consequences.

It pointed out that 70 percent of its exports were tea and tobacco which could be exported more cheaply and easily through Mozambique.

Mozambique and Zimbabwe, however, threatened to close their borders with Malawi if the alleged support continued, and in October 1986, when President Samora Machel died in a plane crash in South Africa, Pretoria claimed that documents found in the plane's wreckage showed that there was a Mozambican and Zimbabwean plan to overthrow the Malawian government.

Relations between the two countries improved dramatically that December when Malawi and Mozambique signed an agreement on defence and security matters.

The following year, about 300 Malawian troops were deployed along the Nacala railway line as a contribution to its defence. A private British security firm was hired to train a militia charged with defending teams rebuilding the line with western funds.

In announcing the reopening of the Nacala railway line, Malawi Cabinet secretary Mr Justin Malewexi said trade through Nacala would help the country's economy and cut inflation.

Canada, Portugal, France, Italy and the European Community contributed about \$170 million (R459 million) to fund the rebuilding of the line.

The announced reopening of the line comes two months after Renamo said it would halt attacks.

MALAWI — GENERAL

1991 — 1992

argued that a premature from coping at a normal school.

Photograph: John Hogg.

Fears for refugees as Renamo cuts aid route

Star 26/1/91

HARARE — Concern is mounting over the fate of nearly a million refugees in southern Malawi as stocks of emergency relief supplies dwindle because of the severing of the country's transport lifeline.

A spokesman in Blantyre for the World Food Programme, which is co-ordinating a shipment of 32 000 tons of grain and milk powder for the 850 000

AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

Mozambican refugees in southern Malawi, said the situation was becoming increasingly strained. Existing food supplies are expected to dry up by the middle of February.

Ambushes

The closure by Renamo guerrilla ambushes of the Tete corridor, the route which links Malawi with the sea, has meant that grain shipments are

piling up in Durban, blocking movement to Johannesburg and Harare.

Yesterday, United Nations agencies were able to arrange to ship 12 100 tons of food through Zambezia. But that route will add over 1 000 km to the trip. It will almost double the price of transport and reduce the number of round trips a heavy vehicle can do in a week from three to one.

"We are hoping that perhaps we can get enough supplies through to cover us until the Tete

corridor is reopened," a spokesman said.

The chances of normality returning to the corridor, which used to carry 150 vehicles a week under Zimbabwean military escort, rest with peace talks due to start soon in Rome between the Mozambican government and Renamo.

A government delegation has been in the Italian capital since Wednesday, waiting for Renamo representatives to arrive for what should be the fifth round of talks. On Thursday, the Italian

ambassador to Mozambique, Manfredo Cainerna, said the parties to the talks would be asked to rule on a plea that the Tete corridor be granted the same status as the Beira and Limpopo corridors.

Agreement

These corridors are guarded by Zimbabwean troops and are declared non-combat zones in terms of an agreement between Renamo and the Mozambican Government, reached last month.

170



Refugees from misery

South 6/12-12/12/90
170

THE border between Malawi and Mozambique is an open one and for years people have freely gone back and forth to trade and visit relatives.

But in 1986, the number of Mozambican refugees arriving in Malawi dramatically increased.

Most of the Mozambicans come from a rural background and many share ethnic links with the Malawian population among whom they have settled.

Malawian people have opened their homes to the refugees and shared their resources. But Malawi is a poor and small country, and the costs of receiving the refugees have been very high.

Health services are strained — hospitals with 100 beds often have 300 to 400 patients, many of them refugees.

Forests have disappeared as hundreds of thousands of refugees need wood to build their houses and fuel their stoves.

One in seven or eight people living in Malawi is a Mozambican refugee, in some districts there are more refugees than Malawians.

Killed

In the past few months, the number of refugees arriving in Malawi has doubled from 5 500 a month in the first half of 1990 to 11 000 a month since August.

Most of the refugees are women and children. Many of the men may have been killed or forced into one of the military forces back in Mozambique.

The day I visited Kunyinda refugee camp, 65 Mozambicans arrived. Only three were men.

They had walked for three days without food and they were weak and hungry when they reached the camp. The number of arrivals in Malawi is directly related to the continuing violence inside Mozambique.

I talked with Mr Jones Laviwa, Relief Coordinator of the Christian Council of Malawi about the refugees and about the work of the churches. But mostly I listened — to his stories and the stories of the refugees.

"A group of Mozambican women came to talk to me," he said. "They told me about their village and about how one day Renamo came and took away their husbands."

"The next day the women were cooking their beans for lunch and the Renamo forces came back."

Daughter

"You have five minutes," they said, "to take your things and leave the village for Malawi. Otherwise we'll kill you."

"Within five minutes the villagers moved out of the village — a long column of people walking to Malawi. A few minutes after leaving they saw the fire from their village."

"One of the women began screaming uncontrollably. 'My daughter, my six-month-old daughter. I forgot her at home.'"

Mr Laviwa continued. "I've seen that woman a dozen times in the camp. But she's never talked to me. She only cries. I want to tell her that I understand. I want to tell her that God forgives her. But she cannot forgive herself. She will probably never forgive herself."

As Mr Laviwa speaks, I ache for this woman and for the millions of Mozambican mothers and fathers who have watched their children die.

I cry for the children forced by bandit groups to kill, sometimes to kill their

The terror carried out by Renamo in Mozambique has left scars on the country's population, many of whom have fled to neighbouring countries. ELIZABETH FERRIS reports on the human face of refugees to Malawi:

own family members. The brutal war in Mozambique has killed hundreds of thousands of people, has forced millions to leave their homes, has destroyed families.

Perhaps three million are displaced within Mozambique. Almost a million have come to Malawi as refugees where they wait for an end to the violence so that they can go back home.

Negotiations between the government and Renamo continue at a slow pace. Meanwhile the fighting goes on and the refugees continue to arrive.

Mozambique is rarely on the front pages of the international press these days. But the refugees continue to arrive and the suffering goes on.

Malnutrition

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has faced serious financial problems for the last couple of years and its refugee programmes have suffered.

Because of a lack of land in the country, the refugees are not able to grow their own food, they depend on assistance from the international community.

But shortages of food supplies have led to increased malnutrition among refugee children. The queues of women waiting for water are growing longer and there is mounting concern that the water supplies in the camps won't be sufficient.

Shortages of firewood and of the grass needed to thatch the houses mean that refugees have to walk further and further in search of materials.

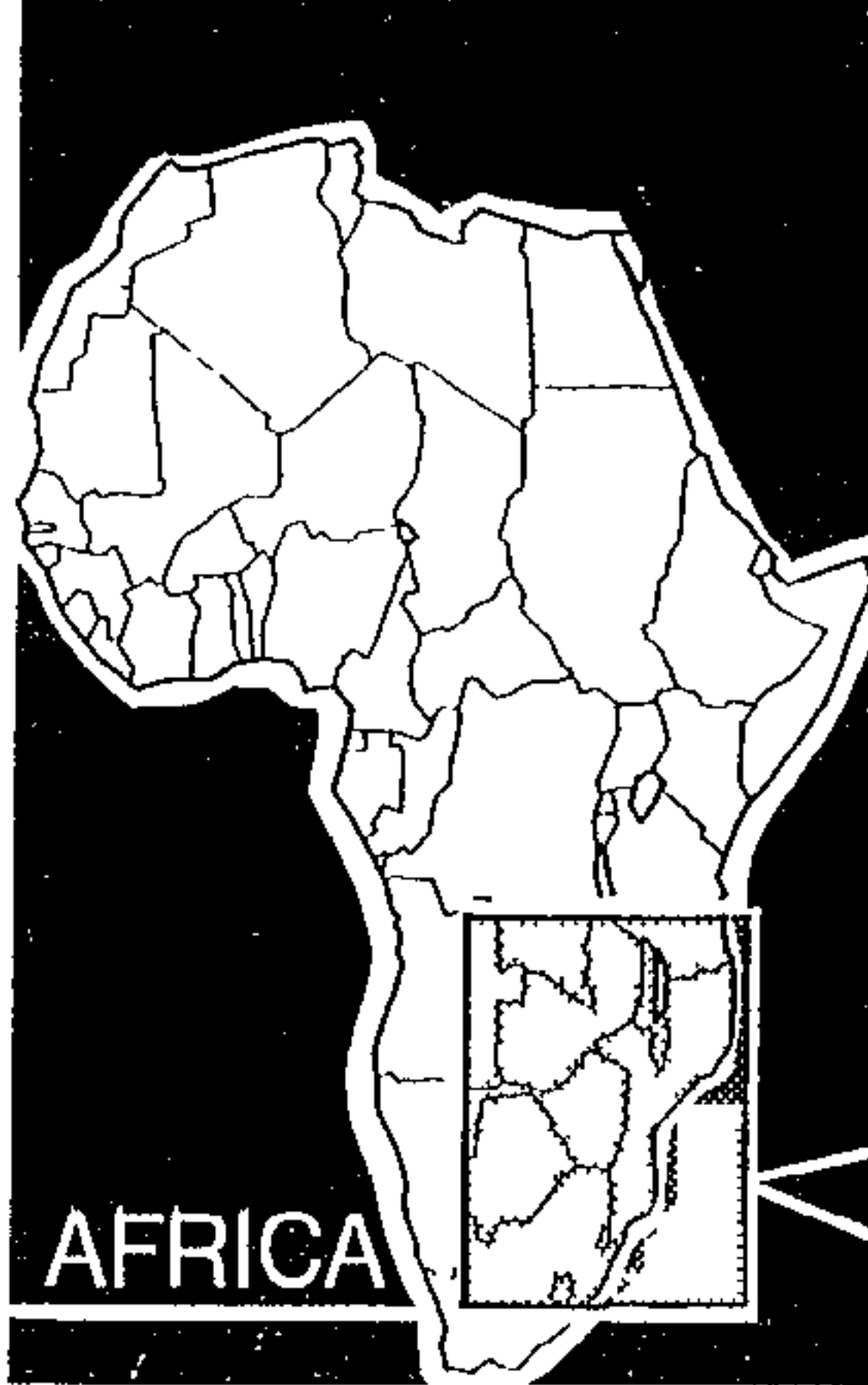
Many walk back to Mozambique in search of grass and firewood. But Renamo is still active and in many areas, there are landmines.

The week before we visited one of the camps, three refugees from that camp



FROM DEATH'S DOOR: War and drought took these children to the edge of death. Now in a refugee camp, they have another chance.

Uprooted Mozambicans



were killed by mines in Mozambique when they returned to find wood.

The churches in Malawi have responded generously to the refugees. The Christian Council of Malawi (CCM) has several programmes in the camps.

In response to the often desperate needs of the refugees when they first arrive, they have built transit shelters where the refugees can stay while they build their houses.

When they arrive, refugee families are given 14 poles to build their houses, but must find the grass for thatching and construct them themselves.

As many of the new arrivals are physically weak from their journey, and because the poles are often not available, they need a place to sleep for a few weeks.

"Last month, I got a call from UNHCR," Mr Laviwa said. "They said they needed 100 new transit shelters immediately because a large number of refugees had just arrived."

"UNHCR called on Friday afternoon. By Sunday, we had already put up four of the shelters."

Stories

CCM has built other buildings as well, in several camps they have built "multi-purpose" buildings used for day care and meetings of refugee committees as well as by Malawians living in the area.

They provide training and income-generating projects. But perhaps the most important work they do is simply to be present with the refugees, to listen to

their stories, to show their support.

Church assistance to the Mozambican refugees isn't only expressed by the Christian Council Congregations throughout the country collect clothes and maize meal for distribution to the refugees.

Rev Mwambila is a pastor in the northern part of the country where refugees arrive by boat across Lake Malawi.

"Every week I take groups from my congregation to the camps — sometimes the women's guild or the youth group or the men's group — so that people can see and understand the situation of the refugees."

Pastor

"At first they see only their pain and suffering."

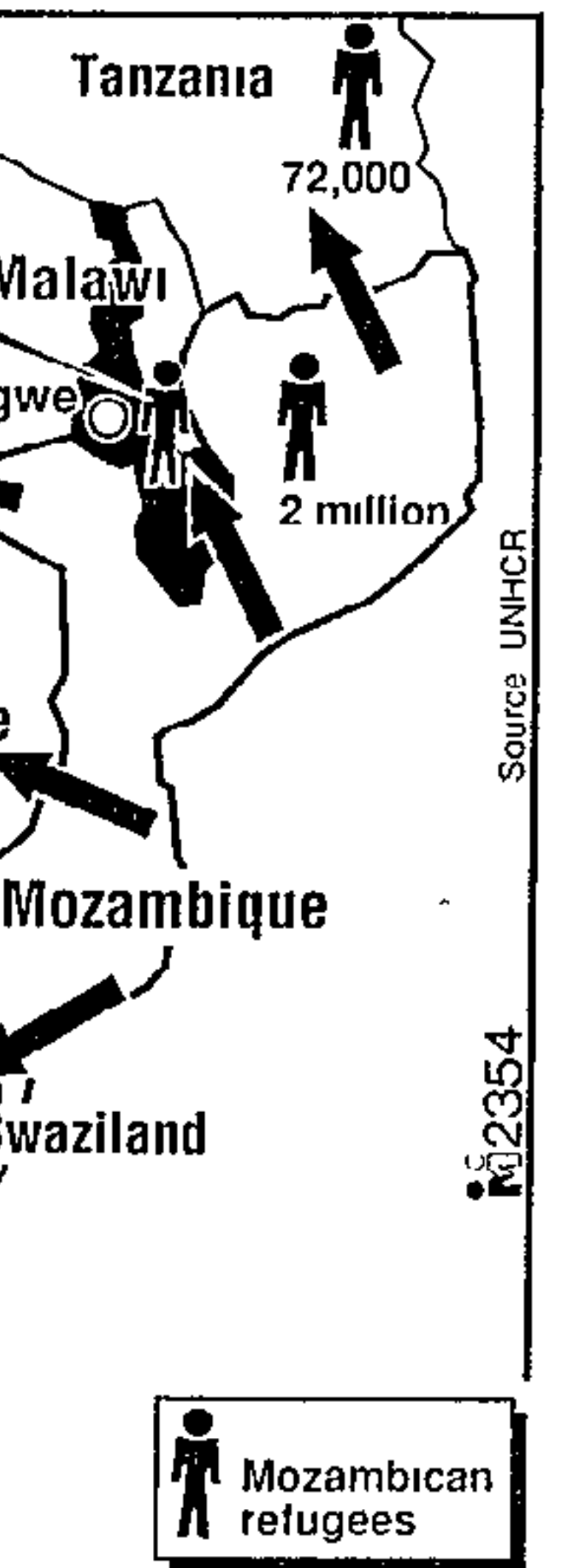
But gradually they come to see the human beings beneath the pain."

Over and over again, Malawian pastors and lay people talked of the need for pastoral counselling for the refugees, most of whom are Christian.

"Often refugees will come to talk with me because I am a pastor," said Mr Mazunda, CCM general secretary.

"They've seen so much violence and suffering, they have to talk to someone. And maybe they find it easier to talk to a pastor or to a church member than to other people."

This pastoral care is urgently needed by the refugees, and particularly for the many Mozambican children living in camps in Malawi, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Tanzania.



The stories of the Mozambican children are heart-breaking and appalling in the violence which they have seen.

After a few months in the camps with adequate food and medical care, most of them look like normal children.

Psychological

But the people who work with them tell of the deep psychological scars caused by the violence.

They tell of Mozambican children who have seen their parents murdered, their homes burned, of children who have been forced into Renamo's armies and forced to commit atrocities.

As a result of its financial difficulties, UNHCR's funding for education has been reduced.

In Kunyinda refugee camp which has about 45 000 refugees, there are eight primary school classrooms where classes are taught in three shifts.

But each of the 29 teachers has between 140 and 160 students.

There are no tables, books, paper or pencils.

The teachers share Mozambican curricular materials with each other, taking turns copying lessons onto the board.

But only 5 000 children are able to attend school, thousands more don't have the opportunity.

Talents

Mr Anthony Ayok Chol, director of the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Dar es Salaam, is concerned about the inadequate primary education, but even more concerned about the lack of any kind of secondary school for the almost one million Mozambican refugees in Malawi.

"These children are Mozambique's future. Mozambique needs their talents and their energies to rebuild the country."

Most of the refugees have been here for four years, they may stay for another four years.

"If none of them has a chance to get education beyond primary school, what will that mean for the future of the country? Who will be the schoolteachers and the bookkeepers of the country? Where will Mozambique's leadership come from in the future?"

As long as Renamo continues to terrorise villages and to destroy the country's infrastructure, refugees will continue to arrive in Malawi and other countries.

(Elizabeth Ferris is study and interpretation secretary of the Commission on Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service — CICARWS.)

The scenery is awesome, but so is Malawi's refugee crisis

THE long, hot road along Africa's Great Rift Valley marks the border between Mozambique and Malawi.

In this beautiful countryside of awesome mountains and vast green valleys, a human tragedy of horrific proportions has been played out over the years

Driving for hours along the border road, your attention is caught by two images. On the one side is Mozambique with its wrecked houses and abandoned fields

On the other side is Malawi, teeming with beehive cities of Mozambican refugees in tiny grey mud huts squeezed into maize fields, between existing villages and up hillsides

The more time one spends in one of the many refugee camps, the more one witnesses the amazing human spirit of endurance

These "refugee holding districts" are facing serious shortages of land, water, health facilities and food due to the massive influx

Refugees have therefore been transferred from one camp to another

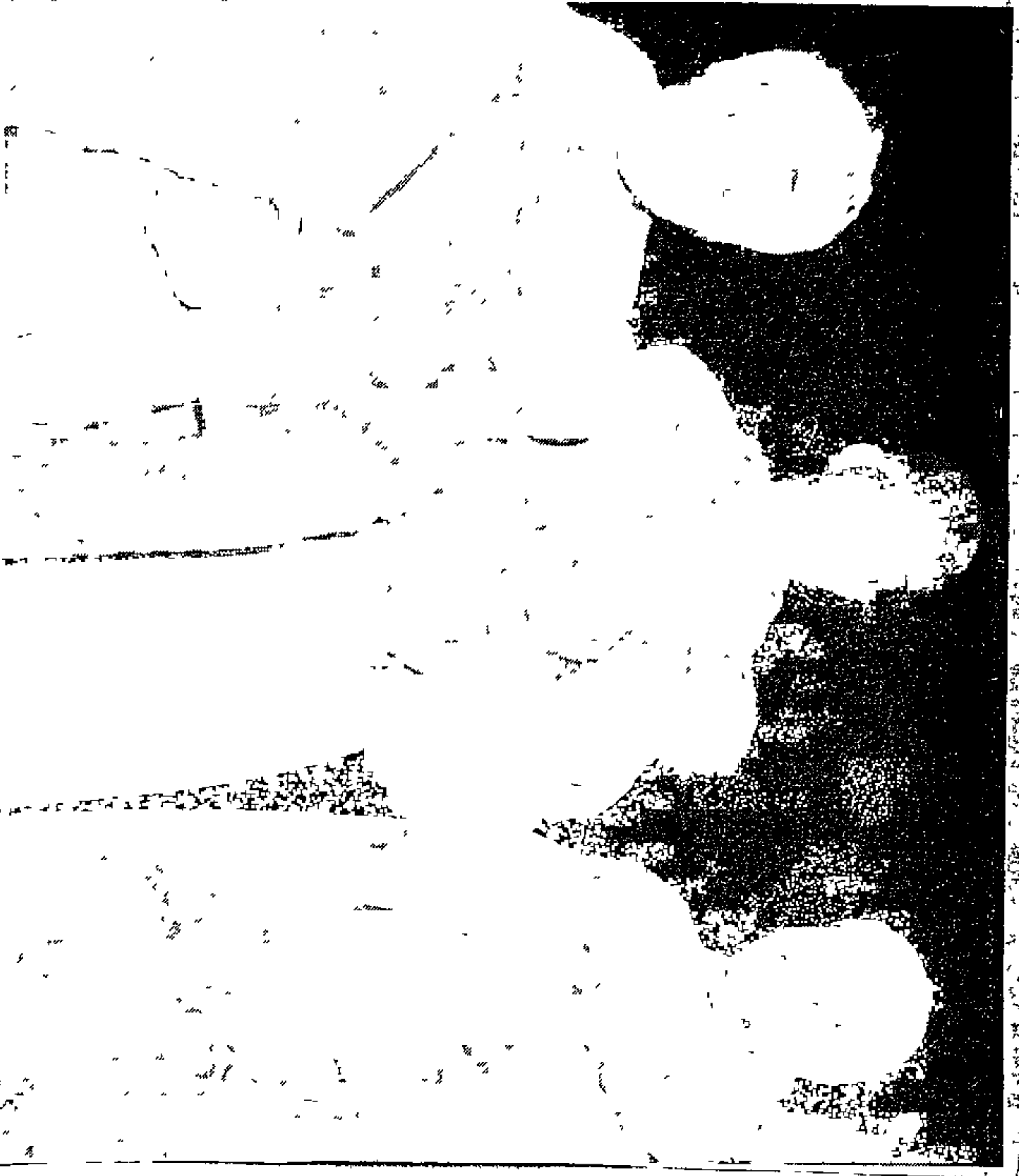
There are currently 800 815 Mozambican refugees in Malawi and hundreds of them cross the border into the country every day, travelling

on foot. The refugees vow not to accept a voluntary repatriation programme until Renamo terrorists quit slaying innocents and lay down their arms

In some districts the refugees outnumber Malawians

As a result, land and other essentials have become scarce

Local and foreign journalists recently toured Mankhokwe and Nyamthuthu refu-



Chased by Renamo gunfire . . . Mozambican refugees gear up for hard times in Malawi as shortages of water, land and health facilities threaten their fragile existence.

A human tragedy unfolds

Cipres 9/12/90
gee camps in Nsanje; Muloza and Chilinga camps in Mulanje; and the Chiumbangame, Kalanje and Mwawa camps in Mangochi, the southern part of Malawi

In Nsanje there are 262 445 refugees in both camps — compared to 201 311 Malawians.

Mankhokwe can no

longer take new arrivals, who come in at a rate of up to 300 a day. Instead, they are referred to Nyamithuthu where 75 000 refugees live

Muloza and Chilinga camps, which were capable of accommodating 3 000 and 6 485 refugees respectively, have been closed to new arrivals

So far, 5 100 of these refugees have been transferred to ~~Chifunga~~ Chifunga camp in Mwanza district, according to United Nations official Joke Langenkamp

Chiumbangame and Mwawa camps in Mangochi, which hold 15 466 and 4 304 refugees respectively, were also closed to new

arrivals

Newcomers were being referred to Kalanje camp in the same district, where there are already 12 029 refugees

Kalanje can only support a maximum of 15 000 and soon the camp will be rejecting new arrivals, UN officials said

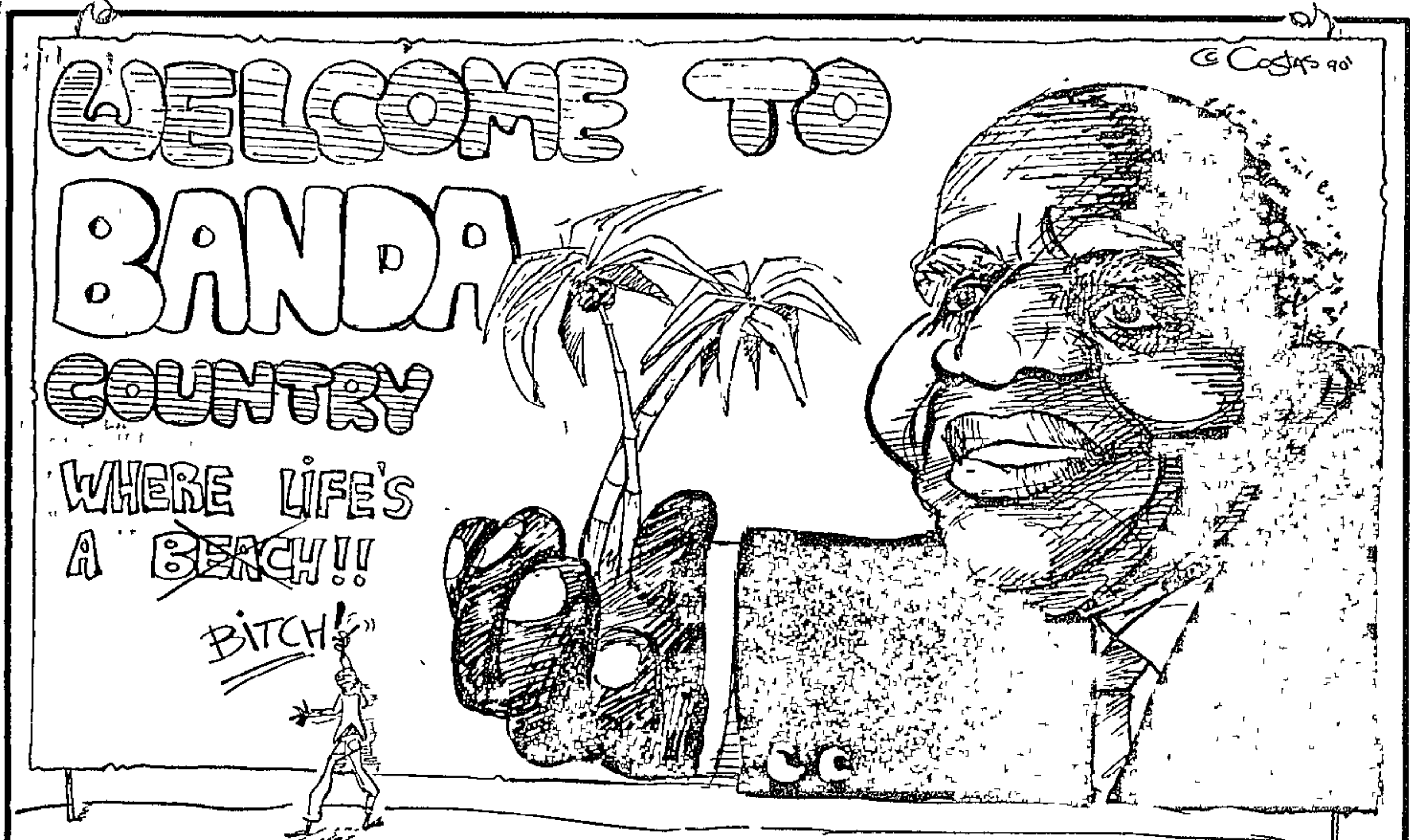
Refugees scattered throughout the country represent 10 percent

of Malawi's population. Mozambicans have always sought refuge in Malawi even during colonial days when the Portuguese ruled their country. Each time they were confronted by unbearable circumstances at home, they simply crossed the border

However, never in the history of Malawi has the refugee population been as high as now — ANO

(170)

AFRICA FOCUS



MANY South Africans know Malawi as a sleepy and lushly tropical little country that is a popular holiday destination with a crystal lake ringed by high, romantic mountains

Laws which decree that men's hair must be shorter than collar length, forbid women from wearing trousers and state that skirts must be below the knee are generally viewed as quaint anachronisms instituted by Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda, a somewhat comic figure dressed in three-piece suits and a homburg hat whose mission is to uphold Victorian values

Western governments see Malawi as a staunch and stable supporter of capitalist free-market principles and a solid ally which is the only black African country to have full diplomatic relations with Pretoria, as well as Israel and Taiwan. Malawi's economic success means that it regularly produces a food surplus and exports tea and tobacco

Both these favourable perceptions of Malawi were shattered recently by a scathing report which ripped back the curtain of conventional wisdom to expose a ruthless dictatorship which systematically oppresses the population

The new report by Africa Watch, released on October 10, documents that Banda has a dictatorial grip over Malawi maintained by 26 years of widespread detention without charges, a completely arbitrary judicial system and institutionalised corruption, racism and tribalism

Africa Watch urges Western governments to use their aid as levers to press the Malawian government to end "more than a quarter century of gross human rights abuse"

The report, entitled *Where Silence Rules: The Suppression of Dissent in Malawi*, describes how in March this year police shot dead more than 20 people on the outskirts of the capital, Lilongwe. The government's absolute control of the domestic press and the absence of any foreign journalists means the massacre was never reported

Africa Watch also presents new evidence that the Banda government resorted to "political murders" of officials who had suggested reform, particularly in the 1983 deaths of three cabinet ministers and a member of parliament

The long, deadly arm of Banda's law

Malawi: Victorian values and ruthless dictatorship

was graphically illustrated as Africa Watch was interviewing Malawians exiled in neighbouring countries. Malawian journalist and human rights monitor Mkwapatira Mhango was killed in the October, 1989, firebomb attack on his exile home in Lusaka in which 10 people died. Banda had publicly denounced Mhango just one week before

"Not only did this remove an important source of information on human rights developments in Malawi," stated the report "it also terrified Malawian exiles who were even more scared than usual about talking to a visiting researcher"

Africa Watch is a two-year-old organisation that has gained a growing international reputation for its carefully balanced and even-handed reports on Angola, South Africa and Zimbabwe. In its Malawi report, however, Africa Watch takes a strongly worded, hard line against the Banda government's human rights record, amply supported by a lengthy string of cases of detention without charge, torture, starvation in prison and murder

"Malawi is proof that repression can work," opens the report. "Decades of one-party rule and restriction of the free flow of information have ensured that this small central African nation is familiar to few in the outside world beyond a small circle of specialists"

The report rejects the view that Malawi's reputation as a stable, pro-Western ally is commendable. "Its stability has been bought at a terrible cost of human lives snuffed out or forced to endure years of detention without trial"

Political life is non-existent outside the omnipotent ruling party. The best and brightest of Malawians are eliminated from the scene. The country's leading poet and its only neurosurgeon are both detained without charge. A leading journalist (Mhango) was assassinated in exile last year. A prominent economist suffered a similar fate a few years ago

Banda has squeezed immense wealth

Far from being the stable model of an independent African nation it is often held out to be, Malawi is a poor forgotten country in the grip of a despot, according to the new report from the respected Africa Watch. **ANDREW MELDRUM** looks at the report, which castigates dictatorial Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda

out of the poor country. He owns Press Holding Corporation which is Malawi's equivalent of Anglo-American and until recently controlled ADMARC, the agricultural marketing authority to which all farmers, by law, must sell their products. Banda also has dozens of huge estates and is estimated to personally produce 40 percent of the country's tobacco. The corruption is so bare faced and unhealthy that even the World Bank has pressed Banda to reform the system, without noticeable success

The African Watch report states that "although many states suffer from greater political violence than Malawi, there are few African countries with such a combination of totalitarian and personal despotism"

Within weeks of coming to power at Malawi's independence in 1964, Hastings Banda used detention without charge to suppress dissent. Even in comparison to South Africa's sweeping detention powers, Malawi's use of detention without trial appears extreme

Under Malawian law no notice need be given when a person is detained, not even to the immediate family, and there is no legal procedure by which officials would review the reasons for a detention. At least one Malawian, Maclupisa Muniathi, has been in detention since 1965. A former cabinet minister, Gomile Kuntumanyi, was detained from 1969 until his death in April 1990, ac-

ording to the report

Africa Watch describes the use of detention powers as "completely arbitrary" and "purely on whim". While political prisoners are often beaten and tortured, repeat criminal offenders received the worst treatment: the "hard core" programme in which people are stripped, beaten and chained to a spot on the floor and left there on quarter rations or even no food at all. Africa Watch lists several names of people who died in the hard core programme

Similarly, Malawi's legal system does not honour basic standards of international law. All sensitive cases are heard by the traditional courts which are headed by uneducated chiefs and lawyers appointed by Banda. The accused does not have a right to legal representation. Unsigned anonymous letters can be used as evidence against the accused. Rather than operating along the lines of "innocent until proven guilty", Malawi's traditional courts work on a basis of "there is no smoke without fire", in other words the mere fact that someone has been charged suggests guilt. Africa Watch concludes that Malawi's "traditional courts are utterly manipulated by the executive"

Discrimination against Malawi's Asian population is apparent in the laws which forbid them from living outside of the four main cities and their property is subject to seizure. The Jehovah's Witness religion is outlawed because members refuse to buy membership cards to Banda's party and hundreds of its members have been persecuted and killed

The central, Chewa speaking part of Malawi and Banda have instituted several purges in the civil service and educational institutions against the Tumbuku speaking people of northern Malawi. There are also quotas which heavily favour Chewa speaking people for places at the university and for government jobs

By conservative estimates Banda is 92 years old, but all speculation about the Life President's age is forbidden by

law. Banda is still remarkably agile, but his attention and lucidity falter. His long-time companion, Cecilia Tamanda Kadzimir, controls all access to Banda in her capacity as "Official Hostess"

In effect Kadzimir and her uncle, John Tembo, are running Malawi and are working to make sure they will continue to reign after Banda's death. Certainly all possible political rivals have been eliminated

The most dangerous position is secretary-general of Banda's Malawi Congress Party. As the party secretary general becomes acting-president in the event of Banda's death, anyone holding that position is a threat to the Kadzimir/Tembo cabal. Three party secretary-generals have died in mysterious car accidents

Kadzimir started a women's charity group four years ago in which rural women were encouraged to donate money and make crafts to be used for charity. In fact the money appears to be going to Kadzimir and the organisation is being used to build the unpopular Kadzimir's political base. When a deputy of the women's group, Margaret Banda, uttered a mild criticism of Kadzimir's administration she was detained without charge

Africa Watch presents a harrowing list of many more such cases of oppression but perhaps the greatest crime is the terrible conditions endured by the country's rural peasants

Chronic malnutrition is rampant throughout the countryside and the infant mortality rate is one of the highest in the world. In recent years more than 800,000 Mozambicans have fled their war-torn country for Malawi. The meagre food aid the refugees receive is often better than what the Malawians live on and has created a rural crisis. While aid organisations praise the Banda government's help in supporting the Mozambicans, they also criticise the authoritarian methods used throughout Malawi

Africa Watch has urged all governments and multilateral institutions which donate aid to Malawi to pressure the Banda government to improve its human rights record

At a moment when Western governments are loudly proclaiming their universal attachment to human rights and pluralist democracies, states Africa Watch, they should turn their attention to poor, forgotten Malawi

CHE Tim 10/10/90

Banda 'like Ceausescu' in Malawi

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Western governments should pressure Malawian President Kamuzu Banda to end gross human-rights violations under his iron-fist 26-year-old rule.

The call was made by the human-rights organisation Africa Watch, which compared President Banda, in his 90s, to executed Rumanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu

A hard-hitting new investigation shows a chilling catalogue of political assassinations, corruption, persecution and civil-rights abuses

The 116-page report, released yesterday by Africa Watch, also states for the first time that Malawian police shot dead more than 20 people in Lilongwe in March this year. They were said to be protesting against corruption

The massacre is one of many brutal incidents documented during what is described as "the systematic suppression of dissidents" under the rule of Life-President Hastings Kamuzu Banda

Africa Watch, an international group established in 1988 to monitor and promote respect for human rights in Africa, compiled the report from extensive interviews with exiled

Malawians, and from library material on laws, parliamentary records and censorship lists

Releasing the report, the group called on Western governments to put pressure on President Banda's government to end more than a quarter of a century of "gross" human-rights abuses

"In common with the now-defunct regimes of Eastern Europe, Malawi is a totalitarian state where independent associations — indeed all the manifestations of civil society — are effectively forbidden," says the report.

It claims Malawi's stability "has been bought at a terrible cost of human lives snuffed out or forced to endure years of detention without trial. Intellectual life can scarcely survive the dead hand of the censor and political life is non-existent outside the omnipotent ruling party. The best and brightest of Malawians are eliminated from the scene"

Power, once solely held by the aged President Banda — thought to be in his 90s, although his exact age is unknown and it is illegal for Malawians to speculate on it — is now effectively shared by his "official hostess", Ms Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira, and her uncle, Mr John Tembo, says the report — Sapa

Vertical text on the right margin, possibly bleed-through or scanning artifacts.

JAYNE LA MONT

LONDON — A hard-hitting new report on Malawi catalogues political assassinations, corruption, persecution and



● BANDA

Report indicts 'despotic' Banda

Blpear 11/10/90

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civil rights abuses.

The 116-page report, released this week by the Africa Watch group, reveals for the first time that Malawian police shot dead more than 20 people in Lilongwe in March this year. The massacre is one of numerous brutal incidents — many have never emerged before — documented during what is described as "the systematic suppression of dissidents" under the 26-year rule of Life-President Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

Africa Watch, an international group established in 1988 to monitor and promote respect for human rights in Africa, compiled the report from extensive interviews with exiled Malawians, as well as using library material on laws, parliamentary records and censorship lists.

In releasing the report, the group called on Western governments to exert pressure on Banda's government to end more than a quarter of a century of "gross" human rights abuses.

Titled Where Silence

Rules, the report likens the all-powerful personality cult of Banda to the dynastic tyrannies of North Korea and Romania.

"In common with the now-defunct regimes of Eastern Europe, Malawi is a totalitarian state where independent associations — indeed all the manifestations of civil society — are effectively forbidden."

"It is at the same time a personal despotism in which the state apparatus is directly answerable to one man. Although many states in sub-Saharan

Africa suffer from greater political violence than Malawi, there are few African countries with such a combination of totalitarianism and personal despotism."

Pro-Western Malawi — long held up as a model of stability and democracy in Africa — is in reality "proof that repression can

"Its stability has been bought at a terrible cost of human lives snuffed out or forced to endure years of detention without trial. The best and

brightest of Malawians are eliminated from the scene"

Power, once solely held by the aged Banda — thought to be in his 90s, although his exact age is unknown and it is illegal for Malawians to speculate on it — is now effectively shared by his "official hostess" Cecilia Tamanda Kadzamira, and her uncle, John Tembo.

Charges of torture, murder, religious and political persecution, racial discrimination and manipulation of justice are detailed at length in the report



Dozens held as Malawi cracks down on the north

Malawi
25/7/90

170

LILONGWE — Dozens of Tumbuka tribesmen have been arrested in recent months in a crack-down on Malawians of northern origin.

They are accused of being more interested in developing their own region than the rest of the country.

Other northerners arrested with them are simply said to be critical of the government of Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, still in firm control as Life President.

One of these supposed critics is Mr Thozza Khonje, 42, an area manager with the Sugar Company of Malawi.

Mr Khonje is being held without charge or trial in Mikuyu Prison, Zomba. He was arrested on February 28 last year with two friends at Nchalo Trading Centre.

A government informer, of whom there are said to be dozens, apparently overheard a conversation in which Mr Khonje said Dr Banda's instructions that teachers from the north should be sent back there and not allowed to teach in the south could lead only to the collapse of Malawi's education system.

Most of the country's teachers are from the north.

For years President Banda has been accusing northerners of plotting secession. He has frequently complained that northern teachers go south in order to teach badly.

This hostility towards the north has led to the arrest of dozens of prominent civil servants, teachers, students and even the country's only neurosurgeon, Dr George Mtafu.

But northerners are not the only victims. In the Seventies thousands of Jehovah's Witnesses were detained when Dr Banda declared them to be endangering good government.

All these supposed government critics are held under Malawi's 1965 Public Security Regulations, which allow for administrative detention orders. Theoretically, these are meant to be reviewed every six months. In practice they seldom are and detainees are held for years without a hearing.

Reports of torture in prison are common and some prisoners are known to have died — The Independent, London.



President Banda

Malawian products now exempt from duty in SA

(170)

H Day 20/6/90

CAPE TOWN — A new trade agreement between SA and Malawi, providing duty-free entry into SA for all products of Malawian origin, was signed yesterday.

This was announced in a statement by Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr.

Surcharge

He said certain agricultural products could, however, only be imported on the authority of a permit issued by the Agriculture Department, or, in the case of coffee, tea and sugar, by the Department of Trade and Industry

Of particular value to Malawi was a commitment by SA to allow the import of at least 300 000kg of tobacco a year

All imports from Malawi were

also now free of import surcharge.

It was important to note that the new trade agreement contained a safeguard clause enabling SA's government to take effective action, if necessary, against disruptive imports from Malawi

Durr said he expected the new trade agreement to contribute towards the further development of relations with Malawi

Replacing an agreement operating since 1967, it was signed at a ceremony in Cape Town by Durr on behalf of SA's government, and Malawi's Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister R W Chirwa

The new agreement came into force yesterday

Durr said SA's favourable balance of trade with Malawi was about R200m a year

The new agreement would give Malawi an opportunity to reduce this imbalance. — Sapa.



● Durr ... signed trade agreement

Banda ends (170)

HARARE - Malawian life
President Hastings
Kamuzu Banda left
Harare for his country
yesterday after paying a
seven-day official state
visit to Zimbabwe, Ziana
national news agency
reports.

800/4/90
23/4/90

Malawi exiles poised for 'guerilla action'

The Star's Africa News Service

4/9/90
170

BULAWAYO — The exiled Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma) has formed a military wing and is ready to start military operations against President Kamuzu Banda's government, says a spokesman.

Lesoma information secretary Dr. Stanford Chabwera said that about 300 guerrillas had been trained with the help of some African countries and an Arab country. He refused to name them.

Dr. Chabwera, who was in Bulawayo on his way to an unnamed African country, would not say where the guerrillas were based, but did say that the military wing

was known as the People's Liberation Army of Malawi (Plam).

He said action would be taken later this month when President Banda left the country to attend Zimbabwe's independence celebrations.

He claimed that the Malawian army was backed by South African and Israeli intelligence officials. They worked with the Malawian security force.

Dr. Chabwera also claimed that the Mozambican Renamo rebel group continued to have bases in Malawi.

He alleged that the Malawian government routinely tortured and killed political opponents.

that members of the media attempted to transport demonstrators from Alexandra township

ters and now we are giving people lifts I think the police are trying to cloud up the real issues,"

blame... vering demonstrations of the tour around the country The police must pro-

gations may be part of a smear campaign against the media

hole of... ferrying demonstrators to the stadium

Two reporters booted out on 5 days' notice

BLANTYRE — The Malawi government ordered two Blantyre-based western reporters to leave by midnight but gave no reasons for the expulsions

Mike Hall (27) of Britain and Melinda Ham (25), a Canadian, said the government had cancelled their residence permits on Monday and gave them five days to leave.

Hall, a reporter for the British Broadcasting Corporation, Reuters and the London *Financial Times*, and Ham, stringer for the Associated Press and specialist

^{STW 10/2/90 (170)} African magazines, were first expelled on October 17 last year but allowed to return three weeks later

No official reason was given for that decision

In October 1988, the two reporters were the first western journalists to receive government accreditation to work in this southern African nation since the expulsion of a British correspondent 17 years earlier

Since the former British colony of Nyasaland became independent Malawi in 1964,

Life President Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda has shunned media attention and curbed the activities of the local press

Several Malawian journalists have been detained without trial and others have fled their homeland, alleging widespread human rights violations

The United States has criticised Malawi's human rights record but recently described the presence of Hall and Ham there as "a positive development" — Sapa-AP

Clampdown on foreign media staff in Malawi

KAMPALA — The government has cancelled the work permits of all foreign correspondents and local journalists working for foreign media and ordered them to re-apply for accreditation.

There are 15 correspondents and local stringers for foreign media in the East African nation.

Radio Uganda quoted Mr Ben Otto, permanent secretary in the Ministry of Information, as saying on Thursday the government wanted to streamline the practice of journalism by both groups.

It was not immediately clear if the order was related to government charges that two local journalists defamed Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda at a news conference on January 29.

Seditious article

A Kampala court dismissed the charges on Tuesday after defence attorneys pointed out that the statute under which they were brought required publication of the defamation.

But Alfred Okware (34) of the independent monthly magazine *Newsdesk* was held on another charge of being in possession of a seditious article. Festo Ebong (29) of the government-owned *New Vision*, was re-arrested without charge when leaving the court.

At the news conference, Okware asked President Kaunda why he didn't consider relinquishing Zambia's presidency after 25 years in power.

Ebong asked Mr Kaunda why Zambia's national airline flies from Johannesburg to New York when the president is in the forefront of those calling for sanctions against South Africa. — Sapa-AP.

(021) 09/2/90 (170) STAR 10/2/90

Victim of power struggle

Star 18/2/91

(170)

A MASSACRE on the Tete road in Mozambique last week and the effective closure of this road route between Zimbabwe and Malawi has put Malawi right in the middle of the power struggle between Frelimo and Renamo.

A new transport route will hit the Malawian economy, writes ROBIN DREW, Star Africa Service.

When the Zimbabwean army was providing the escort through the Tete Corridor, up to 150 trucks a day were crossing the 260 km section through Mozambique, carrying most of Malawi's imports and exports and transporting tons of food for the 800 000 Mozambican refugees in Malawi.

But the partial ceasefire agreement reached by Frelimo and Renamo saw Zimbabwean troops confined to the Beira and Limpopo corridors, and the last Zimbabwe army troops pulled out of Tete on December 21.

Renamo maintained they had a separate agreement with Malawi regarding the Tete route and for a few weeks after the ending of the convoy system, trucks sped through Tete province, making two or three return journeys a week. The flow of goods was largely uninterrupted until January 9 when a Malawian tanker was caught in a Renamo ambush directed against Frelimo forces on the road.

The next day four heavy vehicles were attacked, crew and passengers were killed, and vehicles were abandoned. More ambushes followed involving Mozambican vehicles, and a loosely guarded convoy system was reintroduced with militia and Frelimo soldiers as escort.

According to transport sources, the organisation was sloppy and the Mozambicans were able to operate only two convoys each way a week, compared with the five or six run by the Zimbabwean army.

Last week's ambush, which saw up to 45 people killed, most of them Frelimo soldiers, has now put paid to any immediate

The road of fear



hopes of increasing traffic. Indeed, according to the managing director of the Beira Corridor Group, David Zausmer, the route is effectively closed.

Estimated

Most goods to and from Malawi will now have to go by road through Zambia, as the railway to Beira from Malawi is not operating and the rail route to the northern Mozambican port of Nacala can carry only limited traffic. The so-called express service takes up to eight days to make the journey to Nacala because of the poor condition of the track.

The road route through Zambia, known as the Chipata Corri-

dor after the eastern Zambian town of Chipata means transporters have to go an additional 2 000 km on the round trip between Harare and Blantyre, making only one journey a week.

Vehicles go north from Harare, cross the Zambezi at Chirundu, go on to Lusaka, turn east across the Luangwa Valley through Petauke and Chipata into Malawi and then head south to Blantyre.

It has been estimated that 47 percent of Malawi's foreign exchange earnings are spent on transportation. Now that bill will rise dramatically and will be increased further by the sharp rise in fuel prices in Zimbabwe this month. □

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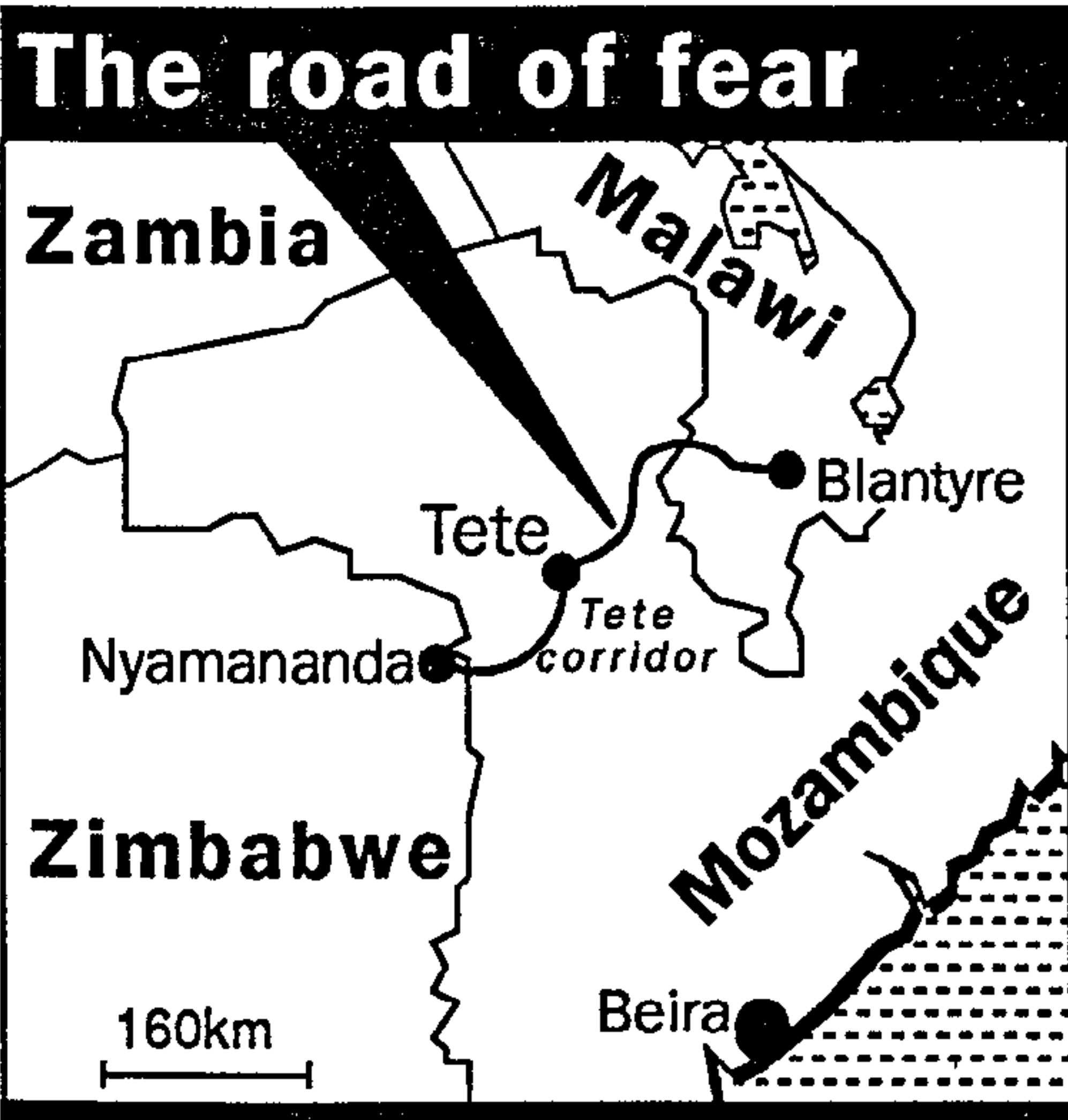
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472 killed in Malawi floods

170

Sowetan 15/3/91

BLANTYRE - At least 472 people have died in flash floods in south-eastern Malawi, rescuers said yesterday.

The flooding affected some 20 000 inhabitants of the Mulanje district 70km southeast of Blantyre and thousands were left homeless, regional administrator Stewart Winga said

Winga, heading rescue operations, said the bodies of 472 flood victims were recovered by late Wednesday, the official Malawi News Agency reported.

Many of the victims evidently died in mud slides in the mountainous terrain

Large areas of vital crops were also destroyed following freak rain storms that began on Sunday, Winga said

Among the dead were an unspecified number of Mozambican refugees

In recent years, more than 900 000 refugees have fled to Malawi to escape the bloody civil war in neighbouring Mozambique

The news agency on Wednesday reported that the government launched an appeal for food, tents and medical supplies for the flood victims.

Flood waters swept away bridges and roads, making access by rescuers difficult, the news agency said.

Brick dwellings as well as thousands of traditional mud-built huts were destroyed

The flooding covered an area of about 500sqkm close to the border with Mozambique.

Malawi has a population of about 8 million people and is one of Africa's poorest nations. - Sapa-AP



500 die in flood

Malawi seeks aid — 150 000 hungry and homeless

Area
15/3/91
170

BLANTYRE — More than 500 people have died in flash floods in Malawi's Mulanje district.

Thousands of people have been left without homes, food, water and electricity by the floods that poured down from Mount Mulanje and across the Phalombe plain

The floods, on Sunday, swept over 494 square kilometres with a population of more than 21 000.

The full extent of the damage has not been assessed as rescue teams are still having difficulty entering some areas

The Malawian government has appealed for international help for the victims and to repair bridges, roads and other infrastructure

Swept away

Yesterday Malawi's President Hastings Banda flew over areas where scores of villages had been swept away and expressed sorrow

"This is how nature is. It can be kind or it can be cruel," he told survivors

The official Malawi News Agency said President Banda toured ruined buildings in the devastated settlements of Chiringa and Phalombe, 70 kilometres southeast of Blantyre

The agency said several hundred people were missing and an estimated 150 000 people had been left homeless

Mozambicans

Regional administrator Mr Stewart Winga said the bodies of 472 victims were recovered by late Wednesday. Many died in mudslides in the mountainous terrain

Mr Winga, heading rescue operations, said large areas of crops were destroyed. Among the dead were an unspecified number of Mozambican refugees

Malawi has a population of about eight million and is one of Africa's poorest nations.

SA aids flood-stricken Malawi

By IVOR CREWS

A SOUTH AFRICAN disaster aid organisation has responded to an urgent SOS by the Malawi government to assist victims of flash floods which have devastated the country

Tony Lean, chief executive of Cape Town-based Oasis International, said "We are sending out one of our consultants to assess the damage and to establish how South Africa can help to provide

emergency supplies"

The organisation stepped in after reports that more than 500 people had died in the horror floods in Malawi's Malanje district, which have left 150 000 homeless and without food, water and electricity. *(170)*

The Malawi government has appealed for international help, saying that food, tents and medical supplies are urgently needed. *St Times 17/3/91*

Japan gives 170 Malawi aid

JAPAN has pledged \$300,000 to help victims of floods and mudslides in Malawi, where 700 to 1,000 people were killed by the deluge, officials said. *Sowetan 2/3/91*

The UN Disaster Relief Organization said that Malawi urgently needs food, clothing, water, shelter, construction material and cash grants. - *Sapa-AP*

'Copters take food into devastated Malawi

By Robin Drew ^{stay} 26/3/91
Africa News Service

HARARE — Army helicopters are taking food and essential supplies to survivors of the disastrous flashflood in southern Malawi that killed hundreds of people and has left thousands homeless

The extent of the flood that wreaked havoc more than two weeks ago is only now becom-

ing apparent

A total of 472 people are feared dead and so far 120 bodies have been recovered, according to Red Cross Relief Co-ordinator John Undulu

He said about R50 million was needed for relief and repair work

At 8 am on March 10, a huge torrent of water poured down the slopes of the Michesi Hills at the foot of Mount Mulanje — engulfing vil-

170

lages, destroying bridges and roads and bringing boulders and tons of mud crashing on to the thatched homes of thousands of people living in the Phalombe Plains

Mr Undulu, speaking after addressing the International Committee of the Red Cross which had been meeting in Harare, said 85 000 people had been affected by the disaster

Nine large villages

were destroyed in the flashflood and rain has continued to fall.

International relief agencies are assisting Malawi to identify immediate needs and the long-term assistance that will be required

Apart from food and medical supplies, an essential immediate task is to reopen roads and to build temporary bridges to enable supplies to reach the people

Malawi moves to SA

CLOSER links with SA's neighbours were forged this week when the Malawian-based Press Corporation made its first investment here

The procurement and export company, to be based in Sandton, will be managed by the Boart International group, a subsidiary of Anglo American

Press Corporation is a force in the Malawian economy, employing 16 000 people in agriculture, industry, distribution, property and finance

The new company will meet the procurement needs of the Press group, establish links with suppliers, and identify and develop opportunities for trade between Malawi and SA

Malawian company branches into SA

(170)

LIZ ROUSE

(170)

THE Malawian-based Press Corporation has made its first investment in SA with the formation of a procurement/export company in Sandton *(Day 14/5/91)*

With an annual turnover of 750-million kwacha and 1990 pretax profits of 90-million kwacha, the Press Corporation is a major force in the Malawian economy. It employs 16 000 people in its agricultural, industrial, distribution, property and finance sectors.

The new company, Press Trading, has been formed to meet the procurements of Press Corporation more effectively, to establish closer direct links with suppliers and to identify and develop opportunities for SA trade, says Press Corporation CE Wyndham Freyer, who is also chairman of Press Trading.

SADF repairs roads, bridges in Malawi

Star 23/5/91
By Ken Vernon
Star Africa Service

PHALOMBE — The South African Defence Force took a step in changing its "bad guy" image in Africa yesterday with the completion of a major aid project in Malawi

In the first operation of its kind, SADF personnel rebuilt nine bridges and rehabilitated up to 50 km of road destroyed in a catastrophic flash flood that tore through villages in the Phalombe area of southern Malawi in March.

More than 500 people died in the floods that left an estimated 85 000 people homeless.

Relief operations were hampered by the destruction of roads and bridges in the remote

area along the Mozambican border.

Handing the repaired bridges back at a ceremony here yesterday, South African Ambassador to Malawi Hugh Stroebel said "Operation Hacksaw" symbolised the commitment of the South African Government — and the SADF — to help in the development of southern Africa

SADF Chief of Staff Logistics Major-General Deon Mortimer said the emergency aid project had represented a good opportunity for the SADF to get involved in similar operations in Africa.

"And we do want to get involved," he said

Operation Hacksaw cost almost R1 million and saw the involvement of up to 23 SADF personnel as well as the use of major construction equipment

SANDF QUICKS IN AFRICA

spas 25/3/81

(170)

Army chief's chance remark leads to Operation Hacksaw

PHALOMBE — Edward Matemba was asleep the morning that the "snake" came down from Mt. Chesl Mountain and took away his infant son and elderly father.

"It happened so quickly just 10 minutes and it was all over," he said.

More than 500 other people died and another \$5 000 were left homeless when the same family of "snakes" came down from the mountain and raged through the villages nestled on the lower slopes of the mountain in the early hours of March 10.

The "snakes" consisted of thousands of tons of mud and water, carrying rocks weighing up to 200 tons, that suddenly came crashing down the mountain in several walls of destruction that carried away everything in their paths.

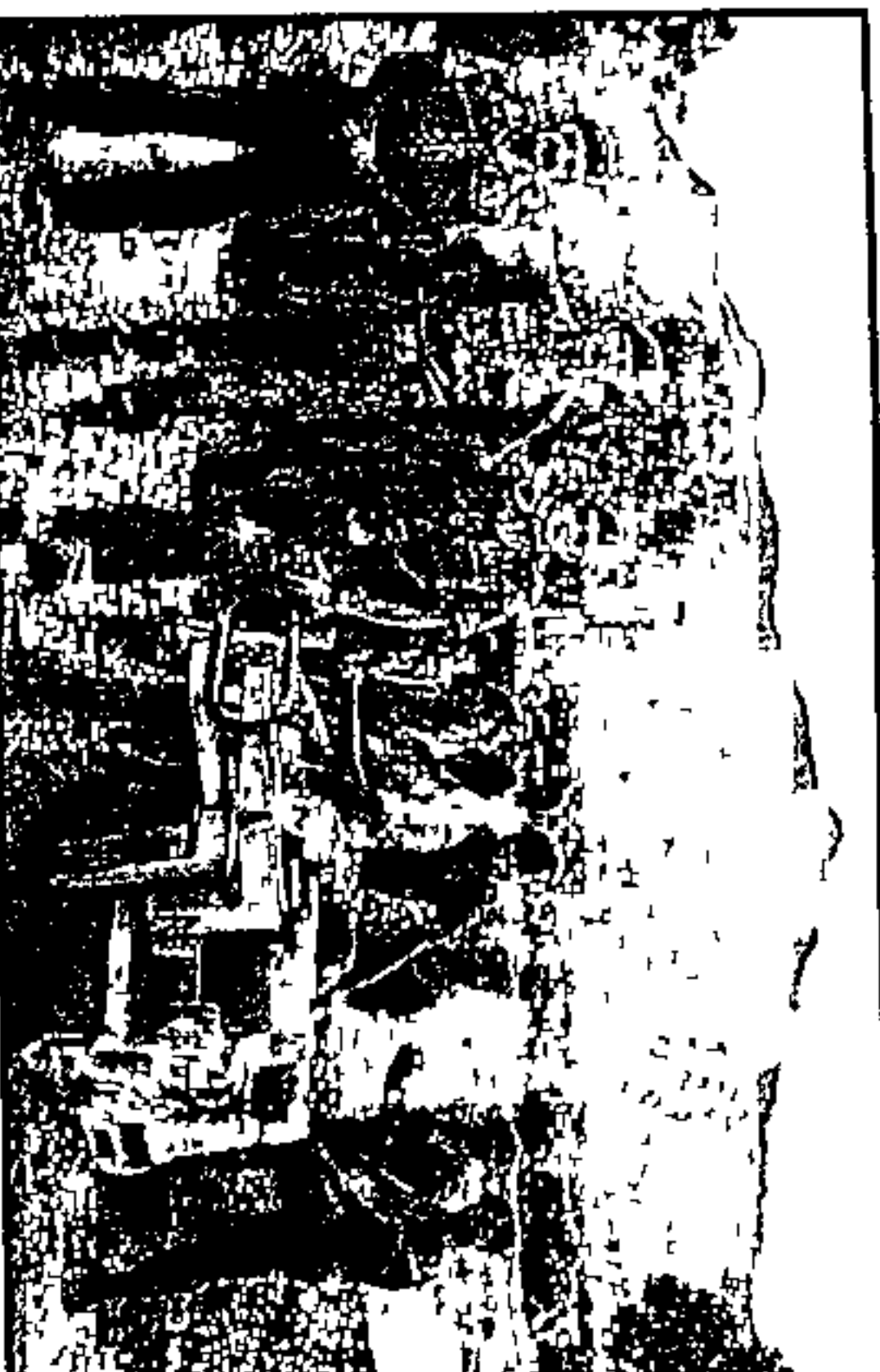
The unreasoning wrath of a family of giant "snakes" is how the people of Phalome describe the disaster that befell them.

They say that the mother and father snake quarrelled before fleeing down the south-east side of the mountain. The children fled down the northern slopes.

From a Malawi Air Force helicopter, the aptness of the snake analogy becomes startlingly clear.

Where the "mother and father" fled, two swathes of destruction 100m wide and 40m deep twist and turn through the remains of what used to be prosperous villages, before spreading out to destroy thousands of acres of rich farmland.

The paths of the "chil-



BRIDGE—BUILDERS SANDF engineers worked closely with members of the Malawi Defence Force in rebuilding roads and bridges after the disaster.

dren" are just as visible on the other side of the mountain. It was one of these "children" that took away the son and father of Edward Matemba, as well as all his possessions and most of his farming land.

"The water came like a big wall and in a few minutes it was gone. I don't know what I can do. My wife and I have nothing left," he said.



NEW ROLE: Envoy Hugh Stroebeel.

Story and Pictures by KEN VERNON

The flood waters also swept away 20 bridges that span the normally gentle streams flowing off Mtchesa, effectively cutting off the area from relief operations except by helicopter.

In was in this situation that the South African Defence Force stepped in, in an operation that may set a precedent for future operations in Africa.

According to South Africa's ambassador to Malawi, Hugh Stroebeel, a chance remark at a diplomatic gathering led to the SANDF intervention.

Recounting the difficulties the tiny Malawi Defence Force was having coping with the disaster, Malawi Army Chief, General M Khanga, asked SANDF liaison officer Colonel Nic Ackerman:

"What are you people going to do about it?"

Picking up on that remark, the South African Embassy quickly obtained Cabinet approval for a relief operation that included a Puma helicopter. This quickly airlifted more than 50 tons of supplies into the area, as well as a team of engi-

neers that managed to temporarily open roads and clear washaways within three days.

"Operation Hacksaw" as the relief effort came to be called, eventually repaired or rebuilt nine bridges and repaired kilometres of roads at a cost of almost R1 million.

Quietly, without any publicity, the SANDF has been involved in similar operations before. But what made "Operation Hacksaw" unique was that for the first time the SANDF personnel worked openly in SANDF uniforms, using SANDF material and equipment far beyond South Africa's borders.

Handing over the repaired bridges to Malawi this week, Ambassador Stroebeel said South Africa's new role in Africa was to build bridges between South Africans and Africans who had been separated for too long by chasms of destruction.

"Building bridges is a symbol of what is happening inside South Africa as well as from South Africa by the South African Government" he said.

SADF helps

'snake' victims

Sowetan 27/5/91 170

PHALOMBE (Malawi) - Edward Matemba was asleep the morning that the "snake" came down from Michesi Mountain and took away his infant son and elderly father.

"It happened so quickly, just 10 minutes and it was all over."

More than 500 other people died and another 85 000 were left homeless when the same family of "snakes" came down from Mt Michesi and raged through the villages nestled on the lower slopes of the mountain in the early hours of March 10 this year.

The "snakes" consisted of thousands of tonnes of mud and water, carrying rocks weighing up to 200 tonnes that suddenly came crashing down the mountain in several walls of destruction that carried away everything in their paths.

The unreasoning wrath of a family of giant "snakes" is how the people of Phalome describe the disaster that befell them on that terrible morning.

By KEN VERNON
SOWETAN AFRICA
NEWS SERVICE

They say that the mother and father snake quarrelled before fleeing down the south-east side of the mountain.

The children fled down the northern slopes from the eagle-eye view from a Malawi Air Force helicopter, the aptness of the snake analogy becomes startlingly clear

Destroy

Where the "mother and father" fled, two swathes of destruction 100m wide and 40m deep twist and turn through the remains of what used to be prosperous villages before spreading out to destroy thousands of acres of rich farmland.

The paths of the "children" are just as visible on the other side of the mountain

It was one of these "children" that took away the son and father of Edward Matemba, as well as all of his possessions and most of his farming land.

"It happened so quickly that nothing could be done. The water came like a big wall and in a

few minutes it was gone. "Now I don't know what I can do, my wife and I have nothing left," he says

The flood waters also swept away 20 bridges that span the normally gentle streams flowing off Mt Michesi, effectively cutting off the area from relief operations except by helicopter

In was in this situation that the South African Defence Force stepped in an operation that may set a precedent for future SADF operations into Africa

According to South Africa's ambassador to Malawi, Hugh Stroebel, a chance remark at a diplomatic gathering led to the SADF intervention

Disaster

Recounting the difficulties the tiny Malawi Defence Force was having coping with the disaster, Malawi Army Chief, General M Khanga, asked SADF liaison officer Col Nic Ackermann "and what are you people going to do about it?"

Picking up on that remark the South African embassy quickly obtained Cabinet approval for a

relief operation that included a Puma helicopter that quickly airlifted more than 50 tonnes of supplies into the area, as well as a team of engineers that had managed to temporarily open roads and clear washaways within three days

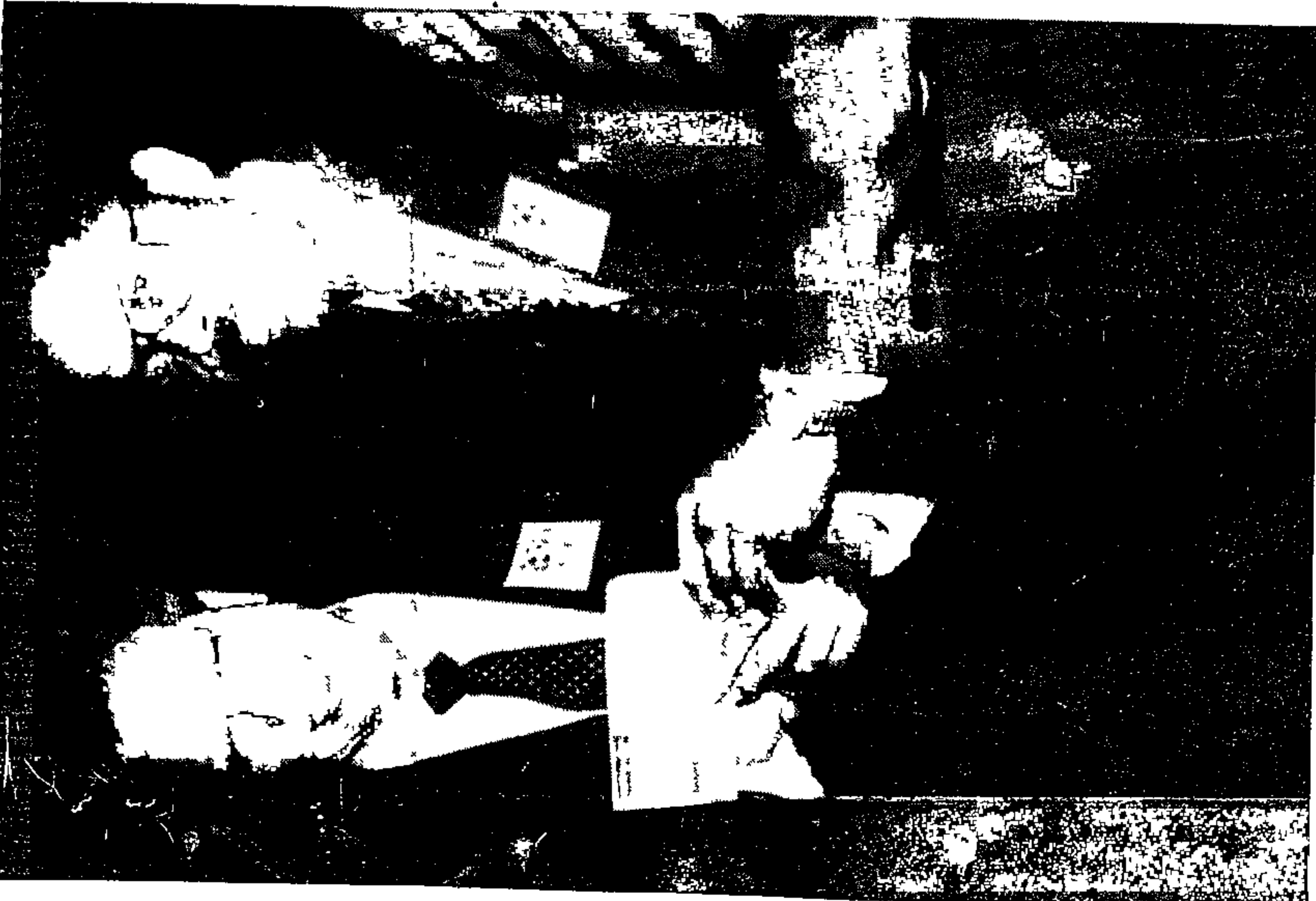
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Unique

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Handing over the repaired bridges to Malawi this week, Stroebel used a bridge metaphor to describe what he saw as South Africa's new role in Africa - to build bridges between South Africans and Africans too long separated by chasms of destruction

"Building bridges is a symbol of what is happening inside South Africa as well as from South Africa by the South African government" he said



Sowetan staffer Joe Mdhlela presents a R1 000 cheque to the Orkney Disaster Fund secretary Solomon Sticks Morewa. The money was donated by Sowetan.

BLANTYRE — Priests in this Malawian city are working overtime to perform funerals for victims of an AIDS epidemic which has reached such catastrophic proportions that it threatens the complete breakdown of the country's system of government and law and order.

One Blantyre priest said the church was expecting to carry out 40 to 50 funerals a day until the end of the century.

According to the latest figures published by the World Health Organisation, a staggering 37% of Malawi's population is infected with the AIDS virus — the highest incidence in any African country for which figures are available. More than 7 000 Malawians are already registered as having died of AIDS.

Most have still to develop full-blown AIDS. When they do, officials fear the effect will be devastating, ripping apart the economy and traditional family life.

Nearly three-quarters of the army

AIDS may cripple Malawi

By Nancy 17/6/91

reluctant to admit it, so the death is registered, under other causes like tuberculosis. This makes it very difficult to collect accurate data.

Although the government has previously been reluctant, too, it has now launched a public awareness campaign. Billboards are posted on roadsides and condoms are distributed free at hospitals. Women wear "kangas" imprinted with warnings against AIDS, and AIDS songs are taught at nursery schools and health clinics.

Even Malawi's prostitutes, 90% of whom are believed to be HIV positive, are beginning to use condoms. One prostitute at a brothel in Blantyre, Malawi's largest city, said she insisted her clients use them.

But there are many the campaign cannot reach. There are no television sets in Malawi.

Many Malawian AIDS sufferers are migrant workers, and truck drivers who carry goods to and from SA — Daily Telegraph

they cannot afford other essentials like syringes, disinfectants and gloves.

At Nsanje district hospital in southern Malawi, half the patients suffer from AIDS-related diseases. Resources are so scarce that most patients have to lie on the floor.

With one nurse for every 100 patients, the AIDS victims are left to die as best they can. I saw one 10-year-old AIDS child dying slowly in her mother's arms on the concrete floor on a pile of rags. Desperately thin, the girl was too weak to move or speak.

Despite the prevalence of AIDS, a stigma is still attached when a relative dies from the virus, says Tom Klaasnan, a doctor at the hospital.

"When patients die of AIDS, the relatives and the staff are usually

says Jenny Borden, deputy director of Christian Aid, which carries out development work in Malawi through local groups.

The result could be the collapse of Malawi's efficient administration and a reversal of the advances in health and education, achieved under the 20-year rule of president for life, Hastings Banda, 94.

In the health sector, spending on AIDS victims is leading to the neglect of sufferers from other prevalent diseases like malaria and diarrhoea, Borden says. Malawi's health system is already under pressure from the presence of more than a million Mozambican refugees.

Most hospitals cannot afford to treat AIDS victims. Although some have installed screening machines,

and police are HIV positive, a scenario Malawian officials fear could prompt the collapse of one of the most efficient defence forces in the region.

About 60% of mothers who deliver babies in urban areas are HIV positive. In the countryside, where education and health facilities are scarce, the percentage is likely to be even higher.

Equally seriously, AIDS is killing huge numbers of the country's leaders and administrators, from government officials to university professors and doctors.

"The key people in whom the country has invested time and money to be its future leaders are dying of AIDS. This will have an appalling impact on the development of Malawi over the next five years,"

BOOKS

One-party rule totters along in Malawi

LILONGWE — The lead story in Malawi's English-language daily was that His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi D. H. Kamuzu Banda, had attended a church service. The photograph accompanying this riveting item of news dated back to 1988.

Dr Hastings Banda, like Mrs Nancy Reagan, lies about his age. Officially he is 85, unofficially, he is thought to be 93. Speculation on the subject is illegal even though, now that Dr Banda is obviously ailing, no longer of great interest to Malawians. What was of interest on this occasion, however, was that Dr Banda, supposedly in church, was not even in Malawi.

Malawi's self-styled Ngwazi — conqueror or champion — has been on a private visit to England and Scotland for the past three weeks. It is an unusually long absence for one whose highly personalised regime has close parallels with the old regimes of Eastern Europe and has caused two main lines of speculation among Malawians: either that the old man is preparing for death by visiting the children he is rumoured to have fathered during his exile years in Britain, or that he is "visiting his money".

This is a reference to the widely held belief that much of his vast personal wealth has been invested in the country he so ferociously supports.

Idle speculation aside, Dr Banda's long absence has highlighted the fact that Malawi can, and does, run without him; that day-to-day government is now firmly in the hands of Official Hostess Cecilia



□ **BANDA MEETS MAJOR:** President Hastings Banda of Malawi, right, with British Prime Minister John Major at 10 Downing Street this week.

Kadzamira, Dr Banda's "constant companion" for the past 30 years, and her uncle, official interpreter Mr John Tembo.

De facto heir-apparent ever since the unlikely deaths of the country's last three de jure heir-apparents, Mr Tembo is paving the way for the post-Banda days as one-party rule totters all around Malawi, a country that is living proof that repression can work.

In recent weeks, scores of political prisoners have been released from jail as Mr Tembo tries to curry favour both inside and outside Malawi — especially with the aid donors without whose help this land-locked country, burdened by poor harvests, transport problems and an ever-increasing army of Mozambican refugees, would be a terminal case.

□ London Observer Service

Whither Malawi

(179) CT 24/6/91

Without Banda?

IS there life after Dr Banda? The question taxes most Malawians. As Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, the country's life president, staggers through his 90s, reports on his state of health have become a national obsession. And with good reason — for Dr Banda is Malawi.

One of the world's great survivors, Dr Banda has made a good job of promoting the idea of his immortality. Dressed in a three-piece suit and Homburg hat, his trademark fly whisk in hand, the spry figure with twinkling eyes has been spotted in every corner of this impoverished country which he sees as his own vast personal estate.

Last year he reportedly suffered a

stroke which took him out of circulation for several weeks. And a private visit which Dr Banda is currently paying to Britain is said to include a spell in a British hospital.

Since gaining independence from Britain in 1964, Malawi has known no other leader. In 1971 Dr Banda was made life president.

He is life president of the Malawi Congress Party, too. He is also prime minister and holds the defence, agri-

culture, justice and public works portfolios. Dr Banda's blend of paternalistic capitalism and political conservatism has made him one of the West's favourite dictators.

Unlike some of his neighbours, he also has a reputation for being honest and running a country which works. This has won Malawi crucial aid, enabling it to achieve impressive results in such areas as health and road building.

But there is a darker side to Dr Banda's rule. Those seen as a threat to his personality cult have been removed by a chillingly efficient security apparatus. The victims are sent to prisons such as Dezeleka, in central

Malawi, where, in the words of Dr Banda himself in 1965, "they will rot, rot, rot" and special warders "will knock sense into their heads". According to Amnesty International, hundreds of people have been imprisoned by Dr Banda. Few have been tried.

The most obvious successor is Mr John Tembo, a former finance minister and governor of the Reserve Bank. As the uncle of the formidable Mama Cecilia Kadzamura, Dr Banda's official hostess, Mr Tembo has unrivalled access to the president.

Ms Kadzamura is the person closest to Dr Banda and, as an astute politician in her own right, should not be ruled out as a possible successor.

Dr Hastings Banda

Own Correspondent

BLANTYRE — Is there life after Banda? The question taxes most Malawians. As Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda staggers through his 90s, reports on his state of health have become a national obsession. And with good reason — for Banda is Malawi.

One of the world's great survivors, Banda has made a good job of promoting the idea of his immortality.

Now old age is catching up with him. A private visit Banda is paying to Britain is said to include a spell in a British hospital.

Since gaining independence from Britain in 1964, Malawi has known no other leader. In 1971 Banda was made Life President. He also enjoys the semi-deified status of Ngwazi — a combination of saviour and conqueror. Anyone who forgets to call him by his official titles does so at his cost — as prisoners languishing in Malawian jails have found out.

Banda is Life President of the Malawi Con-

Benign face of sinister regime

gress Party, too. He is Prime Minister and also holds various other Cabinet portfolios

Banda's blend of paternalistic capitalism and political conservatism has made him one of the West's favourite dictators. Unlike some of his neighbours, he has a reputation for being honest and running a country which works

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The victims are sent to prisons such as Dezeleka in central Malawi, where, in the words of Banda himself in 1965, "they will rot, rot, rot", and where special warders "will knock sense into their heads". According to Amnesty International, hundreds, possibly thousands, of people have been imprisoned by Banda. Few have been tried.

But change may be coming. Since the beginning of the year, 88 political prisoners have been released, possibly as a result of nudging from foreign governments and international agencies such as the World Bank.

Even the most experienced diplomats, however, are unwilling to bet on a successor. The most obvious successor is John Tembo, a former finance minister and Governor of the Reserve Bank.

As the uncle of the formidable Mama Cecilia Kadzamira, a former nurse-receptionist now known as Banda's Official Hostess, Tembo has unrivalled access to the President.

Nor must Kadzamira herself — the person closest to Banda — be ruled out. Nor a military coup, or a takeover by exile groups, although none seems to be organised so far — Daily Telegraph

25/6/91

(170)

over the years to stop supporting the Mozambican rebel movement, Renamo

Banda, a dictatorial leader, was made life president in 1971, in addition to being prime minister and life president of the Malawian Congress Party. He never tolerated political opposition or adverse comment from foreign journalists and he severely curbed press freedom in Malawi.

Tembo is a former finance minister and is governor of the country's Reserve Bank. He has a reputation for ruthlessness and analysts believe Tembo would be even less tolerant of opposition and political freedoms than Banda.

Malawi's capacity to produce food — once considerable — has been badly affected by drought and recent floods have left 85 000 people homeless.

The country is further hampered by having the highest incidence of Aids cases on the continent, according to figures that have been released by the World Health Organisation. Some 37% of the population is HIV-positive, which includes 75% of Malawi's goose-stepping police and defence forces.

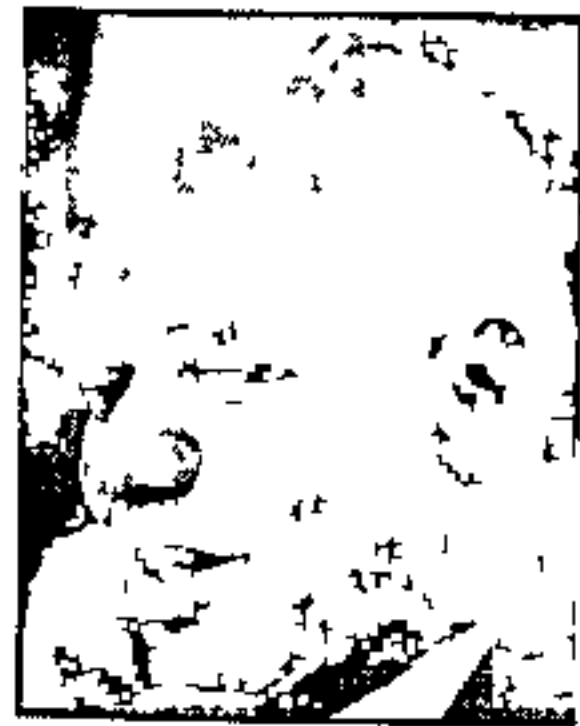
Charlene Smith

MALAWI FM 12/7/91
TIME AND TIDE

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Hastings Banda, president for life of Malawi, is dead, according to Western intelligence sources. But by Tuesday afternoon the *FM* had not been able to obtain official confirmation from the Malawi government, which has put a clamp on any news about Banda, his condition or his whereabouts.

John Tembo, Banda's likely successor, dashed away in midweek from the ANC's National Consultative Conference in Dur-



Banda

ban, even though he had been expected to remain at the conference for its duration.

Apparently the death of Banda (who is at least 90 — he would never reveal his age) is being kept secret as Tembo reinforces his hold on the country, before break-

ing the news to the Malawian people.

Tembo is the uncle of Banda's "official hostess" Cecilia Tsmanda Kadzimira. In her fifties, Kadzimira has become increasingly powerful in recent years, limiting access to the ageing president and increasingly taking his place on official visits to foreign countries.

Diplomats and other sources have indicated that for the past year Banda has become increasingly senile, slipping in and out of lucidity. Early last week, he returned from London where he was receiving medical treatment and apparently died soon afterwards. He made no official appearances on Malawi Day last week.

Malawi has experienced intense pressure in recent months from foreign governments to release jailed political dissidents. Banda has released 88 prisoners this year and a further 19 are still being held without trial. The country has also come under pressure

Banda's death 'blatant lie'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

President Hastings Banda of Malawi is still alive — and that's official.

Responding to renewed rumours that the life-president had died, a ministry of external affairs spokesman said yesterday: "As far as we know, that is a blatant lie."

A report in a South African publication, quoting Western intelligence sources, claimed that the ageing dictator — Malawi's first and only president since independence in 1964 — had died this week on return from London where he had undergone medical treatment.

But Western diplomats said they saw President Banda, now believed to be in his 90s, in Malawi at the weekend.

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Star 12/7/91

And Malawi's ambassador to South Africa, Nelson Mizere, said President Banda had attended the country's independence celebrations in Blantyre on Saturday.

"He is in good shape. He did not go to Britain for medical treatment but followed a tight schedule of appointments to call for investment in Malawi."

However, even official sources are not always reliable on the subject of President Banda's whereabouts or state of health.

A recent report in a Malawi daily newspaper claimed that His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, had attended a church service. The photo dated from 1988

The president did not attend the service — he was in London.

Bl Day 217191 (SPT)
254 (170)

Africans revamp to meet competition

WHILE SAA is staking a claim in the opening African travel market, African airlines are revamping and restyling in order not to be swamped by the giant from SA.

One airline offering more flights on its routes than SAA is Air Malawi, which is becoming important as a regional carrier.

The airline recently embarked on a major programme, upgrading its fleet, re-training staff and streamlining operations.

Business travellers appear to have taken cognisance of the changing nature of Air Malawi.

Business class bookings on the airline's Boeing 737-300 flights — which offer 29 seats — have seen nearly 70% growth in the past month.

The airline has three return flights a week between Johannesburg and Lilongwe and offers connections to Harare, Nairobi, Lusaka and Blantyre.

A second Boeing 737-300 is to be added to the fleet at the end of next year, while new, more efficient and spacious turbo-prop aircraft are to be bought for the shorter flights.

The investment is believed to be worth about R200m

Air Malawi GM Rex Lezard says the acquisition of a modern fleet and the decision to revamp the airline's structure are part of a larger plan which will leave the airline positioned to aggressively compete for a larger share of the expanding southern African air travel market

SA, Malawi (170)

join in talks

JOHANNESBURG — A joint development conference between South Africa and Malawi opened yesterday at Club Makokola on the shores of Lake Malawi.

The three-day meeting is being attended by a multi-disciplinary team of 58 scientists from South Africa, led by Professor Pieter de Lange, chairman of the Human Sciences Research Council, and 45 scientists from Malawi.

A statement said the two groups intended to discuss ways of improving research co-operation between the two countries, as well as encouraging research and development — Sapa

Banda's fiefdom is under pressure to change, reports Hilary Anderson

Malawi starts reluctant reform

Star 6/9/91

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MALAWI is no longer immune to the political instability and international disdain that many other African countries have suffered as a result of their governmental practices

Both internal and external pressures to democratise are beginning to have a visible impact

So far this year 87 political prisoners have been released, including major figures such as the internationally renowned poet Jack Mapanje, William Masku, the previous head of the agricultural board (Admarc), and George Mfatu, Malawi's only neurosurgeon

Earlier this year Finance Minister Louis Chimango openly floated the possibility of multiparty democracy in Malawi at a meeting with foreign diplomats

After 27 years of political silence imposed by President Kamuzu Banda, now 93 and Africa's second-longest ruler after the Ivory Coast's Felix Houphouet

Boigny, both of these amount to small political earthquakes

Late last month three exiled Malawian opposition groups based in Lusaka joined to form the United Front for Multiparty Democracy (UFMD)

In spite of well-documented killings of dissidents in Zambia and Mozambique by the Malawi security forces, the UFMD, led by Akongo Kanyanya, dared to call for Dr Banda's immediate resignation, the lifting of the ban on opposition parties and recognition of the human rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

Recent reports of two human rights organisations, Amnesty International and Africa Watch, have lent credibility to complaints of repression coming from inside Malawi by detailing horrific tortures inflicted on dissidents

The reports have caught the attention of the international community, whose aid Malawi needs desperately. Foreign donors have put significant pressure on Ma-

lawi to improve its record

Malawi is hardly in a position to refuse, with its per capita income one of the lowest in the world at R439, its infant mortality rates among the highest at 19.1 percent and the war in neighbouring Mozambique continuing in spite of peace talks

Renamo broke its 1989 agreement with Malawi not to attack the railway line leading to the Mozambican port of Nacala in January this year, exacerbating Malawi's crippling transport costs

Since 1988 aid from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has fallen dramatically relative to the increased number of Mozambican refugees in Malawi. In 1988 Malawi was host to some 800 000 refugees on a UNHCR general programme budget of R59 million, while general programme aid this year totals R75 million for almost twice the number of refugees. Only 35 percent of the popula-

tion at present has the 0.7 ha of land considered necessary for successful farming, and there has been a rapid decrease in the average size of family plots

The overcrowding has also led to severe soil erosion and environmental degradation as a result of the indiscriminate cutting of trees for firewood, as well as consistent monocropping and overgrazing

Devastating floods which struck southern Malawi in March have added to the frustrations, leading to a drastic fall in tobacco exports, which Malawi relies on for up to 80 percent of its export earnings

Without changes that will ensure continued and massive aid, self-proclaimed Life President Banda, or John Tembo, his possible successor, could end up the African equivalent of Rumania's Ceausescu, running an increasingly unpopular dictatorship that is economically defunct — Star Africa Service □

Demand for multiparty Malawi

(170) ARG 9/9/91

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — A Malawian opposition group, the United Front for Multiparty Democracy (UFMD), has called on South Africa and Western countries to cut off financial and economic aid to Malawi unless President Kamuzu Banda introduces a multiparty system in their country.

The Zambian-based interim chairman of the UFMD, Mr Akongo Kanyanya, said the front would soon lobby for support and aid from these countries so that they could exert pressure on President Banda.

The front wants all Malawian exiles to be granted amnesty, all prisoners to be released and an interim government to be formed in Malawi.

Sarhwu in march for pay

Sowetan 11/9/91

THOUSANDS of railway workers, marched and demonstrated countrywide yesterday in support of pay and other demands, said South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union general secretary Mr Martin Sebakwane.

Sarhwu and Transnet were due to meet in Johannesburg today to resume annual wage negotiations which started in July, he said.

Seventeen union members also started a sit-in demonstration in Spoornet's Cape Town offices yesterday, said Sarhwu Western Cape regional chairman Mr Otto Balfour

Workers demanded a 20 percent increment for graded workers and a minimum monthly wage of R1 100 for general workers - Sapa

People and groups with clout secure releases, writes Caroline Moorehead

Governments (190) are sensitive to world pressure

Star 10/10/91

DOES international pressure secure the release of political prisoners? Human rights organisations are multiplying, and their reports become more authoritative, but how effective are they?

True, detainees are released after campaigns, but there is a suspicion that in parts of Latin America and Asia too much publicity was one reason why governments stopped holding political prisoners, who began "disappearing"

Pressure is a delicate instrument. How far it works seems to depend on where it is done, by whom and what form it takes.

The freeing of Jack Mapanje, the Malawian poet, after 3½ years in prison gives a rare picture of how pressure can operate

Mr Mapanje was the head of the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Malawi and author of a collection of poems critical of the policies of President Hastings Banda. On September 25 1987, he was arrested

Mr Mapanje was neither charged nor tried. He was put into solitary confinement and for 20 months allowed neither visits from his wife and three children, nor from a priest. He is a practising Roman Catholic.

Like most Malawians who have opposed President Banda's regime, Mr Mapanje had long expected arrest

However, he was not prepared for the horrors of the prisons: no contact with the outside world, nothing to read, and little food. He became dizzy with malnutrition

Prisoners were stripped naked, put into leg irons cemented to the



President Banda . . . his regime has imprisoned many like Jack Mapanje.

floor, doused with water and left for several days for minor offences

But, unknown to Mr Mapanje, a campaign had been started on his behalf.

Later, he concluded that three factors had been particularly important.

One was a report on his case put out by the human rights group Africa Watch.

Another was a warning from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Community that further funds might be put in jeopardy if Malawi did not tackle the question of abuses

But Mr Mapanje believes that possibly the most important reason for his release was the way that so many high-ranking international figures petitioned President Banda on his behalf — The Independent News Service □

Malawi steps up anti- aids drive

C/Pres 15/12/91

AS concern over Aids-related deaths increases in Malawi, new prevention projects are taking shape.

Official figures, good only up to October 1990, estimate 12 000 cases.

Health Minister Dr Hetherwick Ntuba says the figures are much higher a year later. Ntuba heads the National Aids Committee (Nac). He says that with an infusion of foreign donor money various anti-Aids campaigns have been launched.

The European Community has pumped in nearly R2,8-million for information, education and communication activities aimed at preventing sexual transmission of the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV).

The target for such campaigns is high risk behaviour groups, like truck drivers, bar attendants and prostitutes.

Survey 170

The United States Agency for International Development (Usaid) has also chipped in about R1,27-million for a demographic and health survey to furnish planners and policy makers with up-to-date information on Aids, fertility, mortality, malaria and child spacing knowledge and practice.

Although free condoms are issued at government hospitals, the health ministry has launched a new programme which seeks to increase their availability and use.

Called Health Social Marketing Project (HSMP), the project is selling condoms at a small fee to low income consumers. Says HSMP Co-ordinator Ndidza Mbyundula: "We have so far received 780 000 condoms."

The condoms are donated by Usaid and sold in packets of three at about 75 cents or 12 at about R1,84. They are distributed by the multinational Lever Brothers through its 6 000 wholesale and retail outlets throughout the country.

Recent research revealed that 84 percent of men knew that condoms are effective against Aids.

- AIA

Calls for Banda to stand down shrugged off

LILONGWE (Malawi) — The government defended its one-party system yesterday and described calls by exiles for the immediate resignation of Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda as "absurd and childish".

In a statement issued by the official Malawi News Agency, the government denied it had used secret police to crush opposition in this impoverished nation of 8 million people.

The statement said the gov-

ernment was answering remarks made in Zambia by Malawian exile Kanyama Chiume.

On Friday, Mr Chiume was quoted in newspapers calling for restoration of multiparty politics in Malawi in keeping with reforms that have shaken many African governments.

He accused the government of using Nazi-style Gestapo tactics against political dissidents and urged Dr Banda to hand

over power to an all-party interim government while democratic elections are arranged.

Dr Banda, who is older than 90, led the former British colony of Nyasaland to independence in 1964.

He outlawed opposition parties in 1966 and declared himself president for life in 1971.

The government parries "died a natural death" after the first independence elections and that

the majority of Malawians supported the one-party system because Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party "has lived up to its promises and delivered the goods to the people."

In the past, human rights groups have accused Dr Banda's government of jailing, torturing and assassinating opponents.

On Tuesday, Dr Banda dissolved his Cabinet — Sapa

Ninety years on, Malawi braces for

Banda's end

W/Mant 17/11-23/1192

By GAVIN EVANS

MALAWI's exiled opposition parties are planning to unite in preparation for the death of the world's oldest head of state, Hastings Banda.

After over 27 years of absolutest rule the 90-plus life president has shown no inclination to make even the limited concessions to democracy forced on Kenya's Daniel arap Moi. But with Banda's health rapidly and visibly failing, his opposition is preparing to make a non-violent bid for power.

Former Cambridge economist and United Nations official Dr George Mkali said his Malawian Democratic Party (launched last October) would be joining forces with the older, Canadian-based Malawi Party in Johannesburg in March. Both parties advocate multi-party democracy and the establishment of a democratic political framework

Banda, however, clearly has other plans and is believed to be preparing to transfer power to his chief lieutenant, John Tembo—a view enhanced by his recent sacking of one of Tembo's most powerful opponents, cabinet and presidential secretary Justin Malawezi.

Interviewed in Johannesburg this week, Mkali said he was rallying support from the 150 000 South African-based Malawians, distributing pamphlets in Malawi and lobbying the international community, against Banda

"I've had a positive response from the German and Canadian governments, and have been in communication with the South African government. I have set up an office in the centre of Johannesburg and have had a very positive response from Malawian migrant workers, who help distribute our pamphlets when they return home"

Aside from a history of brutal suppression of any opposition to his rule, the main charge against Banda is that he has run the country's once-viable economy as a personal business empire. According to Mkali, 70 percent of all businesses in the country fall under the control of the Banda-owned Press Holdings and its subsidiaries. He also owns 72 farms and controls all trade.

The result has been the rapid deterioration of the economy, with serious shortages being experienced in most primary food stuffs. This situation has been made worse by the decline in transport and health services "Banda is a tyrant who has eliminated his opponents through detention and death squads," Mkali said.

Malawi tackles deforestation

South (Southeast) 6/2-12/2/92
A JEEP SPEEDS by in a cloud of dust in a remote village of Malawi. Inside are six baton-wielding forest guards ready to pounce on their prey — illegal charcoal dealers.

Forest guards hunting illegal charcoal traders are a common sight in Malawi. It is a calculated move by the government to stem the alarming deforestation rate, running at 3.5 percent a year.

Charcoal dealers contribute to deforestation because they hack indigenous trees indiscriminately, clearing large tracts of bush. But they alone cannot be blamed — 90 percent of the 8.5-million people use trees for fuel wood, and most cut this from forests and other protected areas.

According to the Forestry Research Institute of Malawi, wood fuel requirements for 1990 stood at 6.39 million cubic metres, which means clearing over 20 000 square kilometres of land to meet demand. Worsening deforestation in Malawi are the million Mozambican refugees in the country.

Fleeing civil war in their country, the refugees have caused massive ecological damage to some of Malawi's biggest and best-managed forests.

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But Malawi, with its responsibility to look after fisheries, forestry and wildlife, in the 10-member SADCC grouping, has not yet lost the war on deforestation. Armed with a lot of cash and new ideas, the government has come up with answers to try to reverse the situation.

Firstly, with the support of the United Nations' Development Programme (UNDP), it launched an emergency fuel wood supplies project to Mozambican refugees and some 3 000 Malawians living near camps in Dedza.

"The programme is aimed at preserving trees," said former UNDP resident Dr K Leitner when she launched the project.

Under the same project, a total of 18 700 stoves will be provided to refugee families in this district. The stove, locally made, uses 60 to 80 percent less wood or charcoal than regular cooking, claim the manufacturers. If 20 000 stoves were used, they could save more than 60 000 tonnes of wood a year.

Malawi undertook a tree-planting programme in 1980. □

FELIX MPONDA — AIA

'Okay to be a Muslim in Malawi'

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

By Felix Mponda
Blantyre

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IT'S NO LONGER a shame to be a Muslim in Malawi," says Muslim Association of Malawi executive secretary, Mr Ebrahim Milanzi. Milanzi is one of a young breed of Muslims in this Christian-dominated country fighting to maintain the dignity and image of the Islamic faith after many decades of it-being regarded as a shameful and backward religion.

In the past, Muslims were called "anasala", a derogatory term meaning backwardness in every aspect of life.

Today, there has been a marked turn-around in attitudes towards Muslims.

Concedes Malawi's Muslim leader, Sheikh Hussein Mwalabu: "Muslims have now gained a respectable place because there are educated Muslims in almost every field, unlike in the past when lack of education hindered them from participating in national development."

Islam was the first religion to blaze a trail of conquest in this country. It arrived with the Arabs during the ivory and slave trade era.

"Islam wasn't well-developed till recently," Milanzi said.

He believes Christianity, which came to Malawi much later, overtook Islam in popularity because "Christianity came well-developed,

what with trade and education systems.

"Islam continued to be a secret religion and few people knew about its teachings and practices."

It was not until the forties that Muslims came together to form an organisation of their own aimed at safeguarding the interests of the religion.

In 1957 the faith was officially registered with the colonial government.

But with no educational facilities of their own, Muslims still remained uneducated.

Parents found it difficult to send their children to Christian-controlled schools for fear that their children would be converted to Christianity — a requirement at that time.

With independence in 1964, the government started encouraging Muslim parents to send their children to any school, with the agreement that they would not be forced to convert.

A magnificent mosque, believed to be the only one of such grandeur in the Southern African region, and which cost close to a million kwacha, is a showpiece of architectural design in Blantyre's "Asian city" of Limbe.

More modern mosques have mushroomed throughout the countryside, underlining the fact that Islam is thriving. According to Milanzi, there are now 80 new mosques.

A secondary school offering Islamic and secular education and catering exclusively for Muslim students with

expatriate teachers from Sudan, India, Egypt and Somalia, opened its doors a few years ago.

Those who excel here are sent abroad for professional courses in medicine and engineering.

Under the sponsorship of the Islamic Development Bank, there are now 15 Malawian Muslims studying in Pakistan and Turkey in the two fields, with the first two graduates expected home later this year.

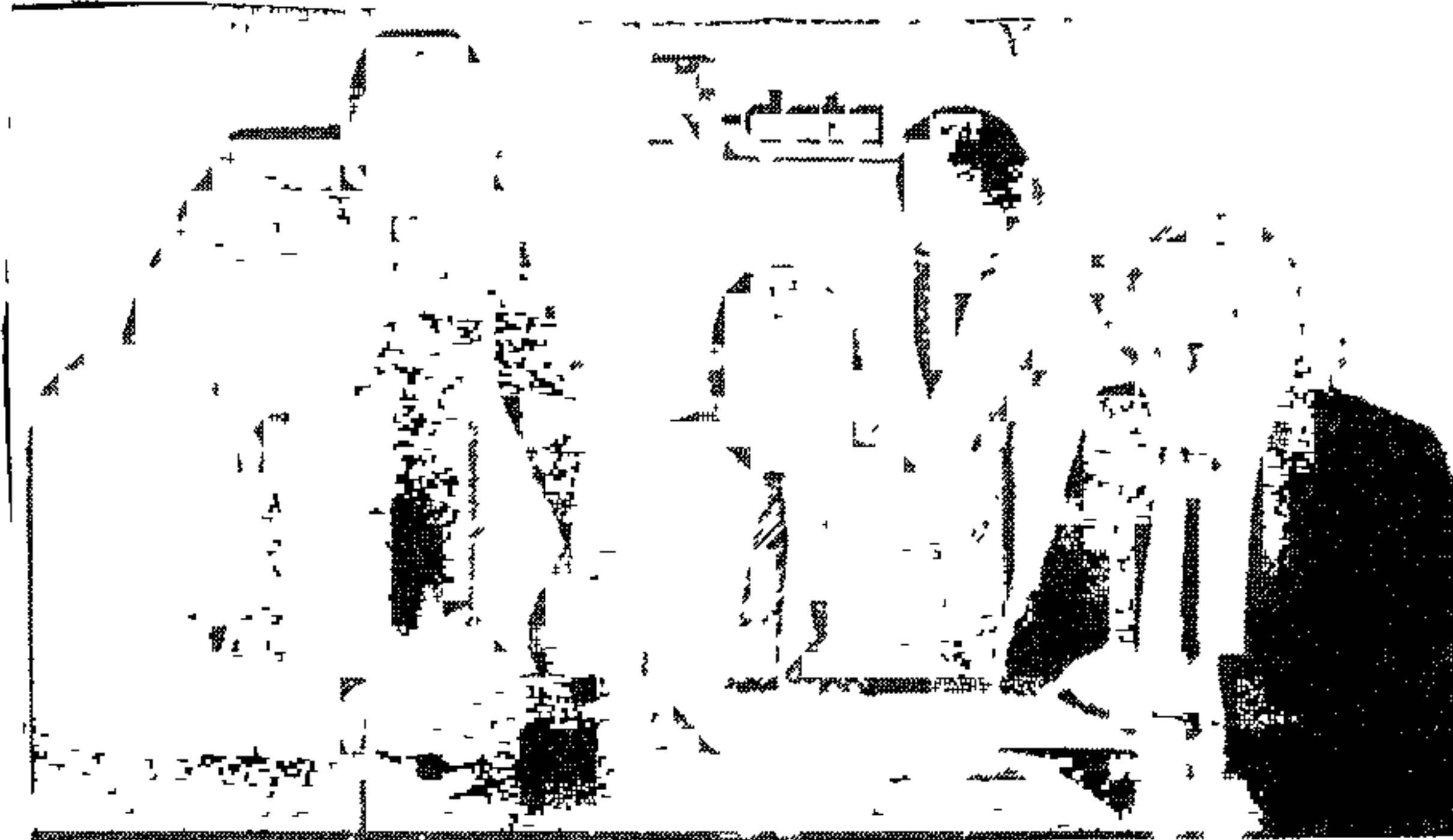
Milanzi, who has been executive secretary of the Muslim Association for the past five years, believes "image cultivating" developments are behind the conversion of Muslims to other religions in the past. The opposite, he added, is happening now in that more people are currently joining Islam than leaving it.

There has never been any census of Muslims in Malawi, but Milanzi estimates there are about two million followers in this nation of eight million people.

"The attraction with Islam is that it is strong on monotheism (the worship of one God), like Judaism and Christianity," Milanzi said.

"Our approach to our religion is different from others. There is a strong spirit of brotherhood and uniformity of prayers all over the world.

"Islam as a religion has really grown big and is being respected in that we are treated as a non-governmental organisation which can contribute to national development."



MALAWIAN CONTRACT ... signing the R-data contract in Cape Town for the Malawi Ministry of Works software package are, from left, Eric Mso-lomba, GM Water Affairs; Charles Katete, the Ministry's principal accountant; Folger Nyrongo, chief accountant; Evan Chipazi, senior accountant, and Rod Dunbar, managing director of R-data

Cape company gets contract with Malawian government

CAPE TOWN software company R-Data has been awarded a contract to implement a full accounting facility for the Malawi Ministry of Works, based on the company's South African-produced software Promun

The fully-integrated package includes all the essential accounting routines such as general ledger, creditors, orders and cash book, and is designed to run on a variety of hardware platforms *Sitimer cm*

An addition to the Ministry of Works contract is a water billing system for the submission of accounts for all water consumption throughout Malawi *113/92*

Promun has been developed to cater for the needs of local authorities

The software is configured upon a fully-fledged distributed database system which allows users to access up to 240 databases simultaneously, and alternative database support is incorporated

R-Data's systems are operating throughout South Africa, with technical support and training facilities available at all levels from basic computer concepts to fully-integrated financial systems

R-Data personnel are in Lilongwe to set up the system and train Malawi personnel. All systems will be live by April 1

Amnesty: Malawian prisoners tortured

CT68/92 Own Correspondent

(170)

LONDON — Amnesty International said yesterday that prisoners in some Malawian jails were beaten, chained, kept naked and starved so that many of them died.

The human rights group called on the Malawian government to close "hard core" prison centres. "Not only is torture and ill-treatment routine but the government is allowing prison authorities to act with impunity," the report said. The Malawian High Commission in London yesterday dismissed the allegations as "gross misrepresentation and fabrication".

Crocodiles lick lips as Banda wields big stick

STAR 9/13/92 (170)

HASTINGS Kamuzu Banda, President For Life of Malawi and the only African leader to make no concessions to the continent-wide demands for democracy and human rights, made a rare reference to political opposition in his country last week.

He said that if exiled dissidents returned to Malawi, they would be "meat for crocodiles".

One of the last two men in Anglophone Africa to have ruled their countries since independence, President Banda is now believed to be well into his 90s. Yet in a recent Cabinet reshuffle he awarded himself the posts of Minister of Agriculture, External Affairs, Works, and Women, Children and Community Services.

In a small concession to the tide of multiparty democracy which has swept away

many of his fellow presidents in the past 18 months, President Banda has called on Malawians to discuss the issue of the one-party state.

Parliamentary elections scheduled for May, however, will be held firmly within the one-party rule of the Malawi Congress Party.

His reference to the crocodiles suggests he is not about to enter into a dialogue with the exiled opposition movement, the United Front for Multiparty Democracy in Malawi (UFMD).

Nor is he showing any sign of improving respect for human rights in Malawi. Last year Britain halved its aid to Malawi because of its human rights record and two weeks

ago Lynda Chaiker, the British Minister for Overseas Aid, repeated the hope that political prisoners in Malawi would be released.

A few years ago, when Margaret Thatcher visited Malawi, she spoke of the country as one of Britain's closest allies and praised Dr Banda for his leadership and wisdom, but no mention was made of human rights.

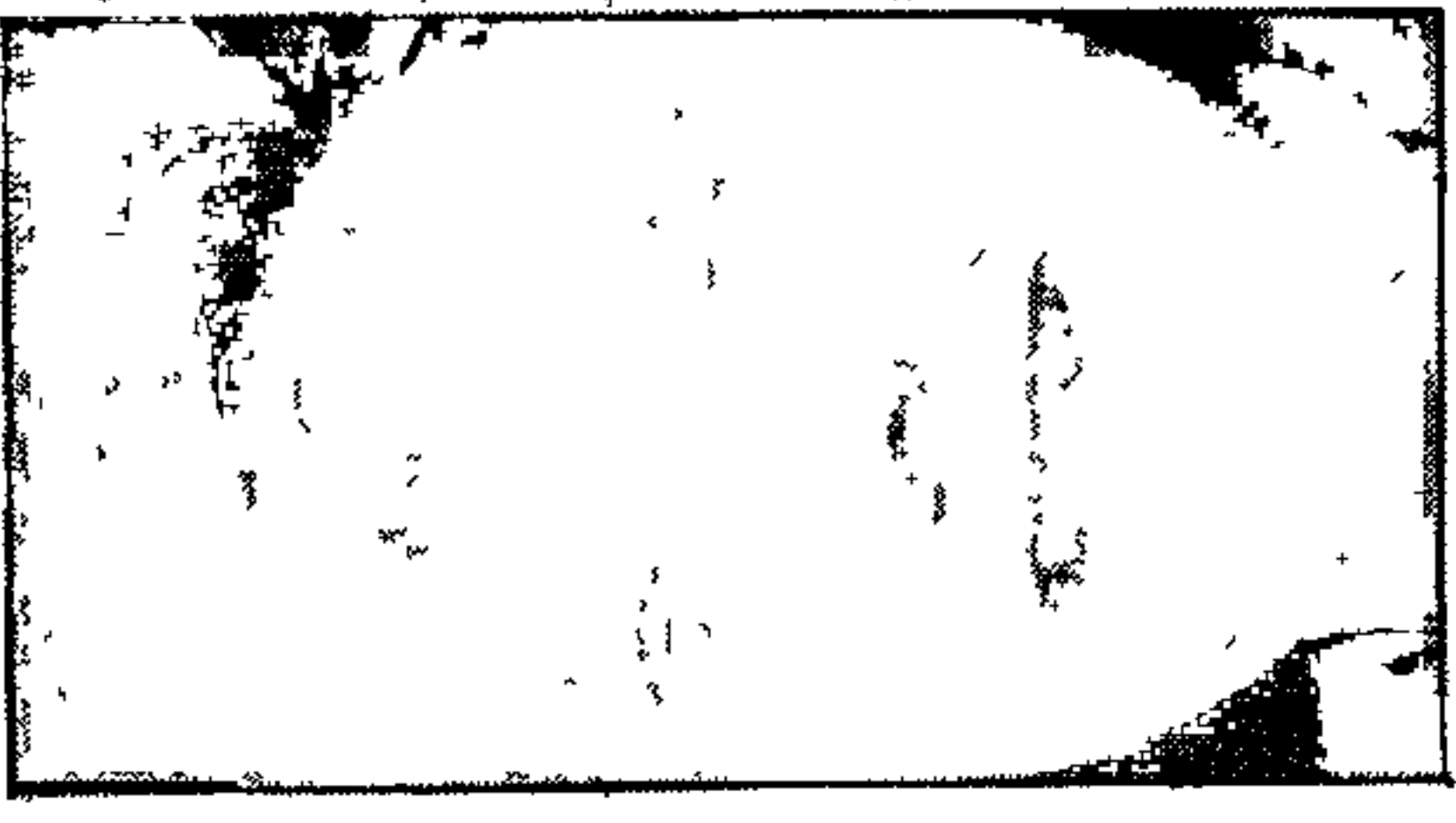
A report by Amnesty International published on Friday, however, says many people in prison in Malawi have died from ill-treatment or medical neglect. The human rights organisation cited four cases of political detainees dying in prison since 1990 and is calling on President Banda to allow regular, independent

access to Malawian prisons to ensure that they conform to international standards.

The report says torture and ill-treatment are routine and that persistent criminal offenders are subjected to a "hard-core programme" at Dzeleka and Nsanje prisons, where they are forced to run the gauntlet of warders who beat them with clubs, whips and iron bars when they arrive. Those who survive are chained naked to the floors of their cells and fed one-quarter rations of food, it says.

Among those subjected to special treatment is Orton Chirwa, the former political opposition leader, now 73.

The UFMD, now based in Lusaka, has called for a multiparty system in Malawi and is threatening disruptive action if Dr Banda does not end the one-party state. The Independent News Service vice □



Lynda Chaiker, British Minister for Overseas Aid repeated the hope that political prisoners would be released



Hastings Banda makes no concessions to the continent-wide demands for democracy and human rights

302617 427-11000
Friday March 12 1992

Bishops accuse Malawi of abuses

Sunday 12/3/92

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LUSAKA - Churches in Malawi have joined the Zambia-based United Front for Multiparty Democracy in Malawi calling for more freedom and condemning the government.

for growing corruption, bribery and injustice. In a pastoral message released last Sunday and made available in Lusaka yesterday, seven Roman Catholic bishops expressed

stern reservations on several basic human rights issues. "Many people still live in circumstances which are hardly compatible with their dignity as sons and

daughters of God. Their life is a struggle of survival. "At the same time, the minority enjoy the fruits of development and can afford to live in luxury and wealth. We appeal for a

more just and equal distribution of the nation's wealth." The bishops accused the government of Dr Kamuzu Banda of grossly violating human rights with - *Sapa*.

Banda puts screws on Catholic Church

STAR 121319Z

LONDON — Malawi's eight Catholic bishops were interrogated for eight hours yesterday about a pastoral letter read in churches last weekend which criticised the government of President Hastings Banda.

This is the first time that any criticism of the 28-year rule of the life president has

been heard in public. (170)

The letter, *Living our Faith*, which was read in 30 churches, is estimated to have been heard by a quarter of the population

The bishops said "Academic freedom is seriously restricted, exposing injustices can be considered a be-

trayal, revealing some evils of our society is seen as slandering the country, monopoly of mass media and censorship prevent the expression of dissenting views"

The six African and two European bishops have been ordered to meet the president within the next two days and have been confined

to Blantyre until then. President Banda's grip on the country is being weakened because of age — he is thought to be over 90 — and because his allies such as Britain, converted to the new doctrine of democracy for Africa, are deserting him — The Independent News Service

ARG 17/3/92 (170)

Banda retains grip on Malawi

HASTINGS Kamuzu Banda, President For Life of Malawi and the only African leader to make no concessions to the continent-wide demands for democracy and human rights, has made a rare reference to political opposition in his country

He said that if exiled dissidents returned to Malawi, they would be "meat for crocodiles".

One of the last two men in Anglophone Africa to have ruled their countries since independence, President Banda is now believed to be well into his 90s. Yet in a recent cabinet reshuffle he awarded himself the posts of Minister of Agriculture, External Affairs, Works and Women, Children and Community Services

In a small concession to the tide of multi-party democracy which has swept away many of his fellow-presidents

in the past 18 months, President Banda has called on Malawians to discuss the issue of the one-party state

Parliamentary elections scheduled for May, however, will be held firmly within the one-party rule of the Malawi Congress Party. His reference to the crocodiles suggests he is not about to enter into a dialogue with the exiled opposition movement, the United Front for Multi-Party Democracy in Malawi

Nor is he showing any sign of improving respect for human rights in Malawi. Last year Britain halved its aid to Malawi because of its human rights record and Lynda Chalker, the British Minister for Overseas Aid, recently repeated the hope that political prisoners there would be released

A few years ago, when the former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, visited Malawi, she spoke of the country as one of Britain's closest allies and praised Mr Banda for his leadership and wisdom. No mention was made of human rights.

A report by Amnesty International however, says many people in prison in Malawi have died from ill-treatment or medical neglect. The human rights organisation cited four cases of political detainees dying in prison since 1990 and is calling on President Banda to allow regular, independent access to Malawian prisons to ensure they conform to international standards

The report says torture and



HASTINGS BANDA
"Meat for crocodiles"

ill-treatment are routine and persistent criminal offenders are subjected to a "hard core programme" at Dzeleka and Nsanje prisons, where "they are forced to run the gauntlet of waders who beat them with clubs, whips and iron bars when they arrive

"Those who survive are chained naked to the floors of their cells and fed one-quarter rations of food," the report says

Among those subjected to special treatment is Orton Chirwa, the former political opposition leader, now 73 years old, who was kidnapped by Malawian security forces in 1983 and has been in prison ever since. In May last year, according to the Amnesty report, he was put in leg-irons, handcuffed and made to squat with an iron bar between his knees for two days

The UFMD, now based in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, has called for a multi-party system in Malawi and is threatening disruptive action if Mr Banda does not end the one-party state — The Independent News Service, London

Malawi unbending on reform demand

Sowetan 19/3/92

170

THE Malawi government, one of the last to withstand the wave of democratic reforms sweeping Africa, remains intransigent in the face of pressure for reform.

But the pressure is growing rather than abating and the aged President Kamuzu Banda is looking increasingly embattled.

The University of Malawi in Zomba was closed this week after student protests that followed the brief detention and interrogation of eight Roman Catholic bishops for criticising the government.

The bishops were reported to have gone into hiding. At the same time there were signs of a hardening of attitudes among European governments to Banda.

Banda's recent troubles were sparked by the release on March 7 of an Amnesty International report detailing a pattern of arbitrary arrests, torture and punishment cells in the country's prisons for hard core political prisoners.

The report described the harsh treatment meted out to the 72-year-old prisoner of conscience, Mr Orton Chirwa, who was kidnapped by Malawian government agents some years ago from Zambia, where he had been conducting a campaign of opposition to the autocratic government of President Kamuzu Banda.

It told how in May last year Chirwa was subjected to "cell punishment", which meant that he was made to squat with an iron bar behind his knees for two days, while pinioned by handcuffs and leg irons.

FOCUS

Malawi's government is in a dilemma. It is caught between stamping out rising opposition to its autocratic policies and risking the displeasure of Western aid donors at a time when the aid is badly needed. HILARY ANDERSON reports for the *Sowetan Africa News Service*.

He was denied access to toilet facilities during the period, according to the report.

The report resulted in an unprecedented show of internal opposition by church leaders in Malawi. Apparently hoping that the glare of world publicity would lend them temporary protection, the eight Roman Catholic bishops circulated 16 000 copies of a five-page letter to Catholic parishes throughout Malawi.

Condemned

The letter, which was read out from pulpits around the country, condemned government policies, its "slogans and half-truths", and the lack of freedom in Malawi.

There was widespread surprise among Malawians at the boldness of the bishops' action.

Previously, open opposition to the government had taken place mainly in Zambia and overseas.

Dissidents have rarely dared to return home. In Malawi even a moving car is not considered a safe place to speak out.

The exiled opposition coalition, the United Front for Multiparty Democracy in Zambia, declared that "the statement by the bishops reflects an accurate picture of the state of Malawi".

The release of a similar Amnesty report in 1989, and an uncompromising reaction from Banda's government, had led to the temporary withdrawal of aid by the international community.

In a subsequent burst of liberalism the government released a number of political prisoners.

This time, however, it seemed that the government was not inclined to bow to Western pressures.

It categorically denied all allegations of arbitrary arrests, intimidation and failed policies, and then detained the eight bishops who had signed the letter.

They were held for questioning in a Blantyre police station for eight hours.

After being released, the bishops, apparently abandoning their previous belief that publicity would keep them safe, said that they could not speak publicly about what had happened.

The police requested anyone with a copy of the letter to return it to their nearest police station or face arrest. Amid reports that threats had been against their lives, the bishops disappeared from public view—but received support from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, of which the President is a member and which is one of the strongest in Malawi.

The government's hardline attitude in the face of international and internal criticism comes at a time when it can little afford it.

Malawi relies very heavily on foreign aid for its survival and development, not least because of the 1 million Mozambican refugees living in the overpopulated country.

On top of the stirrings of political opposition, the rains have failed again, raising the spectre of food shortages. New figures reveal that Malawians are far worse off than the government has ever admitted.

Seventy percent do not grow enough food to sustain themselves in any 12-month period, and 55 percent of the population suffers stunted growth as the result of malnutrition.

In the past Malawi has received large amounts of foreign aid largely because, like Kenya, its capitalist policies and its prompt repayment of debts have won favour in the West.

But attitudes have changed as Western donors have pegged continued aid to good governance and respect for human rights. Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi recently bemoaned the West's "unfriendliness", saying "we are bitter, because they abandoned us when it came to this question of democracy".

Banda, now almost 94, and part of the British establishment as an official of the Church of Scotland, may not want to accept that his friends will abandon him too. But they already appear to have begun to do so, as was shown last year when Britain withheld half of its balance of payment support.

Winds of opposition blow in Malawi

MALAWI, one of Africa's most closed societies, has been shaken by an unprecedented flurry of political activity over the past two weeks. (170)

It was sparked by the release of a Catholic bishops' pastoral letter criticising the government of President Kamuzu Banda on March 8.

This was followed by student protests, the closing of the university, the burning down of the press that printed the letter, and a meeting of Malawian opposition forces in Lusaka. G/PRESS 22/3/92

Delegates to the Lusaka meeting are calling for multi-party democracy in a country under the iron one-party rule of Banda and his Malawi Congress Party since independence from Britain in 1964.

Food crisis for refugees

MAPUTO — Nearly 1-million Mozambican refugees face starvation in neighbouring Malawi because of the southern African drought, say UN officials

"The available food for the refugees is expected to be exhausted by July 1992," says a document presented by the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at a crisis meeting in Maputo last week

The UNHCR said there were 980 000 Mozambican refugees in Malawi, and warned delegates there was no food aid in the pipeline for them. No pledges had been made.

The workshop on large-scale repatriation of Mozambican refugees was attended by UNHCR officials, the Mozambican government and neighbouring states

Malawi hosts by far the biggest number of refugees who have fled the 16-year war between the Frelimo government and Renamo rebels

Another 500 000 are in SA, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Swaziland; UN reports say Reuter

Malawians 'protest call for reform'

HARARE. — Thousands of people have demonstrated across Malawi, condemning the country's Roman Catholic bishops for criticising Malawi's human rights record and calling for democratic reform, the official Malawi News Agency (MANA) reported yesterday.

It said demonstrators took to the streets on Tuesday in seven towns, including the capital Lilongwe and the commercial centre Blantyre, to "show their solidarity with Malawi Life President Kamuzu Banda, the party and the government".

Malawi, which has a population of 8.5 million, has been tightly ruled by President Banda, 93, since independence from Britain in 1964. He outlawed all opposition parties shortly after taking power.

Malawi's Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter on March 8 calling on the government to respect basic human rights and to allow multi-party politics.

The government denounced the bishops for meddling in politics but denied reports that they had been arrested and interrogated.

Malawian exiles and critics of President Banda's government ended a four-day meeting in Zambia on Monday, setting up a committee to lead a campaign for multi-party democracy in their homeland —

Sapa-Reuter

(170) # CI 27/3/92

Malawian exiles warn Banda of trouble

Sowetan
30/3/92
1710

By MOKGADI PELA

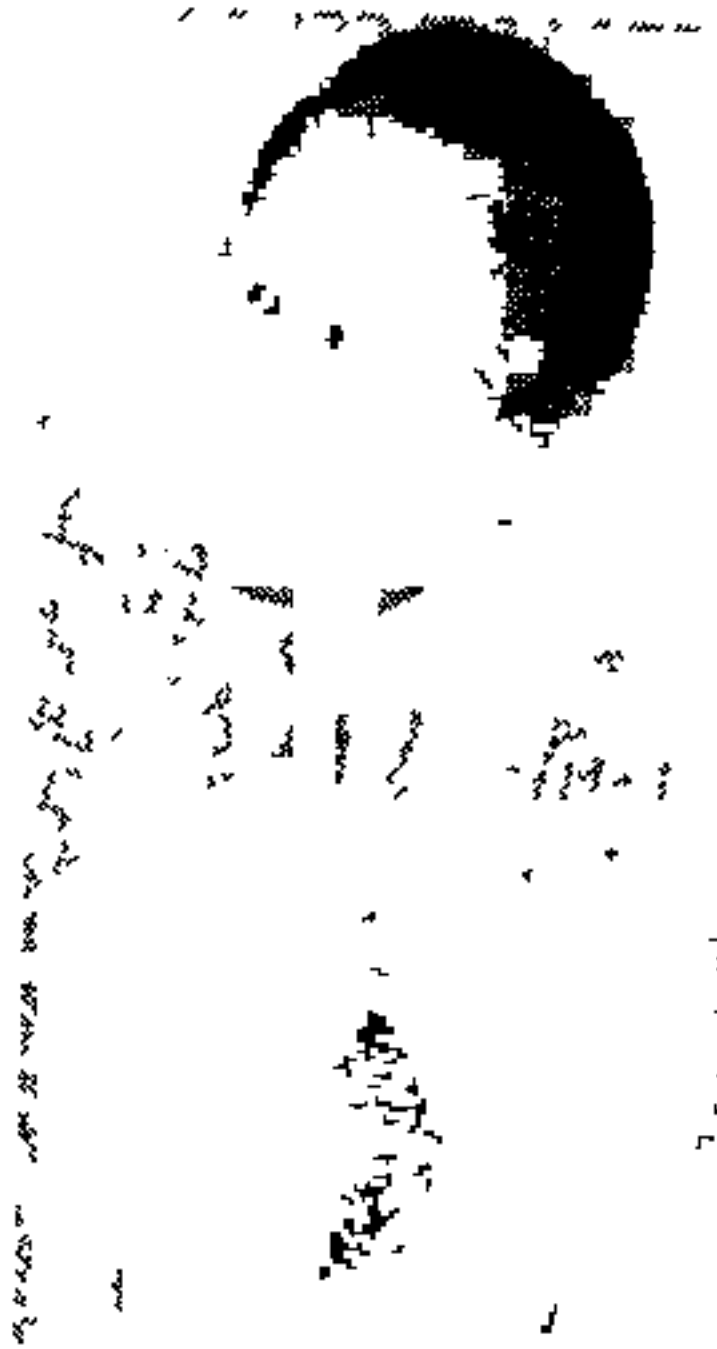
MALAWIAN president Kamuzu Banda's 26-year-old "inpot dictatorship" is facing mounting opposition - this time from the Malawi Democratic Party which issued him a two-week ultimatum to introduce multi-party democracy or face the consequences

Representatives of the MDP, who are in self-imposed exile in South Africa, have threatened 81-year-old Banda with civil disobedience if he fails to introduce multi-party democracy within that time

The leaders, who described themselves as "a new generation of blacks", said they were determined to overthrow Africa's most famous bachelor

MPD secretary general Mr Sampala Cheyo Nyondo said Banda would perish like his counterparts in Ethiopia and Zambia who failed to read the signs of history

But Nyondo said they would use peaceful means



SAMPALA NYONDO

to unseat Banda and his Malawi Congress Party

Nyondo said Banda had for years denied Malawians basic human rights

He claimed that Banda had "imprisoned, killed and gagged" many of his opponents

Malawi's media was not even allowed to report on coups in several parts of Africa, lest the winds of change reached his country, according to the MPD

"Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and Ethiopia's Mengistu Haile Mariam are now bitter men because they tried to cling onto power for decades," Nyondo said

"Look at the economies of Zambia and Ethiopia. They are ruined by that first generation of African leaders"

Two weeks ago, the University of Malawi was closed after student protests that followed the brief detention and interrogation of eight Roman Catholic bishops for criticising the government.

The bishops were reported to have gone into hiding. At the same time, there were signs of a hardening of attitudes among European governments to Banda

Banda's recent troubles were sparked by the release on March 7 of an Amnesty International report detailing a pattern of arbitrary arrests, torture and punishment cells in the country's prisons for hard core political prisoners



KAMUZU BANDA

Scribes' letter to Banda

South African 2/11/92
170

By MATHATHA TSEDU

A CONFERENCE of Southern African Journalists has sent a letter of protest to Malawi leader Dr Kamuzu Banda over the continued detention without trial of a journalist.

The conference, convened by the Botswana Journalist Association (Boja) and held over five days in Gaborone last week, said in the letter that the detention of freelance writer Mr Simon Mhone since December last year had caused great concern.

"Mhone's detention without trial since December 1991 is an infringement of internationally recognised rights of journalists to freely execute their duties. This is a direct violation of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," the letter stated.

The conference called on Banda to release Mhone without further delay. The conference was told that Mhone was a freelance journalist who was detained after filing a story for an international news agency.

Approved

The story had been approved by government censors beforehand, it was said.

It was also disclosed that in the heat of the rising tide of protests by Malawians who want the overthrow of the Banda dictatorship, many people had been herded into prisons where they were flogged and tortured, and others killed.

The conference, which included participants from Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Zambia and Uganda, also expressed alarm at Kenyan police harassment of journalists who were accused of "exaggerating" inter-tribal fights between the Kalenjins and Luos and Kikuyus on the other hand.

Boja chairman Mr Rampholo Molefe said after the conference that a protest note would also be sent to Kenya.

"We as African journalists are tired of looking on as our colleagues are brutalised by dictatorships. We are going to speak out against such abuses wherever they occur until this continent enjoys the kind of freedom enjoyed elsewhere in the world," he said.

IT IS a brave man who confronts the icy core which has gripped the "warm heart of Africa" for so long.

Such a man is Chakutwa Chihana (52) who returns to Malawi today with the threat of arrest hanging over his head.

Speaking in Johannesburg at the weekend during a two-day stop-over on his way home, he said his mission was to spearhead a campaign for multi-party democracy in one of Africa's fiercest and most enduring dictatorships.

As a veteran of seven years in prison — five of them in solitary confinement where he often spent weeks chained to the floor, beaten, and doused in water — he is not phased at the possibility of another stint behind bars after stepping off the midday plane in Lilongwe.

The first real challenge to geriatric President Hastings Banda's one-party rule began last month with a pastoral letter from the Catholic Bishops pointing out, "We cannot turn a blind eye to our people's experience of unfairness and injustice, for example those who, losing their land are deprived of their livelihood or those of our brothers and sisters who are imprisoned without knowing when their cases will be heard."

Eleven days later the press which printed the statement was burnt down, and the government threatened to kill the bishops and warned them to stay out of politics.

"I was in Lusaka when I heard about this, and immediately decided to return. We formed an interim committee on March 23, headed by myself to back the demand for a convention of a national conference," Malawi watchers will know his aims will be considered treason.

"Some have warned me that I may be killed. I don't know what the authorities have planned for me when I arrive. But I know this, if I am detained, others will take my place. If I am killed, my blood will fuel a democratic revolution in Malawi and I will not have died in vain."

After being released from detention, beaten up and left for dead in the streets, Catholic press helped him to go into exile. He returned to Malawi in 1988 as secretary-general of the Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordination Council.

"When I returned I started working. Sometimes it might look as though I am helping a worker tie up tobacco, but we are talking politics. We might meet at the lake, apparently to relax with friends, but we are talking politics. We meet in churches.

But the surveillance is constant. "In the last 16 years hundreds have been hanged. I was in the condemned cells. Tens of thousands have been detained, thousands killed, and hundreds of thousands have gone into exile."

he said. A former Amnesty International prisoner of conscience Mr Chihana's statistics are well known to human rights groups.

It is one of Africa's most underwritten horror stories. But there is only one journalist representing the foreign media in Malawi: Simon Moore of Reuters and he is in detention. The domestic media are all state-owned.

But the tide has changed for Mr Banda and his Malawi Congress Party, according to Mr Chihana. "Our time has come."

"I will be allowed in, and if I die it will be covered up. I may have a car crash or be killed and then my body pushed into the bush." □

Fighting for change in the icy core of Africa

Star 6/4/92

Chakutwa Chihana plans to tackle dictatorship in Malawi, reports PETA THORNVCROFT.

(170)

Each reflects its history, and

conscription or not, but rather

around before he, I think



Exile plans to 'oust' Banda

JOHANNESBURG. — An exiled Malawian dissident plans a show-down today with Malawi's President Hastings Kamuzu Banda — 32 years after their first meeting — on restoring human rights and democracy

Mr Chakufwa Chihana, 52, said here yesterday he intended to fly to Malawi this morning to launch a nationwide movement to oust Dr Banda.

Colleagues have told him an arrest warrant and almost certain

(170) 276/4/92
detention await him, said the labour leader who reportedly has been assaulted, jailed and exiled for his political activities

Mr Chihana's planned return follows last month's pastoral letter issued by Malawian Catholic church leaders that sharply criticised Malawi's human rights record. The government called the letter "seditious" and detained eight bishops overnight

Mr Chihana said that he and

colleagues believed "now is the time to move".

Mr Chihana and others helped form the Malawi Congress Party in 1959 during increased opposition to British rule. The party won elections in 1961 and with Dr Banda as its leader, assumed power in 1963 prior to independence in 1964.

"If I am assassinated tomorrow, my blood will fuel and oil the engine of democracy," Mr Chihana said. — Sapa-AP

Malawian labour leader arrested

LILONGWE — A prominent Malawian dissident was arrested yesterday, minutes after he returned home from Johannesburg for a showdown with the authoritarian government of President Hastings Banda

Labour leader Chakufwa Chihana, 52, was bundled into a waiting car by security agents after he attempted to read from a prepared text on the tarmac at Lilongwe Airport, witnesses said

Chihana left the plane waving a text calling for the ousting of Life President Kamuzu Banda, a return to democracy and respect for human rights, witnesses said

There was no immediate comment from the government

A Western diplomat, who was at the airport, said Western embassies intended to protest against the government's action

Passengers on the flight from Johannesburg said Chihana expected to be jailed upon his return and "counted down" his last hours of freedom as the flight ap-

roached the capital, Lilongwe (170)

In Johannesburg Chihana's colleagues in the National Democratic Alliance called for an immediate suspension of Western aid to Malawi as a response to his arrest

Chihana, secretary-general of the powerful Lilongwe-based Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council, attended a meeting in Zambia last month of Malawian dissidents who pledged to organise a democracy conference in their homeland in defiance of laws banning such gatherings *B100w 7/14/92*

On Sunday, Chihana accused Banda of leading one of Africa's most repressive regimes. He predicted his return would mark a turning point in the quest for democratic reform in Malawi

Calls for democracy have intensified since Roman Catholic bishops demanded reforms in a pastoral letter circulated early in March. The government declared the letter a "seditious document" — Sapa-AP

Parks hoard R7m in ivory

THEO RAWANA

THE National Parks Board has an ivory stockpile worth R7m, but it will not sell it in violation of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) ban, says chief executive director Robbie Robinson

Robinson says the parks have a population of 7 500 elephants and cull between 300 and 400 a year

"We have R7m of ivory in our stockpiles and can produce R3m a year

"Although we believe in the sustainable utilisation of wildlife, we will not be going against the decision of Cites *B100w 7/14/92*

SA will wait until debate has sorted out the issue

Delegates at a meeting of Cites in Japan last month refused to lift the ban on ivory trade, sparking a defiant reaction from Zimbabwe, which said it would set up an ivory marketing centre in Gaborone with Botswana, Namibia and Malawi

Robinson would not comment on Zimbabwe's plans

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



HEADSHEET

ONLY R525 incl. VAT

Top Malawian dissident held

170

Sowetan 7/4/92

LILONGWE - A prominent Malawian dissident was arrested yesterday, minutes after he returned home for a showdown with the authoritarian government of President Hastings Banda

Labour leader Chakufwa Chihana (52) was bundled into a waiting car by security agents after he attempted to read from a prepared text on the tarmac at Lilongwe airport, eyewitnesses said

Two agents pinioned Chihana by the arms and

pushed him into the back of the car, said the witnesses, who declined to be named

It sped away to an undisclosed destination, escorted by four police cars and motorcycle outriders, they said

Chihana descended from a flight from Johannesburg, South Africa, waving a text calling for the ousting of Life President Banda, a return to democracy and respect for human rights in the country, witnesses said

Before being driven away, he read a few words from the text but they were inaudible to about 100 supporters and wellwishers gathered on the airport observation platform, said a Western diplomat who was present

There was no immediate comment from the government

The diplomat, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said Western embassies intend to protest the

government's action

Passengers on the flight from Johannesburg said Chihana expected to be jailed upon his return and "counted down" his last hours of freedom as the flight approached the capital, Lilongwe

In Johannesburg yesterday, Chihana's colleagues in the National Democratic Alliance called for an immediate suspension of Western aid to Malawi as a response to his arrest

Chihana, secretary-general of the powerful Lilongwe-based Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council, attended a meeting in Zambia last month of Malawian dissidents who pledged to organize a democracy conference in their homeland in defiance of laws banning such gatherings

On Sunday, Chihana accused Banda of leading one of Africa's most repressive regimes

He predicted his return would mark a turning point in the quest for democratic reform in Malawi

Banda, aged in his 90s, has ruled the former British colony since independence in 1964

He outlawed opposition parties and declared himself life president in 1971

Since then, Banda's opponents have been detained without trial and tortured and killed in mysterious circumstances, human rights organizations have charged

In the 1970s, Chihana himself spent almost seven years in detention

Calls for democracy have intensified in the southeast African nation since Roman Catholic bishops demanded reforms in a pastoral letter circulated early in March

The government declared the letter a "seditious document". - Sapa

AP

Dissident¹⁷⁰ arrested^{STAR} ⁷¹⁴¹⁹² at airport

Malawian dissident Chafukwa Chihana flew back to his country from South Africa yesterday and was arrested when he landed at Lilongwe International Airport, a British Embassy spokesman confirmed.

"He appeared to be arrested at the foot of the ramp. He was then whisked away at high speed in a police car," said the spokesman, who declined to be named.

"We have reported back to London and are waiting for directives."

Mr Chihana, assigned by a meeting of Malawian dissidents to spearhead a campaign for democracy, had vowed to return yesterday despite any consequences.

Diplomats had warned him there was a warrant for his arrest after he attended a meeting in Lusaka a few weeks ago.

The meeting followed unprecedented unrest in Malawi after six local Catholic bishops and two clerics wrote a pastoral letter exposing corruption and oppression.

The letter triggered protests at the university and clashes between police and students. Authorities closed the university in a bid to quell the unrest.

President Hastings Kamuzu Banda (93) has ruled Malawi since 1963, imposing one-party rule, and jailing dissidents. — Sapa

Five labour officials arrested in Malawi

^{8/4/92}
LILONGWE — Malawi police arrested five labour officials who work with a prominent pro-democracy activist already in detention, Western diplomats said yesterday

Sapa-AP reports that the five, employed by the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council, were believed to include nationals of neighbouring countries

Diplomats said the five were arrested late on Monday, only hours after police detained leading dissident, Chakufwa Chihana, secretary-general of the council, a regional body representing about 10-million workers in a dozen southern African nations

Chihana was arrested on the airport tarmac as he returned home for a showdown over human rights with the authoritarian government of President Hastings Banda. Police removed files from the labour office and drove off with the five officials after warning foreign diplomats at gunpoint not to intervene

On Monday, the US embassy in Lilongwe protested the arrest of Chihana, 52, who returned from a month in neighbouring Zambia and SA

In Zambia, opponents of Banda set up an interim committee to fight for democratic reform in Malawi

Chihana vowed to organise a national conference on democracy on his return home

Political opposition is illegal in Malawi, where Banda has ruled since leading the former British colony to independence in 1964.

Crocodiles

Human rights organisations have accused him of detaining and killing opponents

LINDEN BIRNS reports that Chihana said before leaving Jan Smuts Airport that Banda had promised to "feed me to the crocodiles" if he returned to Malawi

A Malawi embassy spokesman in Pretoria, Percy Kachipande, was unable to say under what, if any, charges Chihana and the other officials had been arrested. The Malawi government was unaware, he said, that Chihana and a group of colleagues from the trade union council had been in SA to canvass support

Ironically, Chihana's delegation left Johannesburg for Lilongwe on the same flight as the Malawian ambassador to SA. Before boarding, council member Ahmed Dassu said Chihana would call for the immediate installation of a multiparty democratic system in Malawi

Chihana said he had prepared a speech which he would make soon after arriving in Lilongwe, but was arrested the moment he landed

Chihana and Dassu were recently released from prison after being held for 18 months and eight years respectively without being charged

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Chihana's plight poses challenge to SA foreign policy

AS WE emerge from the dark hole of apartheid, it is time to start thinking not only of the shape of our own nation but also about our relationships with others — particularly in this region where we shall be the dominant power.

What will be the criteria for our new foreign policy? For the past half century, our foreign policy has been that of the cornered rat — hissing and scratching and grabbing indiscriminately at any opportunity that came our way.

Our ethics as a nation were moulded by necessity rather than discomfitment. We fell in with other outcast nations, the sleazebags of the arms bazaar and shifty middle-men of the international underworld who helped us evade sanctions. The relationships have done much to corrupt our standards of public morality. Now we have an opportunity to change all that.

An early challenge came our way last weekend when a Malawian dissident leader, Chakufwa Chihana, called here seeking support for his democratic cause in a country where our potential influence happens to be considerable

Hardly anyone took any notice of him; he received more publicity in the European and American media than our own.

Mr Chihana is an extraordinarily courageous man. He fell out with Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda 32 years ago when he was only 20, which led to him being banished to a remote region where youth leaguers assaulted him and left him for dead with an axe-blade in his head.

Catholic priests rescued him, nursed him back to health and smuggled him into exile, where he remained for 11 years until his involvement in a trade union strike call in Kenya led to his being deported back to Malawi.

Seven years of imprisonment without trial followed, during which Mr Chihana's gross maltreatment gained him the status of an Amnesty International prisoner of conscience. He spent five years in solitary confinement, where he was often chained to the floor, hung upside down, doused in water and beaten.

He says he saw many prisoners executed without trial.

Despite that experience Mr Chihana, now 52, voluntarily flew



Allister Sparks

back to Malawi, and renewed arrest, on Monday in order to highlight the lack of freedom in his country and hopefully galvanise the Western democracies — and South Africa — into action.

"I am aware that a warrant has been issued for my arrest and that immediately I step off the plane I shall be locked up. Some have warned I may be killed," Mr Chihana said in Johannesburg before boarding the plane. "I admit I am apprehensive, but whatever happens my arrest or death can only fuel the struggle for democracy and basic human rights in Malawi."

Two hours later, Western diplomats in Lilongwe confirmed that Mr Chihana had indeed been arrested on landing. Four colleagues were arrested as well.

The point is, Mr Chihana came to South Africa looking for help to

liberate his country from the grip of a dictatorship. He came here because we have potential influence on the situation there.

South Africa has befriended Malawi because the maverick Dr Banda, alone among African leaders, was prepared to recognise South Africa and establish diplomatic relations with us during the dark years of apartheid. As a result, we give significant aid to Malawi.

It would obviously be churlish to repay Dr Banda's friendship by turning nasty on him. But at the same time we are becoming another country and the new South Africa has new requirements and must have new standards.

It is the people of Malawi we should be concerned about, and it would not be incompatible with our relationship to use our influence not only to ensure Mr Chihana's safety but to encourage Dr Banda to follow our example and democratise his country.

Malawi has been extraordinarily fortunate in escaping international criticism. Westerners have been so obsessed with their ideological conflict with communism that they have tended to overlook

the fact that it is not only Marxist-Leninist regimes that are authoritarian.

There has not been a meaningful election in Malawi since 1961. Five years later, Banda declared the country a one-party state, and in 1971 made himself Life President. He appoints all MPs, all executive members of the party, all mayors, councillors, even tribal chiefs. There is no opposition, no free press, no free public debate. To criticise the Government is to commit treason.

Now at the age of 94 Banda is surrounded by a strange entourage intent on perpetuating the system after he is gone. They include Mama Cecilia Kadzamura, Banda's one-time nurse who is Malawi's "Official Hostess", and her uncle, John Tembo, a strongman in line to take over.

But there are new winds of change blowing down Africa. The elections last October that swept Kenneth Kaunda from power in neighbouring Zambia stirred an awakening in Malawi. Last month the Catholic bishops of Malawi issued a pastoral letter sharply criticising the government for its human rights violations.

This sparked attempts to form an opposition movement. Mr Chihana, who returned to Malawi in 1988 as general secretary of the Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordination Council, was invited to a meeting of dissidents in Lusaka. He was detained and interrogated on the way out but eventually made it.

In Lusaka Mr Chihana publicly identified himself with the bishops' letter, describing Banda's Malawi Congress Party in a BBC interview as "a party of darkness and death". That was enough to guarantee his arrest when he returned home.

The dissidents formed an interim committee, headed by Chihana, to convene a national conference to plan a democratic future. But before returning he came to South Africa to ask for help.

The American State Department has issued a statement saying it views Mr Chihana's arrest "in the most serious light" and calling on the Malawian government to release him and allow him to express his political views freely. What is the new South Africa going to do? □

AFRICA

THE arrest of Malawian opposition leader Chakufwa Chihana has effectively placed the onus on the Western world to spur on the country's democratic movement

Chihana, bundled away by security police on landing at Lilongwe Airport on Monday, has been refused bail

The American State Department issued a statement saying it viewed the arrest "in the most serious light" and calling on the Malawian government to release Chihana and allow him to express his political views freely. It is expected that the United Kingdom and other Western nations will soon follow suit

Foreign relations of the "new" South Africa are also being put to the test by the incident. Before flying back to Malawi, Chihana visited South Africa and called for help in liberating his country from the dictatorship of Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda. As one of Banda's staunchest allies over the years, South Africa's potential influence on the situation there was significant, he said.

Chihana's return, despite the fact that he faced certain arrest, was well timed. The regional drought has exacerbated Malawi's need for international aid to feed its population of 8.2 million as well as an estimated 1.2-million refugees from Mozambique. Scandanavian aid donors have already applied pressure to secure the release of political prisoners and a firm insis-

Malawi receives cold shoulder over arrest

A courageous Malawian who has suffered 32 years of extraordinary persecution returned this week to renewed detention. His reason? To galvanise Western democracies into taking action. ANDREW MELDRUM reports

ence on democratic reform from other international donors may well bear fruit.

Chihana's arrest certainly achieved his purpose of highlighting the lack of political freedom in his country. Before he boarded his plane from Johannesburg last weekend, he said he hoped to galvanise the Western democracies and South Africa into action.

"I am aware that a warrant has been issued for my arrest and that immediately I step off the plane I shall be locked up. Some have warned I may be killed. I admit I am apprehensive, but whatever happens my arrest or death can only fuel the struggle for democracy and basic human rights in Malawi," he said.

Chihana (52) is a veteran opponent of Banda's regime and during the past 32 years he has suf-

fered extraordinary persecution as a result. He was a founder member of Banda's Malawi Congress Party, but at the age of 20 he fell out with Banda and was banished to a remote area in northern Malawi, where he was attacked by members of Banda's Youth League and left for dead with an axe blade in his head.

With the help of Catholic priests, who nursed him back to health, he managed to escape to Kenya. He remained in exile for 11 years, until his involvement in a trade union strike call angered the Kenyan government and he was deported back to Malawi.

He was detained without trial for seven years, five of which were spent in solitary confinement. The beatings, torture and maltreatment he was subjected to during his detention gained him the

status of an Amnesty International prisoner of conscience

After his release, Chihana continued with trade union work and became general secretary of the Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council

On the way to a meeting of exiled Malawian dissidents held in Lusaka last month, Chihana was detained and interrogated. When he eventually made it to Lusaka, he was chosen to head an interim committee which aims to convene a national conference to plan a democratic future for the country

While he was in Lusaka, Chihana publicly identified himself with a letter issued by the Catholic bishops of Malawi which sharply criticised the government for its human-rights violations. And in an interview with the BBC, he described Banda's Congress Party as "a party of darkness and death" — effectively guaranteeing his arrest when he returned home.

There is the possibility that the Banda regime may dodder on — like its ageing leader, who is now 94 — until his death. But even if it is able to ride out the present storm, Chihana's actions and the publicity surrounding the Catholic bishops' criticism has made it virtually certain that Banda's heirs apparent — Minister of State John Tembo and Official Hostess Cecilia Kadzimirra — will not be able to maintain the regime after Banda's demise

12

By ALLISTER SPARKS

AS WE emerge from the dark hole of apartheid, it is time to start thinking not only of the shape of our own nation but also about our relationships with others — particularly in this region, where we shall be the dominant power.

What will be the criteria for our new foreign policy? For the past half century, from the hit-back diplomacy of Eric Louw to the injured aloofness of Hilgard Muller to the burning indignation of Pik Botha, our foreign policy has been that of the cornered rat — hissing and scratching and grabbing indiscriminately at any opportunity that came our way.

Our ethics as a nation were moulded by necessity rather than discernment. We fell in with other outcast nations, the sleazebags of the arms bazaar and shifty middle-men of the international underworld who helped us evade sanctions.

The relationships have done much to corrupt our standards of public morality. Now we have an opportunity to change all that.

Courageous

An early challenge came our way last weekend when a Malawian dissident leader, Chakufwa Chihana, called here seeking support for his democratic cause in a country where our potential influence happens to be considerable. Hardly anyone took any notice of him. He received more publicity in the European and American media than our own.

Mr Chihana is an extraordinarily courageous man. He fell out with Life President Hastings Banda 32 years ago when he was only 20, which led to him being banished to a remote region where youth leaguers assaulted him and left him for dead with an axe-blade in his head.

Catholic priests rescued him, nursed him back to health and then smuggled him into exile, where he remained for 11 years until his involvement in a trade union strike call in Kenya led to his being deported back to Malawi.

Seven years of imprisonment without trial followed, during which Mr Chihana's gross maltreatment gained him the status of an Amnesty International prisoner of conscience.

He spent five years in solitary confinement, where he was often chained to the floor, hung upside down, doused in water and beaten

What is the new SA to do about Malawi?

He says he saw many prisoners executed without trial. They were taken from the jail at night, he says, killed, their bodies cut up, put in bags and dumped in the Shira River for the crocodiles.

Despite that experience Mr Chihana, now 52, voluntarily flew back to Malawi on Monday in order to highlight the lack of freedom in his country and hopefully galvanise the Western democracies — and South Africa — into action.

Two hours later Western diplomats in Lilongwe confirmed that Mr Chihana had indeed been arrested on landing.

New standards

The point is, Mr Chihana came to South Africa looking for help to liberate his country from the grip of a dictatorship. He came here because we have potential influence on the situation there.

South Africa has befriended Malawi because the maverick Dr Banda, alone among African leaders, was prepared to recognise South Africa and establish diplomatic relations with us during the dark years of apartheid.

It would obviously be churlish to repay Dr Banda's friendship by turning nasty on him. But at the same time we are becoming another country and the new South Africa has new requirements and must have new standards.

It is the people of Malawi we should be concerned about, and it

would not be incompatible with our relationship to use our influence not only to ensure Mr Chihana's safety but to encourage Dr Banda to follow our example and democratise his country.

Opposition

There has not been a meaningful election in Malawi since 1961 — before three-quarters of today's Malawians were born. Five years later Banda declared the country a one-party state, and in 1971 made himself Life President. He appoints all MPs, all executive members of the party, all mayors, councillors, even tribal chiefs.

There is no opposition, no free press, no free public debate. To criticise the government is to commit treason.

Now, at the age of 94, Banda is surrounded by a strange entourage intent on perpetuating the system after he is gone.

But there are new winds of change blowing across Africa. Elections last October swept Kenneth Kaunda from power in neighbouring Zambia. Last month the Catholic Bishops of Malawi issued a pastoral letter sharply criticising the government for its human rights violations.

Darkness

This sparked attempts to form an opposition movement. Mr Chihana, who returned to Malawi in 1988 as general-secretary of the Southern Africa Trade Union Coordination Council, was invited to a meeting of dissidents in Lusaka. He was detained and interrogated on the way out but eventually made it.

In Lusaka, Mr Chihana publicly identified himself with the bishops' letter, describing Banda's Malawi Congress Party in a BBC interview as "a party of darkness and death". That was enough to guarantee his arrest when he returned home.

The dissidents formed an interim committee, headed by Chihana, to convene a national conference to plan a democratic future. But before returning he came to South Africa to ask for help.

The American State Department has issued a statement saying it views Mr Chihana's arrest "in the most serious light" and calling on the Malawian government to release him.

What is the new South Africa going to do?

No SA action on Malawi

B/10 am 10/4/92
SA HAS refused to support US and EC demands that Malawi release democracy campaigner Chikufwa Chihana

Chihana was arrested when he stepped off a plane from Johannesburg at Lilongwe Airport on Monday. Five trade unionists and United Front for Multiparty Democracy officials were also arrested. Chihana was returning from a four-week international tour to canvass support for the front

SA ambassador to Malawi Hugh Stroebel said yesterday SA would not take any action that might be construed as interference in Malawi's domestic affairs. "Our view is that even though we're busy democratising in SA, we can't interfere in Malawi's internal affairs and can't be prescriptive in any way regarding how they

(170)
LINDEN BIRNS

(the Malawi government) handle these issues," he said.

The US and UK governments have called for Chihana's immediate release and for an urgent redress of Malawi's human rights record.

Last month there was a UK-initiated EC demarche to President Kamuzu Banda which made it clear the EC disapproved of Malawi's poor record of government, including human rights. This followed the UK's decision last year to cut its aid to Malawi from £10m to £5m.

The demarche also protested against Banda's heavy-handed reaction to a group

□ To Page 2

Malawi

B/10 am 10/4/92
of Roman Catholic bishops who published a letter last month denouncing "corruption and nepotism" in government and attacking its human rights record

The bishops were later interrogated by Malawian police and their printing press destroyed in an arson attack. Malawi's only university was closed after students voiced their support for the letter.

Sapa reports from Harare that the Malawi government said yesterday its relations with the Roman Catholic Church were "back to normal". Talks between a special Vatican envoy and Banda had removed the "tension" created by the publication of the letter.

Catholic officials in Lilongwe were unavailable for comment.

Before his return home, Chihana said that if the SA government was committed to democratisation, it should at least be vocal in its support for a multiparty democracy campaign in other southern Afri-

can states

Stroebel said SA did not agree with this and declined to comment on the argument that SA's lack of action was to show gratitude for Malawi's support and open trade with SA during the apartheid years.

Meanwhile, Safto warned yesterday that unless the Malawi government improved its human rights record and achieved political stability, trade and investment from SA could start to dry up.

Safto's foreign investment expert Andrew Maggs said although Malawi was not a priority market, businessmen would nonetheless shy away from it because of the reports of political discontent.

He said Malawi relied on tobacco and tea exports for most of its forex income. It imported capital equipment and spares, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, agricultural equipment, computer software and a wide range of consumer goods from SA.

● Comment: Page 8

(170) □ From Page 1

Malawi is fast approaching the end of the Banda era, writes Colin Legum

Rising tide against a dictator

STAN 10/4/92 (170)

MALAWI, usually regarded as an oasis of political stability in south-central Africa, has begun to show all the usual symptoms of a country approaching the end of a long-standing autocratic regime

Life-President Dr H Kamuzu Banda, now in his late eighties, has ruled the country with an iron fist since independence 29 years ago. While his concentration on the rural economy has much to commend it, his ruthless dictatorial methods have left the country without a credible alternative once he passes from the scene.

One by one, all the Malawian leaders who criticised Banda's policies have been killed, imprisoned or forced to flee into exile. Only two remain his trusted lieutenant, John Tembo, and his live-in companion, Cecilia Kadzamura. Neither enjoys independent political support and both have incurred the unpopularity of being too close to the now widely-discredited president for life.

Despite the cruel fate that has overtaken so many of Banda's critics in the past — a number have been killed, others have been given life sentences in prisons notorious for their record of torture, and many have sought sanctuary abroad — political protest has become more open.

When Banda recently opened his parliament in the capital, Lilongwe, hundreds of students from the university demonstrated with placards calling for the introduction of a multi-party system. Their protest was broken up and the university closed down.

The biggest blow to Banda's declining prestige was delivered by the country's eight Catholic bishops who issued a pastoral letter to be read in churches in which they said they could no longer ignore the Malawian people's "experience of unfairness and injustice" which forced them to live in circumstances incompatible with the sons and daughters of God.

In style typical of his rule, Banda had all the bishops (six Malawians and two Europeans) arrested and interrogated for hours

before they were released. Thereafter, Banda warned with characteristic language that any opponent of the regime who attempted to enter the country from abroad would be "fed to the crocodiles".

The bishops were promised support by the Catholic bishops of neighbouring Zambia and by the Zambian Episcopal Conference. Even the influential Church of Scotland, of which Banda is a member, voiced their criticism of him and pointed out that, contrary to his claim, he was not an elder of the church.

In recent months, Banda has continued his usual practice of dismissing prominent officials of his ruling party once their influence appeared to be growing. One of the more recent victims was Standford Demba, the former Minister of Natural Resources. He was dismissed after speaking up in favour of a multi-party system, believing that Banda had given a green light for public discussion on the issue. He died soon after his dismissal and is believed to have been poisoned.

Five exile movements have formed a United Front Multi-Party Democracy (UFMD) under the chairmanship of 61-year-old George Kanyama, who has lived in exile since 1967. The members of the UFMD are the Socialist League of Malawi, the Malawi Freedom Movement, the Malawi Democratic Union, the Congress for the Second Republic, and the London-based Malawi People's Party. None has been on friendly terms in the past.

The UFMD has called on Malawi's Western-aid donors to halt all aid to the country, insisting that they should apply their principle of refusing to help undemocratic regimes as they have done in the case of Kenya, Mozambique, Angola and other countries.

The Western countries, particularly Britain, which have in the past been warm supporters of Banda, have now begun to change their attitudes following critical reports by Amnesty International and World Watch of widespread abuses of human rights in Malawi.

Earlier this year, after German

many threatened to halve its aid, Banda responded by releasing two political prisoners — the neurosurgeon George Mafu and the poet Jack Mapanje.

The European Community Development Ministers also agreed to set strict political and human rights conditions for aid recipients. Most ominous for Banda was a change of attitude by Britain, whose Minister for Overseas Development, Lynda Chalker, declared her government had informed Malawi that it expected greater political freedom and respect for human rights.

So far, though, Banda has shown no greater willingness to respond to these pressures. He has refused to consider an offer by the UFMD to hold political talks with him to discuss the repeal of the one-party constitution, the release of all political prisoners, and amnesty for exiles.

A recent meeting of political exiles, held in Lusaka, was opened by Zambia's Minister of Legal Affairs, Roger Chonwe, a prominent human rights lawyer. Those who attended the meeting included Professor David Rubadiri, a respected academic teaching in Botswana, Victor Ndhori, a prominent journalist who was detained for a time, Mapopo Chipeta, another academic teaching in Zambia, Edward Bwanali, a former Minister with considerable influence in the south of Malawi, and Chakutwa Chibene, the secretary-general of the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council, who is himself based in Malawi.

Mr Chibene, who has close connections with Zambia's president, Frederick Chiluba, is seen as a key figure in the opposition to Banda.

Little change is expected in Malawi before Banda's death or until he becomes totally incapacitated. He has already suffered a stroke and shows signs of speech and other difficulties. The joker in the pack is Malawi's small but strong army which may be expected to try and hold the fort during the struggle for power after Banda's departure. □

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No SA help for jailed Malawi campaigner

(170)

CR 10/2/92

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa has refused to support US and EC demands that Malawi release democracy campaigner Mr Chikufwa Chihana.

Mr Chihana was arrested when he stepped off a plane from Johannesburg at Lilongwe Airport. Five other trade unionists and United Front for Multi-party Democracy officials were also arrested.

Mr Chihana was returning after a four-week international tour to canvass support for the front.

SA ambassador to Malawi Mr Hugh Stroebel said yesterday SA would not take any action that might be construed as interference in Malawi's domestic affairs.

Enigmatic, ageing 1

STAR 11/4/92

LONDON — "His autocracy precludes the designation of an heir and he is nearly 60 years old"

The Times was pontificating worryingly that Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, one of Britain's closest allies in Africa, might soon die and precipitate a succession battle in Malawi

That was in 1964, the year of Malawi's independence. The Times need not have worried. Even though it got his age wrong — he was then nearly 70 — Banda was destined to remain in place for nearly another 30 years.

But now there is genuine cause for concern. Banda, now about 95 (though officially 87), barely holds the reins of government in Malawi, and a movement for political change has begun.

See editorial on Page 12

Accepting the need for democracy in Africa, Britain has cut aid. Malawi is suffering severe drought and its poor, agriculturally based economy is in deep recession. It is also a haven for more than a million Mozambican refugees — an eighth of the population.

Last month's pastoral letter from the country's Catholic bishops, complaining of corruption and a discrepancy between rich and poor, may have sparked a fire that will not be extinguished.

Banda's passing, however, will be more than the demise of just another African dictator in the wave of multiparty democracy that has swept across the continent. It will mark the defeat of the most extraordinary of all the men who ruled African countries in the first 30 years of their independence.

His route to power was, in many ways, the archetypal pattern of African independence. In the last years of British rule he returned to his country from exile, demanded a greater say for Africans, was jailed for allegedly inciting violence, then set free and invited to tea at Downing Street.

He took part in a conference at Lancaster House, secured an agreement with Britain, returned home in triumph, was swept to power in elections and was



LET'S DANCE Malawi's life President Hastings Banda dances joyously in this 1979 file photo. Today, the Mbumba, as the known, surround him whenever he appears in public, buoying his ego and protecting his person.

vindicated

After independence he turned on some of his former colleagues and locked them up. Almost a decade after being freely elected he declared himself president for life and suppressed all dissent.

But in other ways he had a different destiny, another life. He left his country as a young man, walked to South Africa, travelled to America and then on to Britain, seeking knowledge and Western education with an astonishing discipline and determination. He remained outside Malawi for more than 40 years.

He became a doctor and adopted a puritan Victorian persona. He is an elder of the Church of Scotland — which might help explain the letter from the Catholic bishops — and was a much-loved and fastidious doctor on Tyneside during World War 2.

He still keeps in touch

HASTINGS Banda started out life born to a small family, was a herdboys at age 12, walked first to Rhodesia, then South Africa, travelled to the US and Britain in search of education, and became a much-loved doctor before working untiringly for Malawi's independence. But 10 years later he put the seal on his dictatorship by making himself life president. RICHARD DOWDEN reports.

STAR 11/4/92

(170)

with that other world. He flies to London at least once a year and stays discreetly at Claridge's, often for a month. His British friends are torn between admiration for the shy, awkward but lovable man they once knew and horror at his emotional outbursts and the authoritarianism with which he has ruled his country.

First, the politics. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, LRCP and LRCS (Edin), LRFPS

(Glasgow), life president (paramount chief) of Malawi, minister of External Affairs, Defence, Justice, Agriculture, Works, Women and Children's Affairs and Community Services, is known to his people as *Ngwazi* (conqueror).

Banda came to power on one issue. After World War 2 the white rulers in Southern and Northern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe and Zambia, wanted to incorporate Nya-

saland into a federation. London gave way despite the wishes of the African people who repeatedly showed they wanted to remain separate.

In London backed by the Church of Scotland, Banda battled against federation and the white racism he felt it would bring to Malawi, giving precedence to white civil servants, white farmers and foreign interests.

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SA monitors Malawian rights abuses

(170) STARZ 11/4/92
HUMAN rights abuses in Malawi, particularly the arrest of activist Chakufwa Chihana, are being "monitored on a daily basis" by the South African Government, Gert Grobler, the Department of Foreign Affairs' chief director for southern Africa, said yesterday.

An international outcry has followed the arrest on Monday of Chihana as he stepped off a flight at Lilongwe Airport from Johannesburg. On Thursday Zambian riot police broke up an attempted protest by Uni-

**ESTHER WAUGH and
AFRICA NEWS SERVICE**

versity of Zambia students against his arrest.

Grobler said yesterday the South African Government was monitoring developments in Malawi daily.

The statement appears to repudiate one by the South African ambassador to Malawi, Hugh Stroebel, who was reported to have said South Africa would not take any action that might be construed as interference in

Malawi's domestic affairs.

It is, however, understood the Department of Foreign Affairs has not yet taken a final decision on the course of action against Malawi — one of the only African countries to trade openly with South Africa during the years of economic isolation.

The US and UK governments have called for the immediate release of Chihana.

● See report — Page 4
and editorial — Page
12

Malawi govt warned of people's revolt

STAR 14/4/92. (170)

LUSAKA — The United Front for Multi-Party Democracy in Malawi (UFMDM) has warned the government of life-president Dr Kamuzu Banda of a revolt by Malawian people should any harm come to detained pro-democracy activist Chikufwa Chihana.

UFMDM leader George Kanyanya said in Lusaka at the weekend the Malawian government risked a revolt should it decide to move Mr Chihana, who was arrested on his arrival in Lilongwe from South Africa last week.

"We are worried about why he (Dr Banda) should be hiding Mr Chihana," said Mr Kanyanya, who reiterated that advo-



Dr Kamuzu Banda . . . urged to release activist.

cates of democracy in Malawi and elsewhere were calling on the Malawian government to release the political activist

Diplomatic sources in Harare said that Mr Chihana, chairman of a committee formed to campaign for multiparty democra-

cy in Malawi, had been moved from the prison detention camp in Lilongwe to some unknown destination

Meanwhile, Mr Kanyanya described as "uncalled for" charges by Malawian High Commissioner to Zambia Dr Lemson Chitsamba that the media were campaigning against his government

Dr Chitsamba told newsmen, following demonstrations outside the Malawi High Commission in Lusaka by more than 500 University of Zambia students last week, that the media were perpetrating false allegations of human rights abuses in his country.

Mr Kanyanya said Malawi's human rights record was an open secret. — Sapa

Malawian activist is 'alive and well'

By Hans-Peter Bakker
Star Africa Service

Malawi's acting ambassador to South Africa, Percy Kachipande, has given the assurance that detained trade union leader Chakufwa Chihana is "alive and well".

Mr. Kachibande said he met with South African Foreign Affairs officials yesterday morning to "discuss the issue", but he refused to give details of the meeting.

Fears for the safety of the 52-year-old dissident leader are growing as the second week of his imprisonment in a Malawian jail draws to a close.

Mr Chihana was arrested in Lilongwe as he stepped off the plane from Johannesburg on Monday last week.

British and American officials have appealed to the government of President Kamuzu Banda to release him.

Mr Kachipande said his office had received no details from his government about Mr Chihana's imprisonment.

He confirmed, however, that Mr Chihana was being held.

Asked on what charges, Mr Kachibande said: "On no specific charges."

"No charges have been laid yet."

Asked if Mr Chihana was still alive and well, Mr Kachibande said "Of course, very much alive and well."

He described news reports on the arrest of Mr Chihana and on human rights abuses in Malawi as "incorrect" and "trash" and said that his office would issue a strong rebuttal of the allegations tomorrow.

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STAR 15/4/92.

Kid-glove treatment for Malawi's 'rebel'

(170)

16/4 - 23/4/92

MALAWI'S detention of opposition leader Chakufwa Chihana has caused outrage in neighbouring countries and considerable concern among the country's Western aid donors

As a result, the Malawian government appears to be exercising unusual caution. According to Chihana's lawyer, Michale Mahango, he has not been mistreated since his detention on April 6. Chihana has not yet been charged, but government sources have indicated that sedition charges will be filed against him. Mahango says it is possible he could be released on bail within two weeks.

Such adherence to legal procedure is highly unusual in Malawi, where the mere suspicion of criticism of Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda and his regime has resulted in the detention without trial of hundreds of

Outrage over the detention of Malawi's opposition leader has led to extraordinary official restraint and public support

By ANDREW MELDRUM

people. Numerous cases of harsh prison treatment, including beatings, torture and starvation, have been documented over the years by Amnesty International and Africa Watch.

In an angry protest at Chihana's arrest, Zambians and exiled Malawians demonstrated for two days outside the offices of the Malawian High Commission in Lusaka. They demanded Chihana's release and an end to Malawi's one-party rule.

Western governments have issued

public and private statements of concern over Chihana's well-being, and Amnesty International and Africa Watch are following his case very closely.

After Chihana's arrest, there were fears that anyone connected to him would be victimised. This was exacerbated by the 24-hour detention of the staff at Chihana's office, the Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council.

But Mahango says he has not been harassed by security officials and has received encouragement and help from the Malawi Law Society. He has also heard from many well-wishers who said they were praying for Chihana.

This may seem mild support, but it must be borne in mind that it is extremely unusual for Malawians to make any sign of sympathy with a person who has been detained by the government, for fear of being detained themselves.

Mahango says his main complaint at the moment is that the government press repeatedly refers to Chihana as a rebel. He points out that Chihana has not been tried or found by the courts to have broken any Malawian law.

Meanwhile, Banda's reaction has been as crafty as ever. He announced over the national radio and in the daily newspaper that he had received an apology from the Catholic Church for the letter in which Malawi's eight bishops strongly criticised the government last month. But Catholic officials maintain that a papal envoy who met Banda last week merely expressed the hope that the bishops' letter would not get in the way of good working relations between the government and the church.

It appears Banda's claim that he received an apology was intended to convince Malawians that no one could get away with openly challenging his regime.



Chakufwa Chihana ... Western governments and human-rights groups are following his case very closely
Photo AP

Banda confronts church on reform

STAR 20/4/92

170

HARARE — Malawi's aged President Kamuzu Banda has confronted the powerful Roman Catholic church in an Easter showdown as pressure builds for an end to 28 years of autocratic rule

Police ordered Irish Bishop John Roche from the pulpit of his church at Mzimba in northern Malawi during Good Friday mass and told him to leave the country within 24 hours

Bishop Roche, apostolic administrator for the church in Malawi, was one of seven bishops and an auxiliary bishop to issue a pastoral letter in March criticising Mr Banda's government for its human rights record and calling for democratic reforms

He crossed on Saturday into Zambia, where fears were expressed for the safety of the other Catholic church leaders

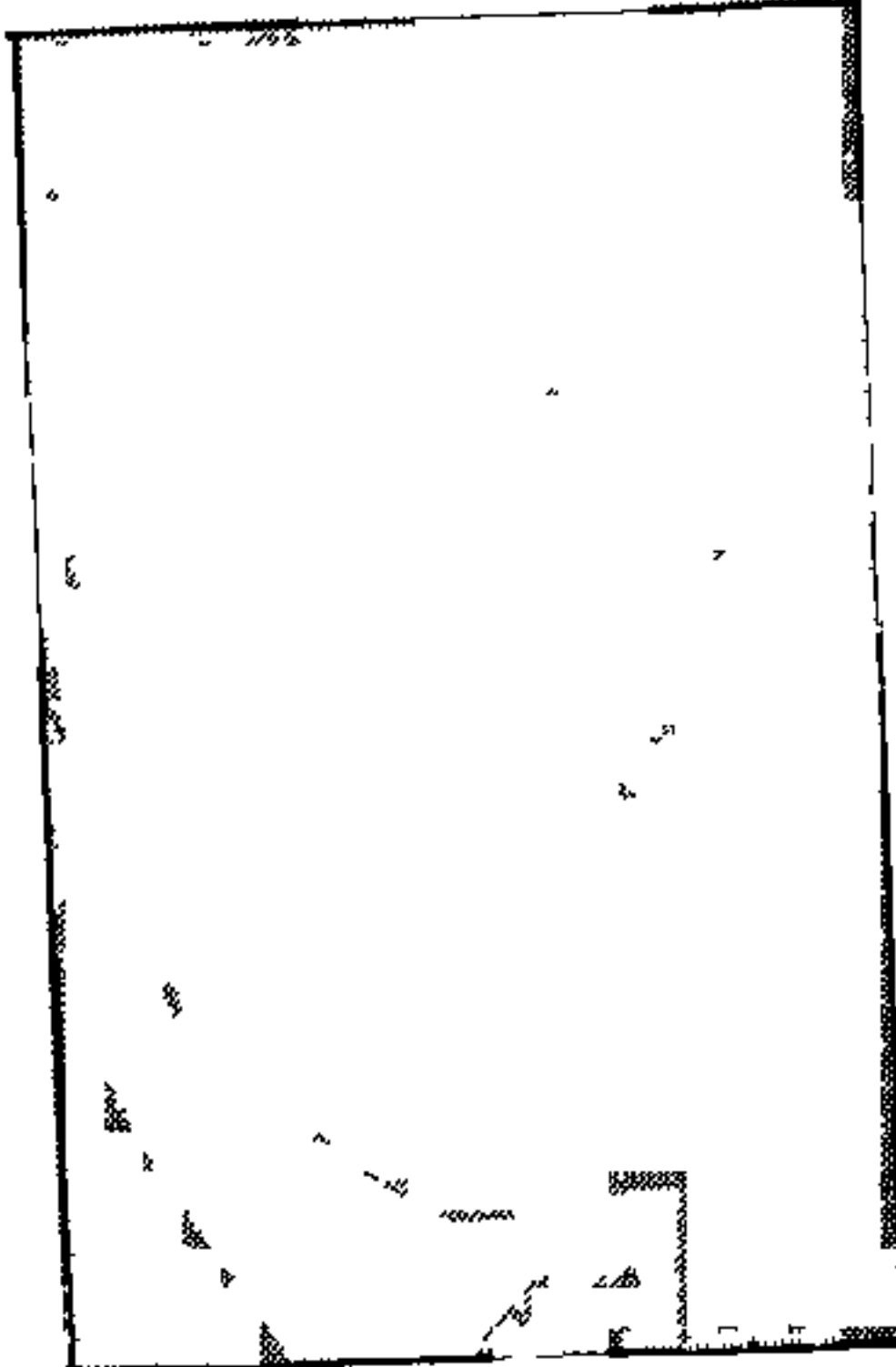
"I think that the church was rather shocked by the speed of things," one senior Western diplomat said yesterday

The winds of democracy sweeping Africa have so far battered in vain against the wall of autocracy around Malawi. But pressure is building for change

Mr Banda, declared life president in 1971, has ruled with an iron fist since independence in 1964. He trained as a medical doctor in the United States and Scotland and was ordained an elder in the Church of Scotland

But he is now in his 90s and looking frail — he tripped and fell publicly during the Commonwealth heads of government conference last year

Mapapa Chipeta, spokesman for Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance in Malawi



Kamuzu Banda pressure mounts for an end to his rule

formed in Lusaka last month, said the committee believed Bishop Roche's deportation had been initiated by John Tembo, minister of state in the office of the president and Mr Banda's right-hand man

Diplomatic sources said the action against the church could be part of a battle to ensure the succession by Mr Tembo, possibly backed by Mr Banda's official hostess, Mama Tamanda Kadzamira

Mr Banda himself has refused to groom a successor and the topic is banned in Malawi

The Roman Catholic church has been in the forefront in calling for democracy — prompting Mr Banda to warn churchmen to stay out of politics

The chairman of the Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance, trade union leader Chafukwa Chihana (51) returned

to Malawi on April 6 despite fears that he would be arrested

Already well acquainted with Malawi's prison system, he was detained by police on his arrival at Lilongwe airport and is reported to be held in the capital's jail, despite Western protests

Western diplomats said a major showdown with Malawi could come next month at a meeting with donor countries

A diplomat said the European Community had made it clear late last year "that some progress (on human rights and democracy) would be expected and would have some bearing on the meeting"

While donors will undoubtedly take humanitarian issues into consideration, Malawi can expect a squeeze by the international community to get it to live up to international commitments — such as the African charter on human rights it signed in 1990 and October's Commonwealth declaration on good governance

Mr Banda can also expect little sympathy from most African leaders — he maintained diplomatic relations with South Africa, for example, throughout the apartheid period

Zambian Justice Minister Roger Chongwe, president of the African Bar Association and a member of the London-based human rights organisation Amnesty International, accused Malawi last month of having lacked sincerity in signing the African human rights charter

But he added that demands for greater democracy and freedom sweeping Africa would not bypass Malawi "Political liberation will come to that country earlier than most of us anticipate" — Sapa-Reuter

MALAWI. — The government deported a Roman Catholic bishop this weekend for criticising Malawi's human rights record — the latest clash between the church and state, the Archbishop of Malawi, James Chiona, said.

Irish-born Bishop John Roche was delivering a Good Friday mass when police handed him an order giving him 24 hours to leave the country.

He was the first clergyman deported since 1964 when President Hastings Banda kicked out all foreign Jehovah's Witnesses churchmen, although Bishop Roche said another priest's visa was cancelled last week.

Bishop Roche, apostolic administrator for the church in Malawi, was one of seven bishops and an auxiliary bishop who signed and distributed 16 000 copies of a letter on March 8 accusing Malawi's government of human rights abuses and calling for

Banda deports RC bishop

(176)
CT 20/4/92

democracy in the one-party state.

Mr Mapapa Chipeta, spokesman for the Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance in Malawi — formed in Lusaka last month — said the committee believed Bishop Roche's deportation had been initiated by Mr John Tembo, Minister of State and President Banda's right-hand man.

"I am very sad and very fearful for the other expatriate fathers and bishops here, and even for my own life," Archbishop of Malawi James Chiona said in a telephone interview from Lusaka

The winds of democracy sweeping Africa have so far battered in vain against the wall of autocracy around Malawi. But pressure is building for change within the small central African state of 8.5 million people — Sapa-Reuter

'Plot to murder Malawi bishops'

STAR 2/14/92

(170)

LUSAKA — Top ruling Malawi Congress Party leaders plotted to kill the eight Malawi bishops who published a pastoral letter on March 8 condemning president Hastings Kamuzu Banda's government, say Zambian news reports.

They quoted a secret document smuggled out of Malawi and made available to the Catholic Secretariat in Lusaka and the Catholic Africa News Bulletin, which contains details.

The killings were to be

carried out unofficially and the two non-Malawian bishops were to be expelled. One bishop, Monsignor John Roche had already been expelled and was now in Chipata, Zambia, the report said.

— Sapa

Correspondent released 170

Blom 23/4/92
HARARE — A part-time Reuter correspondent in Malawi had been released after nearly four months in detention, diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The sources in the Malawian capital, Lilongwe, told Reuters that Simon Mhone had been freed from prison on April 13 and that his family reported he was well.

The Malawi government gave no reason for his detention and never announced any charges against him.

Mhone was picked arrested following a report about the opening of parliament. — Sapa- Reuter.

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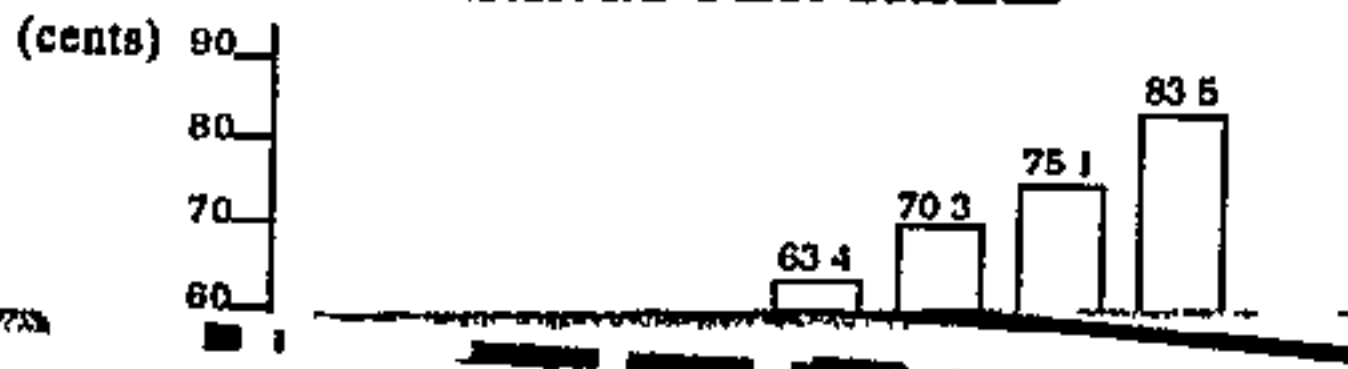
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Ousted bishop undermined Church-State relations, says Malawi

STAR 25/4/92

(170)

HARARE — A Catholic bishop ordered out of the pulpit in mid-service on Good Friday and told to leave Malawi was undermining Church-State relations, a government spokesman said yesterday.

"He knows very well why he was deported from Malawi. If he is sincere, he will tell his audiences what activi-

ties he was involved in, which were virtually undermining the understanding that was reached between the State and the Catholic Church," the spokesman said, according to the State-run Mana news agency.

"Those expatriate Catholic bishops that continue to obey the law of the land have nothing to fear," said the spokesman in the first official comment since the expulsion of Irish-born Monsignor John Roche, head of the Mzuzu diocese in northern Malawi.

Roche was a signatory to a pastoral letter circulated by the country's Catholic bishops last month, which strongly criticised the human rights record of President Hastings Kamuzu Banda's government and called for greater freedoms.

The letter was declared seditious. Subsequently a papal envoy flew into Malawi to patch up relations and the Malawian authorities reported that relations with the Catholic Church had been normalised.

The spokesman also vehemently denied reports that senior members of the ruling Malawi Congress Party had proposed that the bishops be killed, labelling them "malicious fabrications".

After the letter was published, a veteran Malawian trade unionist, Chafukwa Chihana, was mandated by fellow opposition leaders meeting in Zambia to return to Malawi and begin organising a national conference on democracy.

Chihana was arrested almost the moment he stepped off the plane on April 6 and is thought likely to be charged with sedition.

He has been tortured in the past for his opposition to the regime of Banda.

"Judge orders Malawi to try unionist

LILONGWE — A Malawian judge has ordered the government to bring to trial detained labour leader Chakufwa Chihana today and to explain why he is being jailed without charge, diplomats say.

Chihana, secretary-general of the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council, was arrested on April 6 after returning from a meeting of Malawian dissidents in neighbouring Zambia.

Chihana promised to organise a national conference on political reform in his country, where political opposition is illegal.

The government said recently he broke the law by attempting to form an organisation to oppose the authoritarian rule of

President Kamuzu Banda (170)

Judge James Kulale ruled yesterday that attorney-general J B Villeira should explain why Chihana was being held without charge or trial, a diplomat said.

Chihana has described Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party as "as a party of darkness and death" and has called for the ousting of Banda. *B/Daw 7/5/92*

Banda, who is in his 90's, has ruled the former British colony since independence in 1964. Western governments and human rights organisations have accused Banda's government of widescale human rights abuses — Sapa-AP

Discontent smoulders in warm heart

MALAWI, which likes to call itself "the warm heart of Africa", is experiencing what might be described as severe cardiac problems

In the latest of a series of setbacks to hit the beleaguered regime of President for Life Hastings Kamuzu Banda, wide spread unrest and looting has broken out in the country's two largest cities

A number of people are believed to have died in the unrest, which is the first since President Banda took office 28 years ago

The rioting was sparked, according to reliable sources, by an industrial dispute, with workers at one of the biggest concerns, the David Whitehead textile factory in Blantyre, dissatisfied with the pace of negotiations over wage increases. The civil service had already been granted increases ranging between 20 and 85 percent

Suggestions that a coup was imminent have recently been discounted on the grounds that both the police and army were still loyal to the president. The

STAR 8/5/92 (170)

Malawi has been described as the success story of Africa — but this has not come cheaply, writes HANS-PETER BAKKER of The Star Africa Service.

suggestions have nevertheless persisted. Observers pointed out that internal political discontent has been growing and may well have contributed to this week's unrest.

At the same time Malawi has been under growing pressure by Western donor nations to follow the path to multiparty democracy

Malawi has been described as a success story in the subcontinent. Where countries all around it have fallen into wars and been bankrupted by ill-conceived economic planning and corruption and weakened by tribal conflicts, Malawi has maintained a remarkably even keel

But the stability and success have not come cheaply

After independence from Britain in 1964, the enigmatic Dr Banda took power. He imposed one-party rule in 1971 and since then the once much-admired general practitioner has tolerat-

ed no opposition. Any who dared challenge him were either banished or jailed or were found mysteriously dead.

He is now old — believed to be about 93 — but his hold on power appears to be as strong as ever. Suspicions have been voiced that it has moved largely into the hands of his Minister of State John Tembo and the official hostess Cecilia Kadzamura, but this has been strongly denied by Sanjka Palace.

There has nevertheless been growing resistance to the firm rule he and his lieutenants exercise over the people of Malawi

Opposition groups have formed in exile, especially in newly democratised Zambia, and are orchestrating a campaign for freedom

In March this year an umbrella body, the Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance, was formed in Lusaka under the chairmanship of trade

unionist Chafukwa Chihana, who returned to Malawi only to be arrested at the airport

Also in March, Catholic bishops braved wrath by having a pastoral letter, condemning oppression and human rights abuses in Malawi, read in all the Catholic churches of the country

Monsignor John Roch, accused by the government of masterminding the letter, was expelled on 24 hours' notice and the other bishops were interrogated by the police

When students at the University of Malawi in Zomba demonstrated against the interrogation of the bishops, the university was closed.

In an angry attack on the Catholic Church, Dr Banda, who is an elder in the Church of Scotland, said he was "shocked to see that the very same bishops who had praised me to the sky, saying

they were praying for me, said the opposite two to three days later. That is double-crossing"

But more recently even the non-Catholic churches, through the Southern African Alliance of Reformed Churches, have come out in support of the bishops.

Dr Banda's government has justified its one-party rule by pointing to Malawi's relative prosperity and stability during a time when other African states went into bankruptcy and chaos. But increasingly it has had to rely on aid from Western donors, who for their part have become more critical of Malawi's human rights record. As they have done throughout the world, the Western donors have begun tying human rights strings to their assistance to Malawi, putting Dr Banda's government in a dilemma

Several political prisoners were released after Germany threatened to halve its aid

Like all autocratic regimes, the Banda government appears to be finding that the more concessions it makes, the more are demanded □



The new Mandela residence in Lower Houghton, for which the ANC paid R500 000.

Picture BRIAN HENDLER

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Transnet
B/day 8/5/92
fund invests
on JSE

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The Transnet Pension Fund would invest between R500m and R1bn on the stock market and about R500m in property development this year, MD Anton Moolman said yesterday

While R2bn was available for share investments and R800m for property investments, Moolman did not think the JSE and the property market had the capacity to absorb such large amounts of money. He said at end-March 1992 the pension fund had invested R300m in property and R3,3bn in shares

The aim was to have 55% of the fund invested in shares, 10% in property and 35% in cash and stocks

The actuarial shortfall of the fund was R8,5bn at end-March 1991. Strategies to address this shortfall included partially funding the fund by issuing it with Transnet stock, increasing contributions to the fund and channelling future profit into the fund

It would be possible to solve the problems of the pension fund by 2000

Moolman said it was unlikely that Transnet had made a profit in the year to end-March 1992 — the figures were still being audited — and had either broken even or made a slight loss. He expected difficult conditions this year

Number of jobs 'will shrink again this year'

B/day 8/5/92
LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Prospects for job seekers this year remain gloomy as employment in the non-agricultural sector is forecast to fall a further 0,9%, says Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research director Ockie Stuart in an analysis of economic trends

This follows last year's estimated drop of 2,1% in the number of jobs

The ability of the formal sector to absorb labour had declined from 97% in the sixties, to 72% in the seventies and to 22% in the eighties. Between 1985 and 1990 the level of absorption was 7%. Stuart forecast a growth of 0,8% in employment next year

"Consumer spending is forecast to recover rapidly from the fourth quarter of 1992, and to continue doing so during the remainder of the forecast period (the end of 1993)," Stuart said. He forecast an average growth rate of about 0,5% for 1992 and 4% in real terms for 1993

The upturn in world trade towards the end of the year would raise merchandise export earnings by about 12,3% in the second half of the year compared with the 4% in the first half, to give an average for 1992 of 8,8%. In 1993 export earnings were projected to grow by 22% as SA benefited from a rise in commodity prices

Prospects for gold were bleak, with an

average gold price of \$350,00 forecast for 1992 and \$375,00 for 1993. Net gold export earnings for 1992 could be 4,1% above last year while 1993 should see a growth of over 13% due mainly to the anticipated depreciation of the rand

A 7,6% depreciation of the rand against the dollar was predicted for this year and 4,6% for next year

Stuart forecast a substantially smaller surplus on the current account of the balance of payments of about R4,5bn due to the need to import maize

An average inflation rate of 14% was forecast for 1992 and 12,5% for 1993. Stuart said the estimated 14,5% increase in wages this year and 15,5% next year would contribute to the high inflation rate

An 8,4% average decline in durable goods expenditure was forecast for this year with a substantial recovery likely early next year. A significant recovery of semi-durable goods expenditure was projected for the last quarter of 1992

Real gross domestic fixed investment by the private sector, which showed a decline of 6,5% in 1991, is forecast to decline again this year. Next year, however, it should show an increase

Residents dismiss reports of Malawi coup

JONO WATERS

BUSINESSES in Malawi's commercial and industrial city Blantyre had been ransacked by discontented workers over the past two days, residents said yesterday

They said the looting was not politically inspired and reports of a coup in the country were incorrect. Sapa reported that diplomats in Malawi had said at least 10 people were killed in the unrest, which had spread to the capital Lilongwe. Stores belonging to President Hastings Banda were particularly targeted. *B/day 8/5/92*

The unrest was apparently triggered by a wage strike earlier in the week by about 3 000 textile workers at the David Whitehead and Sons factory. The situation worsened when thousands more workers took to the streets on Wednesday. *(170)*

The army set up roadblocks outside Blantyre and ordered workers to return home. Sporadic shooting was heard.

AFRICA BRIEFS

W/Mail 8/5-14/5/92
Police halt Harare student protests
ANTI-GOVERNMENT protests by thousands of rock-throwing students closed the University of Zimbabwe on Wednesday. Calls for the resignation of President Robert Mugabe and his entire cabinet, for the disbanding of Mugabe's ruling ZANU-PF party and for new democratic elections came from the crowd of students, estimated at 4 000. Hundreds of riot police prevented the students from marching into Harare's city centre where they intended to protest in front of the government offices. The police sealed off the university campus and fired rounds of teargas into the campus to disperse the students. The students planned to demonstrate for more financial grants from the government so the university departments could purchase more books and other teaching equipment. But when they were prevented by police from marching into Harare, the students became angry, started hurling rocks and shouting anti-government slogans.

W/Mail 8/5-14/5/92
Churches focus on Malawi
THE Southern Africa Alliance of the Reformed Churches urged the Malawi government to release people detained "for exercising their right of free expression". Meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, the leaders of the churches criticised the month-long detention of Malawian labour leader Chafukwa Chihana. A delegation from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches is planning to visit Malawi this month because of concern for "the distinct deterioration of human rights". Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda's government has been slated by Amnesty International and Africa Watch for mistreatment of political prisoners, but it appears that the international attention focused on Chafukwa Chihana is causing authorities to go by the book. Chihana was expected to appear in court this week and his lawyers would press the government to either lay charges or release him. It is believed the government will charge him with sedition.

W/Mail 8/5-14/5/92
Europe announces food aid to Africa
THE European Community is to provide food aid worth £154-million for African countries stricken by drought. Of the 800 000 tons of wheat to be purchased, some 680 000 tons is to be distributed in southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. Maize, beans and vegetable oil will also be supplied. Food relief aid will be handled by non-governmental organisations already in the field, including the Red Cross and the World Food Programme. EC officials in Brussels said that as soon as they made purchases on the world markets, particularly South American maize, shipments could begin within a week. The EC itself has a grain stock of about 18 million tons.

W/Mail 8/5-14/5/92
Sierra Leone calm with new leader
CALM has returned to Sierra Leone's capital, Freetown, following the military coup last week which toppled the seven-year rule of President Joseph Momoh. A governing council of military officers headed by Captain Valentine Strasser is currently ruling Sierra Leone. Strasser (27) was welcomed this week at a rally by crowds of thousands who greeted him as an example of young, dynamic leaders. As a result of looting and violence in Freetown after the coup, the United States airlifted its nationals out of the country while France evacuated its tourists by sea. It is expected the return to law and order will convince those countries to allow their nationals to return.

W/Mail 8/5-14/5/92
Food aid arrives in Mogadishu
IN a desperate attempt to stave off mass starvation in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, the distribution of emergency food aid has finally begun. A United Nations-chartered ship which docked in Mogadishu on Sunday off-loaded more than 5 000 tons of wheat. The International Committee of the Red Cross brought relief food ashore from a vessel anchored off Gezira Beach, south of Mogadishu. These food shipments are the first to reach Mogadishu since November, when serious fighting between rival factions forced the closure of the port.

Malawi calm after challenge to Banda

(170)

APG-8/5/92

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Malawi was reported quiet today after two days of rioting in Blantyre and Lilongwe that have left President Kamuzu Banda facing the most serious threat to his 28-year rule.

This year has seen a series of challenges to the virtually limitless powers of the 93-year-old patriarch and his two closest lieutenants, Mr John Tembo and Ms Cecilia Katzumira, culminating in the unrest that appears to have begun as an industrial dispute in Blantyre on Wednesday.

day, but spilt into the capital city Lilongwe where crowds went on the rampage after popular opposition leader Chakufwa Chihana had not appeared in court.

Unconfirmed reports have put the death toll in the disturbances at 38, but no official figures have been released.

Police have held running battles with the thousands of rioters in the two cities where eye witnesses said looting of Asian businesses and other stores has led to widespread destruction of property.

forms

Foreign journalists have not been allowed to enter Malawi since the disturbances began and are having to rely on indirect accounts of the situation.

The Associated Press reports that United States embassy officials are preparing contingency plans for the evacuation of the several hundred Americans in Malawi. Other diplomats are said to have made similar plans.

However, no further disturbances were reported in the country today.

Residents dismiss reports of Malawi coup

JONO WATERS

BUSINESSES in Malawi's commercial and industrial city Blantyre had been ransacked by discontented workers over the past two days, residents said yesterday.

They said the looting was not politically inspired and reports of a coup in the country were incorrect. Sapa reported that diplomats in Malawi had said at least 10 people were killed in the unrest, which had spread to the capital Lilongwe. Stores belonging to President Hastings Banda were particularly targeted. *Blantyre 8/15/92*

The unrest was apparently triggered by a wage strike earlier in the week by about 3 000 textile workers at the David Whitehead and Sons factory. The situation worsened when thousands more workers took to the streets on Wednesday. *(170) (8/15)*

The army set up roadblocks outside Blantyre and ordered workers to return home. Sporadic shooting was heard.

Riots and looting

Malawi (170)

Star Africa Service
Sapa and Reuter

In what may be the beginning of a popular uprising against the autocratic rule of President Hastings Banda, crowds have attacked shops and offices in Malawi associated with the government.

After workers at a textile factory in Blantyre began a rampage on Wednesday and looted shops, the disturbances spread yesterday to the capital Lilongwe.

A senior Western diplomat reached by telephone from South Africa said he understood that police figures showed 38 dead by yesterday morning at the start of a third day of unrest in Blantyre, as well as in Lilongwe. The envoy, who declined to be identified, stressed that the report was unconfirmed.

A spokesman for the Interim Committee of Democratic Alliance in Malawi said in Lusaka that eight people had died and more than 100 were arrested after a crowd of 3 000 marched to the High Court in Blantyre.

The headquarters of the ruling party are also reported to have been attacked.

There was no immediate indication of a military coup against the Banda regime, and the police and army appear not to have moved against the government.

Protesters are reportedly marching in protest at poor working conditions and the government's failure to put on trial the jailed opposition leader, Chakufwa Chihana.

However, diplomatic sources disputed assertions that the workers had marched to the High Court and that the march was politically inspired.

President Kamuzu Banda, (93) has ruled with an iron hand since Malawi's independence from Britain in 1964. He has outlawed political opposition, and human rights groups frequently have accused his government of torturing opponents. Dr Banda denies it.

Malawi radio, monitored in South Africa, reported at midday yesterday that police had issued a warning to "thugs, vandals and rogues" involved in unrest in the cities that "every measure possible" would be taken to restore order.

It is difficult for the outside world to know exactly what is happening, however, as the country is shrouded in secrecy and reporting is restricted. Information on the wave of unrest came mainly through telephone calls from neighbouring capitals.

South African ambassador to Malawi Josef Stroebel has dismissed as rumours reports that Malawi had undergone a coup yesterday.

Mr Stroebel said the embassy had advised South Africans living in the country to remain indoors and said their lives were not in danger at this stage.

● Discontent smoulders in warm heart — Page 15

Birthdays
44th anniversary

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By Guy Je

The then Court judge killer police officer Richard S in jail spend despair at release after

In May 1990 Justice G Shange, who was convicted for being a member of the Zulu Police force — for being a sympathiser in Kwana

1990

Edite



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38 dead in Malawi riots (170) CT8/5/92

LUSAKA — Police have shot 38 people dead and arrested more than 100 in unprecedented anti-government demonstrations and looting which continued for the second day yesterday in Malawi's biggest city Blantyre, and spread to the capital Lilongwe, western diplomats said

The demonstrations in the capital were sparked off by the high court trial of trade union leader Mr Chakufwa Chihana who was expected to be charged with sedition, diplomats said

Over 5 000 people gathered outside the

high court in downtown Lilongwe shouting "We want to see him who is brave"

Mr Chihana failed to appear Earlier, a court had ordered the government to bring him before a court and to explain why he was being detained

The trade union leader was arrested on April 6 when he landed at Lilongwe's Kamuzu International Airport and began reading a speech to inaugurate Malawi's first pro-democracy alliance in nearly 30 years of one-party rule by self-declared

life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda

Meanwhile, in Blantyre diplomats said the continued looting was clearly aimed at the government as all supermarkets belonging to the company owned by President Banda have been looted

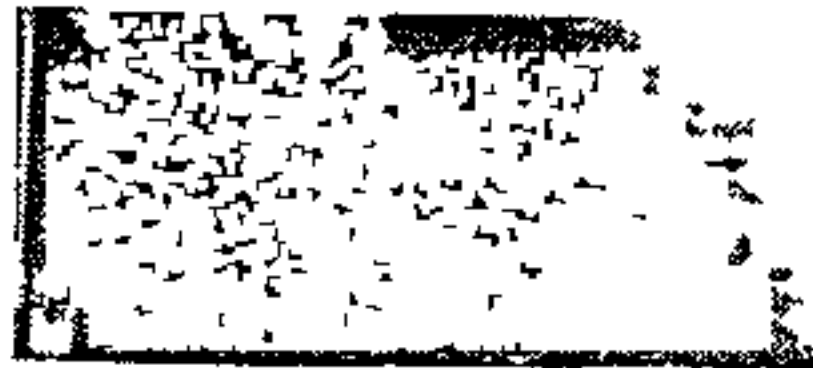
South African ambassador to Malawi Mr Josef Stroebel dismissed as rumours reports that Malawi had undergone a coup yesterday

He also denied reports that the presidential palace had been surrounded — Daily Telegraph, Sapa-AP

Mandela moves to Houghton

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC had paid more than R500 000 for a plush Johannesburg home for its president Mr



polishing the floor and upstairs windows. Others were touching up the paintwork. At the front gate is what appears to be a normal interior, but closer inspection


38 Killed in Malawi Riots

(170)


Sowetan 8/5/92

DP invades Soweto

DEMOCRATIC PARTY



Join us



AT LEAST 38 people have been reported killed in Malawi rioting, a senior Western diplomat said from the capital Lilongwe yesterday.

The diplomat said he understood police figures had shown 38 dead by yesterday morning after two days of disturbances. However, he said the report was unconfirmed.

He dismissed rumours of a coup attempt against President Kamuzu Banda. More than 100 people were arrested as demonstrators looted stores and clashed with police

for a second day yesterday.

Diplomats in the country said the unprecedented unrest in Blantyre and Lilongwe was sparked by the detention of trade union leader Mr Chakufwa Chihana, a political activist detained without charge a month ago.

More than 5 000 people waited outside the courthouse in Lilongwe, where Chihana was due to appear yesterday. "We want to see him who is brave," they shouted.

When Chihana was not brought to court, angry crowds ran alongside the car of defence attorney Mr Bazuka Mhango and Chihana's wife, jeering

To page 2

38 killed in Malawi

From page 1

and booing Banda's authoritarian government

The mob ran into the city's main market, looting stores, overturning cars, and battling with police, witnesses said

There was a rumour that a coup had taken place, but British and American diplomats said it was not true

Banda has dominated Malawi since leading the country to independence in 1964. He declared himself president for life in 1971 and outlawed political opposition

In Blantyre, all shops and banks were closed following Wednesday's clashes between police and demonstrators

Stores in the People's Trading Centre, which is controlled by Banda, were extensively looted. The headquarters of his Malawi Congress Party were burned to the ground

Soldiers have surrounded the presidential palace in Blantyre, diplomats said - Sapa-Reuter-AP

Riots rock

Malawi (170)

W/Mail 8/5 - 14/5/92

AT least 38 people have been reported killed in rioting in Malawi, a senior diplomat contacted by telephone in the capital Lilongwe said yesterday.

The Western envoy said he understood police figures showed 38 dead by Thursday morning after two days of disturbances. He stressed the report was unconfirmed and said peace appeared to have been restored by yesterday afternoon. The diplomat, who declined to be identified, dismissed rumours of a coup attempt against life President Kamuzu Banda. "There is no evidence of a coup. Our contacts with the government are normal," he said.

Residents contacted by telephone from neighbouring Zambia reported police opened fire on demonstrators for a second day yesterday.

Diplomats reported widespread damage as unrest spread from Blantyre to Lilongwe, and said in Blantyre all shops were closed after demonstrators went on a looting spree.

Sapa-Reuter

Banda pleads for riots to end

MELINDA HAM

LUSAKA — Malawi's president yesterday pleaded for an end to anti-government riots that have killed at least 38 people, but new unrest was reported in the capital.

Western diplomats said several hundred tobacco workers went on strike yesterday in the capital, Lilongwe, and clashed with police. The diplomats, speaking on condition of anonymity, said there were no immediate reports of injuries or arrests.

Quavering voice

Riots broke out on Wednesday in the southern city of Blantyre and spread to Lilongwe, 250 km north, on Thursday. Hospital officials and diplomats, reached by telephone from Zambia and Zimbabwe, reported 38 deaths and hundreds of injuries. Even the

New unrest
breaks out, ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾
STAR 9/15/92 -
death toll 38

state radio confirmed 36 deaths

In a quavering voice, President Kamuzu Banda appealed for an end to the unprecedented show of anger at his strict rule

"Let us behave like ladies and gentlemen and refrain from damaging property," he said in a nationwide radio broadcast monitored in Zambia. "Let us resolve our problems without any loss of life."

Banda, speaking from his heavily guarded palace in Blantyre, said grievances could be resolved quickly and peacefully. Diplomats said he was in control but appeared willing to resolve labor disputes.

"He's not bowing to demands

for political change," one diplomat said. "But he's defused the powder-keg by promising to sort out wage problems."

Banda has led Malawi since it became independent from Britain in 1964. He declared himself president for life 20 years ago, outlawed political opposition, and passed laws reflecting his puritanical views. Miniskirts are outlawed, as is long hair on men. There is no television, and movies are strictly censored.

Since independence, government opponents have died, been detained or driven into exile, allegedly on Banda's orders. The president has denied such charges.

Textile workers

Textile workers in Blantyre went on strike after receiving pay increases of 8 percent, compared with the inflation rate of 16 percent. Their strike quickly drew support from other workers, and it ballooned into protests demanding political reforms.

Police shot at demonstrators, diplomats and witnesses said.

Similar clashes occurred Thursday in Lilongwe when detained labour leader Chakufwa Chihana failed to appear in court to face charges of sedition.

Opposition leaders in exile say Banda, who is believed to be in his 90s, is manipulated by his official hostess and constant companion, Cecelia Kadzamide, and her uncle, John Tembo, heir apparent to the president.

Tembo has denied political ambitions — Sapa-Associated Press

Once-calm Malawi on verge of chaos

S/Times 10/5/92

170

TWO countries of the former Federation of Rhodesian and Nyasaland teetered on the brink of political chaos this week as anti-government protesters fought running battles with paramilitary riot squads in the streets of Malawi and Zimbabwe.

President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi responded to the loss of at least 38 lives in Lilongwe, Blantyre and Limbe with all the ponderous dignity of his 93 years and Victorian origins. In a radio broadcast he appealed to Malawians wearied by nearly 30 years of one-party rule: "Let us behave like ladies and gentlemen"

Diplomats rejected sug-

From Michael Hartnack in Harare

gestions of a coup, but said that the perennially placid Malawians "had fire in their eyes" for the first time since Dr Banda's rise to power in 1962.

Malawi will come under strong pressure from Western donors in Paris tomorrow to improve its record on human rights and democracy, the diplomats said

The riots broke out on Tuesday over wage demands but took a political twist on Thursday when backers of detained trade unionist and pro-democra-

cy leader Chakufwa Chihana demonstrated outside a court where he was due to appear on sedition charges.

The failure of police to produce Mr Chihana, who was arrested on his return to Malawi last month, at the hearing increased the crowd's anger.

Closed

In Zimbabwe, students fought with police in Harare and Bulawayo. A number of organisations, including trade unions and opposition parties, have demanded the resignation of the government of President Robert Mugabe, 68, amid soaring prices and

food shortages partly caused by the drought

University authorities closed the University of Zimbabwe until May 17 after riots on Thursday

Students started boycotting classes on Wednesday, demanding a 45 per cent increase in annual grants and the dismissal of Higher Education Minister David Karimanzira. Students in Bulawayo also demonstrated.

Malawi to face music

MALAWI, where up to 38 people were killed this week in riots, will come under strong pressure from Western donors in Paris tomorrow to improve its record on human rights and democracy, diplomats said yesterday.

Malawi would be seeking aid commitments at a three-day World Bank meeting in Paris.

"Major donors have

made it absolutely clear that aid is now linked to human rights," said one senior Western diplomat.

"The donors are taking the human rights situation in Malawi very seriously," said another

The riots broke out on Tuesday over wage demands but took a political twist on Thursday when backers of detained trade unionist and pro-democ-

press 10/5/92
racy leader Chakufwa Chihana demonstrated outside a court where he was due to appear on sedition charges. (170)

The failure of police to produce Chihana, who was arrested on his return to Malawi last month, increased the crowd's anger.

Lilongwe and Blantyre were reported quiet yesterday, with shops open for business.

Malawian call to West

MALAWIAN opposition groups, accusing the government of brutality in riots which killed up to 38 people, called on Western nations yesterday to suspend aid (170)

The recently formed Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance (ICDA) in Malawi said in a statement in Lusaka it would send a representative to a key donors' meeting opening in Paris "to apprise donors of the political situation in Malawi"

BIDAY 11/5/92

Malawi rues riots where 38 died

170

Sowetan 11/5/92.

HARARE - Malawi's Trade and Industry Minister, speaking in the business centre of Blantyre, deplored rioting that killed up to 38 people and said the government wanted all grievances resolved peacefully.

Mr Dalton Katopola, whose remarks were carried by the Malawi state broadcasting corporation on Saturday, was one of a number of members of the ruling Malawi Congress Party who addressed meetings in the city and urged calm and respect for the law.

At one meeting, Katopola "deplored the banditry, looting and theft that took place during the week in the city of Blantyre saying this destroyed essential social amenities and facilities, apart from creating a state of insecurity," the radio said.

Katopola said Malawi's leaders wanted all grievances, "including those arising from incomes or working conditions", to be resolved peacefully.

The riots, which rocked Blantyre and the capital Lilongwe, broke out on Tuesday over wage demands but took a political twist on Thursday when backers of detained trade unionist and pro-democracy leader Mr Chakufwa Chihana demonstrated outside a court where he was due to appear on sedition charges.

The failure of police to produce Chihana, who was arrested upon his return to Malawi last month, increased the crowd's anger.

Lilongwe and Blantyre were reported quiet on Saturday, with shops open for business - Sapa-Reuter

New bid to free Malawian unionist

Bliday 12/5/92

(170)

LUSAKA — International trade unionists were in Malawi yesterday to seek the release of detained union leader and pro-democracy proponent Chihana, his lawyer said

The delegation from the Brussels-based International Confederation of Trade Unions (Ictu) included members from the US, Canada, Britain and Norway, lawyer Bazuka Mhango told Reuters

Mhango said he had not seen Chihana, 52, in spite of securing a High Court order that he be given access to his client after the state failed to produce him for a court hearing on Thursday on sedition charges

Mhango said he hoped the arrival of the Ictu team might help to apply pressure on the government to give him access to Chihana, who served seven years in jail in the '70s for speaking out against President Kamuzu Banda

Chihana was arrested on April 6 on his return from meetings with anti-government exiles in Zambia and SA. In Zambia, he was elected chairman of an Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance (ICDA) in Malawi

Chihana's absence from court last week politicised demonstrations which started out as wage protests

Rioting erupted on Tuesday over wage demands after last month's 15% devaluation of the kwacha

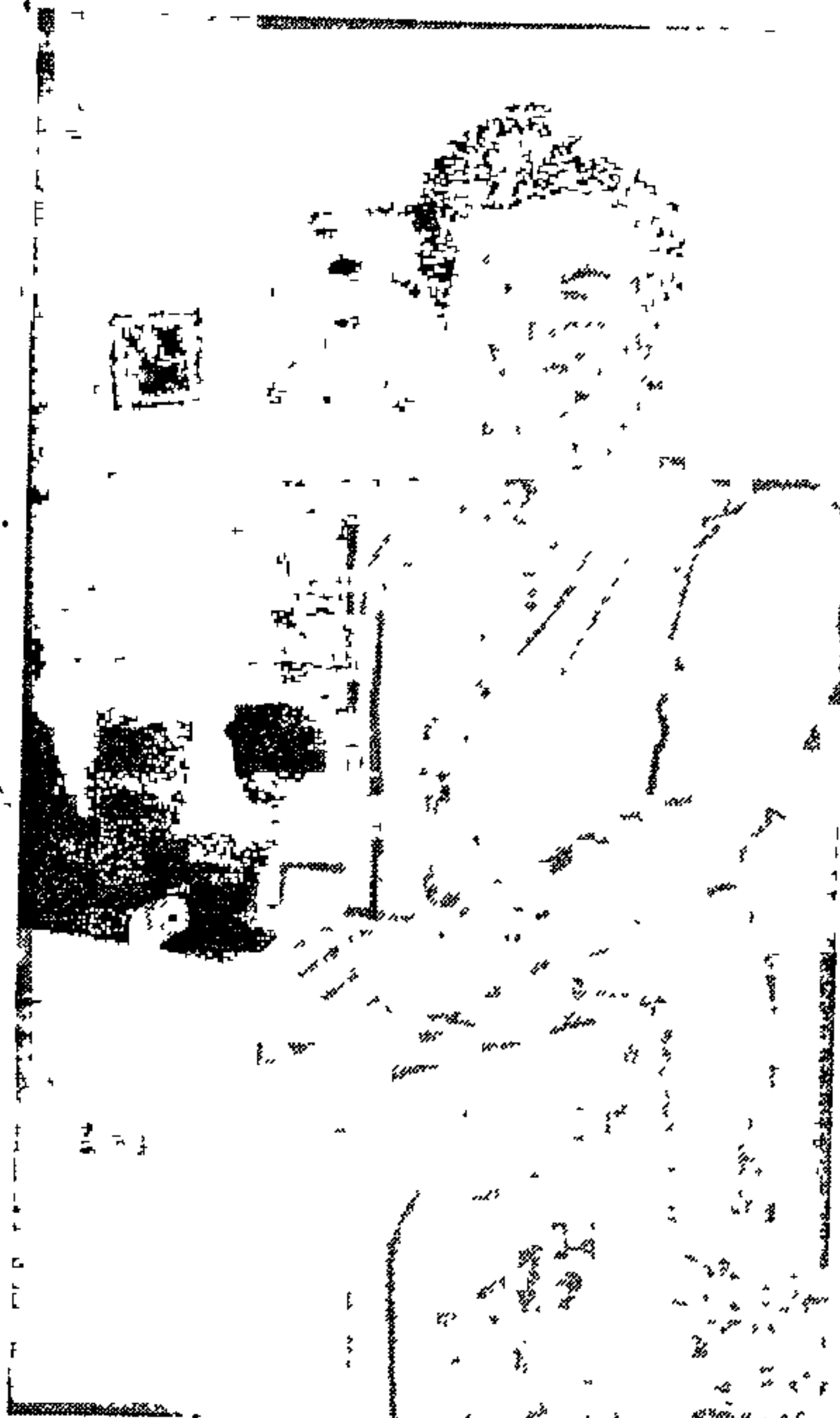
The official Malawi news agency said 22 people were killed in riots. Diplomats quoting officials put the death toll at 38. Opposition groups spoke of 88 killed. Trade and Industry Minister Dalton Katopola on Saturday deplored "the banditry, looting and theft". Katopola said essential social services had been destroyed in Blantyre

An umbrella group of anti-government Malawian exiles, the United Front for Multiparty Democracy (UFMD) which includes the ICDA, said in Lusaka on Saturday it was "dismayed and grieved at the brutality" of the government

The UFMD demanded the government produce Chihana to prove he was alive

"The people of Malawi rightly or wrongly believe that Chihana might have been fed to the crocodiles," it said, adding Banda had earlier pronounced that advocates of a multiparty system of government would be meat for crocodiles

Banda has ruled Malawi with an iron fist since independence from Britain in 1964 — Sapa-Reuter



Retiring Philippines President Corazon Aquino casts her vote in national elections yesterday. Defence chief Fidel Ramos and ex-judge Miriam Santiago appear to be the frontrunners for the presidency

Picture AP

SA concern for Malawi

THE South African Government, which is one of the oldest and closest friends of President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, is worried about last week's riots (170)

Pretoria's concern, say diplomatic sources, stems from a desire for stability in Southern Africa and support for the peaceful promotion of democracy *Sowetan 12/5/92*

South Africa's ambassador to Malawi, Mr George Stroebel, has been instructed to make Pretoria's views known to Malawi - *Sowetan Africa News Service*

Strikes spread to rural Malawi

LUSAKA — Unprecedented strikes spread to rural Malawi yesterday as police clashed with hundreds of workers at a tea estate

Thousands of workers at all major tea plantations continued their strike for better wages for the second day, according to managers interviewed by telephone from neighbouring Zambia

Yesterday strikers clashed with paramilitary police, but were dispersed with no injuries or arrests, sources said

Tea is land-locked Malawi's most profitable export after tobacco and farmworkers traditionally have formed the backbone of President Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party

A delegation from the International Confederation of Trade Unions met Minister of State Mr John Tembo yesterday in a bid to secure the release of the secretary-general of the Malawi-based Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordinating Congress, Mr Chafukwa Chihana.

Mr Chihana was arrested on April 6 when he returned to Malawi

When he failed to appear in court last week, some 5 000 supporters rampaged through the streets of Lilongwe — Sapa, Daily Telegraph

West cuts aid to Malawi over human rights record

B10am 1415792
HARARE — International trade unionists visited detained Malawian activist Chikufwa Chihana in Blantyre yesterday as Western donors froze most of their aid to Malawi over its human rights record

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Africa chief Andrew Kailembo said from Blantyre an ICFTU delegation had spent an hour with Chihana at a prison there

"He has lost weight but he looks okay. It seems he has not been molested"

Kailembo said charges against Chihana were being prepared and there was no indication when he would face trial

In Paris, Western donors attending a three-day World Bank meeting froze most of their 1992/93 aid to Malawi for six months because of its poor human rights record, participants said on Wednesday. However, humanitarian aid for drought and refugee relief would continue.

"Donors are seeking tangible and irreversible evidence of a basic transformation in the way Malawi approaches (basic freedoms and human rights)," the Bank said in a statement after the meeting

The governments agreed to review the resumption of aid as soon as "substantive progress" had been made

World Bank southern Africa head Stephen Denning said "If progress is made quicker this group (of donors) is ready to come back together . . ."

He said \$220m worth of projects already under way would go on. But donors refused to come up with the \$74m Malawi wanted for 1992

and 1993 for non-humanitarian projects

They pledged only \$170m out of the \$270m Malawi is estimated to need for drought relief and programmes to help about 1-million refugees from neighbouring Mozambique

Last week Malawi was rocked by riots when the government failed to produce Chihana for a scheduled court appearance

At least 22 people died in the demonstrations, which spread to the country's tea plantations this week. Tea is the second largest export after tobacco

Diplomats in Lilongwe said a tea factory was damaged in pay demonstrations on Tuesday. They said managers met yesterday to discuss the situation after giving workers three days' paid leave to help ease the confrontation

Riot police were used to disperse some demonstrators but no injuries were reported, sources in Malawi said

The ICFTU delegation, including members from the US, Canada and Britain, saw Chihana shortly after meeting President Kamuzu Banda, who has ruled Malawi with an iron fist since independence from Britain in 1964

"We are now satisfied and we have received assurances from President Banda that Chihana will get a fair trial, and he also assured us of his safety," said Chihana

Chihana, a top union leader and Malawi's Democratic Alliance interim committee chairman, was arrested on April 6 at Lilongwe airport on his return from meeting Malawian exiles in Zambia and SA — Sapa-Reuters

Aid to Malawi frozen ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

ET 14/5/92

HARARE. — Western donors have frozen most of their aid to Malawi after riots rocked the country last week and continued this week

Yesterday international trade unionists visited detained Malawian democracy activist Mr Chakufwa Chihana at a Blantyre prison for an hour

In Paris, Western donors at a three-day meeting with Malawian officials froze most of their 1992-93 aid to Malawi for six months because of its

poor human-rights record, participants said yesterday Humanitarian aid for drought and refugee relief would continue, however

Malawi was rocked last week by riots that started out as wage protests but became politicised when the government failed to produce Mr Chihana for a scheduled court appearance last Thursday

By official count, at least 22 people died — Sapa-Reuter

Few cheers as Banda celebrates birthday

STAR 1575192

(170)

By Hans-Peter Bakker
Star Africa Service

BLANTYRE — President Kamuzu Banda's birthday party was a decidedly quiet affair despite fears of further unrest following last week's spate of violence which left at least 39 people dead

The Malawian leader's birthday is a national holiday which usually attracts hundreds of thousands of people to the Blantyre celebrations

The streets of Blantyre were quiet. There were far fewer flags lining the route of his procession than usual and the large numbers of supporters lining the streets were absent

And the stadium, where more than 80 000 people can be seated, was virtually empty



Dr Hastings Banda . . . slurred during address.

The official reason given for the low attendance was that the public had been intimidated

But in a country where violent protests were unheard of until last week, the aftershock of the killings, together with grassroots dissatisfaction

with the ruling party, could have contributed to the low turnout

Dr Banda looked remarkably fit for his estimated 93 years. He was helped up and down stairs, but once on the level he walked fast, as if to prove that he was still the Ngwazi (conqueror or champion).

But his advanced age became more apparent when he spoke. His voice trembled and slurred as he struggled to form the words

He said he regretted the loss of lives and appealed for calm.

"Genuine complaints must be addressed in a peaceful manner. Where there is no peace and calm, no unity, there will be no happiness for anybody"

He added that the violence had been incited by forces from outside the country.

West's tough present to Banda

HARARE — Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda celebrated his official birthday yesterday, under international pressure to improve the human rights and democracy record of his country

Western donor nations announced in Paris on Wednesday they had cut off new non-humanitarian aid to Malawi, a country of 8.5-million people, until Banda's one-party government made "substantive progress" on human rights and democracy

One focus is the fate of democracy activist and trade union leader Chakufwa Chihana, who was arrested last month and is awaiting trial, probably on sedition charges

Banda, whose official age now is 86, was expected to attend the annual "Kamuzu Day" parade in Blantyre's 50 000-seat Kamuzu Sports Stadium, diplomats contacted by phone in

Blantyre said

Diplomats, who had driven from the capital Lilongwe, said the country appeared to be quiet after last week's riots in which at least 22 people died

Wage strikes spread to tea plantations, the railway and other sectors of the economy this week "The strikes continue to muddle on, but most employers would seem to be settling fairly fast," one diplomat said

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Africa desk chief Andrew Kailembo told a news conference in Lusaka on Wednesday night the Malawian government said it was raising the minimum wage to contain the situation

Kailembo visited Malawi as part of an ICFTU delegation pressing for the release of Chihana. It was clear the strikes were not spontaneous, he said "There is leadership in the strikes,

but they are still underground"

The ICFTU delegation saw Chihana in a Blantyre prison on Wednesday and told the Lusaka news conference he appeared to be "physically and mentally okay" The delegation, including members from the US, Canada, Britain, Norway and Africa, saw Chihana after a meeting with Banda on Wednesday

Chihana was arrested at Lilongwe airport on April 6 after he returned from meetings with Malawian exiles in Zambia and SA. While in Zambia he was elected chairman of an Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance in Malawi.

The government's defiance of a High Court order on Thursday last week to produce Chihana politicised wage demonstrations and fuelled some of the country's worst riots.— Sapa-Reuter.

No democracy, no money for Malawi

INTERNATIONAL trade unionists saw detained Malawian democracy activist Chakufwa Chihana in Blantyre this week as Western donors froze most of their aid to Malawi over its human rights record.

Andrew Kailembo, Africa department head of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), said an ICFTU delegation had spent an hour with the imprisoned Chihana.

"He has lost weight, but he looks okay. It seems he has not been assaulted," Kailembo said.

He said charges against Chihana were still being prepared and there was no indication of when he would face trial.

In Paris, Western donors at a three-day meeting with Malawian officials froze most of their 1992/93 aid to Malawi for six months because of its poor human rights record. However, humanitarian aid for drought and refugee relief would continue.

The country of 8.5 million people was rocked last week by riots that started out as wage protests but became politicised when the government failed to produce Chihana for a scheduled court appearance last week.

At least 22 people, by official count, died in the demonstrations which spread this week to the country's tea plantations.

The unofficial count was at least 38 casualties.

Diplomats in Lilongwe said a tea factory had been damaged in pay demonstrations this week. Managers gave workers three days' paid leave to help ease the confrontation. Riot police had been used to disperse some demonstrators but no injuries were reported, sources said.

The ICFTU delegation, including members from the United States, Canada, Britain and Norway, saw Chihana shortly after meeting President Kamuzu Banda, who has ruled Malawi with an iron fist since independence from Britain in 1964.

He said of the meeting with Banda: "We have received assurances from President Banda that Chihana will get a fair trial, and he also assured us of his safety."

Chihana, who is also a top African trade union leader, was arrested on April 6 at Lilongwe Airport on his return from meetings with Malawian exiles in Zambia and South Africa. In Zambia he was elected chairman of an Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance in Malawi.

Kailembo said Banda himself did not know the charges against Chihana. "The charges against Chihana are still being prepared," the unionist said. — Sapa-Reuter

My hands are clean, says Malawi's strongman

170

By HANS-PETER BAKKER,
Star Africa Service.

JOHAN TEMBO, the second most powerful man in Malawi and the person tipped to succeed President Kamuzu Banda, says he has no ambition to become the country's second president.

He denied the widespread belief that he has been groomed to succeed the ageing Dr Banda, who is now more than 90.

Mr Tembo, who has been de-

scribed as the Malawian strongman who makes those who fall foul of him disappear, denied in an interview that he had ever killed or ordered the death of anybody. He believed he had made enemies through his success in business and politics.

Mr Tembo attributed the recent rioting, which left at least 39 people dead, to dissatisfaction over wages rather than to anger at the government.

Witnesses claimed that Mr Tembo was singled out for abuse by the rioters.

"I think it is because I have

been around for a long time I remain the survivor of the original Cabinet after independence in 1964."

According to Mr Tembo, rebels from outside the country had on various occasions attacked the president, the government, official hostess Cecilia Kadzamura and several MPs.

After a rebellion against Dr Banda in the first year of independence, a number of Ministers who left the country went to neighbouring countries, particularly Zambia and Tanzania.

"Their major aim is to return to Malawi to take over the government," said Mr Tembo.

He believed that his appointment as Minister of State earlier this year frightened this opposition, who took it as confirmation that he was being groomed as the future leader.

The constitution required that "the people will elect their leader when the time comes".

Asked if he would support that leader, whoever it might be, Mr Tembo (whom some believe has the ability and power to stage a coup) said "Yes absolutely, absolutely."

Western powers are placing increasing pressure on Malawi to adopt a multiparty system and to clean up its human rights record, which recently came under renewed fire with the arrest of trade union leader Chakufwa Chihana and the unrest.

Last week they froze non-humanitarian aid for six months.

Mr Tembo said Mr Chihana, as Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council secretary-general, had abused his office to satisfy his political ambitions and had gone to Zambia to conspire with rebels to

overthrow the government.

Mr Tembo said neither Dr Banda nor himself intended to be pressured into changing what they considered to be the hitherto successful Malawian single-party recipe.

"Why change something that has worked so well for 30 years?"

He insisted Malawians were opposed to a multiparty system because they cherished peace and believed that "new experiments with various parties and various leaders would degenerate into more violence".

□

'A cop sold me out', says hostel inmate

Sowetan 21/5/92 (125)

A HOSTEL inmate was threatened with death after a white police officer sold him out to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The witness, who may not be named, said while

living at the hostel, several IFP leaders came to address the inmates. The leaders encouraged the hostel dwellers to fight African National Congress followers, especially because of attacks on IFP members in Tokoza at the time.

He said in 1990 he heard that a reward was being offered by the police for information on illegal weapons.

Later that year he went to Protea Police Station where he met Detective Warrant Officer Sjula Sithebe, who was in the firearms unit and who was involved in the reward offer.

"I was introduced to Captain Kruger and I gave him information about people who were in possession of firearms. Acting on this information the police went to the hostel and found the firearms, and I was paid for the information," he said.

He continued working for the police and attended several meetings at the hostel, some of which were addressed by Mr Themba Khoza, Transvaal youth leader of the IFP.

He said he continued reporting people with firearms, and arrests were made as a result of his information.

He also identified people who took part in attacks.

The witness said a number of meetings were held at which plans to attack train commuters at railway stations were discussed, and how the attacks were carried out.

He said that in November last year he was told by his cousin, who also lived at the hostel, that he was to be killed because he was a police informer. He escaped through a window.

Later he was told by his police contact that a Captain Vermaak had sold him out to the hostel dwellers.

He complained he was not paid the promised R10 000 for information about a train attack in June last year.

He said a further R30 000 reward for information on a train attack had still not been paid.

He said the main reason for the ongoing violence was that Zulus did not want to be ruled by Xhosas.

Economic pressure on Banda regime

By ANDREW MELDRUM

THE refusal of the World Bank and top Western donors to grant Malawi US\$74-million has added economic pressure to the political pressures facing President Hastings Kamuzu Banda's regime.

Last week's decision in Paris by the key donors to veto any new aid, except for humanitarian aid to Malawi's 1.2-million refugees and its drought-stricken population, comes as a bitter blow to Banda and Minister of State John Tembo, who is widely regarded as the country's real ruler.

For nearly 30 years the Banda government has relied on economic support from the Western powers and has been held up as one of Africa's most successful models of free-market economics. But in addition to growing international outrage about its abysmal human-rights record, the World Bank has recently slated its economy as being grossly distorted to squeeze wealth from rural peasants into the pockets of Banda, Tembo and a select group of cronies.

This skewed economic system has left Malawi with a rural population trapped in grinding poverty and with the world's highest child mor-

ality rate. According to the World Bank's 1992 *World Development Report*, the mortality rate for children under five averages 248 deaths per 1 000 births, compared to 204 in war-torn Mozambique, 89 in South Africa and 72 in Zimbabwe.

"Malawi is blessed with rich, fertile soil and, usually, abundant rains. The rural people should produce enough food to ensure they are well fed, at the very least," comments an international aid worker. "Instead, the farmers are forced to grow cash crops that are exported. Many do not produce enough food crops to support their families for a full year and as a result many rural Malawians go hungry a few months each year."

Malawi is one of Africa's least urbanised countries, with 88 percent of the population living in the rural areas. The tiny country is also one of Africa's most densely populated, meaning that each family has relatively small three to five hectare plots.

Rural life does not mean being free from politics as Banda's Malawi Congress Party (BCP) is built on a network of Women's Leagues and Pioneer Youth Leagues which reach into every

village. Very few Malawians are brave enough to refuse purchasing membership in the BCP, for which they must pay in cash. And whenever a BCP official visits an area, the residents are asked to give a cash donation.

In order to earn cash, the peasants grow tobacco, tea and cotton which they sell to Malawi's sole agricultural marketing corporation, owned by Banda. The company, Admarc, sets low prices for the commodities and then sells them at substantially higher market prices overseas.

The stranglehold monopoly which Admarc and Banda's industrial conglomerate, Press Holdings, have over the economy was criticised by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in the early 1980s. When Malawi began a structural adjustment programme, the international finance groups stated that the companies had to be separated from government policies and that Banda would have to divest himself of control of the companies.

But the wily president and his advisers managed to sidestep the finance institutions, and today Admarc is still widely understood to be owned by Banda and those closest to him.

A BEAUTIFUL young girl who should be wearing a school uniform rather than a sequinned dress walks into an hotel and heads for the bar

She orders a soft drink and sits alone, sipping her drink slowly. Eventually, a man will come up and offer to buy her another

Mita Sesa, 16, is a "freelancer", the local euphemism for prostitute

In Malawi, 69 percent of women are illiterate and Mita is one of them. "Freelancing" is the only way she can earn a living

According to official statistics, 31 percent of six-year-old girls are enrolled in schools here every year. Of these, only 15 percent finish lower primary

By Std 8, girls represent only 25 percent of the student population. This makes the drop-out rate a contributing factor to the high female illiteracy rate in Malawi

Young women "freelancers" are as depressing and stereotypical a feature of Malawi as the women who popularise Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda's regime

It would be difficult to say which is more oppressive for these women being forced to rent out their nubile bodies or having to wear the image of an unpopular tyrant across their maternal breasts and buttocks to keep in with the party

The dancing women are a common sight at Kamuzu International Airport in Lilongwe, the capital city, whenever Banda travels or meets a state guest. Large numbers of women, wearing chitenges (cloths) bearing Banda's portrait, turn out to dance and ululate enthusiastically

During the recent riots in Blantyre and Lilongwe, the cloth featuring Banda's face played a symbolic role

In Lilongwe, riots were sparked off by the non-appearance in court of trade union leader and pro-democracy activist Mr Chakufwa Chihana on May 7

Chihana had returned to Malawi on April 6 to announce the formation of the first pro-democracy alliance in 28 years of one-party rule under Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP)

He was arrested at the airport and denied access to his lawyer, Mr Bazuka Mhango, and his relatives. His non-appearance in court heightened fears that he had been killed and 5 000 of his supporters took to the streets looting shops, overturning cars and stripping women of the chitenges bearing Banda's portrait

In Blantyre, the demonstrations began the day before, when more

Malawi

Pop	7.4 m
Area	119,000 sq km
GNP per head	\$160
Life expectancy	45 yrs

Life President Banda

A nation's fury saved for whores, dancers

than 3 000 workers at the David Whitehead Textile Factory — which produces most of the colourful Malawian chitenges — went on strike to demand higher wages

They marched into the centre of town where they were joined by security guards as well as transport and local council workers

But they were attacked by Malawi Young Pioneers and the peaceful demonstration turned into a riot that lasted two days

Rioters stripped and beat women wearing chitenges imprinted with Banda's face

The dancing women and "freelancers" have a lot in common. Where the dancing women are now at the receiving end of worker rage, the "freelancers" have had to endure the wrath of the state

Prostitution here is a crime and

offenders can be jailed for up to two years

The "freelancers" stalk hotels looking for clients who pay anything up to R200 for a night

A few local men said they prefer to negotiate terms beforehand

"Otherwise you will end up paying through your nose. She can easily make a scene as others have done before," says one

At most nightclubs and bars it is easy to buy sex from bartenders. Many of them are employees of the establishment and charge as little as R10 for "short-time sex"

But in Lilongwe, the story is different because of the thriving tobacco industry. Most "freelancers" do their business during the selling season — between April and June — when the pockets of the tobacco farmers bulge with cash following

successful sales

Five of the "freelancers" interviewed said they were school drop-outs who had tried unsuccessfully to find other employment

The advent of Aids appears to be slowing — but not stopping — the numbers of girls turning to prostitution. Health experts say 80 percent of prostitutes in Malawi are HIV positive

Malawi has launched a high-profile publicity campaign against Aids. Bartenders, prostitutes and long-haul drivers are some of the targets of this campaign

But in many cases, say "freelancers", they dare not refuse sex if clients won't use condoms because they don't want to be out of a job

Like the dancing women, who dare not refuse to turn up on state occasions — AIA

South 23/5-27/5/92

170

Fm 29/5/92

(128) ~~128~~

Fewer of the people questioned, however, bought (or planned to buy within a month) houses, furniture or stoves

Significantly, the most noticeable aspect was that most of the buying was done by blacks, according to the HSRC's Andrew Whiteford "This means a huge increase in the size of the market for manufactured goods. This should enable manufacturers to benefit from economies of scale. It also indicates that redistributive forces in the economy — such as scrapping legislation that restricted black economic activity, and the pursuit of affirmative action programmes by many companies — are working"

Consumer sentiment is sensitive to changes in employment and income — changes in consumer expectations usually presage a shift in a country's economic growth rate by three to six months

The HSRC's survey, done for the first time last year, will now be conducted quarterly. It canvasses roughly 1 900 people across the country, excluding Transkei and Bophuthatswana. Business confidence is sampled regularly but this is the only survey that measures consumer confidence. The findings are based on answers to questions on, among other things, unemployment, economic growth, household incomes and their relationship to inflation, and durable-goods buying patterns

The latest survey shows that the ravages of inflation continue to reduce most people's real incomes, with the exception of black managers, professionals and clerical workers. Of those questioned, only 6% had income increases higher than the rate of inflation

The survey also found that only 4% believe the employment picture improved in the previous six months, while 82% maintain unemployment has increased. Nevertheless, 24%

believe an improvement is on the cards

Of those surveyed 51% feel the economy declined in the previous six months but only 30% believe this trend will continue in the next six. On this question, whites were more pessimistic than blacks ■

CONSUMER CONFIDENCE

Hopeful sign

Fm 29/5/92
(128) ~~128~~

Consumers, especially blacks, have begun buying more durable goods this year and the trend could be the first sign of economic recovery, according to a March consumer confidence survey by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)

Though confidence declined by three points since October, to 22 on a scale of one to 100, purchases of goods such as TVs, hi-fis, refrigerators and washing machines rose

Kamuzu Banda's power-hungry 'family' tightens its

STAR 30/5/79 2

BLANTYRE — While thousands stayed away from President Kamuzu Banda's birthday celebrations this month, the "family" — the group of people who are said to wield the real power in the country — was there in full strength.

The unprecedented stayaway from what is usually a well-attended ceremony in Blantyre's giant Kamuzu Stadium came only days after rioting had erupted, leaving at least 39 people dead.

Both the rioting and the stayaway were signs of a new mood of discontent among Malawians, much of it said to be aimed at the "family".

Despite this, members of the "family" took their usual places at the side of the ageing president. At this ceremony, and at a garden party at Banda's Sanjika palace, I was given an unusual chance to observe Banda and the "family" despite

WHILE covering the presidential birthday festivities in Malawi, HANS-PETER BAKER of the Africa News Service obtained a rare glimpse of the small family group who are President Banda's closest associates and are said to be in effective control.

(17D)

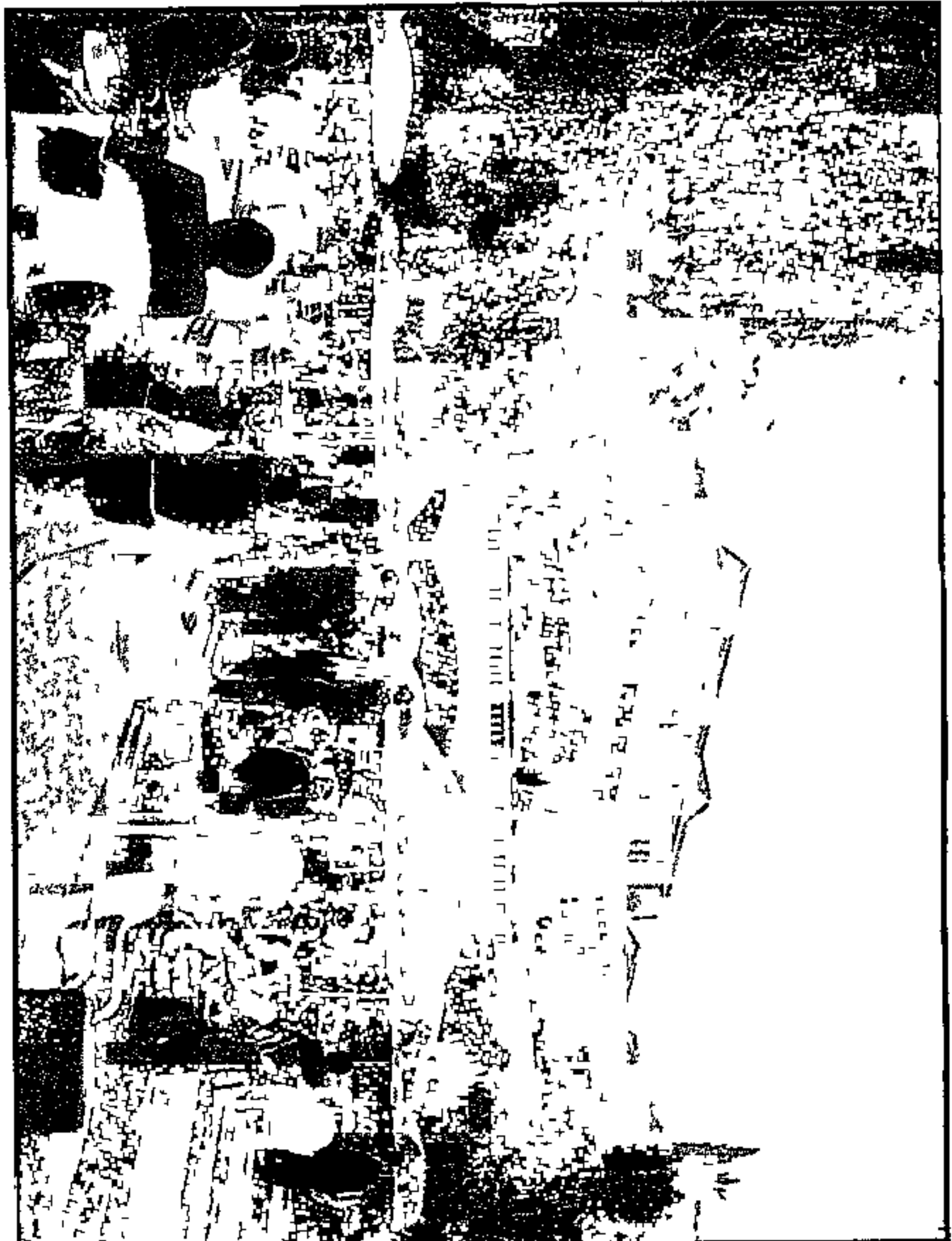


IN CONFERENCE: South Africa's Ambassador to Malawi George Stroebel and his wife, Lise, meet President Banda and Mama Kadzamira.

close attention from "press liaison officers". Leading the procession into the near-empty stadium was the country's official hostess, Mama Cecilia Kadzamura, seated in a black limousine and wearing

a colourful dress bearing the president's portrait. Mama Kadzamura remains a mysterious figure. While some say she is an angel, others say she is ruthless in exerting her will.

On this point, as with so much that happens in Malawi, it is difficult to tell truth from fiction because of the absence of the freedom of information, something taken for granted in democratic societies.



GARDEN PARTY: At the magnificent Sanjika Palace in Blantyre on the occasion of the president's birthday, Kamuzu Day

A more discreet presence was that of the senior member of the "family", John Tembo, Mama Kadzamura's uncle. As official translator of President Banda, who gives his speeches

in English, Tembo's voice is the one most of the people hear when their president speaks. As Minister of State he is the second most powerful man in Malawi, but foreign diplomats say he is also the most

unpopular. For years, stories of his harsh manipulation of power in Malawi have filtered out of the country. But here again what is fact and fiction remains unclear, because for years Malawi

did not welcome foreign journalists. In a face-to-face meeting, Tembo does not come across as ruthless but rather as gentle, quietly-spoken, considerate and modest. A less public member of the "family", but believed to be an important element in its retained hold on Malawi, is Mary Kadzamura, Mama's sister and the president's private secretary. Diplomats say she controls access to Banda. More than the others, she moves behind the scenes and not much is known of her. Banda, for all his excesses, remains a popular ruler whereas, well-informed observers say, the "family" may well fall when he goes. It is expected, however, that as Banda ages and slowly loses his hold on power, the "family" will continue to be a force to reckon with and will attempt to retain its dominance.

grip

Banda too brittle to bend with the wind

31/5/92 (190)

WHEN the 87-year-old Malawian president Hastings Banda slipped and fell at the Commonwealth Summit last October the photographed incident was splashed by the Zimbabwean press amid speculation about whether old age might eventually force one of the continent's longest serving heads of state finally to call it a day

In Malawi, however, the country's sole daily newspaper, the government-owned *Daily Times*, reported Banda's arrival in Zimbabwe on the front page in reverential detail but no mention was made of the fall

In a country where journalists face life imprisonment for passing on false or critical information to foreigners and where opponents have been ruthlessly silenced, the omission was only to be expected

Since he became leader of the former Nyasaland in 1964, Banda has run the country like a personal fiefdom, taking one-party rule to extremes.

Apart from being President for Life and commander of the armed forces, he is also Minister of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Defence, Justice, Agriculture, and Works and Supply. He is officially known as *Ngwazi*, meaning 'conqueror'.

Earlier this month the picture of peace and prosperity which Malawi has endeavoured over the years to project to the outside world was shattered by a pastoral letter published by the country's Catholic bishops

In it they deplored Malawi's poor human-rights record and the growing gap between rich and poor. More significantly,

Ageing Malawian patriarch Hastings Banda is facing increasing pressure from the West to permit multi-partyism in his democracy-lean state. However, the blatant arrest and subsequent disappearance of prominent opposition figure and trade unionist, Chakufa Chihana, who had dared to set foot on Malawi soil, has raised serious doubts as to whether Banda is capable of bending with the wind, writes the British black weekly *The Voice*.

they called for the introduction of multi-partyism

It was the first time that a call for democracy had been made from within Malawi

The clerics were immediately detained and interrogated by the security police, prompting the Vatican to send one of its senior envoys to try and calm State-church tensions.

Fired by the bishops' unprecedented boldness, Banda's opponents, reduced by repression at home to fighting a rearguard battle in exile, are gathering strength.

Chakufa Chihana, a prominent trade unionist based in Zambia, dared to step on Malawian soil a few weeks ago and was immediately arrested. He had intended publicly to challenge Banda's rule and was probably well aware of the fate awaiting him, having already spent seven years in a Malawi prison

Astonished South African tourists watched aghast as Chihana was bundled into the back of a car by security forces as he stepped off a plane from Johannesburg.

A speech he attempted to read before it was snatched away from him said Malawians had had enough of three decades of intimidation and victimisation. He has not been seen or heard of since. A Belgian delegation of trade unionists are now in the country in a bid to see him

The extraordinary incident will not have been lost on the British Foreign Office which now sees Banda as an irritant to its efforts to promote multi-party rule in Africa

Britain, the former colonial ruler and one of the country's most generous donors, has already fired a warning shot by cutting back on much needed aid, a move which could be followed by other lenders if Banda fails to change

But for years the West has turned a blind eye to his excesses, preferring to see the lack of opposition against him as an oasis amid the revolutionary turmoil raging through the rest of southern Africa

As a result, Banda has virtually carried on regardless since sweeping to victory in elections on the platform of the nationalist Malawi Congress Party (MCP) in 1964

Betrayal

Very quickly he betrayed signs of his intentions and there were complaints by ministers about his lack of consultation, his self aggrandisement and his nepotism

In 1971 he elected himself President for Life and former colleagues and associates who dared to criticise him were gradually forced into exile or jailed

A number have since been mysteriously murdered, includ-

ing two ministers, Dick Matenje and Andrew Gandama, who were said to have been shot in 1983 while trying to flee by car.

But in the West Banda was regarded as a voice of moderation, largely because of his right-wing foreign policy. In 1967 he took the unprecedented step of establishing diplomatic links with apartheid SA and rolled out the red carpet for John Vorster three years later.

Banda - who railed against white colonialists during the campaign for independence - also refused to impose sanctions on Rhodesia once he was in power and regarded the Portuguese colonialists in neighbouring Mozambique as "friends and brothers"

Many years later he was accused by Mozambique of helping the South African-backed Renamo rebels in their brutal war against Frelimo

In return Banda became the recipient of South African largesse - it helped finance the building of the new capital at Lilongwe - as well as regular cash injections from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

But any prosperity that Malawi experienced was short-term. Today the country is feeling the pinch like its neighbours, as chief exports like tobacco and tea are hit by the vagaries of the world market and worsening drought. Most Malawians are desperately poor and also illiterate; life expectancy is low and infant mortality high

According to the London-based campaigning journal *Index on Censorship*, an atmosphere of terror continues to pervade the country

Banda acts ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ on political ^{STAR 116192} card practice

HARARE — Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda, facing growing opposition to one-party rule, has ordered officials to stop demanding party cards from shoppers and bus passengers, the official news agency Mana reported yesterday.

It quoted Dr Banda as saying he had never sanctioned the practice, which has been in force for years.

The agency also said Dr Banda had ordered his lieutenants to crack down on "thieves" who "pose as party leaders" forcing people to contribute gifts for him.

His authoritarian government has been widely accused of human rights abuses, including the torture and detention without trial of opponents.

He has denied the accusations.

Thousands rioted during politicised strikes for higher pay last month — Malawi's worst chaos in three decades.

● Dr Banda denied yesterday that army commander General M M Khanga was shot and wounded in a power struggle touched off by pro-democracy unrest, Mana reported — Sapa-AP-Reuters.

Malawi activist not produced (170)

JOHANNESBURG. — Malawian authorities failed for a second time to produce detained democracy campaigner Mr Chakufwa Chihana in court yesterday and his lawyer accused the government of trampling human rights.

The High Court in the capital, Lilongwe, was packed and more than 500 people gathered outside. — Sapa C 3/6/92

Malawi forex 'still on line'

6/10am 10/6/92 (170)
HARARE — Malawi's central bank governor Hans Lesschaft yesterday denied the country faced a foreign exchange crisis or that dealings were suspended

He said in a telephone interview from Lilongwe that approvals for import licences had slowed last week "because we have a bit of a cash-flow problem in terms of foreign exchange"

But things were now back to normal and Malawi was sticking to a trade liberalisation programme agreed with the World Bank and IMF.

He said there was also no question of a moratorium on debt repayments.

Lesschaft, on secondment to Malawi from the German central bank, said the problem had been caused by slow foreign exchange remittances from abroad for Malawian tobacco exports.

He said foreign exchange transactions were normal, although diplomats in the Malawian capital said there still appeared to be a ban on such dealings at commercial banks.

"There is confusion over foreign ex-

change transactions and we expect guidelines to be issued tomorrow," said a senior Western diplomat

Lesschaft said however: "I think there is no need for guidelines. There is no ban on foreign exchange dealings"

"There was a slowdown in import approvals last week. Now you can go to the bank and get your foreign exchange and import your goods"

Diplomats said last Friday the central bank had issued an order early last week suspending foreign exchange dealings. This was followed by a statement from the bank and Finance Ministry saying the instructions had been issued in error.

Some diplomats suggested Malawi's foreign exchange "cash flow" problem could be linked to a decision by international donors last month to halt all but humanitarian aid until Malawi improved its human rights and democracy record.

Lesschaft also denied reports in Lilongwe that he had resigned.

He said his contract was due to expire at the end of June and he had not renewed it

— Sapa-Reuter

AFRICA BRIEFS

W/Man 5/6-11/6/92
Protest over Nigeria arrests
■ AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has protested to the Nigerian government over the arrest of Dr Beko Ransome Kuti, chairman of the new pro-democracy coalition, Campaign for Democracy.

Kuti, who was arrested in a pre-dawn raid by 200 riot police, is being held incommunicado. Two others, Femi Falana, and Baba Omojola, also linked to a campaign calling for the resignation of the military government, were arrested.

Islamic leader attacked
■ ONE of the Middle East's most prominent Islamic fundamentalist leaders, Sudan's Hassan Tourabi, is in an Ottawa hospital with severe injuries following an attack on him by a Sudanese exile.

Tourabi, regarded as the strong man behind the military regime of General Omar Bashir, is known for his ties with the Islamic underground movements in the Gulf and north Africa.

Regarded as the Islamic movement's "Lenin", his Western tour has been marked by rowdy protests by Sudanese political refugees.

Peace troops die
■ THREE Senegalese peacekeeping troops have been killed by Liberian rebels in a 10-hour gun battle in the far west of Liberia.

Other Senegalese were taken hostage in the first serious incident since the peace force was deployed in April.

Food aid looted
■ GUNMEN at the airport in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, have looted six tons of food as well as drugs flown in to save starving children, according to relief workers.

Kaunda steps down
■ AFTER being jeered and booed down at a rally where he was due to speak, former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda announced that he is to retire from politics in August at the general congress of his United National Independence Party (Unip).

Last weekend Kaunda attempted to speak at a rally in the Copperbelt town of Chilamombwe but he was overwhelmed by angry shouting from the crowd and police escorted him from the stadium. Kaunda has become widely unpopular because Zambians blame him for corruption and the country's economic decline. Recently a reform group within Unip left the party charging that Kaunda was clinging to power and frustrated any attempts at change.

\$500-million for drought
■ DONOR nations have pledged \$500-million to alleviate problems caused by southern Africa's severe drought, it was announced in Geneva, Switzerland, on Tuesday.

The funds were raised for the 10 countries of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC): Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

W/Man 5/6-11/6/92
It is estimated that 18 million people in those countries are severely affected by the drought. South Africa was not included in the appeal, but South African officials attended the conference. The United States, the European Community, the Nordic countries and Japan were the largest donors. About \$250-million of the total was for emergency food aid, \$139-million was for medicines and other non-food aid and \$137-million was in cash to be used where it was most urgently needed.

Malawian leader still detained
■ MALAWIAN authorities failed for the second time to produce detained democracy campaigner Chakufwa Chihana in court on Tuesday, prompting his lawyer, Bazuka Mhango, to accuse the Banda government of trampling human rights.

More than 500 people gathered outside the High Court as Mhango pressed authorities to produce Chihana and make public whatever charges they may have against him. Chihana was detained in April when he attempted to make a speech in favour of multi-party democracy in Malawi, which has been a one-party state for nearly 30 years.

The detention of Chihana, a regional trade union leader, sparked unprecedented anti-Banda government riots in Lilongwe and Blantyre. — Compiled by foreign staff with Kathy Evans, Mark Huband in Abidjan and Andrew Meldrum in Harare.

AFRICA

By MELINDA HAM

AN estimated 2 000 people are believed to be crowding Malawi's prison cells after house-to-house swoops and office searches over the last fortnight by police looking for anti-government literature and hoarded goods.

A diplomat contacted by telephone in the Malawian capital Lilongwe confirmed that police were searching for copies of the March Lenten letter signed by seven Roman Catholic bishops which criticised the government for widespread human rights abuse and called for greater freedom of expression and association. Over 16 000 copies of the letter were circu-

Banda lashes out at Church

arresting people for alleged participation in the anti-government rioting and looting that swept Malawi in May and left at least 22 people dead.

labeled but the Malawian government declared it was a seditious document.

Police were also looking for copies of another letter signed by four members of the Geneva-based World Alliance of Reformed Churches and five leaders of the Church of Central Africa (Presbyterian) in Malawi which was handed to self-declared Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda at the beginning of June and then widely distributed.

This letter buttressed the Catholics' call for wider freedoms, the end of detention without trial and the release of political prisoners. But it also went further, urging Banda to appoint a broadly-based commission which included the churches to make proposals to democratise the government.

The Protestant letter said "We consider that without major democratic changes, peace and calm will not return (to Malawi)."

In light of Western donors' decision to freeze \$74-million of new aid to Malawi in May, the letter said the government should take "immediate steps

to remove injustices to assure those both within and outside the country that significant changes are taking place".

The diplomat said police were walking into offices unannounced, searching through papers and detaining people. Offices searched included the state-owned telephone and electricity companies and banks.

Police were also making house-to-house searches in the cities of Blantyre, Limbe and Lilongwe looking for "unexplained goods" and

Banda, believed to be 93 years old, has ruled Malawi — one of Africa's few remaining one party dictatorships — for nearly three decades. He has so far refused to listen to calls for political reform, and detained political opponents or forced them into exile.

Man freed after 27 years

STAR 13/6/92

(70)

LUSAKA — A man detained for 27 years without trial and seven other political prisoners were freed yesterday by the Malawi government, said diplomats reached by telephone

Human rights groups and foreign governments had called for the release of the men and other opposition figures held in Malawi.

"I am very, very happy," said Machipisa Munthali (67) imprisoned without trial for alleged treason in 1965. He spoke in a telephone interview from the commercial capital of Blantyre.

"The international pressure forced the government to free me," Munthali said, adding he lived the final years of detention in a cell 1 m wide and 2 m high and was denied visitors

Munthali said he was

excited about growing political opposition to the government and calls for a return to Western-style democracy "I always wanted Malawi to be free," he said "That's why I was detained in the first place."

Death claims

President Kamuzu Banda, believed to be in his 90s, led Malawi to independence from Britain in 1964. He outlawed political opposition by declaring a one-party state and named himself president for life.

Human rights groups claim Banda has assassinated, detained or driven his opponents into exile. Banda denies the charges, saying his 8 million people support the one-party state.

In recent weeks, unprecedented anti-gov-

ernment violence has rocked the capital of Lilongwe and other centers.

As many as 30 people have been killed in clashes with police, according to diplomats. Officially, the government put the death toll at 22. Other known detainees in Malawi include labor leader Chikufwa Chihana, who was detained on April 6 when he flew into Malawi after calling for a pro-democracy forum. Foreign nations have called for Chihana to be put on trial or released. Last month, western aid donors froze about R20 million in new aid for Malawi because of accusations of human rights violations.

Banda has announced parliamentary elections will be held in June with all candidates from his Malawi Congress Party.

— Sapa-AP

Malawi detainee free after 27 years

A MAN detained 27 years without trial and seven other political prisoners were freed on Friday by the Malawi government. "I am very, very happy," said Machipisa Munthali, 67, imprisoned without trial for alleged treason in 1965

"International pressure forced the government to free me," said Munthali, adding he lived the final years of detention in a cell one metre wide and two metres high and was denied visitors.

(170)

14/6/92
SIP/10/14/6/92

81 Day 18/6/92

Mandela pays visit to Malawi

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday paid a one-day visit to Malawi, a staunch supporter of SA through the apartheid years.

The ANC confirmed the visit but would not comment further on a report from the official Malawi news agency that Mandela was in the country to meet Malawian President Kamuzu Banda.

Banda has come under international criticism for his government's repression of protest. Up to 38 people were killed in May when police fired on an anti-government demonstration.

Mandela was reportedly received at Blantyre's airport by Banda's likely successor, Minister of State John Tembo.

The visit is liable to provoke controversy, as Malawi, aside from its human rights record, is the only African country to have kept full diplomatic ties with SA throughout its isolation.

Mandela this week snubbed Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi on his visit to SA, because Moi had met President F W de Klerk to become the first African head of state to meet an SA leader in SA since Banda in 1971. Kenya yesterday defended the meeting.

— Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

Cane-growers in line for R130m drought relief aid

SA CANE growers could receive R130m in drought relief aid from government, SA Cane Growers' Association chairman Lawrie Gordon-Hughes said yesterday.

Gordon-Hughes announced in Durban details of a government relief plan designed to ease the plight of the drought-devastated cane-grower.

"The relief measures will assist in supplementing the growers' cash flow and survival, but at a cost — loans have to be repaid." He said the average farm's indebtedness of R500 000 was at a level which gave "great cause for concern".

In terms of the drought relief scheme, the grower would be eligible to borrow up to R190 000 of crop loss relief. The farmer would be obliged to replant, at a cost of more than R3 500 a hectare, those parts of his farm where the cane had died.

"In total, we estimate relief loans required could amount to as much as R130m."

Gordon-Hughes said the average commercial grower, who normally produced close to 8 000 tons of cane, could face a 60% crop drop due to the drought. He added the result could be a revenue loss of more than R200 000 for each farmer after taking into

MEREDITH JENSEN

account variable cost savings

Gordon-Hughes said current production of close to 1,5-million tons of sugar could easily meet domestic demand, but exports would be badly affected.

The association's report says export losses for the industry may cost cane-growers R300m, as sugar production came in 750 000 tons short.

As a result, SA has had to import sugar at sky-rocketing world market prices to meet its export commitments. And, the industry price of sugar shot up 14,5%, passing on a 24c increase to the consumer.

The SA Sugar Association denied the price increase resulted from the importation of sugar. An association spokesman said, at the time, the sugar industry had annual price increases which were unrelated to world prices.

Our Durban correspondent reports that the R15m second phase of a major sugar growing project in north Pondoland, which will create 400 new sugar farmers and eventually generate R14m a year, was launched this week at a ceremony at Bizana, near the Natal-Transkei border

Mandela, pays visit to Malawi

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday paid a one-day visit to Malawi, a staunch supporter of SA through the apartheid years.

The ANC confirmed the visit but would not comment further on a report from the official Malawi news agency that Mandela was in the country to meet Malawian President Kamuzu Banda.

Banda has come under international criticism for his government's repression of protest. Up to 38 people were killed in May when police fired on an anti-government demonstration.

Mandela was reportedly received at Blantyre's airport by Banda's likely successor, Minister of State John Tembo.

The visit is liable to provoke controversy as Malawi, aside from its human rights record, is the only African country to have kept full diplomatic ties with SA throughout its isolation.

Mandela this week snubbed Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi on his visit to SA, because Moi had met President F W de Klerk to become the first African head of state to meet an SA leader in SA since Banda in 1971. Kenya yesterday defended the meeting.

— Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

Mandela, Banda in talks?

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday paid a one-day visit to Malawi — reportedly to meet President Kamuzu Banda

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Dr Banda has come under widespread international criticism for his government's repression of protest. Up to 38 people were killed in May when police fired on an anti-government demonstration.

ET 18/6/92

Mr Mandela was reportedly received at the airport in Blantyre, Malawi's largest city, by Minister of State Mr John Tembo, widely seen as Dr Ban-

da's likely successor. The ANC leader is believed to have been scheduled to meet Dr Banda later yesterday.

Malawi is the only African country to have kept full diplomatic ties with South Africa.

● Dr Banda has recalled parliament — dissolved in April — for an emergency session today to vote on a bill which proposes to allow the government to borrow money for drought relief.

Elections are due to be held later this month. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter

Malawi may pay up now

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with Malawi President Hastings Banda on Wednesday could be linked to Malawi's decision to pay dues to the OAU's liberation committee, observers said

Meanwhile Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said he did not believe there would be a problem with South Africa's membership of the OAU once a transitional government was installed

Mandela in surprise meeting with Banda

ANC president Nelson Mandela met embattled Malawi president Hastings Banda on Wednesday on an unscheduled visit. Diplomatic observers said could be linked to Malawi's recent decision to pay outstanding dues to the OAU liberation committee.

The Malawi embassy yesterday refused to comment on the visit, which took observers by surprise. Malawi was the only African country with Pretoria ties.

It is understood Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu had been sent invitations to meet Banda, who faces intense pressure from Western donor nations over Malawi's human rights record. A Malawi government message with the invitations

PATRICK BULGER (170)

said it would pay its outstanding dues to the OAU liberation committee.

OAU officials said recently the liberation committee was still assisting the ANC and the PAC. Malawi has played an insignificant role in OAU activities.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday that Mandela had undertaken to visit all African countries on his release. His Malawi visit was part of this plan. However, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mandela's diary had had to be changed to accommodate the unscheduled visit.

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Malawi waits in trepidation

w/mail 19/6 - 25/6/92

By ROBIN DENSELOW

(170)

NDIRANDE township is an area of poor, single-storey houses and shacks that sprawl across the hillside behind Blantyre's industrial estate.

In the morning, smoke from hundreds of wood fires hangs over the dirt track where streams of workers set out on foot for the town and factories. When they return in the evening, a sinister atmosphere permeates the township as conversation focuses on curfews, police harassment and arrests.

By 8pm, an armed guard is in place outside the local supermarket owned by the Press Trust, in which Malawi's Life President Hastings Banda has a major interest. After that, Ndirande residents say, only the foolhardy venture out.

It was here that riots began last month, after a dispute at the Lonhro-owned David Whitehead textile factory. Strikers were joined by hundreds of other workers and students from the Blantyre Polytechnic. They surged into the town centre for a 24-hour rampage of looting — with a noticeable preference for Banda's supermarkets — and were met by armed police. At least 38 were killed and 127 wounded.

The workers have since received a pay rise, but the demand for more fundamental change remains.

The rioters were encouraged by the return in April of trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana, who has founded a pressure group for multi-party democracy in Malawi. Chihana was arrested at the airport and is still being held at Zomba Prison. His lawyers say they do not know whether he will be brought to trial, or what the charges will be.

Chihana is the hero of many Malawi workers. His supporters say there have been more than 2 000 arrests since the riots and that police are searching out people in possession of pro-democracy material faxed into Malawi from Zambia, then hurriedly photo-copied and distributed.

Frightened Ndirande residents, who refuse to be named or taped by journalists, say Banda is still loved by his people but they fear Minister of State John Tembo, who is expected to become Banda's successor.

It appears that Banda is concerned about the recent uprisings — and perhaps about Tembo's growing power — and is trying to defuse the situation. He has recently shown a slightly more liberal paternalism, insisting that no one should be forced to give gifts to his Malawi Congress Party (MCP) or to buy party cards.

But he is still making no concessions to those who want a multi-party democracy and is going ahead with this month's one-party elections, in which all candidates have to be approved by the MCP and granted certificates by the president.

There are predictions that when Banda's 27-year rule comes to an end, there will be a clamp-down by Tembo and an uprising by supporters of Chihana. But there are those in Ndirande who say they cannot wait that long. — The Guardian

ONLY about four runners will carry the Malawi flag to the Barcelona Olympics in July.

Sports authorities have abandoned the old system of sending "tourists" - the term here for sportspeople with no chances of winning medals - to international competitions.

The new stance was explained recently by a top official of the government-controlled Malawi National Council of Sports during a meeting held in Blantyre to review prospects of sending a team of Malawian sportspeople to the highly competitive Olympics Games.

The council's executive secretary Mark Tembo told members of the local Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association of Malawi (OCGAM) and other national sporting bodies that a streamlined team was a necessity because of dismal performances in the past by Malawian sportspeople in international competitions, including the last All Africa Games

hosted by Egypt Malawian athletes came back from Cairo empty-handed, much to the chagrin of fans and sports authorities who had hoped Malawi would have something to show for the cost, in excess of K150 000 (R140 000), of sending a team of runners and boxers to Cairo.

During the Olympic Games hosted by South Korea in 1988, Malawi spent close to K300 000 (R280 000) sending its team of "tourists" to Seoul. Is it still worthwhile sending a team to Barcelona?

This question proved a bit difficult to answer for coaches who were being asked to prove that the athletes had achieved Olympic qualifying standards.

Malawi's four are Barcelona only

Cycling coach Davis Storey reported that none of his cyclists was up to scratch, especially since they had not been exposed to any outside competitions. "We are just not adequately prepared to go," he said.

Because of their poor performance at the All Africa Games, Malawian boxers were given a second chance for qualifying fights in Morocco this year. They have since been told they will be unable to go to Barcelona because of financial constraints.

"We are very disappointed. How do sports authorities expect us to improve?" complained national boxing coach Thomas Banda bitterly. The only sport assured of its participation in

Barcelona is athletics, whose national coach Isaac Phiri pins his hopes on marathon runner John Mwathiwa and Canadian-based Malawian runner Smartex Tambala.

Mwathiwa came fifth in the marathon distance in Cairo, well within qualifying standards for the Olympics.

"If given the chance to train harder, Mwathiwa can do something for Malawi," says his coach.

However, the coach hopes to switch Mwathiwa to the 10 000 m event and let Smartex Tambala compete in the marathon. Tambala's present marathon record is 2 hours 17 seconds for 42,195 kilometres.

The new stance of the sports authorities has not gone down well among

officials of various national sporting bodies here who feel the government expects miracles from sportspeople when it has not invested heavily in sports facilities and infrastructure. "There is a lack of basic facilities and infrastructure in this country

"We might as well forget about sending our sportspeople to the competitions until the government is prepared to invest in sports," said one official.

Another official agreed that sportspeople needed competition: "We need that kind of exposure, otherwise the abundant talent and skill here will remain under-exploited. We cannot begin talking of medals when no major investment in sports has been made." - AIA

THE next part in the series of articles by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy on the various facets of democracy will be published on July 12. The topics will also be discussed on Radio Metro on Wednesdays from July 1 at 8 pm.

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1/10/92
2/10/92

Call to boycott Malawi polls⁽⁷⁰⁾

LUSAKA — Opposition groups in exile here called for a boycott of parliamentary elections in Malawi and vowed they would be the last one-party polls

STAR 26/6/92.

Poll called mockery

MIKE HALL

LUSAKA — Malawians began voting yesterday in parliamentary elections amid opposition calls for a boycott and predictions of a poor turnout.

"I don't think many people will be going to vote — there is no point," said a resident of Blantyre, Malawi's biggest city. "Let's just say that there is a lot of apathy."

The State-run Daily Times newspaper carried a front-page story saying that Malawians "will exercise their democratic rights" during the polls, which continue today, diplomats said.

But pro-democracy activists in exile have called for an election boycott and faxed leaflets to Malawi dismissing the poll as a mockery. "This is nothing more

'Exercise in self-deception

by Malawian leaders'

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STAR 27/6/92

than an exercise in self-deception by the leadership in Malawi and it will be the last time the people will tolerate such a farce," said Mapopa Chipeta of the Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance.

The elections are for 91 of the 141 seats in the rubber-stamp parliament. Already 45 candidates, mostly government ministers, have been returned non-opposed. President Kamuzu Banda banned all opposition shortly after independence in 1964 and detained opponents or forced them into exile. In recent years many of his executive functions have been assumed by John Tembo, Minister of State in the President's Office,

who is widely regarded as a successor.

Dr Banda has appointed a new army chief, Lieutenant-General Isaac Yohane, replacing Melvin Mwanga who retired on health grounds, the Mananews agency reported yesterday.

Western diplomats in the capital Lilongwe said that Khang'a's retirement, which followed reports that he had been detained for two weeks and then sent for treatment in South Africa after trying to prevent Banda making Tembo vice-president, would strengthen Tembo's hand.

Banda has been under mounting pressure for democratic change

since the country's Catholic bishops issued a critical pastoral letter in March.

It was followed by the arrest and detention of trade union leader Chitukwa Chihana, interim chairman of the Democratic Alliance, as soon as he returned to the country from a meeting with exiles, pledging to launch a democracy campaign. Human rights groups say scores of political prisoners are detained without trial and the use of torture is widespread.

Last month, when anti-government riots officially left 22 dead, Western donors froze development aid until the government demonstrated an improvement in human rights. Western diplomats say there have since been scores of arrests of pro-democracy activists in Lilongwe and the southern commercial city of Blantyre — Sapa-AFP.

AFRICA

Malawi's (non) voters show their discontent

By MELINDA HAM and MIKE HALL

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MALAWIAN pro-democracy activists hailed the unprecedented low turnout for last weekend's parliamentary elections as indicating widespread popular support for democratic change.

"What's significant is that previously people felt compelled to vote because they were scared of what might happen if they didn't. Now they don't care. They refuse to be intimidated," said Mapopa

Chipeta, a Harare-based member of the opposition Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance led by detained trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana.

The government was extremely cagey about releasing specific voting figures, though in a face-saving measure not supported by any statistics an election spokesman claimed that the national turnout was 80 percent.

Diplomats who monitored the poll quickly dismissed this claim. One Western official estimated that less than half the 1.5-million voters cast ballots and an envoy who visited polling stations in the north said some stations were completely empty.

Western donors who froze \$74-million of new aid to Malawi in May looked to these elections for a sign of democratic progress and as a gauge of popular support for the regime. But, as one diplomat put it, "The elections did nothing to improve international opinion of the government. Rather, they have shown that even the Malawian people are fed up."

Candidates in the elections, which are held every five years, are not allowed to campaign and this year a third of them — mostly ministers — were elected unopposed, while polls were in five constituencies were postponed because the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) rejected all the candidates.

Unlike other years, when the zealous MCP Young Pioneers "encouraged" voters to cast their ballots and even provided transport in large lorries, this year voters were left to make their own choice.

Few incidents of intimidation were reported countrywide, though in some isolated villages voters were threatened that if they did not vote they would be denied drought relief.

The low turnout may encourage pro-democracy activists inside the country to step up their activities, but they are still unlikely to come out in the open. "They are still haunted by the prospect of repression, including extra-judicial execution," said the Democratic Alliance.

A ABOUT 100 000
Mlawian villagers
suffer from river
blindness in the southern
district of Thyolo.

Local health officials
said the disease, caused
by a parasite called fi-
laria, is transmitted by
the bite of a black fly
found in nearby rivers.

Diets lacking in vita-
min A have also been list-
ed as a contributory fac-
tor.

It is estimated that
over 60 000 people suffer
from blindness in the
country.

The International Eye
Foundation has provided

US drug (170) to treat CIPREN 5/7/92 disease

financial aid to fight the
disease

Through what they call
the Invermectin project,
the foundation's eye ex-
perts hope to wipe out this
disease, which has affect-
ed communities in West
Africa, parts of Latin
America and Yemen in
the Middle East.

The World Health Or-
ganisation says 350 000

people have been blinded
by the disease worldwide.

In the past, the drug
banocide (diethyl carba-
mazine) was used on
Thyolo patients, but its
side effects are severe
itching and swelling of
limbs.

The new drug, Inver-
mectin, will combat
blindness if the drug is
used early.

Thyolo residents are
being encouraged to take
the drug, whether infect-
ed or not.

Only pregnant women
and children weighing
less than 15 kg are not
allowed to take it - AIA

8/10 day 7/17/72

Techserve wins sweet deal

(170)

MEREDITH JENSEN

THE Sucoma sugar factory in Malawi has granted a R100m expansion contract to Durban-based engineering company Techserve.

The work at the factory includes construction of a new plant, Techserve MD Jeff Walsh said yesterday.

Most of the funding for the project will come from the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), which has agreed to grant Techserve an export credit loan worth R71m. The additional R29m needed for the expansion has been financed by the Lonrho-controlled Sugar Corporation of Malawi. Lonrho has a managerial contract, as well as a majority interest in the Sugar Corporation.

The project will increase Sucoma's capacity by more than 50%, up to 300 tons of cane an hour.

AFRICA

AFRICA BRIEFS

Ethnic killings in Mali

■FOUR people were killed and 200 fled their homes in northern Mali in an outbreak of racial conflict between black and "white" groups. In the past year tensions have built up between Mali's various ethnic groups, especially between black Africans and the Arab populations. Radio Liberte, based in the capital Bamako, said blacks in the Saharan city of Gao launched a broad attack against Arabs, Moors and Tuaregs.

Banda defends detention record

■MALAWI Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda publicly defended his government's record of detentions of political opponents. The 92-year-old Malawi leader addressed the nation to mark the country's 28th independence anniversary on July 6. Banda said detention in Malawi had been used to protect national security and not to abuse human rights, as Malawian and international critics have charged.

"To ensure that the critics no longer exploit our detention practices to tarnish our human rights image, I have given instruction that all subsequent detainees should be charged and tried in an open court. Where this is not possible, I will appoint a special tribunal headed by a High Court Judge to which a detainee can appeal against his or her detention."

UN men threatened

■FOUR United Nations military observers were threatened with expulsion from Somalia by a warlord, Mohammed Farah Aideed, who controls much of the battle-scarred capital, Mogadishu. Aideed claimed

the UN was secretly financing his rival, self-styled President Ali Mahdi Mohammed. The observers had arrived in Mogadishu this week to prepare the ground for a larger group that is to monitor the ceasefire between the warring factions in the Somali capital.

Mobutu challenged

■THE chairman of Zaïre's National Pro-Democracy Conference asserted it had full authority in the troubled central African state, directly contradicting claims by President Mobutu Sese Seko. Catholic Archbishop Monsengwo Pasinya said, on Belgian television, that he did not agree with Mobutu, who has ruled Zaïre with an iron fist for 27 years and now challenges the conference's authority. "I will tell him (Mobutu) the conference is sovereign, because the whole of the nation is represented there," said Archbishop Monsengwo. The debate over authority was academic, he said, because the current crisis in Zaïre meant something had to be done.

Liberian clashes continue

■NEW fighting has broken out in western Liberia between fighters loyal to rebel chief Charles Taylor and a rival militia, Ullimo. Local newspapers reported heavy shelling from both sides as Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia and Ullimo fought each other in the Cape Mount area west of the capital, Monrovia. Some of an estimated 3 000 Liberians who fled the area said the two militias had confiscated all food supplies and civilians went in fear for their lives.

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10/7-16/7/92

Zimbabwe govt to buy farms

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — Thirteen farms in Zimbabwe, seven owned by whites and six black-owned properties, are to be acquired by the government in the eastern province of Manicaland to resettle families who will have to move when the lake fills behind the giant Osborne Dam currently under construction.

The farms are the first to be designated for acquisition by the government under the controversial law which came into force in May despite strenuous objections.

The government has given repeated assurances that productive farms will not be taken for resettlement.

However, several of the designated farms are highly productive, an official of the farmers' union said yesterday.

Commercial Farmers' Union director David Hasluck said the union had not been given notice of the action. He had not yet been able to contact the affected farmers, but approaches would be made to government officials.

The notices in the Government Gazette, inviting the owners who object to the bid to take over their properties to do so by August 10, were signed by the former Minister of Agriculture, Dr Witness Mangwende.

A government-appointed compensation committee will decide what compensation should be paid for properties acquired under the Act.

The farms earmarked for resettlement cover nearly 6 800 ha. According to a report 620 families will need to be resettled.

Democracy worth dying for activist

LUSAKA — Freed opposition leader Chakufwa Chihana said yesterday he would continue campaigning for democracy in Malawi even if it meant a death sentence for sedition.

"Many people have died for democracy in this country, why should I be spared?" he said. "My death will hasten the demise of the one-party state."

Mr Chihana (52), head of the opposition Democratic Alliance, was released on bail on Saturday after being held for three months without charge.

He was arrested on April 6 when he returned home from a conference in Zambia at which he called for a pro-democracy congress in Malawi.

The Malawi government has been widely accused of human rights abuses, including the torture, detention and assassination of its opponents.

Speaking from his attorney's home in Blantyre, Mr Chihana said he was kept in solitary confinement and denied reading material in prison.

He was locked into leg irons for more than a month and repeatedly interrogated, he said.

"I heard no news from the outside world," Mr Chihana said. "Being in prison is like being sealed in a bottle. You hear nothing."

In May, at least 22 people were killed in riots touched off by the government's failure to bring Mr Chihana to court.

Judge James Kalala granted Mr Chihana bail of \$2 500 (about R7 000) on Friday and ordered him to appear in court today in

the former capital of Zomba, where he is expected to be formally charged with sedition.

Mr Chihana said President Kamuzu Banda's government was "in tatters" and had failed to suppress demands for political reforms in recent months.

"There is no way it can be resuscitated or reformed," he said. "Democratic change is the only alternative."

Dr Banda, who led the former British colony to independence in 1964, outlawed political opposition and declared himself president for life. Believed to be in his 90s, he has said that his nation of 8 million people supported one-party rule.

But it has shown signs of acceding to Western pressure for democratic reforms and an end to the alleged human rights abuses.

Western nations last month froze \$74 million (about R210 million) in aid to Malawi to press for reforms.

The government has released 18 detainees and says the International Red Cross will be allowed to visit prisons next month for the first time in two decades.

Among 10 detainees released on Friday was Aleke Banda, a former Cabinet minister held without trial for 12 years. He is no relation to the president.

Mr Banda's son-in-law, businessman Krishana Achutan, was detained on May 16 after he appealed on the British Broadcasting Corporation for the release of Mr Banda, said to be suffering from high blood pressure. Mr Achutan remains in custody. — Sapa-AP.

Court charges freed Malawian activist on 3 counts of sedition

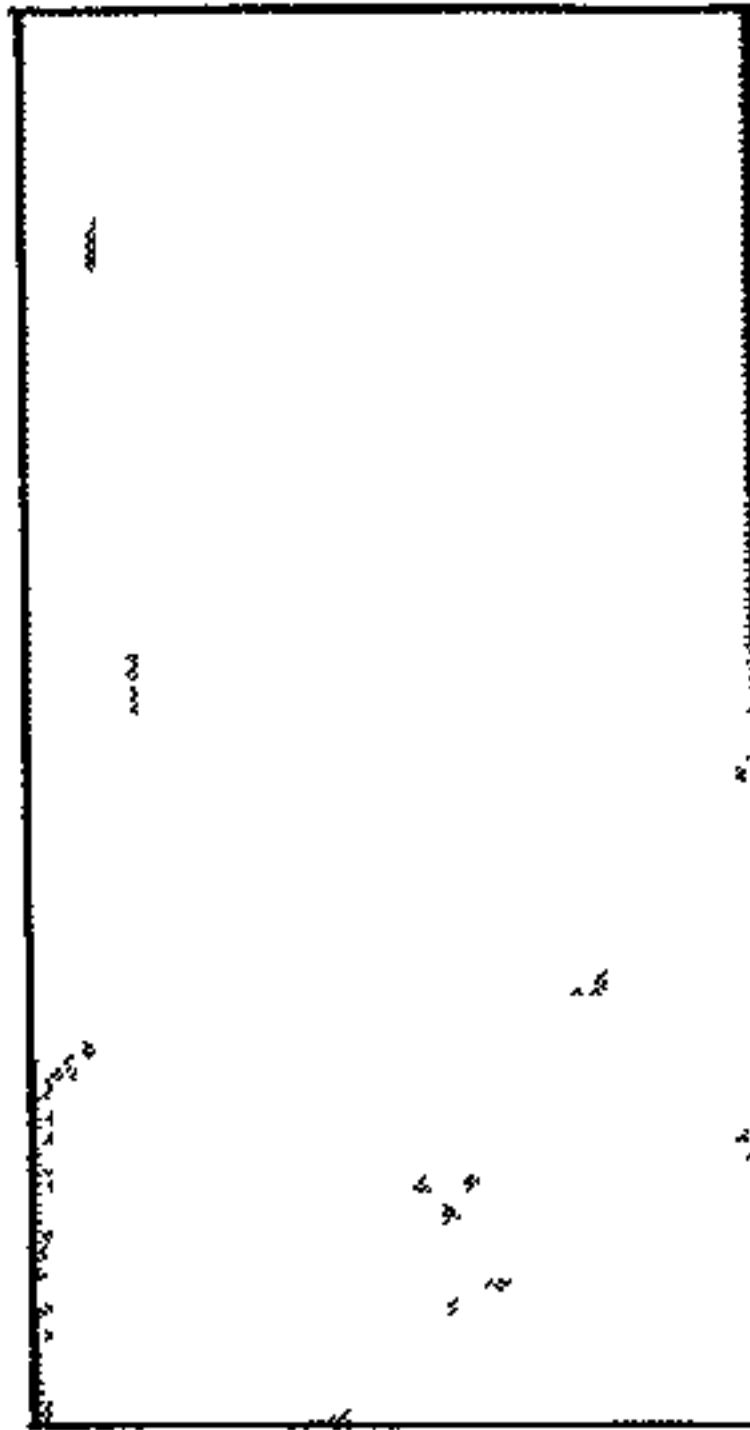
LUSAKA — A Malawi magistrate's court yesterday charged pro-democracy campaigner Chakufwa Chihana with three counts related to sedition, his lawyer Bazuka Mhango said

Mr Mhango said the case had been referred to the high court for trial at a date to be announced later.

"He has been charged with offences relating to sedition the first one of importing seditious publications, secondly being found in possession of seditious publications and thirdly preparing an act with seditious intent," Mr Mhango said in a telephone interview from Lilongwe

He said the penalty was a fine equivalent to about R2 150 or a five-year prison sentence.

"We have to see what evidence they come up



Chakufwa Chihana .
case referred for trial.

with to support the charges but our stand has always been that there is no offence," he said, adding that hundreds of people had gathered outside the court chanting

support for Mr Chihana.

Mr Chihana, chairman of the Lusaka-based Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance, was arrested on April 6 on his return to Malawi from talks with pro-democracy exiles in Zambia and South Africa

He was freed on Saturday after a high court judge granted him bail, the first in Malawi's history of political detentions.

Mr Chihana (52) was freed on condition that he surrenders his passport and reports to the police once a week. Two Malawians put up bail of about R3 000.

Mr Chihana, a trade unionist, was detained for seven years in the 1970s for speaking against the government of self-appointed life president Dr Kamuzu Banda — Sapa-Reuter

Malawi (170)
activist B12A4
charged 14/7/92

LUSAKA — A Malawi magistrate's court yesterday charged pro-democracy campaigner Chakufwa Chihana with three counts related to sedition, his lawyer Bazuka Mhango said.

Mhango said the case had been referred to the high court for trial at an unspecified date.

Chihana has been charged with importing seditious publications, possessing seditious publications and preparing an act with seditious intent.

Mhango said the penalty was a fine equivalent to \$770 or five years in jail.

"Our stand has always been there is no offence," he said, adding that hundreds of people had gathered outside the court chanting support for Chihana.

Chihana, 52, chairman of the Lusaka-based Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance, was arrested on April 6 when he returned to Malawi from meetings with exiles in Zambia and SA.

He was freed last Saturday after a high court judge granted him bail — the first in Malawi's history of political detentions — Sapa-Reuter

Banda awaits

history's verdict

STAR 14/7/92

(170)

MACHIPISA Munthali is a Malawian but he has at least one thing in common with Nelson Mandela he was imprisoned for a long time for his political beliefs.

He was inside for a year longer than Mr Mandela — 27 years altogether. Unlike the ANC leader, who spent the last part of his detention in a comfortable house in the prison grounds, Mr Munthali spent his final years in a cell one metre wide and two metres high.

That is what he says anyway, and since we have no means of measuring the cell but no reason to doubt his word I, for one, accept it.

Mr Munthali was imprisoned in 1965 by President Kamuzu Banda for alleged treason. In Malawi that can be a euphemism for any attempt to promote political freedom or to challenge Dr Banda's suppression of it. Since Mr Munthali was jailed without trial he must be presumed to have been innocent.

Dr Banda may not realise it, but history will judge him not only by his own professed achievements but also by actions such as locking an innocent man in a cell the size of a lavatory.

Mr Munthali was one of several political prisoners released recently in what appears to have been an effort to appease Western donors, who have begun cutting off Malawi's foreign aid.

The freeing of the prisoners is one of several concessions Dr Banda's government has made in response to growing internal as well as external opposition.

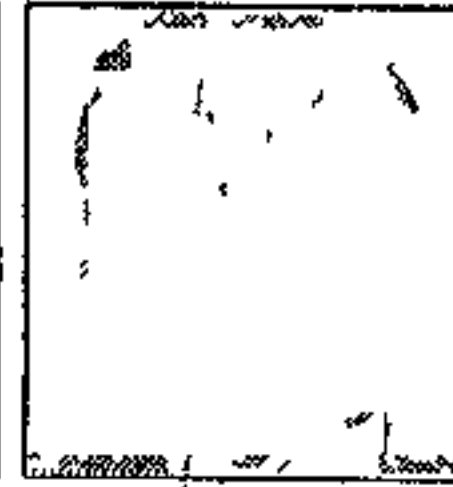
More concessions can be expected and one that I look forward to is freedom for the press to report without hindrance on events in Malawi.

Dr Banda's government maintains that this freedom has existed for a long time. Well, it certainly didn't exist when the government kept harassing the local correspondents of The Star's Africa News Service over a period of some years. At least one of them was jailed without trial for doing nothing more than straightforward reporting.

The Africa Service tested the waters again recently when it was allowed to send a reporter to Malawi not long after the rioting in

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



Blantyre. The reporter, Hans-Peter Bakker, was not prevented from going anywhere but he did find himself often in the company of officials of the Ministry of Information, whether he liked it or not.

One of these worthies told Mr Bakker, during ceremonies in the Blantyre stadium to mark President Banda's birthday "I will tell you when it is not necessary to take photographs." Just when it became "unnecessary" to take photographs was communicated to Mr Bakker by his being seized by the scruff of the neck and jerked violently away.

Mr Bakker assumed that he had either got closer to the president than journalists are allowed to get or he had taken photographs outside of the period designated for picture-taking.

At one point he was told by an official "If you don't stop taking photographs now we will stop you permanently."

Later, at a garden party at the presidential residence, Sanjika Palace, Mr Bakker got within a few metres of Dr Banda to take pictures but then was told by an official "If you don't toe the line I will take away your film." That wasn't as bad as being stopped permanently but it was enough to still Mr Bakker's shutter again.

Before Mr Bakker went to Malawi, the Africa Service had given officials an assurance that he would report factually and objectively on the situation there and as far as the Africa Service is concerned that is what he did.

But this assessment was not shared in Sanjika Palace. After his articles had appeared in South Africa he was telephoned by the principal secretary in the Ministry of Information and Tourism and told that a "low opinion had been formed of him".

"Don't bother to try to come back to Malawi," he was told.

Is this goodbye from the warm heart? □

Malawian dissident jailed (170)

HARARE — Malawian dissident Chakufwa Chihana was arrested again and a US trade union official monitoring his case was deported by Malawi's government. *BIDAY 16/7/92*

The unionist, Thomas Medley, said Chihana was detained yesterday, just three days after being freed on bail following three months behind bars.

On the same day, Medley,

regional representative of the African American Labour Centre, received deportation papers

Lilongwe police had told Chihana's wife he was to be taken to Zomba, where he had been jailed for the past three months

He has not been heard from since.

Chihana was arrested on April 6 when he returned to Malawi — Sapa-AFP

Malawi ⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ dissident Chihana ^{CT 16/7/92} held again

HARARE. — Malawi dissident Mr Chakufwa Chihana has been arrested again and an American trade union official monitoring his case has been deported in an apparent crack-down.

The union official, Mr Thomas Medley, said yesterday Mr Chihana had been detained on Tuesday, just three days after being freed on bail following three months behind bars.

Later the same day, Mr Medley, regional representative of the Washington-based African American Labour Centre (AALC), was served with deportation papers advising him that he had been declared a prohibited immigrant.

"Are they attempting to hide something now?" asked Mr Medley, who said he had been allowed to travel freely to Malawi since Mr Chihana's arrest on sedition charges on April 6.

Mr Chihana's lawyer, Mr Bazuka Mahango, said police in the capital, Lilongwe, had told the dissident's wife they had orders that he be taken to Zomba, where he had been held previously.

He was arrested when reporting to the police in compliance with his bail conditions and had not been heard from since.

Mr Chihana, 52, leader of the opposition Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance, was first arrested when he returned to Malawi in April, saying he would press for reform in the one-party state.

Mr Medley said he had been monitoring the case as his organisation had links with the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council, of which Mr Chihana is secretary-general.

Mr Medley believed he had been declared a prohibited immigrant "because of my stand on trade union, political and human rights".

He said his Washington office was making representations to the United States State Department and the Malawi government.

A recent pledge that Mr Chihana would be granted a fair trial and his release on bail had been interpreted as a sign that Malawi's late president, Dr Kamuzu Banda, was bowing to internal and international pressure to introduce political reforms.

A date has yet to be set for the High Court trial, where Mr Chihana faces a maximum sentence of five years' imprisonment on charges relating to the possession of seditious publications. — Sapa-AFP

brief

Continuation 11/7/92

Dissident is missing

LILONGWE - Leading Malawi dissident Mr Chakulwa Chihana has not been seen since he was taken to the police on Friday and may have been arrested by the police on Sunday (17/7). Chihana's head of staff reported that he had not seen him for the month and that he had a **vite** to return to the police station to report as required by his bail conditions.

She told journalists that they had orders to take Chihana to Zomba, 300km away. She was not allowed to accompany him. 'We don't know where he is', his lawyer Mr Bhazuka Mhango said. There is no explanation whether he is arrested - *See a Reporter*.

No lawyers for Chihana

LDA 17/7/92
HARARE — Lawyers have been refused access to detained Malawi democracy activist Chakufwa Chihana, one of his defence team said yesterday.

Harry Chume said he had confirmation that Chihana had been redetained by police on Tuesday after his release on Saturday, but attempts to see him had been unsuccessful.

He said he believed Chihana, who had been on bail on charges of sedition, was being questioned in the southern city of Blantyre.

"We do not know what this is in connection with," Chume said. "We have been trying to get in touch with him."

Lawyers had approached the state counsel in the sedition case for help. Chume said he did not see what actions by Chihana since his release could warrant his arrest. — Sapa-AFP

Northern Lesotho to have super ski and casino resort

BDA 17/7/92

CONSTRUCTION of a Lesotho ski resort would begin before the end of the year, Lesotho Holdings & Development MD Andre Bruyns said at the project's launch yesterday.

The ski resort would be part of a R100m casino, golf course and hotel development in northern Lesotho, part of a joint venture by a consortium of SA businessmen together with the Lesotho National Development Corporation, he said.

Bruyns said most of the capital generated for the project would be coming from European investors and would provide a major injection of foreign capital into the country.

A mountain pass near the resort site would be suitable for the creation of a ski piste, Bruyns said.

Research into the area's temperature had shown that artificial snow could be produced on a small scale

ADRIAN HADLAND

"without too much trouble".
Machines had been developed in Europe which were capable of producing artificial snow at much lower temperatures than had been the case only a few years ago, Bruyns said.

"With a temperature of around two degrees Celsius you can make artificial snow," he said.

Lesotho Trade and Industries Minister Moletsane Mokoane said the construction of the resort, which will be called Eagle Rock, would be the start of an aggressive tourism development programme in Lesotho.

"The programme is in part a result of the infrastructure which now exists following the implementation of the R6,5bn Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme," he said.

Parts of Lesotho, particularly the scenic mountain areas, which could

only be reached by helicopter before, emittance of the highlands water scheme, were now accessible by road, he said.

The Eagle Rock project, which has been in the planning stages for two years, is expected to take up to 22 months to complete.

Provisional tenders have already been submitted.

It is hoped clients from many parts of SA will be attracted to the 200-room hotel, ski piste, casino and restaurant complex.

Also included in the resort will be theme bars, an 18-hole championship golf course, and a number of other sporting facilities.

Lesotho National Development Corporation MD A M Monyake said a series of resorts had been planned.

"These were aimed at creating 'major job opportunities for Lesotho', said the minister

1988 township killing: policemen suspected

By Guy Jepson ^{STAR} 17/7/92

Police are investigating a murder case against three current and two former municipal policemen in connection with the killing of a Daveyton resident nearly four years ago.

The murder of Aaron Moshokoa may never have been discovered without a tip-off.

An inquest court found that he had died of natural causes in September 1988.

Acting on information received, investigators subsequently established that he had been murdered, said SAP spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman.

"Mr Moshokoa was a private citizen. He was apparently picked up as a suspect on September

26 1988 His body was found the next morning in Tlokwa Street, Daveyton

"On February 22 1989 an official inquest found that he had died of natural causes

"Police received certain information and after investigations were completed, cases were opened against three members of the Daveyton municipal police and two ex-members."

Captain Opperman said on Wednesday that two of the three municipal policemen under investigation had been suspended from the force. The two former municipal policemen had previously resigned from the force

The cases against the five men had been referred to the Attorney-General for a decision

Legal access to Malawian

activist denied

^{STAR} HARARE 17/7/92. Lawyers have been refused access to detained Malawian democracy activist Chakufwa Chihana, one of his defence team said yesterday.

Harry Chume said he had confirmation that Mr Chihana had been re-detained by police but that attempts to see him had been unsuccessful

He said he believed Mr Chihana, who had been on bail on charges of sedition, was being questioned in Blantyre

Mr Chihana was arrested on April 6 when he returned to Malawi. He was released last Saturday and on Monday was committed for trial on charges involving seditious documents. On Tuesday he was again taken into custody
Sapa-AFP

Fired pair join St Lucia campaign

Dr Ian Player and Dr Nolly Zaloumis, recently dropped from the Natal Parks Board, have joined the Campaign for St Lucia.

In a special meeting of the campaign, Dr Zaloumis was elected as the new chairman of the year-old campaign and Dr Player agreed to join its board of patrons

Outgoing chairman

Oliff d'Oliveira said he was disappointed that Natal Administrator Con Botha saw fit to remove "two champions of enlightened environmental conservation" "If this is intended to thwart the campaign and to smother the voices of Dr Player and Dr Zaloumis, it will not work."

Mr d'Oliveira's future role in the campaign

would be to focus on the Wetland Conservation Bill, which is being supported by the ANC, CP, DP, members of the House of Delegates and individual NP MPs.

At the meeting, members welcomed new Parks Board chairman Pat Goss's statement that the board was opposed to the mining of the eastern shores.

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STAR 17/7/92

Amnesty campaigns for Chihana's release

Amnesty International is calling urgently for information on re-arrested Malawian trade unionist.

By MELINDA HAM

THE London-based human rights group Amnesty International has launched an Urgent Action campaign expressing their grave concern about the re-arrest of Malawian trade union leader Chadufwa Chihana this week

The appeal says Amnesty International has "grave fears for Chadufwa Chihana's safety" adding that Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda had threatened that returning dissidents would be "meat for crocodiles". The international human rights group has already documented a number of political killings by the Malawian security forces

In the present climate of rising support for political change, the appeal said "Elements of the security forces appear to be organising semi-official paramilitary groups and there are fears they may resort to extra-judicial executions"

Amnesty is calling urgently for information from the Banda regime about Chihana's whereabouts, and for his immediate and unconditional release with assurances that the Malawi government will guarantee his safety

Chihana (52), the secretary general of the Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordinating Council, disappeared on Tuesday at two in the afternoon after he reported to police headquar-



Chadufwa Chihana

ters in the Malawian capital Lilongwe to fulfill his bail conditions. Chihana's wife accompanied him to the police station but then was told to remain behind when police bundled Chihana into a police car escorted by two police landrovers

Bazuda Mhango, Chihana's lawyer, said "I am extremely depressed. I have no idea where my client is. No police authorities will even confirm that he has been re-arrested. The state lawyer says he has not been informed about any fresh charges"

The Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance, a Malawi opposition group which Chihana chairs, said from Lusaka "Given the history of political killings in Malawi, we are deeply concerned for Chihana's safety and believe his life is in danger"

Before Chihana was released on his brief bail, he had been detained without charge and held in leg irons and solitary confinement for three

months in Mikuyu prison

The trade union leader was granted bail on July 10 by a Lilongwe high court judge and was finally released on Saturday after two of his friends had provided the \$2 500 bail required, he had surrendered his passport and promised to report weekly to the police

The months in detention seemed not to have weakened Chihana's fighting spirit but strengthened it "I have returned to face a government that is in tatters. There is no way it can be resuscitated or reformed. Democratic change is the only alternative"

Chihana said he was not frightened to speak out in favour of democracy "Many people have died for democracy in this country. Why should I be spared? If they want to kill me for what I am saying let them go ahead. My death will hasten the demise of the one party state"

The pro-democracy activist was not charged until three days later when he appeared in a magistrates court in Zomba and was welcomed by a crowd of hundreds of supporters who cheered "Keep on going Chihana". He was charged on three accounts of possession of unlawful material, importing seditious material into Malawi and preparing to act with seditious intent

Political analysts are now trying to speculate why Chihana was rearrested. One western diplomat said his appearance at the Zomba magistrate's court was "a little too presidential for the government's liking" and could fuel further opposition within the country

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Malawian dissident defiant

Guardian (w) By Mike Hall in Lusaka 17/7-23/7/92

THE MALAWIAN pro-democracy campaigner, Chakufwa Chihana, weakened by malaria and ill-treatment after three months in prison, said he would continue to defy President Hastings Banda's government, even if it meant his death.

"Many people have died in the struggle for democracy in Malawi, so why should I be spared?" the trade unionist said from his lawyer's office in Blantyre. "If they want to kill me for what I'm saying, let them go ahead. My death will only oil the engine of democracy and hasten the demise of the one-party state."

Mr Chihana, aged 52, is secretary-general of the Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordination

Council and chairman of the Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance. He was arrested on April 6 after returning to Malawi from a democracy conference in Zambia. He was freed on bail by the high court on Saturday.

Mr Chihana said he had been held in solitary confinement in leg irons for more than a month and his feet had swollen. "It was very demoralising to hear the wailing of other prisoners, crying out to God," he said.

He described prison food as unfit for human consumption and said he had been denied reading material, even a Bible. He was unconcerned that his public statements might jeopardise his coming trial.

POSTERS of detained Malawian trade unionist

Chakufwa Chihana emblazoned with the slogan "Free Chihana! Democracy for Malawi now!" plaster the walls of the crammed office of the exiled Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance (ICDA).

Veteran Malawi exile Frank Mayinga, co-editor of their bi-monthly, *Malawi Democrat*, sits at his desk crowded with high technology computers. "The exact location of this office remains a closely guarded secret," Mayinga says smiling, "just say it's somewhere in Lusaka."

Several Malawian opposition leaders have been assassinated in the last decade while in exile.

Atati Mpakathi, former head of the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma), was murdered in Harare in 1983, and Mkwapatura Mhangu, ex-publicity officer of the Malawi Freedom Movement (MAFREMO), had his home fire-bombed in 1989

The withering of 2000 Malawi lives

Chipeta 2/8/92
The Malawi

Democrat, the underground newsletter for the ICDA, was established in Lusaka in March this year after a conference of Malawian exiles. It is chaired by the detained Chihana

The Alliance is not just another exile movement. It is believed to have a firm base inside Malawi. Chihana was given the mandate to go home and rally support for the establishment of the Democratic Alliance on Malawian soil. But he was arrested as soon as he stepped on the tarmac at Kamuzu International Airport.

A Lilongwe high court granted Chihana bail on July 10, but he was redetained four days later. The 44-year-old Mayinga co-edits the journal with Mapopa Chipeta, an academic based in Harare. "We are not a propaganda newsletter,

rather we cover current issues in Malawi. And we are used as a forum for discussion of various ideas, like how plural politics can be achieved in our country.

"We are fighting not only for the release of our chairman Chihana, but for 2 000 other political detainees who are rotting in Malawi's jails," maintains Mayinga

And, continues Chipeta. "We want to raise the political awareness of Malawians at home and abroad, as well as the international community on human rights abuses."

Mayinga left the University of Malawi in 1974 and fled to Zambia after an intelligence officer warned him that he would soon be detained.

He argues it is not of paramount importance that Chihana remains the ICDA leader. "He is the leader of the interim committee only because he

volunteered to go back inside the country. When we become a party we will elect our leader democratically."

Mayinga and Chipeta spend much of their time rallying support from exiled Malawians in Zambia, getting funding for the newsletter from Western embassies and non-governmental organisations, and finding ways to sneak the newsletter into Malawi.

One western diplomat remarks: "As far as we are concerned, the Democratic Alliance is the only credible opposition party because they have a leader inside the country. At least they are doing something positive by producing the newsletter to keep Malawians and Malawi-watchers all over the world updated about what is happening."

The newsletter is faxed into Malawi where it

is photocopied and widely distributed. It is also smuggled across the Zambian border

Just this week 90 people in Chitipa in northern Malawi were arrested for possession of the newsletter. Also, before Chihana's case on May 6, pamphlets urging people to come to Lilongwe high court were faxed and distributed all over country.

When the police failed to produce Chihana, more than 1 000 people shouted, jeered and rampaged through Lilongwe overturning cars and looting shops.

In the June one-party parliamentary elections, faxes were sent into Malawi urging people to stay at home and not to vote. "No Choice! No Vote! Free Chihana Now!" was the slogan. The Banda government claimed an 80 percent vote, but Western diplomats said it was the worst turnout on record.

Chipeta concludes: "Our hope is that the newsletter will form the nucleus of a pluralist press in a future democratic Malawi" — AIA

Chihana's bail request deferred

STP 4/8/92
HARARE — Malawi courts have deferred a bail application for detained dissident Chakufwa Chihana, who has not been seen by family or friends since his rearrest three weeks ago, his lawyer said yesterday.

Bazuka Mahango said he had been told that the application, due to have been heard yesterday, had been postponed because the State counsel involved in the case would be out of the country. Sapa

Malawi dissident still out of sight

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Simone 718-1318/92
●MALAWI courts have deferred a bail application for detained dissident Chakufwa Chihana, who has not been seen by family or friends since his rearrest on July 14. Chihana, the secretary general of the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council, was first arrested on April 6 when he returned to Malawi and was committed for trial on charges including possession of seditious documents. No date has been set for his trial

500 kids
170
starve
Chipande
to death

9/18/92
MORE than 500 children have starved to death in the southern part of Malawi since May and 8 000 more are at risk because of a severe food shortage

Malawi - hit by the worst drought in living memory - requires 55 000 tons of maize every month to cover the country's 24 districts.

Starvation threatens thousands of peasants, particularly in the Chikwawa and Nsanje districts in the Lower Shire area. Social workers say up to 8 000 children under the age of five are in serious trouble in this area alone.

Malawi now has a shortfall of 800 000 tons of maize and the pledges it has received so far from donors are inadequate for its drought relief requirements, says Drought Relief Committee chairman Dr Graham Chipande. - AIA

CT 18/8/92
**Activist in
(79)
'high spirits'**

LUSAKA. — A lawyer representing detained Malawian trade union leader Mr Chikufwa Chihana said he had been allowed to see him at the weekend, a month after his arrest for opposing the government

"His wife and I were allowed to see him on Sunday. We spoke for an hour. He is well and high spirited," Mr Bazuka Mhango said yesterday.

Mr Chihana is an outspoken critic of self-declared life President Kamuzu Banda, who has run a repressive one-party state since independence in 1964.

Mr Chihana was jailed for several years in the 1970s for opposing Mr Banda — Sapa-Reuter

NEWS Namibia to ask Malawi to guarantee safety of respected African journalist

Editor threatened

Sowetan 20/8/92

(170) (BSP)

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

STATE INTERVENTION Demand for safety following the formation of Misa:

DEATH threats, believed to be from the Malawi government, greeted the formation last weekend of the Media Institute of Southern Africa.

Misa was formed in Windhoek, Namibia, to fight for freedom of the media in Southern Africa and had earlier launched a scathing attack on the Malawi authorities, where citizens are detained for speaking to foreign newsmen.

Following a resolution, also calling for an end to state monopoly, detention without trial and the ban on foreign correspondents, Malawi delegate and editor of the independent *Malawi Financial Post* Mr Alaudin Osman received a telephone death threat at his hotel.

The caller also called Misa chairman

Gwen Lister and left a message for her to stop Osman from returning home as he would be "in deep trouble".

At the request of Misa, the Namibian Deputy Minister for Information Mr Daniel Tjongarero is believed to have asked his senior, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, to raise the matter with the head of the Malawi delegation to the economic summit that took place on Monday.

It is known that the Namibian government promised to insist that the Malawi authorities should give an undertaking that nothing would be done to Osman in Namibia.

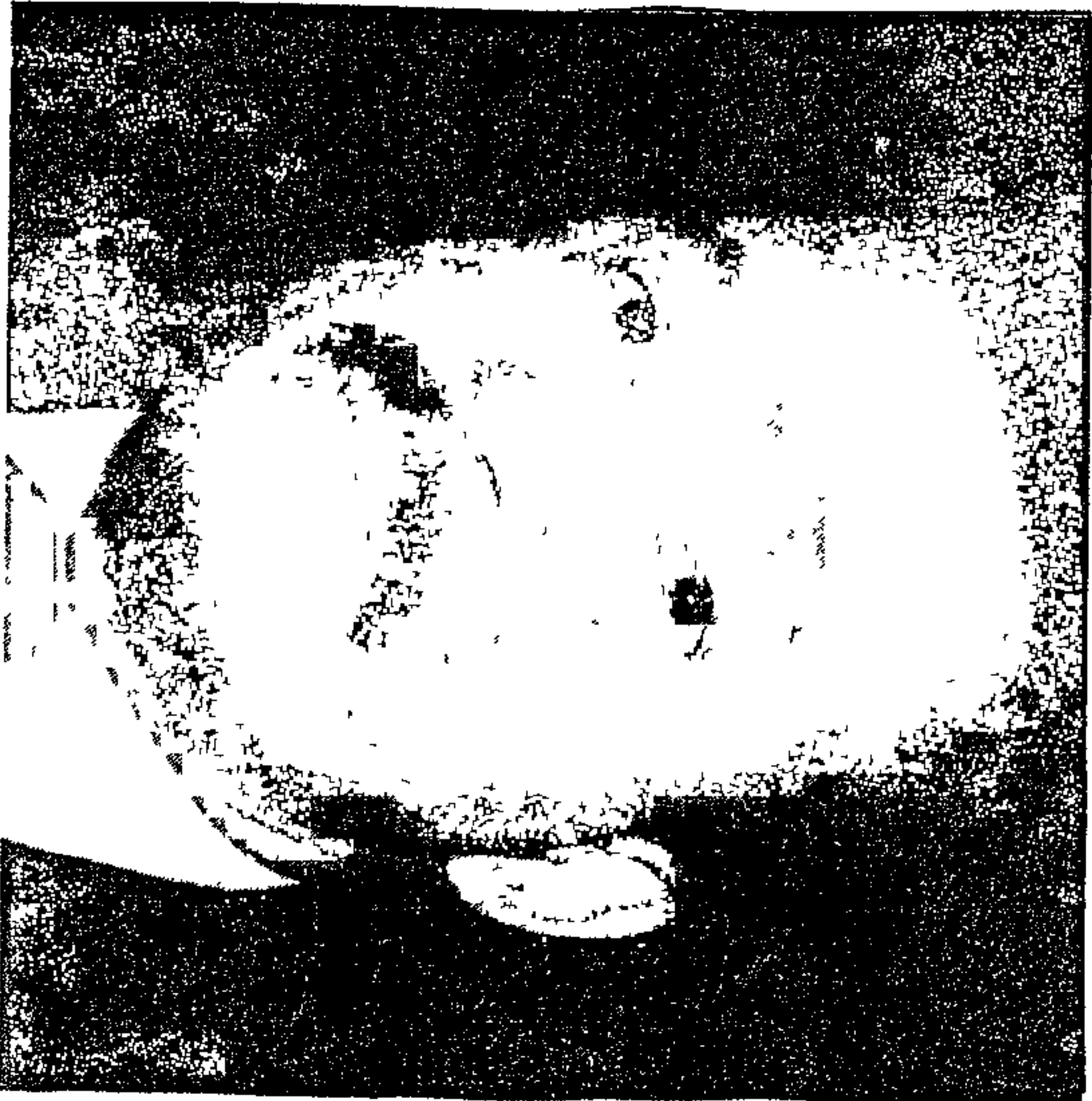
Misa yesterday also issued a call to the Malawi government to respect human

rights and ensure that Osman's return home on Sunday is safe.

It also called on governments in the region and other organisations and institutions to assist "by exerting maximum pressure and influence to ensure his safety".

Osman (48) was the first Malawian editor of the then *Daily Times*. He has also worked for the BBC and edited the *Southern African Economist*.

He was instrumental in the creation of the *Botswana Press Agency* (Bopa) and also served as Chief Information Officer for the Botswana government between 1976 and 1981 and serves on the governing council of Misa.



Mr Alaudin Osman received a death threat.

Leaders to return

Sweetam 20/8/92

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Plan to form a transitional government:

LUSAKA - Twenty leading political dissidents will return to Malawi to organise a convention on reform and the formation of a broad-based transitional government, an exiled opposition leader said this week.

Mr George Kanyanya, chairman of the Lusaka-based United Front for Multi-Party Democracy in Malawi, told a news conference on Tuesday that the leadership and affiliates decided to return home at a meeting held last weekend.

"We unanimously resolved that 20 of us should return to Malawi within four to eight weeks' time to organise a national democratic convention that will resolve the current debilitating political impasse and pave way for a broad-based transitional government," he said. - *Sapa-AFP.*

LILONGWE — 'Thanks to you, Mister President, we crossed the Jordan. You are our Uncle Number One, no one can separate us from you because you were chosen by God to guide us and defend us against the English oppressors.'

The words sung in Malawi's national language Chichewa in praise of Hastings Kamuzu Banda, are virtually part of the national heritage. Every Malawian schoolchild knows them, and only a foreigner would dare to smile at them.

Banda, whose official age is 86, has lost nothing of his legendary authoritarianism since he came to power in 1964 when the British protectorate of Nyasaland gained independence. The obligatory cult around the *Ngwasi* (Saviour) seems as long-wearing as the man's fly swatter and bowler hat, and as rooted in Malawians' habits as the recruitment of *Mbumba* — the official dancers whose presence is ritually required at all public ceremonies.

'Tribal customs have been perverted for the benefit of one man,' a student observed. 'In the south and central regions of the country, it isn't the father who is the most important person, but the uncle.' On important occasions, the village chief's nephews and nieces dance in his honour. 'Banda very quickly learned to use this tradition — he is 'Uncle Number One' and the women of the country have to dance for him as if they were his own nieces,' he explained.

The meaning of the word '*Mbumba*' has broadened. Besides referring to an accomplished dancer, it now connotes a person who performs a more insidious function: spying.

At the time of last May's riots in Blantyre, the economic capital, many *Mbumba* were assaulted, and some were reportedly raped. People knew where the *Mbumba* lived, and targeted those who had taken their sense of patriotic duty too far.

Did these demonstrations, the first in 28 years, catch the regime unprepared? Scores of people were killed when the police came in to quell the riots. In Blantyre alone, Queen Elizabeth Hospital reported 42 bodies. According to diplomatic sources, 'several hundred' arrests were made in the weeks that followed. 'But one must draw a distinction between those who were rounded up in Ndirande township (one of Blantyre's poor districts), many of whom were arrested for looting and released quite quickly, and the civil servants and office workers who were arrested. Out of 70 or 80, only one or two have been freed. You see, these people worked in offices where there were fax machines.'

Other sources say there were

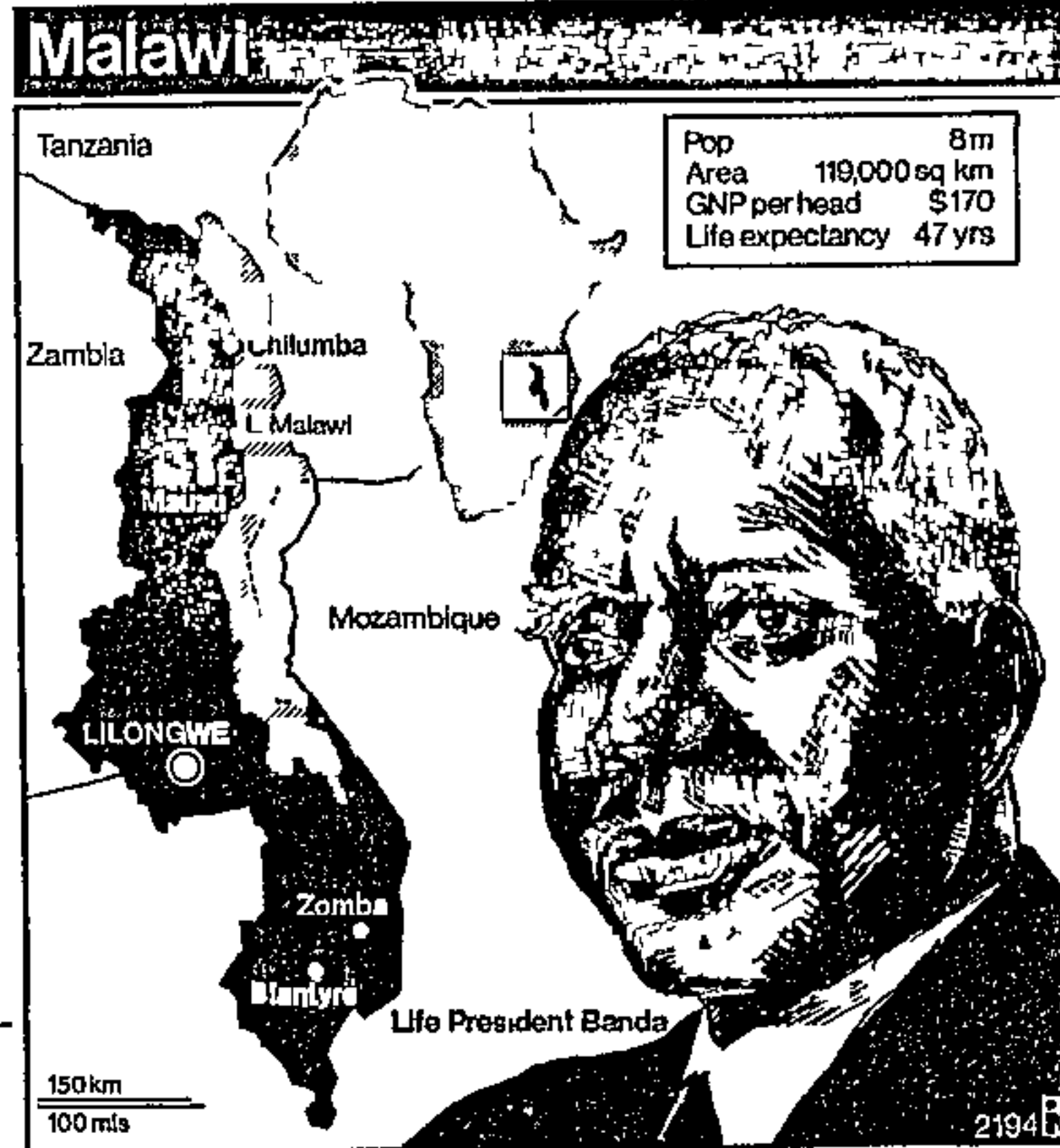
Despite recent rioting, President-for-life Hastings Banda maintains a firm grip on power

Banda (170) keeps the lid on but the steam is building

Guardian (UK) 21/8-27/8/92
By Catherine Simon

more than 2,000 arrests. 'Some of those detained are dying,' said a nun. These allegations were denied by the president on July 6, the 28th anniversary of the country's independence. 'At present there are eight and only eight detainees in our prisons. Those who broke the law will be charged and appear before the court,' he affirmed. The arrests, he said, had been made for 'subversion' and 'vandalism'. As for torture, 'It is not part of our official regulations and I do not authorise it in our prisons.'

Despite being a regular target for criticism from human rights organisations, Malawi, with its tidy little cities, its flower-lined avenues, and its carefree crowds, has the appearance of an exceptionally peaceful country. Too peaceful perhaps? The few people who dare speak to the foreign press do so in secret, under strict anonymity. 'We're not used to rebelling. The first and only person who dared to speak openly was Chifukwa Chihana and they've just put him in prison again,' said one of these anonymous speakers. 'People are aware that things have changed. But everyone also knows that one can disappear just like that — spies are everywhere.' (Chifukwa Chihana 52, is the Secretary General of the Southern African Trade Unions Co-ordination Committee and one of the founders of the United Front for Multiparty Democracy. This movement was created last April in Lusaka by



Malawians in exile. Mr Chihana, who spent seven years in prison in the 1970s, was arrested on April 10 in Lilongwe. After being released in July, he was charged with 'sedition' and was gaoled again on July 14.

Stories of disappearances and mysterious deaths abound. Told in whispers, they feed the general sense of fear that seems to have deadened the entire country. 'The system works so efficiently that people are afraid before they've even done anything,' explained a young woman. 'Our society is sick, completely paranoid. Take the way censorship works,' she said, referring to the censorship of videocassettes. Malawi has no television.

For the censors, *Playboy* and the *Kama Sutra* are six and half a dozen (both are pornographic). In the name of safeguarding traditional customs and morality they prohibit women from wearing trousers and men from growing their hair long. The success of this sort of middle-class puritanism, supported by members of the various Christian denominations (50 percent of the population), has so far been superficial.

The countless neighbourhood 'kutche kutche' bars (the name means literally 'we're going to dance until dawn') are packed every night. The bars run with beer and sweat, and prostitutes do brisk business in them. As almost everywhere in Africa, AIDS is spreading at an alarming rate.

Easily identifiable on the map by its famed lake (the continent's third largest lake), Malawi and its eight million inhabitants are rarely honoured by press attention. This little tropical Romania, spared war and ethnic troubles, has long enjoyed Western support. 'Up to a year or two ago, everybody was going mad over Malawi's economic performances,' said a diplomat. 'In 1991, its growth rate was held up as an example. Just think — over seven percent!' It was only well into 1992 that the facade began to crack. The publication in early March of a pastoral letter denouncing the excesses of the regime was like a match to powder. The arrest of opposition leader Chihana on his return from exile provoked further popular explosions, combining political protest with demands for higher wages. In May, Western backers decided to suspend a portion of their financial support by freezing all new aid projects.

Is Malawi being stirred by the same winds of change that are blowing over the entire continent, or have the people been 'contaminated' by the example of neighbouring Zambia? Have the changes in South Africa thrown Banda's regime off balance by some sort of ricochet effect? Although Banda claims to oppose apartheid, he has always cultivated excellent relations with Pretoria, much to the despair of other African leaders. There are many South Africans in

Malawi, whose biggest trade partners include South Africa.

'What set things off wasn't Zambia or South Africa, but the appointment of John Tembo as Minister of State to the President,' explained a local businessman. Tembo, who is the uncle of 'Mamma' Cecilia Tamanda Kadzimir, the country's 'official hostess' and first lady, is a former finance minister and Central Bank governor. He is currently treasurer of the country's only political party, the MCP (Malawi Congress Party), and has long been the president's heir apparent. The fears of many Malawians were confirmed when he was named last January to the post of Minister of State to the President.

'If he takes over from the old man, things will be a thousand times worse,' is a commonly heard statement. According to the businessman, whom no one would suspect of sympathising with the radical dissenters, 'People are willing to let the president die in peace. So he took his piece of the cake — he's the boss after all. But nobody wants Tembo. They hate him.'

But the Minister of State appears to pay little attention to the avalanche of hostile rumours. In a rare interview, shortly after the riots, he told the *Johannesburg Star* that neither he nor the President had any intention of giving in to pressures to abandon the one party system 'which has worked very well for nearly 30 years'.

Despite this display of firmness, there have been signs of actual openness, of an easing up on the part of the authorities. The launch last February of the weekly *Financial Post*, which has made a timid attempt to depart from the official line, is one example. Another is the planned visit by a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross to inspect the country's prisons. In his July 6 speech, Banda even rebuked members of the Youth League (a branch of the single party) said to have barred people without their party card from markets and bus stations.

The extreme fragility of the country's financial situation, aggravated by the ravages of drought and the burden of some 900,000 Mozambican refugees, makes the future uncertain. Banda's regime, anxious to regain its popularity with Western governments, has promised that Chihana's trial will begin soon and that it will be held in open court. Diplomatic sources are already saying that the trial will be a genuine test to 'measure the gap between the official line and respect for human rights'.

(August 8)

ONCE upon a time there was an attractive species of tropical algae. In the late 1970s, aquarists began putting it in their aquariums. *Caulerpa taxifolia* had everything going for it: graceful, fern-like foliage, extreme hardiness, and an amazing capacity to reproduce. As a result, it became a standby in both home and public aquariums.

In 1984, *taxifolia* was spotted in the sea directly in front of the Monaco Oceanography Museum. At the time, the museum filled its aquariums directly from the sea, and disposed of its water directly into the sea. No one was surprised to find such a vigorous species as *taxifolia* in the natural environment at a time when near-tropical temperatures prevailed in the Mediterranean. Once winter arrived, the warm water plant would surely disappear.

Not only did *Caulerpa taxifolia* fail to succumb to winter water

Perils of aquarium algae

An aggressive species of tropical algae has invaded France's Mediterranean coast. Scientists are now trying to determine the extent of *Caulerpa taxifolia*'s threat to marine life.

temperatures of 13 degrees it was found growing at several points along the coast, at depths ranging from three to 35 metres. The tropical algae was flourishing in a non-tropical sea. The plant grew at a brazen speed, shooting out suckers faster than a strawberry plant. It then developed metre-long stems — a length rarely seen in the plant's natural warm water habitat.

In 1989 the alarm was sounded when a diver found it growing 52 metres under the sea. Professor Alexandre Meinesz mobilised staff at his seacoast environment laboratory at the University of Nice. Meinesz is a veteran diver and an expert on undersea flora. His speciality is *Posidonia oceanica* — not

an algae, but a flowering plant whose long, flat leaves accumulate on the beaches after winter storms, forming thick cushions which serve as nurseries for underwater fauna. Since 1978, Meinesz and his colleague, Professor Charles-Henri Boudouresque of the benthos ecol-

By Roger Cans

ogy and marine biology laboratory of the University of Marseilles Luminy, have published a great deal of work on *Posidonia oceanica*. Both have concluded that *posidonia*, indispensable to the balance of the Mediterranean's underwater life, is seriously threatened by both urban

pollution and the development of pleasure boating. Now if its habitat is invaded by a tropical algae, *posidonia* will be doomed.

From being an attractive aquarium plant, *taxifolia* has become a 'killer algae' on the Mediterranean coast. In February the authorities took action. The ministers of the environment and the sea set up a scientific committee, headed by professors Meinesz and Boudouresque, to conduct in-depth research on *Caulerpa taxifolia*, and a co-ordinating committee whose mission will be to propose actions to eradicate the invasive algae.

A substantial budget of 175 million francs (£160,000), has been provided by the central and local

governments to finance research in 1992-1993. Funds were allocated to the laboratories headed by Meinesz and Boudouresque, to IFREMER (French Marine Research Institute) research centres in Toulon, Sete and Brest, to the INSERM (National Health and Medical Research Institute) laboratory at Villefranche-sur-Mer, the research centre of the University of Marseilles Saint-Jérôme headed by Professor Nardo Vicente and the Endoume marine station. An initial scientific report is to be submitted in the autumn.

(August 5)

Le Monde

Directeur Jacques Lesourne
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Church reform :-

LUSAKA - The Presbyterian Church in Malawi said yesterday it would lead peaceful demonstrations calling for political reform and improved human rights in the impoverished country. *Sowetan 27/8/92*

The Church of Central African Presbyterians did not say when the protests would begin. But a meeting of its leaders at Livingstonia, 320km north of Lilongwe, resolved to organise peaceful demonstrations to pressure the government to hold a referendum on democratic reform, according to a statement obtained in Zambia. - *Sapa-Reuter-AFP* (170)

Malawi dissident case judgment is reserved

Sowetan 27/8/92 (170)

HARARE - Malawi dissident Mr Chakufwa Chihana remained in jail yesterday after a High Court judge reserved judgment on an appeal for his release.

Chihana's lawyer Mr Bazuka Mahango said from Lilongwe by telephone that he expected a ruling next week.

He said the state had argued that Chihana should be kept in custody until his trial on sedition charges was concluded "because he might commit further offences by expressing his opinion" on political issues in interviews with international media.

The defence had charged that Chihana's rearrest last month after just three days on bail was unlawful and violated constitutional rights. Chihana, leader of the opposition Interim

■ Decision after State argues he may continue to break the law:

Committee for a Democratic Alliance, was first arrested in April when he pledged to campaign for multi-party democracy in the southern African country on his return from a meeting of exiles in Zambia.

Three months later, after international pressure for his release, the 52-year-old trade unionist was granted bail on charges of sedition.

Interviewed by international radio stations after being freed, he said he would continue to campaign for political reform, and was then rearrested.

Chihana was not in court for the hearing yesterday. No date has been set for his trial - Sapa-AFP.

Chihana still in jail

(170)

■MALAWI dissident Chakufwa Chihana remained in jail this week after a Malawi High Court judge reserved judgment on an appeal for his release. *W/Mail 28/8-3/9/92*

The dissident trade unionist's lawyer, Bazuka Mahango, said the state had argued that Chihana should be kept in custody until his trial on sedition charges "because he might commit further offences by expressing his opinion" on political issues in interviews with international media.

The defence had charged that Chihana's rearrest last month after just three days on bail was unlawful and violated his constitutional rights.

Chihana, leader of the opposition Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance, was first arrested in April when he pledged to campaign for multi-party democracy in Malawi on his return from a meeting of exiles in Zambia.

— Sapa-AFP and Reuter

were misappropriating the investigation by the Business Commission in June that no against the society, which robe will take "another few officer Captain Gordon Dur Branch said yesterday anal non-profit educational 18) CT 29 | 8 | 92

afternoon when she was attacked, by the dog which dragged her around the property. She was injured on both arms and the head Mrs Mur is in a stable condition at Johannesburg Hospital Police are investigating — Sapa

International conference to settle the Yugoslav conflict ended in London, Bosnian Muslim and Serbian media reported yesterday Bosnia's presidency building in Sarajevo came under heavy mortar attack yesterday, forcing presidency member Mr Stjepan Kljucic to flee

day and early yesterday in Sarajevo's Vogosca suburb A 96-hour deadline for the notifying of positions of heavy weapons in Bosnia was one of the key outcomes of the London conference, British government officials said yesterday The Bosnian Serbs under

gorazac and Jacek, and for the grouping under the "continuous supervision" of permanent UN observers to be completed within seven days But at a later briefing, officials said that the 96 hours had not started nor was a start date decided — Sapa



muslim veterans and, is meant to "conscientise" people about Bosnia's plight, it was announced at a press conference One of the speakers will be Imam Achmad Cassiem, a former Robben Island prisoner and senior Qibla member

Probe into attack by dogs

Staff Reporter
A SENIOR public prosecutor is to decide whether the owner of eight dogs, some of which mauled a Woodstock man, will be prosecuted for failing to keep his dogs on leashes, a police spokesman said.
Mr Samuel Henry, 42, of Gympie Street, was walking home about 330am yesterday when he was attacked.
The owner of the dogs, Mr Abdurahman Adams, 48, also of Gympie Street, said the dogs were normally kept behind a locked gate, but four of them had managed to escape through a window in the house.



SAVAGED ... Mr Samuel Henry at Woodstock Hospital shortly after he was mauled by a pack of dogs in Gympie street, Woodstock, early yesterday morning
Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

VAT zero rate: Keys concerned

Staff Reporter
MINISTER of Finance, Trade and Industry Mr Derek Keys told a VAT Action Group delegation yesterday that he was concerned the zero rating of basic foods might not bring about a reduction in food prices in many areas.
According to the VAT Action Group of the Food Forum, the minister said this during a two-hour meeting in Pretoria.
The VAT Action Group delegation was led by supermarket chain mogul Mr Raymond Ackerman.
The implementation of VAT, the

delegation told Mr Keys, increased food prices of items previously exempted from GST, and resulted in a six percent inflation of food prices.
Mr Ackerman said in a statement the delegation favoured a "multi-rated consumption tax (which) is working well in virtually every European country, and the United Kingdom, where basic foods are zero-rated".
The VAT Action statement said Mr Keys said he was "sympathetic" to the delegation and "was concerned about the escalation in food prices".
A spokesman for Mr Keys' office said there was no comment on the meeting at this stage.

Highest-yet poll for UCT SRC

Staff Reporter
FOURTEEN 1993 UCT SRC members, representing a wide range of views, were elected in the highest-yet poll during three days of voting this week.
The SRC office yesterday put the poll at an overall 36% — slightly up on last year's 34.75% — with a provisional undergraduate poll of 44%.

The new SRC members are Mr Craig Walker, a social science student who received the most votes, Mr Dnyan Botha, Mr Chris Kenyon, Ms Juliet Miyabo, Mr Roy Shea, Mr Kwanda Sojola, Mr Stett Anas-tasiadis, Mr Geoff Steere, Mr Colin Douglas, Ms Ruth Hall, Mr Refilwe Tshabalala, Mr Ryan Coetzee, Ms Hermione Cronje and Mr Jonathan Hulley.
Mr Douglas, Mr Coetzee and Mr Hulley are aligned with the Democratic Party Youth and the Student Democratic Alliance.
Mr Sojola and Ms Cronje, who stood on a joint ticket of "bring UCT under scrutiny", are high-placed members of the UCT branch of the SA Students' Congress (Sasoc).
Ms Hall, whose campaign slogan was "A woman's place is on the SRC" was the only successful feminist candidate, and Mr Anastasiadis based his campaign on environmental awareness.
The 1993 SRC is due to take up office next week.

Third consecutive issue of Scope banned

THE September 4 issue of Scope magazine has been banned for distribution, the Directorate of Publications announced in Cape Town yesterday.
This is the third consecutive issue of the magazine found to be undesirable, following banings of the publication's August 7 and August 21 editions.
Apart from Scope, five cassettes, one catalogue and two other publications were also deemed to be undesirable.
One film "Better Sexual Techniques Vol 1" was also rejected — Sapa

Bardot to sue

Talalattare

Phone: 488-4722

New challenge to Banda (17)

LUSAKA — In a new challenge to the ageing life president of Malawi, Dr Kamuzu Banda, Protestant church leaders have demanded a national referendum to gauge support for one-party rule.
They also plan an unprecedented ecumenical pro-democracy rally tomorrow.
"This is the beginning of a whole campaign for democracy," the Rev Aaron Longwe, moderator-elect of the Church of Central African Presbyterians, said — Sapa-AP

Shacks built in PE protest

PORT ELIZABETH — A peaceful demonstration yesterday to demand "houses for all" by about 1 000 ANC supporters turned open ground outside the upmarket Greenacres complex into a smoke-filled squallid shack settlement area.
The building of shacks yesterday was part of the ANC alliance mass action campaign, symbolising the housing crisis in black townships here — Sapa-AP

Church leaders held in Malawi

(75)
BLANTYRE, Malawi — Police in the city of Mzuzu yesterday detained 11 church leaders and outlawed a pro-democracy rally, a church leader said. *ET 2/18/92*
The rally was intended to call for a referendum on ending one-party rule — Sapa-AP'

Malawian church leaders detained

(170)

STAR 31/8/92

LUSAKA — In a new crackdown on dissent, Malawian police detained 11 church leaders and outlawed a pro-democracy rally yesterday, a church leader said.

Ten of the clergymen were released yesterday evening, and it was not known whether they would face charges, said the Rev Aaron Longwe, moderator-elect of the Church of Central African Presbyterians. The fate of the 11th prisoner was not known.

Publicise

"These detentions are a very sad development," Mr Longwe said.

Mr Longwe was one of the organisers of the rally planned for the northern city of Mzuzu. Church leaders said it was intended to publicise their calls for a national referendum on

ending one-party rule.

But police swooped down on the organisers late on Saturday and detained nine, including a Roman Catholic priest, Father John Leaghy from Ireland, Mr Longwe said.

Two more were arrested yesterday, including one priest who urged his congregation to defy the government and attend the rally. All except that priest had been freed by yesterday evening, according to Mr Longwe and a lawyer, Harry Chume.

State radio said on Saturday night the rally had been banned because of security regulations.

Religious leaders and human rights groups, including Amnesty International, have accused President Kamuzu Banda of allowing human rights violations. They have detailed allegations that political opponents have been assassinated, detained without trial and hound-

ed into exile.

Dr Banda, who led Malawi to independence in 1964, has rejected such charges.

He has also resisted pressure to end one-party rule, saying Malawians favour it.

In May, Western donors suspended aid until "tangible and irreversible" political reforms were introduced.

Erupted

The country is badly strapped for money due to drought and the responsibility of caring for 1 million war refugees from neighbouring Mozambique.

Public dissatisfaction erupted in anti-government rioting in May, and at least 22 people were killed. Since then, the government has freed some political prisoners and relaxed the law that permitted detention without charge — Sapa-AP

STAN 1/9/92
Priest rearrested, deported from Malawi (170)

LUSAKA — Malawi authorities yesterday deported a Roman Catholic priest a few hours after he was arrested together with a local Protestant priest who had planned to organise an anti-government rally last Sunday

Workers at the Saint Peter's Church, in the northern town of Mzuzu,

said Father Thomas Leahy was brought by police, two hours after his arrest with the Rev Aaron Longwe, to bid farewell to his congregation and colleagues

"The police brought him around to come and say good-bye to us and he was immediately driven to Lilongwe, from where they said he will fly straight to Ireland,"

said his cook, who identified himself only as Mpande

Mr Leahy had told the people who gathered at the parish that he had received a deportation order because of the uproar he caused after his involvement with a Presbyterian Church of Scotland rally, said another church employee named only as Mrs Hara

Father Leahy was rearrested yesterday morning after Mzuzu police released him with nine others on Sunday for planning to hold a rally at his parish grounds

The rally, which failed to take place because of the arrests and police intervention, was organised by Mr Longwe, who has since been detained

without charge and is expected to be transferred to Lilongwe

In April, the government deported another Irish-born Catholic cleric, Monsignor John Roche, who was a signatory to a pastoral letter which criticised Malawi's human rights record and called for improved basic freedoms — Sapa-AFP

Malawi's 'Fax Revolution: Hundreds held'

LONDON — Police have arrested hundreds of people in Malawi since May in a government crackdown on an unprecedented upsurge of opposition dubbed the "Fax Revolution", Amnesty International has said.

There was also "a frightening pattern of deaths in custody", the human rights watchdog said last week in a report on repression in Malawi.

Police raided offices and homes seeking opponents of the single-party rule of President Kamuzu Banda, in some cases, as at the

National Bank of Malawi's computer section, arresting the entire staff on suspicion of using photocopiers to reprint multi-party literature.

Anyone with a fax machine can face police harassment on the grounds it had been used to send anti-government messages.

"The government is facing unexpected opposition and it is reacting with repression," the report said, calling on Malawi to halt human rights abuses.

"We have reports of 285 people being crammed into one small cell, of people being kept in leg irons, of severe beatings and electric shocks. One woman had been stripped naked and tortured with an electric cattle prod," it said.

Malawi, ruled by Dr Banda with an iron fist since independence from Britain in 1964, has seen an unprecedented rise in political protest since the country's Roman Catholic bishops issued a challenge to the government in March, in a letter read out in

churches nationwide.

In the letter, of which 16 000 copies were printed, the bishops criticised Malawi's human rights record and called for greater democracy. The letter was declared seditious, making it an offence to have a copy.

The Catholic bishops were later backed by Protestant church leaders as well as Western creditor nations, which have withheld non-humanitarian aid until the government improves its human rights record — Sapa-AFP

ARG 3/9/92

Russia and US uranium deal blow for SA

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — A United States decision to buy 50 tons of highly enriched weapons-grade uranium from Russia over the next five years is likely to come as a blow to smaller uranium producers such as South Africa and Canada

The United States will dilute the uranium and sell it as commercial reactor fuel, President Bush has announced. A further 30 tons would be similarly transferred and sold after that, he added

The deal is expected to flood the United States market with cheap enriched uranium fuel for decades to come.

The US-Russian agreement is said to have been aimed in part at preventing the material — removed from nuclear weapons now being dismantled — from falling into the wrong hands

Some of the profits from the sale of the Russian fuel, Mr Bush announced, would be used to improve the safety of nuclear power stations in the former Soviet Union

Many are believed to need urgent attention and at least six, built to the same design and at the same time as the Chernobyl reactor, are regarded by some Western scientists as dangerous

While the agreement, initiated in Moscow and subject to formal ratification within 12 months, appears to limit the sale of the diluted fuel to commercial users in the United States, there is no clarity on the matter

Some observers suggest that pressure from Russia for foreign exchange could encourage the sale of the commercial fuel internationally.

There is no indication yet what reaction the agreement is likely to get from the US Senate, which would have to ratify any formal treaty, but senators of both major parties have expressed concern about the risks involved in the nuclear disarmament of the former Soviet Union — so the agreement may well be encouraged and quickly endorsed.

SVETI STEFAN (Yugoslavia) — Reclusive US chess star Bobby Fischer has made a triumphant comeback, beating old rival Boris Spassky in a match he agreed to play in Yugoslavia in open defiance of UN sanctions.

Fischer, 49, emerged from 20 years self-imposed seclusion to beat Spassky in six hours and 49 moves yesterday in the first game of a \$5 million (about R13 million) re-match of their legendary 1972 world championship duel.

"I had a good opening advantage, and basically that was it,"

Fischer i

a confident Fischer told reporters after the game.

"It was a pretty good game."

Spassky, robbed by Fischer of the world crown in their 1972 Reykjavic encounter amid allegations of cheating and even spying, was generous in defeat.

"I think I missed the best plan. Bobby had a nice line and eventually I was killed," Spassky said to a guffaw of laughter from Fischer.

ARG 3/9/92 (176)

'Repression and arrests in Malawi'

LONDON. — Malawi's ageing President Kamuzu Banda is attempting to suppress burgeoning opposition with mass arrests, raids on offices and homes and church harassment, says Amnesty International

The London-based human rights organisation said that hundreds of people had been arrested in the past four months and crammed into overcrowded prison cells, some deliberately flooded with excrement.

Ill-treatment included forcing political prisoners to clear up excrement with their bare hands, the report said.

"The government is facing unexpected opposition and it is reacting with repression," said Amnesty International. "We have reports of 285 people being crammed into one small cell, of people being kept in leg irons, of severe beatings and electric shocks. There is also a frightening pattern of deaths in custody."

President Banda, believed to be in his 90s, has ruled this central African nation since independence from Britain in 1964.

He presides over a one-party state as president-for-life and is resisting post-Cold War pressure on Third World dictatorships to hold multiparty elections.

The crackdown followed a

Lenten pastoral letter in March by Malawi's Roman Catholics criticising the government and calling for greater democracy. The letter sparked public debate, including anti-government demonstrations

A bishop, Irish Monsignor John Roche, was expelled and others threatened with execution by ruling Malawi Congress Party leaders

In its report, Amnesty International said that since May police had swooped on homes and offices, sometimes simply on suspicion that a photocopier was used to reproduce multiparty literature

In separate raids the entire staffs, totalling about 30, of the computer sections of the National Bank of Malawi and of the Electricity Supply Commission were picked up, the report said

The commission's acting computer manager, Grey Nyenje, was feared to have been tortured and might have died in custody, it said

"The government has taken some steps to improve respect for human rights — possibly more than 60 political detainees have been released this year — but that is all undermined by these continuing arrests," said Amnesty International

The Malawi High Commission in London did not return telephone calls seeking comment — Sapa-AP.

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Editor returns under threat

■ Media criticism of Malawi elections:

GABORONE - A Malawian editor who received anonymous threats after being indirectly associated with foreign criticism of President Kamuzu Banda's government has returned to Malawi

Mr Alaudin Osman, editor of the *Financial Post* in Blantyre, left Botswana, for Malawi on Wednesday. He received telephone threats while in Windhoek, Namibia, where he had been elected a member of the governing council of the Media Institute of Southern Africa.

At that meeting Misa adopted resolutions criticising the Malawian government for restricting the news media and detaining people without trial.

Generals deny SAP helped Banda to quell protesters

Political Staff

(170) ARG 5/9/92

ANGRY police generals have dismissed reports that senior South African Police members helped train Malawi's police force to crack down on pro-democracy protests.

The Weekly Mail reported that police were called in to help the Malawian police force because dictator Dr Kamuzu Banda believed his army could not be trusted to suppress pro-democracy demonstrations.

One of the policemen identified by the Weekly Mail was Lieutenant-General Basie Smit, head of the Crime Combating and Investigation section

The newspaper said General Smit was an expert in counter-insurgency and political surveillance

Annoyed police generals said

there was absolutely no truth to claims that the SAP had helped Malawian police crack down on pro-democracy demonstrators

"Lieutenant-General Smit is not an expert in counter-insurgency

He has never even done a course in counter-insurgency," one of his top colleagues said yesterday "He is an expert in the detective field, a professional detective, not a security officer"

Police generals said General Smit visited Malawi three times, staying for five days on each occasion, between February 1991 and January 1992. These visits were linked to 20 investigations into narcotics and the illegal sale of ivory, rhino horns and other game products.

In one case, 112 pieces of ivory horn were seized and a major in the Malawian army was arrested.

Bishops concerned over abuses in Malawi

(170)

HARARE — Southern African Anglican bishops expressed concern yesterday over Malawi's human rights violations and urged a speedy release of political prisoners.

The bishops, ending a church meeting in Harare, also criticised the recent expulsion from Malawi of Irish Roman Catholic missionary Thomas Leahy by the government of President Kamuzu Banda.

"We are concerned about the continued detention, torture, ha-

arrassment and intimidation of political opponents of the government of Malawi," said the bishops, who lead Anglican churches in Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

They had discussed "worsening human rights abuses and violations" in Malawi and urged Dr Banda, who has ruled with an iron hand since independence in 1964, to free political prisoners being held "without just cause".

In a statement, they added

"We give our unflinching support to the Malawi church leaders who are the watchdogs of the poor and the oppressed people of the country in their struggle for true and genuine democracy."

"We hope a speedy return to political normalcy in Malawi will be realised and that the authorities will ensure respect for fundamental human rights."

The bishops said they would soon be sending a church mission to Malawi to investigate

human rights abuses

Last week the London-based human rights organisation Amnesty International accused Malawi of arresting and torturing opponents of the government and said it had reports of 285 people "being crammed into a small cell" Malawi denied the charges.

In May, Western donors concerned at human rights violations suspended new non-humanitarian aid to Malawi. Sapa-Reuter



AFRICA

W/Mail 11/9-17/1992 **AFRICA**
Dissident freed on bail (170)

A MALAWI magistrate's court this week charged dissident Chakufwa Chihana with three counts of sedition and freed him on bail. The charges stem from statements he made after his release from detention on earlier sedition charges, in which he said he would continue mobilising popular support to end President Kamuzu Banda's one-party rule.

'285 Malawians kept in a cell'

South 12/9 - 16/9/92

(170)

MALAWI'S authoritarian government has resorted to shocking human rights abuses in a crackdown on opposition, Amnesty International reported.

In turn the Malawi High Commission in London accused the international human rights organisation of 'playing with peoples' emotions' in a bid to raise funds and "repeating its disgusting, unverifiable allegations of torture and death in

Malawi prisons"

Amnesty said in a report earlier last week it had reports of 285 people "being crammed into one small cell, of people being kept in leg irons, of severe beatings and electric shocks"

"One woman was stripped, beaten and poked with an electric cattle prod. There is also a frightening pattern of deaths in custody," Amnesty said.

The Malawi High Commission said the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was

in Malawi at the invitation of the government to look at prison conditions.

"One would have thought the decent thing to do would have been to join forces with the ICRC or at least wait until the ICRC, who are in Malawi, made their findings public."

The statement said Malawi would be happy to consider the recommendations of the ICRC.

The Amnesty report said in response to international criticism, Malawi recently freed

long-term political detainees, including a man held for 27 years. But active dissenters were still imprisoned without charge or indicted for sedition.

Western donors suspended non-humanitarian aid to Malawi in May, demanding wider human rights and the introduction of a multi-party system.

Malawi, a former British colony, has been ruled since independence in 1964 by life President Kamuzu Banda, now in his nineties. — *Sapa-Router*

Banda's weapon loses edge

STAR 24/9/92.

(170)

THE MOST effective weapon Malawian dictator Kamuzu Banda has used to suppress dissent is fear

But when workers rioted in Malawi this year, forcing the authorities to use heavy-handed methods to quell them, the message was clear the Malawian people have at last overcome the fear that had frozen them for almost three decades

"The government (of President Banda) should realise it's in a no-win situation," says Mapopa Chipeta, a Malawian opposition activist based in Zambia

Dr Banda cannot afford to sit still because his people — and, most importantly, the international donors — want change. But change will almost certainly see him lose power

Mr Chipeta says people's defiance has emboldened Dr Banda's opponents to take a risk which would never have been thought of only a few months ago. A pressure group was formed inside Malawi this week to campaign openly through peaceful means for democratic reform

To be known as the Alliance for Democracy, the group comprises some well-known Malawians and is led by trade union-

For the first time since independence, an opposition group has been formed inside Malawi to press for political reform, reports BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The Star Africa Service in Lusaka

ist Chakufwa Chihana, a persistent opponent of the Banda regime, who is currently facing sedition charges

When a day passed after the announcement of the group's formation without any action or response from the Malawian government, the opposition saw this as a sign of hope

"It's very surprising," says Mr Chipeta. "We spoke to all the people (members of the group in Malawi). They have not been questioned or arrested."

"The government's silence will give impetus or encouragement to our people in Malawi. It will show to them that there are people inside Malawi who are prepared to say 'enough is enough'."

This has been a difficult year for President Banda's regime. Opposition to his government became evident in the country at the end of last year and early this year when anti-government literature began appearing in public for the first time. The

authorities responded by rounding up and detaining suspects. Some of the detainees were allegedly tortured by security forces. This led to the historic pastoral letter from the Catholic Church which was highly critical of government conduct. The letter also appealed to the authorities to open up the political system

The release of the pastoral letter coincided with a seminar in Lusaka which was attended for the first time by Malawians from inside and outside the country. But, says Mr Chipeta, that meeting did not live up to expectations

"Some outsiders felt threatened by the insiders. They felt the insiders had come to steal their show."

Despite this, however, the meeting was extensively covered by the international media, and this incensed the Malawian government. It elicited the now-famous response by the government that anyone

who dared to set foot in Malawi would "become meat for the crocodiles"

The meeting decided that Mr Chihana would go back to Malawi to create a structure that would eventually organise a constitutional conference similar to those in several African countries. Mr Chihana was arrested on arrival in Malawi

The situation in Malawi became confused as riots erupted in many parts of the country. Many people were detained. Donor nations responded by suspending aid to Malawi until the government introduced political reform

According to the opposition, the government has quietly introduced unheralded changes which, even though minor, are regarded as significant

The Forfeiture Act, for instance, which empowers the government to seize property belonging to its political opponents, has been amended, some political detainees have been released, a tribunal has been set up to review detainees' cases, and censorship laws have been relaxed

"All these reforms are the tip of the iceberg," Mr Chipeta says. □

Malawians overcome fear of dictator Banda

LUSAKA - The most effective weapon Malawian dictator Kamuzu Banda has used to suppress dissent all these years is fear

But when workers rioted in many parts of Malawi earlier this year forcing the authorities to use heavy-handed methods to quell the uprising, the message was clear the people of Malawi have at last overcome the fear that had frozen them for almost three decades

"The government (of president Banda) should realise it's in a no-win situation," says Mapopa Chipeta, a Malawian opposition activist based in Zambia

Dr Banda cannot afford to sit still because his people and most importantly the international donors want change. But change will almost certainly see him lose power

"There is a lot of defiance throughout the country," Chipeta adds

This defiance has emboldened Banda's opponents to take a risk which would never have entered the realm of speculation only a few months ago. A pressure group was formed inside Malawi this week to campaign openly through peaceful means for democratic reform

To be known as the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD), the group comprises some well-known Malawians and is led by trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana, a persistent opponent of the Banda regime, who is currently facing sedition charges

When a day passed after the announcement of the group's formation without any action or response from the Malawian government, the opposition saw this as a sign of hope

"It's very surprising," says Chipeta. "We spoke to all the people (members of the group in Malawi). They have not been questioned or arrested"

"The government's silence will give impetus or encouragement to our people in Malawi. It will show to them that there are people inside Malawi who are prepared to say 'enough is enough'"

This has been a difficult year for President Banda's regime. Opposition to his government became evident within the country towards the end of last year and early this year when anti-government literature began appearing in public for the first time

The authorities responded by rounding up and detaining many suspects. Some of the detainees were allegedly tortured by security forces

This led to a historic pastoral letter from the Catholic Church which was highly critical of government con-

SHORED UP The South African

Government is understood to have

given millions to Banda: (170)

Sowetan 24/9/92
⤷ The government's silence will give impetus or encouragement to our people in Malawi. It will show to them that there are people inside Malawi who are prepared to say 'enough is enough' ;

Mapopa Chipeta, a Malawian opposition activist based in Zambia

duct. The letter also appealed to the authorities to open up the political system

The release of the pastoral letter coincided with a seminar in Lusaka which was attended for the first time by Malawians from inside and outside the country

But according to Chipeta that meeting did not live up to expectation. He blames this on what he calls power-play and personality clashes

"Some 'outsiders' felt threatened by the 'insiders'. They felt the insiders had come to steal their show"

Despite this, however, the meeting was extensively covered by the international media, and this incensed the Malawian government. It elicited the now-famous response by the government that anyone who dared to set foot in Malawi would "become meat for the crocodiles"

The meeting decided that Chihana would go back to Malawi to create a structure that would eventually organise a constitutional conference similar to those that have taken place in several African countries. Chihana was arrested on arrival in Malawi

The situation in Malawi became confused as riots erupted in many parts of the country. The causes were varied, but it seems industrial issues and the failure by the authorities to produce Chihana in court, where he was due to appear, provided the spark

Many people were detained. Donor nations responded by suspending aid to Malawi until the government introduced political reform

According to the opposition, the government has quietly introduced unheralded changes, which even though minor are regarded as significant

The Forfeiture Act, for instant,

which empowers the government to seize property belonging to its political opponents has been amended, some political detainees have been released, a tribunal has been set up to review detainees' cases and censorship laws have been relaxed

"All these reforms are the tip of the iceberg," Chipeta says

"But given the fact that the regime has been intransigent for 24 years, it is quite significant that it is responding. That symbolism is important"

The opposition strategy, he says, is to campaign inside the country and to isolate the country internationally. Although they are reluctant to talk about it, the opposition have also been in touch with the South African Government, Malawi's strongest ally. They say they have noticed a cooling of relations between the two countries

"It's no longer business as usual," Chipeta says

He says South Africa has been putting out feelers to the Malawian opposition as it realises Banda's days are numbered

However, according to a confidential World Bank document, the South African Government has extended to Malawi a concessional credit of R6 075 million at a generous 4.5 per cent interest per annum to make up for the 1992 balance of payment financial gap occasioned by donor countries' decision to suspend aid to Malawi

"All we want is the introduction of multi-party democracy in Malawi," Chipeta says

"It's not for us to say whether Banda should step down or not. If people say Banda should be retained, well and good. It's the system we're fighting. People should be allowed to choose"

Donor money talks in Malawi

Sowetan 29/9/92
LILONGWE - Malawi President Kamuzu Banda urged international aid donors to restore aid suspended in May over the country's human rights record (170)

The official *Malawi News Agency* quoted Banda as saying on Sunday since aid was suspended, Malawi relaxed strict laws on Press freedom and gave detainees the right to take their case to court. - *Sapa-Reuter-AP*

Rise in insurance complaints noted

B10Am 30/9/92
ANDREW KRUMM
 A RISE in the number of complaints to the short-term insurance industry ombudsman is not linked to the difficult period in which the industry finds itself, says Ombudsman Bill Schreiner

Reviewing his role for the year to March 1992, Schreiner said the number of cases his office took up rose 73% to 599 from 347 last year

"I doubt the rise is connected to the difficult period through which the industry is passing, and a subconscious tendency among insurers to look for reasons to repudiate claims"

Schreiner said the increase was probably due to the public's increased awareness of their ability to complain

However, he warned dissatisfied claimants that neither his office nor the media should be used as a lever to persuade an insurer to a favourable decision

Schreiner also criticised the small number of insurance companies that refused to negotiate in good

faith, and closed their files on cases in dispute

"We can only act as a mediator where there are two parties to a negotiation. So, where a small minority of insurers refuse to participate, I can do little"

Of the 599 cases his office handled during the year, less than 30% had led to a decision in favour of the insured person

"This is not out of the ordinary. In the Ombudsman Bureau in London there was a finding in favour of the insured in around 30% of the cases undertaken last year," Schreiner said

Malawian democrats seek SA aid

170
BILLY PADDOCK

B10Am
 EXILED Malawi Democratic Party leader Kamlepo Kalua is trying to persuade SA businessmen to lobby President Kamuzu Banda into democratising Malawi.

In a statement yesterday Kalua, who with other party members fled Malawi after the detention of opposition leaders, said repression under Banda was reminiscent of the abuses of former Ugandan president Idi Amin. *30/9/92*

His party's aim was to institute multiparty democracy.

"We want free and fair elections. We want a government which is accountable to the people. We want an economic system where there are opportunities for all and where market forces will bring growth and create wealth for all," he said.

He called on the business community in general and "those dealing with Malawi in particular, to apply pressure on the Banda government".

He said the threat by Banda that opponents to the government in Malawi would become "meat for the crocodiles" indicated that elections would not be held without severe pressure being applied

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Priests back *Sowetan 1/10/92.* democracy call

■ Anglicans favour just society: (170)

Sowetan Africa News Service

GABORONE - The Anglican bishops of Central Africa have given tacit support to demands for democracy in Malawi in a statement issued after a five-day visit to that country

The statement by the bishops of Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe is one of the strongest expressions of opposition to the autocratic, one-party rule of President Kamuzu Banda that has yet come from the churches

The bishops said they had noted that "an irreversible movement for change", aimed at creating "a more democratic and just society" had begun in Malawi

Kill the bishops, urge Malawi MPs

LONDON — Leading members of Malawi's ruling party have been tape-recorded calling for the deaths of the country's Roman Catholic bishops, who this year urged the government to respect human rights

Tape-recordings of a meeting of the Malawi Congress Party, held soon after the bishops issued a pastoral letter in March, have been smuggled out of the country and verified

Senior members of the government are heard calling for the bishops to be killed and refer to the "tradition" under which disappearances are engineered

The recordings demonstrate the aggressive reaction of the Malawi government to criticism. The country's autocratic President Hastings Kamuzu Banda is more than 90 years old and observers believe he is manipulated by Cecilia Kadzima, the official State hostess, and her uncle John Tembo, a Minister of state

Mr Tembo is the heir apparent although he faces widespread opposition. At the taped meeting he called the bishops'

letter "an insult and abusive of the president, and of what he has done for this country" The letter, which was read from the pulpits of Catholic churches, called for greater respect for human rights, a fairer distribution of wealth and an end to corruption by officials Mr Tembo accused the bishops of trying to start a political party

Tuzijani Phiri party district chairman for Kasungu, says "Let me ask that we should meet the bishops in this hall so that we finish them off", before suggesting that the bishops should "go to heaven to join God in advance"

On the tape, Mordecai Malani Lungu, Minister for the northern region and parliamentary Speaker, at first suggests "dialogue and contact" with the bishops but he is shouted down and changes tack "War is war," he says "We will be justified"

Wadson Bini Deleza, Minister without portfolio, then makes his most belligerent and revealing intervention "If (Bishop) Chimole and (Archbishop) Chiona come to the gate we shall kill them The Youth League will not allow a stooge or a traitor here We shall kill them while you are watching.

"If someone asks about the disappearances, we will say we don't know where these people have disappeared to We don't go to the president to tell him We say they disappeared"

"Today Bishop Chimole should die," adds Hilda Manjamkhosi, Women's League district chairman for Lilongwe "He is a witch, deranged, useless, a useless dog As someone said, we should piss on him Does he not know that we piss We shall shit on his head."

The existence of the tape may prompt renewed calls for investigations into the deaths 10 years ago of Dick Matenje, the party secretary-general, Aaron Gadama, Minister for the central region, and two other MPs in what was said to be a car crash

After the meeting, Dr Banda stepped in to prevent the death threats being carried out, although on April 17 John Roche, one of the signatories to the letter, was given a 24-hour deportation order

An officer at the Malawi High Commission in London, KFA Moyo, said they had no information about the tapes — The Independent News Service

Banda rules out

change in Malawi

BIDAmy 6/10/92
LILONGWE — President Kamuzu Banda has ruled out a multiparty system in Malawi, saying it was unsuitable and would cause corruption and strife

(170)
“There is no question of multipartism here,” Banda, president for life of the central African nation, told a convention of his ruling Malawi Congress Party at the weekend.

Malawi would remain a one-party state whether the country’s “friends or enemies like it or not”, he said, according to the official Malawi News Agency

Banda, who has banned opposition parties and ruled Malawi since independence from Britain in 1964, said pluralist politics “bred corruption, political instability, poor economic performance and civil and tribal strife” — Sapa-Reuter

Masire sees a chance for development

NEW YORK — Botswana has been surrounded by civil war and instability in southern Africa since its inception. Now its president sees hope for peace in the region, and with it a real chance for development.

President Ketumile Masire came to New York to address the UN General Assembly. He flew in from Rome, where he witnessed the signing of a truce on Sunday by Mozambique government officials and members of the Renamo guerrilla group.

"It appeared people were seriously applying their minds to a solution to the problem," Masire told Associated Press on Monday. "Because, let's face it, to engage in a war for 17 years is quite exhausting, quite paralyzing."

Masire, who addressed the General Assembly yesterday, also pointed to Angola, which held its first multiparty elections last week as part of a peace accord that ended 16 years of civil war.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his ruling party appear to be winning as results trickle in. But Jonas Savimbi, the former rebel leader who is challenging Dos Santos for the presidency, has levelled charges of fraud and said his backers could take up arms again if he does not win.

Masire said he was confident that one compelling consideration would force Savimbi to accept the election returns, even if he lost.

"They are all in search of peace. Elections are the best single thing that can bring peace to the country."

Masire said he was encouraged by developments in SA where, after a four-month hiatus, the ANC last week agreed to resume talks with government.

"When we became independent, there was SA in Namibia, there were the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, and Zimbabwe was then Rhodesia," Masire said. "But the situation has changed to a large measure. Indeed, if democracy comes to SA, that would close a very gloomy period."

Botswana gained independence from Britain in 1966 and is considered one of the most politically and economically stable democracies in Africa.

With combatants in neighboring states all coming to the negotiating table and the ballot box, Botswana would no longer have to be militarily ready for a spillover of the fighting, or cope with refugees.

Masire said he also envisioned new economic co-operation in Africa along the lines of the EC, spurred on by SA's economic engine. — Sapa-AP

World

in brief

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Malawian refugees

LUSAKA - Twenty Malawians fleeing from the tense political situation in their own country have been granted protection by the UN High Commission for Refugees in Zambia. A UNHCR representative said his organisation would take care of the exiles. *Sowetan 8/10/92*

Crowd rallies behind activist

HARARE — The Malawi pro-democracy activist, Mr Chakufwa Chihana, discharged yesterday on two of five counts of sedition, addressed big crowds outside the Blantyre High Court after the afternoon's proceedings.

The chanting crowd, estimated by his lawyer, Mr Bazuka Mahango, to number between 35 000 to 45 000, sang songs of praise for Mr Chihana.

He told the people to avoid violence and destruction of property

and to continue supporting the Alliance for Democracy, which he had been chosen to lead.

People braved rains, Mr Mahango said, and formed a procession behind Mr Chihana's car from the court along the highway to Blantyre until they were stopped at gunpoint by Malawi's security forces. They dispersed peacefully.

The judge upheld Mr Chihana's application for appeal to the

Supreme Court on the three outstanding charges relating to the importation and possession of seditious publications and breach of public security regulations.

The two counts dropped yesterday morning related to acts likely to have incited people against the Malawi government.

Mr Chihana has pleaded not guilty to all the sedition charges. If convicted, he faces up to five years in prison. — Sapa-AFP

Malawian relief supply resumes

310A-1 16/10/92
HARARE — The movement of truck-borne relief supplies in Mozambique's Beira corridor, halted at the weekend by a new system of tariffs and vehicle limits, was expected to resume in the next few days after intervention by the Zimbabwe government. (170)

Transport Minister Denis Norman said yesterday Mozambique had agreed to accept the new toll of US\$150 in the form of travellers' cheques, instead of cash, and to suspend new specifications which barred trucks heavier than 38 tons and longer than 18m.

Scores of trucks jammed the border post at Machipanda in Zimbabwe, the start of the 314km corridor when the regulations were introduced. None of the vehicles, carrying maize to avert a famine in Malawi, could pay the \$150 cash toll. — Sapa.

What the Doctor ordered

By Geoffrey Robertson

170

16/11/0 - 22/10/92

Guatemala is in a way

TRADE union leader Chakufwa Chihana was due to go on trial in Malawi this week for the serious crime of advocating multi-party democracy. He will be prosecuted by an English QC, instructed by a London solicitor — brought in at considerable expense in order, so the Minister of Justice says, "to show the outside world that these proceedings are acceptable." The more the outside world knows about Malawi's legal system, and about the evidence against Chihana, the less acceptable the trial — with or without English lawyers — is likely to appear.

Chihana is a long-time critic of Malawi's one-party regime headed for the past 28 years by "President for Life" Dr Hastings Banda who is now (by most counts) 93. In 1971 he was detained without trial for seven years, and adopted by Amnesty as a prisoner of conscience. In exile he became secretary general of the Southern African Trade Union Council, and was awarded the 1992 John F Kennedy Peace Prize.

He was emboldened to return to Malawi in April, after Catholic bishops had mustered the courage to criticise the government and after Western aid donors had slashed their contributions until

the country's human rights record improved. He was arrested on eight charges of sedition, on which he faces up to 40 years' imprisonment.

The evidence against Chihana comprises documents from a conference of Malawi exiles — in which he criticises the one party state and urges sanctions until progress is made towards democracy — and interviews he has given to the BBC World Service. The BBC has refused to provide transcripts to the prosecution but secret police recordings will be tendered in evidence. The three most seditious statements he is accused of making appear on his indictment: "90 per cent of the Malawian people are ready to change the Government"; "foreign aid to Malawi (other than humanitarian aid) should be frozen", and "the president is too old to run the country".

There is nothing in any of the prosecution evidence which could be construed as an incitement to the violent overthrow of the government. That is the test for sedition in English law. The crime has not been prosecuted here since 1947, although in 1990 the High Court emphasised the necessity to prove an intention to incite violence against the state when rejecting

an attempt to bring Salman Rushdie to trial over *The Satanic Verses*. It follows that Chihana would not be convicted, on equivalent facts, in this country or anywhere else where there is a minimum protection for freedom of speech.

But in Malawi the penal code and the public security regulations contain some disgracefully broad definitions of "seditious intention" (such as "raising discontent amongst the subjects of the President" and "making statements likely to undermine public confidence in the Government"). With laws like these, any government critic faces arrest.

Although Chihana is innocent of any violent intent, the prosecution has stated that it will establish "the uneasy state of affairs in Malawi . . . which state of affairs the accused planned to take advantage of". In other words, his guilt lies in advocating multi-party democracy in a country where people who want it, and who may be encouraged peacefully to protest against its denial, are liable to be shot or beaten up if they do.

The illogic of imputing an intention to provoke violence to someone because he is likely to have unlawful violence inflicted upon

him should be obvious to any judge who is independent of the state. In Malawi, regrettably, judges are subject to immediate removal by the Life President "in the national interest" — which is (by constitutional definition) his own political interest.

There will be no jury, and Chihana can count himself fortunate to be tried by any sort of judge. Most serious crimes are tried by chiefs in "traditional courts" where the most notable tradition is that defence counsel are excluded. The trial will provide an acid test of Malawi's efforts to claw back its foreign aid donors. The importation of English prosecutors, for the first time since independence, seems part of a conscious attempt to re-discover respectability in the country's colonial inheritance.

Thus Dr Banda reminisces affectionately about the English colonial lawyers who drafted his draconian internal security laws and advised him to keep his unjust "traditional courts". They drafted his sedition laws, too, which in Malawi (and elsewhere) are fashioned to suppress peaceful opposition to a one-party state at a time when a majority of its people are "uneasy" about its continuance. Dr Banda seems to have no doubt

about Chihana's guilt. In a published address in July, he announced that "he was arrested for breaking the laws of this country. He will be appropriately tried . . . soon after the republic celebrations". Those celebrations turned out to be less joyful than usual, at a time when fear is palpable at every level of society, tinged with excitement at the possibility that international pressure will force greater freedom. The government has bowed to that pressure by allowing a very limited form of judicial review of Government detentions and property seizures, and by reducing the sentence for sedition from life imprisonment to five years (a reform which can be avoided, as in Chihana's case, by charging multiple offences). But so long as citizens are put on trial for advocating democracy, before judges who may be removed if their decision does not accord with the national interest, these cosmetic changes will not satisfy the government's critics inside or outside the country.

Geoffrey Robertson QC last month led a delegation from the Bar Council and Law Society to conduct a review of human rights in Malawi.

Banda calls referendum

(170) CT 19/10/92

LUSAKA — Life President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi has succumbed to mounting international and domestic pressure and announced that a referendum is to be held on whether the country should change to a multiparty democracy after 30 years of one-party rule

According to the official Malawi News Agency, the nonagenarian life president told a press conference in the capital, Lilongwe, that the date of the referendum had not been decided

but it would be held "as soon as possible"

Since independence from Britain in 1964, Dr Banda and his Malawi Congress Party have ruled the country by ruthlessly suppressing all opposition and detaining political dissenters.

In recent months the life president has come under increasing pressure from Western donors who have frozen aid amounting to R11,2 million until they see "tangible and irreversible change" — Telegraph

...and... to get... the latest rate cut. — Sapa-Reuter.

Nigerian bank needs rescuing

LAGOS — National Bank of Nigeria, the country's oldest indigenous bank, had been declared insolvent and needed an injection of about two-billion naira (\$102m) to keep it alive, official insurance body the Nigerian Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC) said yesterday

"It is completely insolvent. We have given the owners a task force report

"It is now up to them to see if they can put up the required capital in time to save the bank," an NDIC spokesman said

Banking sources said it was unlikely the cash would be found and the bank, in operation since the mid-'50s and owned by southern states, would probably close after

two years in crisis

The Central Bank of Nigeria took direct control of the bank in January because of its deteriorating financial condition and inability to meet depositors' demands

A National Bank of Nigeria official, quoted by the government-controlled weekly Business Times, told governors of the owner states the amount needed — enough to float 40 new banks — was unlikely to be forthcoming to resuscitate the "mortally insolvent" bank

It was one of nine commercial banks which the NDIC classified as distressed in 1990, after seven in 1989

There is a total of about 120 banks in Nigeria. — Sapa-Reuter.

in five months with the loss of 30 000 jobs

Dubbed "Tarzan" for his flowing hair and dynamic speeches, colourful Trade and Industry Secretary may be forced to change mind in an embarrassing climb down from which his political career may not recover

Drawing on the "Tarzan" image embattled Prime Minister J. Major won loud applause at a party conference when he told Heseltine to cut through red tape to help industry

"Out with your club. On with your loincloth. Swing into action," Major joked

Heseltine's position would be untenable if the government lost a vote in Parliament tomorrow over pit closures — Sapa-Reuter

Aid donors notch up victory in Malawi

HARARE — Western aid donors notched up another victory in their campaign to link cash to human rights at the weekend and opposition groups rejoiced as ageing Malawi President Kamuzu Banda announced a referendum on the introduction of multiparty politics

Like Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi before him, Banda — believed to be in his 90s — first bucked against the decision by donors to suspend non-humanitarian aid until he introduced political reforms

But Kenya is now heading for multiparty elections and Banda has taken the first step to end one-party rule after governing for 28 years.

Banda has also faced unprecedented internal opposition this year, and the referendum announcement has been welcomed by the opposition

Alliance for Democracy led by trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana who is on trial for sedition.

The alliance listed several demands, including the appointment of an independent referendum commission to govern access to the media

It also called for the release of all political prisoners, an end to political trials, an amnesty for exiles and UN and OAU monitoring

In Lusaka another opposition group, the United Front for Multiparty Democracy, also gave a cautious welcome to the plan. Spokesman George Kanyanya said "as soon as we get details and the position of exiles on the issue, we will be ready to pack our bags and go home"

The Commonwealth, which both Malawi and Kenya belonged to, said in Harare a year ago that members had to clean up their political acts

But it was the suspension of Western aid at a World Bank meeting in Paris in May that appeared to have brought Banda around

On October 3 Banda, regularly accused of human rights abuses, told his Malawi Congress Party convention that the suspension of aid was hurting innocent people and accused donors of making "unnecessary" human rights demands.

The convention ruled out multiparty politics, saying it had brought civil and tribal strife in Africa

Banda's grip on the country has reportedly weakened as he has become increasingly frail with age. Much of the day-to-day running of the country is believed to be in the hands of Minister of State John Tembo

Banda did not set a referendum date, saying only it would be held as soon as possible — Sapa-AFP

Banda opponent dies in prison

■ **HUMAN RIGHTS** Alliance condemns inhuman

treatment of Orton Chirwa and his wife:

170

B **LANTYRE** - A leading opponent of Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda and the country's first attorney-general, Mr Orton Ching'oh Chirwa, has died in a Malawi prison, an opposition source said yesterday

The spokesman for the Alliance for Democracy told Reuters news agency by telephone from Blantyre that Chirwa, a British-trained barrister and the country's first attorney-general, had died in the Blantyre prison on Tuesday afternoon

A government spokesman said he had no immediate information on the matter

Chirwa and his wife Vera had been in prison since their abduction from Zambia in 1981. They had gone into exile in Tanzania following an abortive cabinet revolt against Banda and his policies in 1964

An Alliance statement faxed to Johannesburg said: "The Alliance holds the government fully responsible for his (Chirwa's) death and condemns the brutal and inhuman

Sowetan 29/10/92
treatment that Mr Chirwa received and that his wife continues to receive in prison "

It called on the government "to clearly state the circumstances in which Mr Chirwa died and to declare a period of national mourning"

Chirwa was a founder of Malawi's sole legal party, the Malawi Congress Party. He was its first president before handing over the leadership to Banda on the latter's release from prison in 1960

He was named attorney-general when Malawi became a self-governing country in 1963 ahead of independence from Britain the following year

Diplomatic observers said the report of Chirwa's death was likely to put fresh pressure on Banda over Malawi's human rights record

The president-for-life, who is in his 90s, has said he would hold a referendum among the country's 8.5 million people to determine whether they wanted a multiparty state - Sapa-Reuter

B/NAM 22/10/92
Malawi dissident dies
LUSAKA — A leading Malawian opposition politician Orton Chirwa, who was in his seventies, died in prison on Tuesday and the Alliance for Democracy blamed the government for his death.
The alliance called on the government to explain the circumstances of the death, and to declare a period of mourning.
REPORTS Sapa-AFP. (170)

Banda's referendum shock

By MELINDA HAM

WIMC 23/10 - 29/10/92. (170)
THE boundaries of politics in Malawi were radically redefined this Sunday when Life President Kamuzu Banda made a surprise announcement that an unprecedented referendum would be held on whether Malawi should remain a one-party state or change to a pluralist democracy.

The exact date for the referendum was not set but the president said at a press conference held at his palace in the capital Lilongwe that it would be "as soon as possible" and voting would be by secret ballot.

Malawian pro-democracy campaigners, including the Protestant and Catholic churches, the Law Association of Malawi and the one-month-old pressure group the Alliance for Democracy (Aford) enthusiastically greeted the announcement as a concession to one of their own demands.

"This reaffirms Aford's long held position that it is only through a free and fair referendum that the current political crisis can be resolved," Aford said in a statement.

Aford called on the government to establish an independent referendum commission to lay down procedures and that international observers from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and other independent organisations should be invited to monitor the referendum.

But the statement added that for a genuinely free national debate on the issue there had to be guaranteed freedom of association, freedom of speech and the press and the repeal of the Preservation of Public Security Act which permits detention without trial.

The diplomatic community in Lilongwe was also caught off guard by the announcement as it seemed to be a complete about face for Banda

and his Malawi Congress Party (MCP) after they unanimously decided at last month's party congress in the colonial capital of Zomba that the MCP would remain as "the sole legal political party" in the country.

A spokesman from the American embassy said: "We welcome the initiative of the referendum as long as it is carried out fairly and there is enough time to get the logistics right."

Political analysts say that the referendum is a sign of growing desperation by the Malawi government now that the donor aid freeze of \$74-million has entered its sixth month.

Government departments have run out of funds to begin any new projects and hospitals across the country are critically short of drugs.

Also, Aford's rising popularity is believed to be causing alarm in government circles. More than 25 000 people gathered outside the court house in Blantyre on October 13 as trade union leader Chadufwa Chihana's trial for sedition continued. According to eye witnesses, they cheered in the vernacular: "Chihana is the lion, the king of the wilderness. Banda is the hyena."

Within days of the referendum announcement a second democracy pressure group, the United Democratic Front (UDF), went public after operating underground for several months.

The UDF's formation is not regarded as a split in the opposition because they have pledged to work with Aford for their common goal. Mapopa Chipeta, Aford spokesman in Lusaka, said: "We are already talking to the UDF. We hope in future we can stand together on the same platform."

As one diplomat said: "It is a very exciting atmosphere here. We are already witnessing the birth of party politics even before the referendum."

Leading Malawi dissident dies in gaol after torture

Guardian (in W/Mail) 30/10 - 5/11/92
By Mike Hall and Brian Dooley

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ONE of Malawi's most prominent lawyers and political prisoners died in prison last week. Orton Chirwa, aged 73, suffered a sudden deterioration in his already poor health. He had been in prison for more than 10 years.

"He was rushed to hospital after falling sick and was found to be dead on arrival," said Harry Chiume, a Blantyre lawyer and member of the opposition Alliance for Democracy. "The whole thing is being kept secret by the authorities."

Last year, Amnesty International heard that Orton Chirwa was being kept in a squatting position in handcuffs and leg-irons, which were chained to an iron bar behind his knees. He stayed like that for two days.

It was not the first time that Orton, the veteran Malawi politician, had suffered this sort of torture. For 18 months in 1982 and 1983, he had been kept permanently handcuffed in solitary confinement. He was arrested with his wife Vera in 1981, and, after a grossly unfair trial in a "traditional court" where normal rules of evidence do not apply and without defence lawyers, both were sentenced to death two years later on charges of treason.

Following an international outcry, the sentences were commuted to life and the couple were adopted as prisoners of conscience by Amnesty. Neither had advocated violence, but were imprisoned simply for their non-violent expression of political beliefs.

Orton Chirwa qualified in London in 1958 to become the first African barrister in his country. He became active in the independence struggle of his native Nyasaland (later Malawi), and formed the Nyasaland African Congress. With other members of the NAC he urged Dr Hastings Banda to return home to lead the country.

Orton was dismissed from his position as Minister of Justice by Banda within weeks of Malawian independence in 1964, and went into exile with Vera, also a lawyer, in Tanzania and became leader of the opposition group Mafremo, which sought "to restore democracy, justice, and liberty" to Malawi.

In January 1982, Malawi radio announced that the Chirwas had been arrested with their son on Christmas Eve 1981, and claimed that they had slipped back into the country to incite opposition to the government. Orton and Vera said they had been abducted by Malawian agents during a visit to a Zambian town close to the Malawian border.

Long years in the notorious Zomba prison followed, and in 1987 Banda apparently changed his mind about the commutations and declared that the Chirwas did not deserve clemency and should not be allowed to live.

Orton Chirwa's death sentence to a life sentence. It was in fact a death sentence.

"We thought we had been forgotten," he whispered, tears on his frail, smiling face as we arrived. The brutality of his detention had not stopped at physical torture. He had been ignorant of the massive international campaign for his release, of his family's efforts to visit him, and of the news and gifts contained in their letters, that had, unlawfully, been kept from him.

"We saw Orton and Vera. It was their first meeting for eight years. As they told us of months of malnutrition, sickness, solitary confinement, and of being chained hand and foot in a matchbox of a prison cell, they were telling each other for the first time. Their dignity, humour, and sense of purpose was deeply impressive."

"Vera Chirwa is frail, too. President Banda must release her before she also dies in those awful conditions. The Chirwa family — in exile for being the Chirwa family — are demanding safe passage to Malawi for Orton's funeral, and an inquest into the cause of his death. It's a demand I trust readers will support."

In a statement, the Alliance for Democracy, Malawi's main opposition group, called on the government to declare a period of national mourning. "We hold the government fully responsible for his death and we condemn the brutal and inhuman prison treatment that Mr Chirwa received and his wife continues to receive."

The alliance demanded the immediate and unconditional release of Mrs Chirwa and said it "deeply regrets that Mr Chirwa has been tragically denied the opportunity

to witness the rebirth of freedom and democracy in our country, a cause for which he struggled for the greater part of his life."

Mr Chirwa's death is likely to heighten political tension in Malawi following President Banda's announcement last week of a referendum on multi-party democracy and the formation of another opposition group, the United Democratic Front, which includes several former cabinet ministers.

Mary Benson writes: The terrible irony about Orton Chirwa's tragic death is that but for sacrifices made by him and other young leaders of the Nyasaland African Congress, Hastings Banda might never have become president of Malawi. That struggle began some 40 years ago when they came to this country to protest against imposition of the Central African Federation.

How vividly one recalls Orton, the slight, bespectacled, amused young lawyer who proved to be an articulate, passionate speaker whose wit enlivened public meetings from London to Edinburgh while Banda, then a GP in Willesden, embarrassed organisers with his tub-thumping rhetoric — Banda, the medical doctor, who was to subject Orton and Vera Chirwa to such extremes of suffering remaining impervious to every appeal and protest made on their behalf.

Vera, generous and supportive, welcoming friends to their home in Zomba, was also to qualify as a lawyer. Now, efforts to achieve her release take on a more desperate urgency in the face of her excruciating loss.

Orton Chirwa, born January 30, 1919, died October 20, 1992

Orton's torture left him permanently ill. Like many other inmates at Zomba, a prison diet of often rotten vegetables affected him. He was almost blind from cataracts in both eyes and suffered from stomach ulcers. Seven years younger than her husband, Vera is now 65 and also suffers from injuries caused by beatings.

Last month they were visited, for the first time since their imprisonment, by a delegation of British lawyers to Malawi.

One of the team, Jane Deighton of the Law Society, last week confirmed Mr Chirwa's death. "His sense of humour, purpose, dignity, and love for his fellow Malawians were deeply impressive, as was his tenderness in seeing his wife Vera for the first time in eight years at that meeting, and for the last time," she said.

"Dr Banda told me he had com-

Guardian/W
**Poison fears
(in W/Mail) 6/11-12/11/92**
**of Banda's
(170)**
opponents
Guardian/W (in W/Mail)

MALAWI'S church leaders had some advice for life president Kamuzu Banda's most prominent opponent, Chakufwa Chihana: Do not send your suits to the cleaners. The church has reminded Mr Chihana that among the many bizarre CIA schemes to kill Fidel Castro was one to impregnate his suit with poison, and warned that plotting murder is not unknown to the Malawi government.

The warning follows the death of another political prisoner, Orton Chirwa. He had been serving a life sentence for turning against Dr Banda. A leaked copy of the official autopsy appears to show that Mr Chirwa was strangled. *6/11-12/11/92*

Malawi's Roman Catholic bishops are cautious since officials of the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) allegedly considered murdering them after a pastoral letter critical of the government in March

By Chris McGreal

set off a wave of resistance to the ageing dictator. Two weeks ago, under unprecedented pressure at home and abroad to reform, Dr Banda was forced to call a referendum on ending nearly three decades of one-party rule.

But the clerics, businessmen, and lawyers who have come together to push for human rights and democracy do not see the vote, for which a date has yet to be set, as a signal that the 93-year-old ruler is softening. Instead, amid new arrests and official attacks on "subversives", they refuse even to drink the water on the table at talks with the ruling party.

"We don't trust these members of the MCP. We wouldn't take food or water from them. They have killed so many people," said Father Nazarius Mgungwe, a Catholic Church representative at the talks. Pressure on Dr Banda has been building up since the pastoral letter stirred Malawi's dormant opposition. Two days after the bishops' attacks on the lack of basic freedoms and the exploitative eco-

conomic system, exiles settled on a trade union leader, Chakufwa Chihana, to take the message to Dr Banda that he was not wanted any more. Mr Chihana was detained as he stepped from the plane and disappeared into the labyrinth of Malawi's security apparatus.

But for once it was impossible for Dr Banda to throw away the key. Mr Chihana's supporters turned out before the courts on sedition charges.

His new Alliance For Democracy is a political party in all but name. At its side is the church-led Public Affairs Committee, an umbrella group of lawyers, businessmen, and politicians using human rights and the conduct of the referendum to pressure a presidential committee set up in September to meet Dr Banda's critics.

Dr Banda's hand was forced after Britain and other Western donors suspended most foreign aid over the human rights situation. The donors meet next month to review the aid freeze, but are unlikely to be convinced by Dr Banda's approach to the referendum. His strategy is to deny the opposition a voice, to intimidate its supporters, and to play on lingering respect for the years he spent struggling for independence.

The media have long warned that multi-party systems in Africa encourage tribal violence. The government is also intimidating drought-hit rural communities that if they want food they had better show loyalty.

Fees payable

8 Fees payable to the Board

SIDAY 16/11/92

UN team for Malawi

MALAWI's government had invited a team of UN experts to advise it on how to conduct a referendum on a multiparty democracy, an opposition spokesman said in Blantyre at the weekend (170). Alliance for Democracy spokesman Harry Chume said the government announced the UN team's visit at a meeting with church and opposition leaders on Friday. The UN team was due to arrive in Lilongwe yesterday.

Malawi's Chihana sentenced (170)

HARARE — Malawian pro-democracy campaigner Chakufwa Chihana was yesterday convicted on two counts of sedition by the country's High Court and sentenced to two years in jail. A Supreme Court appeal has been lodged.

REPORTS Sapa Reuter-AFP, Daily Telegraph

BIDAM 15/12/92

STAR 17/12/1972
**Japan sticks
to aid ban
on Malawi**

HARARE — Japan would continue to withhold aid from Malawi until the country became more democratic, the new Japanese ambassador to Malawi said

Shinsuke Horiuchi said Japan was bound by the decision of the Paris Club of donor nations, which suspended annual aid of \$150 million (R450 million) in an attempt to persuade the government to reform

He said Japan welcomed a recent decision by President Kamuzu Banda to hold a referendum on the future of one-party rule

1992: War, drought and Aids took their toll on the region

Fear in a handful of dust

W/Mail 23/12 - 29/12/92

170

War in Angola and Mozambique, political changes in Malawi and Zambia — and drought all round.

ANDY MELDRUM

reviews 1992 in southern Africa



The famished road ... A victim of the hell-ride from Komatipoort to Maputo

ANGOLA'S elusive quest for peace and Mozambique's determination not to repeat the same mistakes marked 1992 as a transitional year for southern Africa. While the entire region coped with the drought, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe continued their journeys towards more democratic systems.

Throughout most of the year it appeared that Angola was far ahead of Mozambique in the race for peace. Angola achieved a ceasefire and peace process leading to elections before Mozambique's interminable negotiations in Rome had even produced a cessation of violence.

But by the time the results of Angola's elections were announced in early October, the whole settlement quickly unravelled as Jonas Savimbi's Unita rejected the outcome and fighting erupted throughout the country.

As 1992 came to a close Unita had taken control of the provincial capitals of southern and central Angola, where its ethnic support is based, and had also taken key positions in northern Angola. Despite Unita's return to the government of two northern cities and Savimbi's conciliatory statements, it appears highly probable that Unita will attempt to seize control of the entire country before January 20, when Bill Clinton becomes US president.

The Bush administration has withheld its recognition of the newly elect-

ed Angolan government, making it easier for Savimbi to wrest control.

At the same time, there are gathering rumours that the MPLA, under pressure from military hardliners, is preparing for a massive new year offensive to drive Unita back to its traditional strongholds.

The sinister hand of South Africa's Department of Military Intelligence (MI) cannot be ruled out as a factor in Angola. Known MI agents were with Savimbi throughout his election campaign and afterwards. The frontline states have accused South African planes of repeatedly violating their airspace, charging that South Africa's C-130 jets are flying heavy artillery and tanks to Unita-held areas. That equipment could well be used in an assault on Luanda.

The violence, chaos and despair in Angola at the end of 1992 contrasts sharply with the guarded optimism prevailing in Mozambique. Although its ceasefire only took effect in November, Mozambique rapidly learned the mistakes made in Angola and appears to be sprinting towards a lasting settlement.

Both the Frelimo government and the Renamo rebels have stated their commitment to the peace process and open elections. Even more decisively in favour of peace has been the United Nation's decision to send 7 500 personnel to Mozambique — it sent 800 people to Angola.

The UN special envoy to Mozambique, Aldo Ajello, has taken a high profile and is determined to see the UN force push Mozambique towards a genuine settlement. Admitting the UN made mistakes in Angola, Ajello insists the international force in Mozambique will not permit the election campaign to begin until all military forces are disarmed and dispersed from their camps.

Clearly, Mozambique's peace timetable, which calls for elections in October 1993, is unrealistic as it is already behind schedule in several key regards. In Angola, such lapses from the timetable were glossed over by the UN monitors, but in Mozambique Ajello has stipulated that a lengthier time frame must be set, giving the country at least 18 months to prepare for elections.

Political developments were not as decisive in the rest of the region, although drought continued to bring misery to millions and sap economic development. Millions of tons of food were imported to avert famine.

Malawi experienced tumult as activists pressed for an end to the one-party stranglehold in which President for Life Hastings Banda has held the country. Although Banda's regime is still firmly in control, former leaders like Chakufwa Chihana, now jailed, challenge the system, and it will be hard to turn back the clock.

In Zambia, the new government of President Frederick Chiluba struggled to run the bankrupt country more justly and efficiently than his predecessor, Kenneth Kaunda. As cholera broke out again in Zambia, the jury is still out on whether Chiluba's government can achieve real improvements in the living standards of Zambians.

Zimbabwe's political situation remained largely static, with President Robert Mugabe's government widely unpopular in the cities, but with no effective opposition to pose a challenge to it.

MALAWI - GENERAL

1993

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Banda agrees to allow free referendum

BLANTYRE — A referendum on a one-party versus multiparty system of government in Malawi will be held on March 15, President Kamuzo Banda announced (170)

Speaking on Malawi TV, Banda said he accepted the UN report on the conduct of a free and fair referendum.

Pressure groups and the ruling Congress Party will be allowed to campaign in the run-up to the referendum but will need prior police permission. Both sides will be allowed access to the mass media — Sapa

STAM 2/1/93

STAR 5/1193

Malawi referendum hailed

LUSAKA — Lusaka-based Malawi opposition parties have welcomed news of Malawi's March 15 referendum but have appealed to the authorities to allow more voters to register. Malawi Alliance for Democracy spokesman Frank Mayinga said yesterday that he welcomed President Kamuzu Banda's announcement but said opposition parties should be given a chance to campaign and canvass for pluralist politics.

● World news reports — Page 4

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Malawi activist applies for bail

Malawian opposition leader Chakufwa Chihana has applied for bail pending his appeal against a conviction for sedition.

(170)
Lawyer Bazuka Mhango said the bail application was submitted to a Supreme Court judge on Monday. STAR 6/1/93.

Chihana (52) was sentenced to two years in prison with hard labour on December 14 on two counts of sedition for importing and possessing banned literature.

He is a leading opponent of President-for-life Kamuzu Banda, who has called a referendum for March 15 on whether or not Malawi should remain a one-party state.

Mhango said the legal authorities were preparing the record of the lower court to present to the Supreme Court for the appeal.

"We would think the record should be ready in the next week or so," Mhango said.

The appeal hearing itself would depend on when the Supreme Court could be assembled — Sapa-Reuter

Editor held and papers impounded in Malawi

STAR 8/1/93

~~STAR~~ (170)

Malawian police have arrested an opposition editor and confiscated 20 000 copies of a new dissident newspaper due to have been distributed this weekend, dissident sources said yesterday

The sources said Felix Mponda, a member of the opposition Alliance for Democracy (Aford) and editor of the New Express, was arrested on New Year's Day at Lilongwe Airport on his return to Malawi from Zambia where the paper had been printed

Aford is seeking an end to autocratic one-party rule by President-for-life Kamuzu Banda, who has ruled Malawi since independence from Britain in 1964. He has called a referendum on the issue of

one-party rule for March 15

Sources reached by telephone in Malawi said police had refused to tell Mponda's family or lawyers where they were holding him. He had not been charged with any offence as far as was known

No government official was immediately available for comment

The sources said police had also confiscated South African newspapers and two World Bank training manuals from the luggage of veteran politician Machipisa Munthali on his return to Malawi on Tuesday. Munthali was released on June 12 1992 after 27 years in prison in Malawi and had been in South Africa for medical treatment. — Sapa-Reuter

Ides of March set for Banda's poll

Guardian/W in W/Mail 8/1-14/1/93 (170)

MALAWI'S ageing dictator, President for Life Hastings Banda, has named March 15 for a referendum on the future of one-party rule. In a New Year's Eve address to the nation, the 93-year-old leader promised to abide by United Nations recommendations for the poll, including an independent electoral commission.

Democracy campaigners said they were concerned at the short time available for campaigning, and at restrictions such as the requirement that the highly politicised police force must approve public gatherings.

But opposition leaders said they were confident of a sizeable majority in favour of a return to multi-party politics, which was banned in 1966, two years after independence from Britain.

"The UN had recommended four or five months for the campaign, but I think the mood is in favour of a multi-party system," said William Chisimba, a leading official in the Alliance for Democracy, a coalition of human

rights lawyers, businessmen, multi-party activists, and church leaders. Mr Chisimba said the groups would meet later this week to decide strategy, "and we will have some demands to put to the government on how the referendum is run. But we are pleased it has come."

Dr Banda — who once commented, "They say my people love me, and I would be naive to deny it" — has come under increasing pressure in the past year to reform his autocratic and repressive system. A highly critical Amnesty International report was followed by a pastoral letter from Malawi's Roman Catholic bishops attacking the lack of human rights and an exploitative economic system.

Riots over low pay and food shortages, in which nearly 40 people died in May, shook Dr Banda. His belated attempts to alleviate the plight of the poor have been dashed by drought and a sharp cut in non-humanitarian foreign aid in protest at human rights abuses. In October, Dr Banda's opponents set up the Alliance for Democracy to press for

an end to his dictatorship. Several days later, Dr Banda announced there would be a referendum and called on foreign governments, including Britain, to restore aid.

They have so far declined. Mr Banda said leaders of his ruling Malawi Congress Party had urged him to hold the poll to show his critics that people preferred one-party rule. "It is quite clear to me and to everyone else that people here do not want a multi-party system of government. They want one party, the Malawi Congress Party," he said.

Despite the promise of a free vote, the alliance fears the government will use its extensive security apparatus to prevent its opponents from campaigning, especially in rural areas where the ruling party controls most aspects of daily life, including food distribution.

Dr Banda has also hinted he intends using the voters' roll from recent parliamentary elections, although large numbers of Malawi's 8.5

million people, many of them his opponents, did not bother to register for the one-party poll. Dr Banda has not said whether he will allow international monitoring of the referendum or permit opponents access to the state-controlled media.

The alliance will also probably be without its leader during the campaign. Malawi's most prominent democracy activist, the trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana, was sentenced to two years' hard labour last month for calling for exactly what Dr Banda is promising. On Monday, the supreme court will hear Mr Chihana's application for bail until his appeal.

However fateful the result of the Ides of March referendum may prove, Dr Banda still holds a number of cards even if the poll does not go his way. He may take the view of Kenya's Daniel arap Moi, to let the opposition exist, organise and tear itself apart. In addition, even if multi-party politics are permitted, an election is not assured. Parliamentary elections are not due for five years and Dr Banda long ago declared himself president for life.

By Chris McGreal
in Johannesburg

STAR (170)
Crowds flock
11/11/93.
to Malawi rally

More than 100 000 people took part in Malawi's first officially approved opposition rally yesterday, organisers said

A representative of the opposition Alliance for Democracy (Aford) said the huge crowd turned out although no public announcements had been made and the authorities had torn down publicity banners

Yesterday's rally in Blantyre, the first permitted by the government, was addressed by opposition figures from Aford, the Public Affairs Committee and the United Democratic Front

President Kamuzu Banda, who banned multiparty politics in 1966, has said a referendum on whether Malawi should allow opposition parties to operate would take place on March 15.

Banda announced the referendum under intense pressure from Western donor nations — Sapa-Reuter

Banda sets up board to look at detentions

LILONGWE. — Malawi President Dr Kamuzu Banda, under pressure to introduce political reforms to his one-party rule, has appointed an eight-member panel to review detention laws, it was reported yesterday

The report said members of the Detention Review Tribunal, chaired by High Court Judge Leonard Unyolo, included traditional chiefs, a priest and cabinet secretary Mr MacDonald Banda

Dr Banda, in power since Malawi's independence from Britain in 1964, used detention laws to silence opponents, many of whom fled the country

Last year Malawi's mainly Western donors cut off annual aid of \$150 million (about R450m) in protest against its human rights record

Dr Banda has called a referendum on March 15 to decide if Malawi should abandon single-party rule

At the weekend he allowed opposition groups to hold their first political rally ever — Sapa-Reuter

Six days of horror in Huambo

LUANDA — A Swiss Red Cross worker described yesterday six days of horror in the embattled Angolan city of Huambo, as the UN continued pulling its personnel out of bases around the country

Isabelle Buttica, 33, was trapped in Huambo when fighting erupted there 10 days ago between government forces and troops of Jonas Savimbi's Unita

For the next six days she was unable to venture outdoors, sleeping in the basement and listening to almost continuous small arms fire, punctuated by artillery shells and government air strikes raining down on the city

Buttica was described by Red Cross delegation chief Vincent Nicod as "a very brave woman".

She was head of the local Red Cross mission, which

included five Swiss, three French and a Briton, who were trapped in small groups in separate houses

Nicod said "The hospital is not functioning, the medical personnel cannot work for security reasons

"That means wounded are not cared for. People are dying without any possibility of assistance

"All public services have broken down. There are food and water shortages, the city is paralysed"

Buttica and the other expatriate Red Cross staff were evacuated by road convoy with UN personnel on Thursday. They said they would return as soon as possible

In a statement issued in the Ivory Coast, Unita said yesterday "more than 500 people were killed on both sides and an unknown number injured" as government

forces were "virtually wiped out".

Meanwhile, the UN Angolan mission Unavem announced yesterday it had pulled its personnel out of 40 bases around the country. Fewer than 30 bases were staffed now, it said.

A statement from the office of special representative Margaret Anstee also indicated growing impatience with Savimbi over attempts to hold a ceasefire conference

The statement said Savimbi was supposed to call Anstee personally at the weekend to discuss Unita's new demand that political as well as military matters should be on the

agenda, but the call had not come through.

Unita said "murderous fighting" at the weekend had left only a "little pocket of (government) resistance" in Huambo, where Unita said it had destroyed 12 T-55 tanks

The pilot was captured. Unita's West Africa representative, John Marques Kakumba, told AFP he had spoken by telephone yesterday to Savimbi, who was still in Huambo

Meanwhile, Portugal's vice-consul in Luanda said foreigners were evacuated yesterday by ship from the Angolan oil town of Soyo because of fighting nearby. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter.

Teargas at Malawi rally

POLICE fired teargas after a pro-democracy rally in Zomba, Malawi, but meetings by about 200 000 people supporting an end to one-party rule were mostly trouble-free, opposition sources said yesterday (170)

The weekend meetings in Blantyre, Mzuzu and Zomba were to demonstrate support for a "yes" vote in a March 15 referendum on whether opposition parties should be allowed in Malawi for the first time in 25 years.

The opposition Alliance for Democracy accused police of firing teargas at students chanting anti-government slogans. Alliance spokesman Aaron Longwe said several people were slightly hurt.

President Kamuzu Banda, who banned opposition groups in 1966, agreed to a referendum under strong pressure from political opponents, Western donor nations and human rights groups concerned that Malawi was not following an African trend towards greater political freedom (19/1/93)

Longwe's wife Alice said people had stayed away in droves from a pro-government rally staged by the ruling MCP in Mzuzu over the weekend

The alliance has demanded guarantees that the referendum would be free and fair and urged the government to set up an independent commission to lay down rules on media access.

It also wants an amnesty for Malawian exiles, an end to political trials and the immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners — Sapa-Reuter

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Estate Late Freda Solomon, Master of the Supreme Court Ref No 1683/92, Estate Late Adele Jullie Drechmeier, Master of the Supreme Court Ref No 16550/90

In conjunction with the above the Aucor Group will supplement and sell also per instruction LADD INVESTMENTS (PTY) LTD, t/a Gold and Finance. Being the secured party holding valuable jewellery in trust in terms of certain loan agreements Per instruction the acting attorneys in an urgent matter Per instructions the repossessing bank.

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SUPERIOR INVESTMENT DIAMONDS AND GEMS:

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EXQUISITE JEWELLERY:

A magnificent 18 ct yellow and white gold rope chain with matching bracelet, a pair of diamond earrings, pocket watches, lady's Gucci dress watch, gent's 18 ct gold bracelet (mass 80 gms), a magnificent 80 mm hand-carved cameo brooch, silver filigree jewellery, lady's dress ring set with Lapis Lazuli, gent's and lady's watches, 18 ct Italian chains, pearls, bangles, bracelets, pendants, earrings, chains and more.

COLLECTABLES AND SUNDRY ITEMS:

A superb DAUM crystal statue of great significance, a lady's scent bottle with hallmarked 18 ct gold ton 2 fine hour glasses, 0.25

Food aid for Malawi 'critical'

By M. 22/1/83
KATHRYN STRACHAN (170)

MALAWI would experience a critical food shortage within a few weeks unless efforts were made to direct supplies to the drought-ravaged country, the World Food Programme warned yesterday.

Food programme spokesman Mercedes Sayagues told a media briefing in Johannesburg it would take up to three months to ship UN food supplies to Malawi. As commercial maize stocks were expected to be depleted at the end of this month, an urgent appeal had been made to other countries in the region to lend part of their food reserves to Malawi. Several rural markets had already run out of grain, she said.

The Harare-based food programme and the Southern African Development Community had also requested that transit countries and transport operators give priority to Malawi-bound shipments.

Sayagues said the crisis had arisen because Malawi was late in placing commercial orders for food, and EC pledges of food aid for the market sector remained low. The "political vacuum" in Malawi had meant vital decisions had been delayed.

But while Malawi was most at risk, Sayagues said, it was not the only country in the region

facing dire food shortages

The war in Angola had forced the World Food Programme to suspend many of its airlifts into provincial capitals, and nearly 700 tons of stockpiles had been looted during the past few weeks in Saurimo, Malanje and Cuito.

The programme was trying to replace the 4 000 tons of food lost through looting and fires since fighting broke out after elections.

And shortages in Tanzania's lake region had prompted the food programme and government to provide 17 000 tons of emergency food aid for more than a million people.

Although rainfall had been good in Zambia and Zimbabwe, Sayagues said, it had still not compensated for the scarce rains last year, and most dams were still less than half full. But the rains had provided a fertile breeding ground for an army worm infestation, which was threatening to destroy maize crops.

And in Swaziland, estimates for this year's harvest were no better than last year's bleak season, she said.

The peace agreement in Mozambique had allowed food aid to reach most parts of the country by airlift or convoy, Sayagues said, but

shortfalls in pledges still threatened to jeopardise the relief effort.

In a recent assessment of this largest drought relief effort in Africa, the World Food Programme and SADC said the operation had been highly successful. Almost 5-million tons of drought-related imports for southern African countries had been delivered to regional ports between April and December last year.

But Sayagues said one of the most important aspects of the operation was that it had boosted co-operation in the region.

Meanwhile, the SADC warned yesterday that southern Africa could suffer severe drought again this year, after being ravaged last year by the worst drought this century, reports Sapa-Reuter.

"We do not want to be alarmist, but we just want to alert the people (of southern Africa) to the possibilities of another drought so they can be prepared," SADC food specialist Reginald Mugwara said in Harare.

"Last year higher temperatures in the eastern Pacific ocean caused the drought, and it looks as though in January and February we are likely to be short of rainfall because of the same factors again," he said.



World Food Programme representative Mercedes Sayagues explains the organisation's plans to alleviate the critical food shortages facing Malawi at a briefing in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

De Klerk loses white support

By M. 22/1/83
LLOYD COUTTS

WHILE the ANC was maintaining its popularity among blacks, President F W de Klerk and the NP were steadily losing the support of black and white South Africans, according to a recent Markinor poll.

Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner said yesterday results of a November poll on socio-political and economic trends showed

who would definitely vote for it.

The SACP was included in the survey for the first time, and found strong support. While only 8% of blacks would vote for the party, 31% said they would perhaps vote for it, and 14% felt good about it.

Ratanda 'tense' after more attacks

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE ANC feared another major outbreak of violence in Ratanda township near Heidelberg following several attacks on residents in the past few days, the organisation's PWV region spokesman Ronnie Ma-

A B I C - J A N U A R Y 2 2 1 9 8 3

Star 6/2/93

Activists test Banda

THREE senior officials of the externally based Malawi Democratic Party will return to Malawi to take up the campaign for multipartyism in preparation for the referendum on the issue called by President Kamuzu Banda.

The three — John Wunandi Banda, Robert Kaembey Khembo and Shaley Botawota Kondowe — leave Johannesburg tomorrow "with the full knowledge that the government may act against us", Banda said.

He said that if President Banda took action against the group, it would be proof to the world that he was not sincere about testing the will of the people in a referendum. The

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JOE LATAKGOMO
Africa News Service

poll is set for May 15.

The Malawi government has taken action against pressure groups inside the country such as the Alliance for Democracy (Aford) and the United Democratic Front.

Presbyterian minister the Rev Peter Kaleso was detained, and reportedly tortured, after a rally called by Aford as part of its campaign to end one-party rule. Police had banned Kaleso and Aford's deputy publicity secretary, Aaron Longwe, from addressing rallies. Editor Felix Mponda was also detained.

Speech ban in Malawi overruled

By Michael Simmons

A HIGH court judge in Blantyre, the former capital of Malawi, has declared that a police chief was acting illegally when he banned political activists from speaking at public rallies 12/2-18/2/93.

The ruling will hearten opponents of President Hastings Banda who have been routinely harassed, arrested, and tortured for speaking out against the president.

The police chief at Mzuzu, in northern Malawi, had warned local leaders of the Alliance for Democracy (Aford) that 11 named people, five of them church ministers, would not be allowed to speak at public rallies. He ordered Aford to co-operate "to avoid inconveniences".

But Judge D.G. Tambala ruled that the police should stick to maintaining peace, law and order and that this did not give them a licence to meddle in politics. The police order banning certain speakers at public meetings was without any legal basis, he added.

In a related development, President Banda announced that he had postponed a referendum on one-party rule by three months at the request of the United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The "President for Life" said he had put back the referendum to June 14.

...of unrest in the occupied territories...
...ratify its social charter...
Star 11/21/93
No secret vote in Malawi (170)
LUSAKA — The ruling Malawi Congress Party has refused opposition demands for secret balloting in a referendum on one-party rule. The party insists that voters will drop their ballots in boxes marked "yes" or "no".



Star 10/2/93

Trio's detention routine, says

Malawi official

By Joe Latakomo
Star Africa Service

(170)

The detention of three senior officials of the Malawi Democratic Party who returned to Malawi at the weekend was a "routine procedure" and applied to anyone who had been out of the country for a long period and may have been involved in subversive activities, a spokesman for the Malawi Embassy in Pretoria said yesterday.

Percy Kachipande confirmed that John Wunandi Banda, Robert Kaembey Khembo and Shaley Botawota Kondowe were detained on their arrival in Lilongwe, but stressed that they could not be detained indefinitely. "They will either be charged or released, as the law only provides for detention for up to three days," he said.

Peterkins Simwaka, vice-secretary-general of the Malawi Democratic Party, said the MDP had had no response to enquiries from the government.

The MDP says the decision to send the three back to Malawi was to test President Kamuzu Banda's commitment to free political activity in preparation for a referendum.

Sowetan 25/2/93

Exiles head for home (170)

LUSAKA — A group of five Malawian exiles in Zambia was due to return home yesterday to reinforce pro-democracy pressure groups in the run-up to a June 30 referendum on multiparty politics.

Uneasy lies Banda's head as rule nears

AFTER almost 30 years of suffering under the dictatorship of Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Malawians are for the first time smelling the sweet fragrance of political freedom.

Political fever has taken hold of the Malawian nation and the political atmosphere in this tiny central African country is being described as one overwhelmingly in favour of multiparty politics.

"The country is reverberating with a chorus for change to multipartyism — no more one-party system," said United Front

for Democracy's Richard Sembereka from his Blantyre office.

Following two reports by independent international lawyers about the total disregard for human rights in Malawi for almost three decades, indications are that the political atmosphere in Malawi is at last changing for the better.

In what can be described as a classic turnabout, everybody accustomed in the streets of Malawi's second capital, Blantyre, is talking about nothing else but political change.

Surprisingly, even the once feared and dreaded

"Malawi Young Pioneers" have publicly given their tacit approval and support to calls by pressure groups for political change.

In the Zambian capital, Lusaka, an activist of the exiled United Front for Multi-Party Democracy (UFMD), Margaret Jika, expressed joy after a week-long visit to Malawi:

"Men are men again in Malawi. They are no longer a frightened lot and they are discussing politics openly. The hostility towards visitors and strangers has disappeared."

Even the once infamous "Mbumba za Kamuzu" (the Malawian women spies of President Banda) are finding it not so easy to go about their normal life in the townships.

"It is no longer a rosy situation for these women, long manipulated by the Special Branch and the Malawi Young Pioneers to spy on the Malawi population. They are now the ones pleading to be allowed to enter the markets," said one

The 30-year dictatorship of Malawian Life President Kamuzu Banda seems destined to come to an end when his subjects go to the polls on June 14, writes JURIE VAN DER WALT.

CIPRESS 7/18/93

UFMD activist.

The political popularity of President Banda's sole registered Malawi Congress Party (MCP) is said to have dwindled to a trickle.

The UFD appears to have popularity countrywide, with the UFMD and Association For Democracy (Aford) taking even more support away from the ruling MCP.

In an exclusive interview, senior officials of the UFMD in Lusaka said after their recent return from Malawi that demand for UFMD membership cards was tremendous.

While Malawians — both exiled and inside their country — are preparing for the forthcoming referendum on multiparty politics on June 15, the need for political unity among the opposition parties is growing stronger.

"All the political pressure groups recognise this fact. We don't want the Kenyan situation to be repeated in Malawi — giving

Kamuzu Banda the edge to perpetuate his rule of oppression," said UFD publicity secretary Edward Bwanali.

To give credence to this statement, the UFD is sending a powerful delegation to Lusaka to discuss a merger with the UFMD. This has been confirmed by the Lusaka-based chairman of the UFMD, Harry Bwanausi.

Bwanausi, however, stressed that the Malawian opposition parties would never opt for the armed struggle to force political change.

"We won't resort to the armed struggle to oust Dr Banda from power. His chances to win the referendum are very remote. We want to bring about change the Zambian style — peacefully," said Bwanausi.

The exiled medical doctor and opposition leader dismissed the armed struggle as retrogressive and negative. "Why resort to killing fellow citizens? We want peaceful change."

The Malawian people are dancing and singing — not for President Banda — but because they are sensing that the shame of Malawi is almost over

(170)

focus on Malawi

ILONGWE — In any democratic society Orton Chirwa's credentials would have guaranteed him an honoured place

He was a founder of the Malawi Congress Party, he was the country's first black barrister and Minister of Justice and Attorney-General of its first government after independence

But he lived in Malawi and he made what in Malawi was a fatal mistake he disagreed with President Banda, went into exile and started campaigning for greater democracy

Orton and his wife Vera were kidnapped from Zambia, brought back to Malawi and accused of having conspired to overthrow the Malawian government They were tried in a Traditional Court where they were not allowed defence lawyers and were convicted and sentenced to death in 1983

Massive international pressure forced President Banda to commute the sentence to life imprisonment

In September last year a joint delegation from British and Malawian legal societies visited Chirwa and asked whether they might explore the possibility of exile for him

"I love England but I love Malawi better," he replied

"This is our country We are pure Malawians I want to die in Malawi"

A month later he died

Perhaps more than any others, Orton and Vera Chirwa symbolise the human rights abuses in Malawi Their case may not be the worst, for theirs at least had an international focus Other lesser known detainees have suffered or are still suffering unspeakable abuses, hidden away from the public eye in Malawi's overcrowded jails

But some light has now been thrown on their plight by two overseas human rights organisations

One was a joint delegation from the Scottish Faculty of Advocates, the Law Society of England and Wales and the General Council of the Bar, which visited Malawi as the country was being pressed by the international community to improve its human rights record Reports of human rights abuses had long abounded in Malawi

As the New York based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, which made a similar fact-finding visit to Malawi, says in its report "For 28 years the government of Malawi has institutionalised human rights abuses Under President Kamuzu Banda, Malawi's president-for-life and leader of the only legal political party, the Malawi Congress Party, thousands of Malawians have been killed or subjected to torture, cruel treatment or prolonged arbitrary detentions"

As pressure for democracy grows in Malawi, the skeletons are being hauled out of President (170) Banda's cupboard, reports **Joe Latakomo** of the *Sowetan* Africa News Service: *Sowetan 16/3/93.*



President Kamuzu Banda.

By 1992 international attention was increasingly being focused on Malawi's human rights record An Amnesty International report released in that year charged that prisoners were "kept naked and chained to the floor given minimal food, denied medical care and severely beaten"

Public threat

The charges appeared to have little effect on President Banda As recently as February last year he threatened in a public speech that any opposition member who returned to Malawi would be made "meat for crocodiles"

His motivation was perhaps illustrated by his announcement in 1966 that he would detain "ten thousand, a hundred thousand" in order to "maintain political stability and efficient administration"

The year before, during the trial of a political opponent named Silombela, he had publicly declared "I know he is going to be found guilty What kind of judge can acquit Silombela?"

Silombela was duly found guilty, sentenced to death and hanged

Banda has the power to appoint and dismiss

Perhaps more than any others, Orton and Vera Chirwa symbolise the human rights abuses in Malawi. Their case may not be the worst, for theirs at least had an international focus. Other lesser known detainees have suffered or are still suffering unspeakable abuses, hidden away from the public eye in Malawi's overcrowded jails

judges And magistrates who have found government opponents not guilty have found themselves without jobs

The report of the British legal group describes their findings as "chilling" An example of what they found is their account of two female workers who had been arrested for allegedly being supporters of the multiparty movement

The two women were jailed in Chichiri prison where prisoners have reportedly been forced to stand the whole night because of deliberate overcrowding

One of the women estimated that on average one prisoner died every second night

She told the group that she was beaten and that a man pulled up her dress and pressed a pair of pliers into her private parts "until I bled"

In the cell "there were so many of us that we had to sleep in two rows next to the wall We all faced in the same direction When somebody wanted to change direction, she shouted 'let's change direction' and we all changed together"

Moi woos opposition

Sowetan

17/3/93

Efforts to re-establish a one-party state: (170)

Joe Khamisi reports from Nairobi for the Sowetan Africa News Service

KENYA's ruling Kanu party is wooing opposition politicians — sometimes with large cash bribes — in a move that some fear might lead to the country reverting to being a one-party state

Kenyans voted in December in their first multiparty election in 26 years. With the opposition feuding and divided, Kanu won in a poll marred by allegations of fraud and irregularities.

But it failed to win enough seats to give it complete control of Parliament. Now Kanu has embarked on a vigorous campaign to lure opposition politicians to its ranks. Several have already taken the bait and switched allegiance to the government.

Some politicians fear that if this trend accelerates it could cripple pluralism in Kenya. They say this has happened twice before in Kenya's 30 years of independence and could easily happen again.

Two opposition MPs, Dr Protus Mumshyi of the Democratic Party and Charles Owim of the Ford Kenya Party, have already crossed over to Kanu.

Calling on Kanu's prodigal sons to return home, President Daniel arap Moi said Kanu was willing to accept opposition MPs if they defected. But Kanu's call is not limited to parliamentarians. At least half a dozen other political figures and civic leaders, among them a mayor, have switched allegiance in the past fortnight.

Branding the defectors as traitors, opposition leaders say Kanu is trying to consolidate its grip on power by increasing the 100 parliamentary seats it won in the election against the opposition's 88.

Even with the 12 nominated seats going to Kanu, Moi was still short of the two-thirds majority of 133 seats



President Daniel arap Moi ... willing to accept defectors.

needed to adopt constitutional amendments and other major legislation.

Kanu's efforts to make up the shortfall by wooing opposition MPs backfired last week when a Ford Kenya member, Ferdinand Obure, disclosed that he had been offered the equivalent of R400 000 to defect to Kanu but had spurned the offer.

Under Kenya's constitution an MP automatically loses his seat if he leaves his party. This means that by-elections must be held in the defectors' constituencies and it is by no means certain that Kanu will win them.

Two years ago, when Oginga Odinga's Kenya People's Party began attracting dissident Kanu MPs, the government pushed through the constitutional amendment requiring defecting MPs to lose their seats.

Now Kanu finds this resounding to its disadvantage and some analysts are predicting that the government will try to get another 22 opposition MPs to vote for a constitutional amendment to scrap the now-embarrassing provision. They could then cross the floor without losing their

seats and thereby having to fight a by-election.

Moi does not hide his abhorrence of pluralism and says publicly that he was forced into it by donor nations who made it a condition of granting economic aid.

Despite his adoption of multipartyism however it is uncertain whether Kenya will get back any of the 350-million US dollars of balance-of-payments support that was suspended by the donors in 1991 in a bid to force Kanu to adopt democratic reforms.

An International Monetary Fund (IMF) team that spent two weeks in Kenya assessing the situation left last weekend without saying a word about whether the aid would be resumed.

Diplomats have said the team was unimpressed with the little Kanu had done to meet the donors' demands for a wide range of economic and political reforms.

The team is due to return next month and may not be any more impressed by Kanu's latest moves to buy defections from the elected opposition.

NEWS FEATURE *Poll on multiparty system*

Malawi at the crossroads

(170)

Sowetan 29/3/93

Camil Daya reports from Blantyre for the Sowetan Africa News Service

SHOW TIME *Banda is edgy as referendum on democracy draws nearer:*

BLANTYRE, Malawi — Thousands of people gathered at the Kwacha International Conference Centre grounds in Blantyre chanting, "We want change! We want change!" and "Down with the one-party system!"

At another rally attended only by schoolchildren, some women and a handful of elders at the nearby Lunzu Community Centre ground, the song is different. The woman leading the song asks "Mufuna yani lero? (Whom do you want today?)" and the rest of the people respond "Ngwazi yekha (Ngwazi only)". This is a Malawi Congress Party rally addressed by the Ngwazi, President Kamuzu Banda, himself.

The difference between the attendance at this rally and the opposition rally at the conference centre bodes ill for the president if it indicates the outcome of the referendum on June 16. Voters will be giving their views then on whether Malawi should switch from one-party rule under Banda's Malawi Congress Party to multiparty democracy.

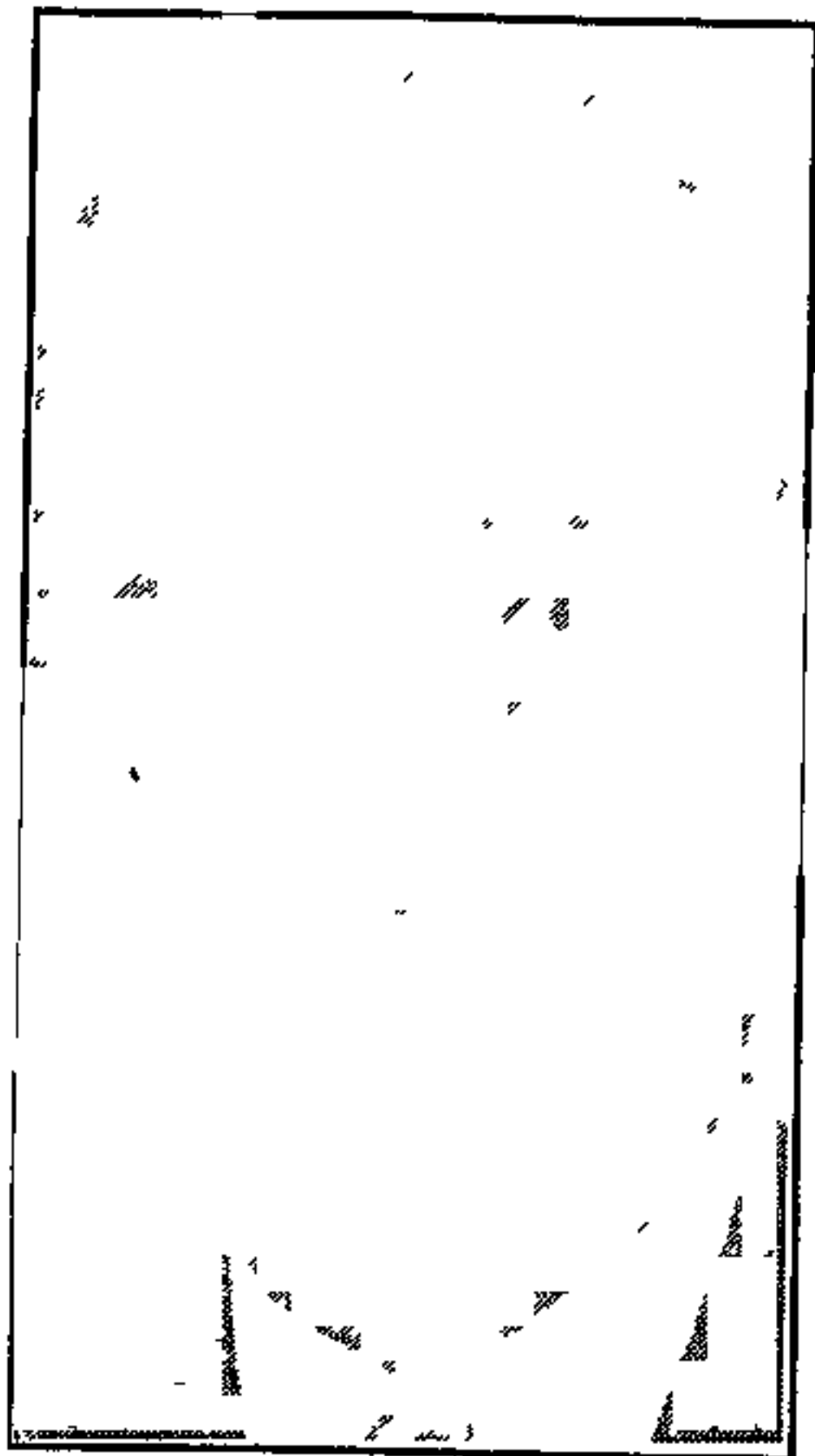
Ngwazi means "brave one" but the elderly president may need more than courage to accept the result of the referendum if it goes against him. He has agreed to the poll only under pressure from Malawi's foreign aid donors and if he loses the referendum is likely to lose a subsequent election after more than three decades of autocratic rule.

His opposition is composed mainly of two groups, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Alliance for Democracy (Aford). But it is the UDF which seems to command most respect, both locally and internationally.

A possible reason for this is that the UDF leader, veteran politician Bakili Muluzi, happens to be free while the leader of Aford, Chakulwa Chihana, remains incarcerated in a Zomba prison. Be that as it may, Muluzi continues to be a thorn in the flesh of the Malawi Congress Party and its leaders.

As a product of the system, Muluzi is ironically well-placed to attack it on the hustings. After receiving training in and working in the MCP's youth wing, the Malawi Young Pioneers, he rose to become the number two man in the party as secretary-general.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the MCP leadership appears to be making a determined effort to bring him into disrepute. Recently, at the instigation of the present MCP secretary-general, Wadson Deleza Banda announced at a public rally in Muluzi's home town of Balaka that Muluzi had embezzled MCP funds when he was



Dr Hastings Banda ... facing a vigorous campaign.

secretary-general — which is some 12 years ago now.

Banda's denunciation resulted in Muluzi landing up in a Blantyre jail a few hours later. Muluzi's lawyer was able to get him released on bail by pointing out that he had formally resigned as MCP secretary-general in 1983 and his resignation had been publicly accepted by Banda.

His detention may in fact have hurt the MCP more than it hurt Muluzi. When he was released at the Blantyre Magistrate's Court, Muluzi was hailed as a hero by a huge crowd which brought the city centre to a stand-still on a busy weekday.

Since then Muluzi has campaigned tirelessly, holding rally after rally and drawing large crowds. He leads a formidable team comprising four former MCP secretaries-general and six former cabinet ministers.

But whether this will have a crucial effect in the referendum remains an open question, for it has been alleged that these people never showed any sign of remorse when they worked with Banda as he committed his "crimes against the Malawian people. Why, it is asked, are they opposing him now — for personal revenge or on behalf of the people?"

Chakulwa Chihana, on the other hand, has a clean record. He has been a vehement critic of Banda and his system from the beginning. This earned him seven years of detention without trial, more than 20 years of self-exile and now another jail sen-

Banda's denunciation resulted in Muluzi landing up in a Blantyre jail a few hours later. Muluzi's lawyer was able to get him released on bail by pointing out that he had formally resigned as MCP secretary-general in 1983 and his resignation had been publicly accepted by Banda.

tence of two years.

Malawians know that political prisoners are treated with great cruelty in Malawi and respect Chihana for enduring this and still coming out fighting. Nevertheless, the fact that he is in prison prevents him from campaigning, which appears to be exactly what the authorities intended.

Aford's campaign for the referendum has been directed by the deputy chairman, Luke Mthambala, but the group has nevertheless been handicapped by the absence of its leader.

Chihana has appealed against his conviction and sentence but some of his associates have cast doubt on his chances of success because of the influence that Sanjika Palace (the presidential residence) is alleged to have over the courts. However, his lawyer, Bazuka Mhango, appears to be optimistic that the court will give a favourable ruling when its decision is handed down next month.

Meanwhile, the referendum campaign is picking up speed, with Banda appealing to Malawians to vote against multipartyism and the opposition contending that the one-party system was imposed on the country without any consultation with the people. They claim that the one-party system was installed for the advantage of those in power.

Banda is being urged to emulate former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and abandon one-party rule and retire. Despite his age, which is said to be somewhere in the nineties, Banda shows every sign of trying to hang on to the end, whatever that may turn out to be.

Malawi rapped (170)

■ THE International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) this week condemned the Malawian chief justice's failure to release union leader Chakutwa Chihana.

Chihana is the secretary-general of the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council and a pro-democracy lobbyist. Recently his prison sentence was reduced to nine months.

W/m
2/4-7/4/93

AFRICA

'Politics swung Chihana's sentence'

By MELINDA HAM
 MALAWI opposition leader Chakufwa Chihana's two-year jail sentence for the possession and importation of seditious documents was this week reduced to nine months, but critics say the court ruling smacks of political interference.

Chihana is chairman of the Alliance for Democracy (Aford), one of two opposition movements campaigning for a "yes" vote in favour of multi-party democracy in the upcoming June 14 referendum. The former trade union leader has been in detention since April 6 last year.

Chief Justice Richard Banda told the packed supreme court room in Blantyre this week that through the documents, which included speeches Chihana had delivered to a conference of Malawian exiles in Zambia in March 1992, Chihana had tried to "arouse feelings of hatred, contempt or dissatisfaction against the president and his government".

But the judge (no relation of President Kamuzu

Banda) said the sentence imposed on Chihana by a high court judge on December 14 last year was too harsh. He reduced it to nine months on the first seditious count and six months on the second count, to run concurrently from the date of conviction.

Banda added that a further three months could be cut off the sentence for "good behaviour" — which would mean that Chihana would be released, ironically, on the date of Malawi's referendum on pluralism.

The Chihana judgment comes in the wake of allegations of government interference with the judiciary. Earlier this month, the chief justice and Minister of Justice Friday Makuta were summoned to Sanjiki Palace, on a hill overlooking Blantyre, where the president instructed them to ensure that the supreme court uphold Chihana's two-year sentence.

Makuta told the 90-year-old life president that this was not possible because Chihana's lawyer, British barrister Edwun Glasgow, had destroyed the

prosecution's case. Glasgow had argued that the original judgment ran contrary to Malawi's constitution, international law and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, of which Malawi is a signatory.

Makuta was so angry about this interference that he resigned — the first Malawian cabinet minister to quit voluntarily since 1964. After this week's supreme court judgment, Makuta commented that the decision to uphold Chihana's conviction was "based on malice" and that the opposition leader should have been acquitted.

Immediately after the judgment, Chihana's colleagues in Aford called for the chief justice to resign.

"He's not capable of sitting on the (presidentially appointed) referendum commission which is running the referendum if he does not see freedom of expression as a fundamental right of all Malawians," said Aford's publicity secretary the Rev Aaron Longwe.

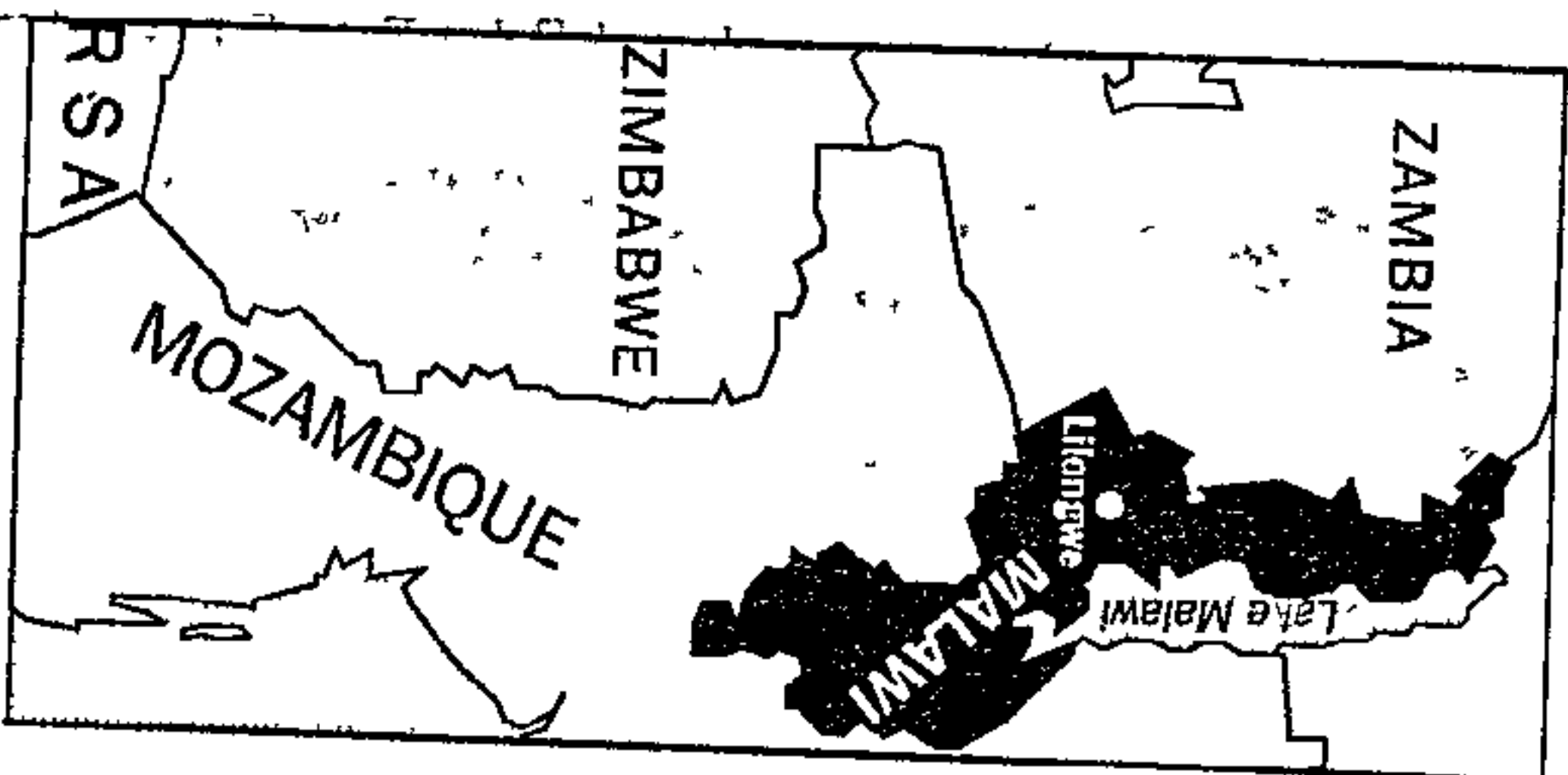
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Rallies tell a tale of Malawi's options

Star 8/14/93

(170)



THOUSANDS of people gathered at the Kwacha International Conference Centre grounds in Blantyre chant "We want change, we want change" and "Down with the one-party system".

At another rally attended only by schoolchildren, some women and a handful of elders at the nearby Lunzu Community Centre ground, the song is different. The woman leading the song asks "Mutuna yani lero (Whom do you want today)?" and the rest of the people respond "Ngwazi yekha (Ngwazi only)". This is a Malawi Congress Party rally addressed by the Ngwazi, President Kamuzu Banda, himself.

The difference between the attendance at this rally and the opposition rally at the conference centre bodes ill for the president if it indicates the outcome of the referendum on June 16. Voters will be giving their views then on whether Malawi should switch from one-party rule under Banda's

Despite the jailing of the leading opposition figure, President Kamuzu Banda's opponents are campaigning vigorously in Malawi's referendum on democracy. CAMIL DAYA reports from Blantyre for The Star's Africa Service.

Malawi Congress Party to multiparty democracy

Ngwazi means "brave one" but the elderly president may need more than courage to accept the result of the referendum if it goes against him. He has agreed to the poll only under pressure from Malawi's foreign aid donors and if he loses the referendum is likely to lose a subsequent election after more than three decades of autocratic rule.

His opposition is composed mainly of two groups, the United Democratic Front (UDF)

and the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD). But it is the UDF which seems to command most respect.

A possible reason for this is that the UDF leader, veteran politician Bakili Muluzi, happens to be free while the leader of AFORD, Chakufwa Chihana, remains in a Zomba jail. Be that as it may, Muluzi continues to be a thorn in the flesh of the Malawi Congress Party.

As a product of the system, Muluzi is ironically well-placed to attack it on the hustings after receiving training in and

working in the MCP's youth wing, the Malawi Young Pioneers, he rose to become the number two man in the party as secretary general.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the MCP leadership appears to be making a determined effort to bring him into dispute. Recently, at the instigation of the present MCP secretary general, Wadson Deleza, Banda told a public rally in Muluzi's home town of Bala-ka that Muluzi had embezzled MCP funds when he was secretary general about 12 years ago.

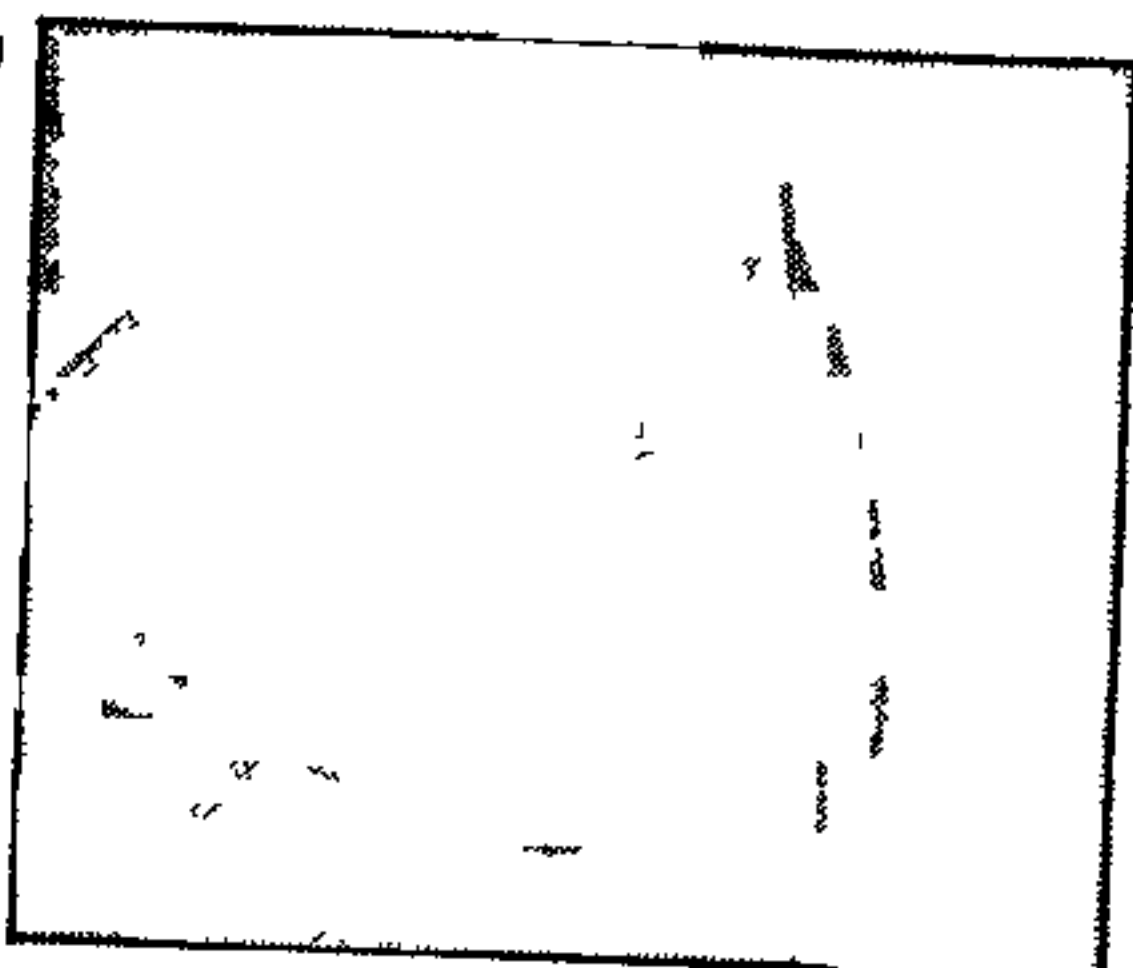
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licly accepted his resignation. Muluzi leads a formidable team comprising four former MCP secretaries general and six former Cabinet Ministers.

But whether this will have a crucial effect in the referendum remains an open question, for it has been alleged that these people did not show any sign of remorse when they worked with Banda as he committed his "crimes" against the Malawian people.

Chakufwa Chihana, on the other hand, has a clean record. He has been a vehement critic of Banda and his system from the beginning. This earned him seven years of detention without trial, more than 20 years of self-exile and now another jail sentence of two years.

AFORD's campaign for the referendum has been directed by the deputy chairman, Luke



Pressured Kamuzu Banda

Mthambala, but the group has nevertheless been handicapped by its leader's absence.

Chihana has appealed against his conviction and sentence but some of his associates have cast doubt on his chances of

success because of the influence that Sankuka Palace (the presidential residence) is alleged to have over the courts. However, his lawyer, Bazuka Mhango, appears to be optimistic that the court will give a favourable ruling when its decision is handed down next month.

Meanwhile, the referendum campaign is picking up speed, with Banda appealing to Malawians to vote against multipartyism and the opposition contending that the one-party system was imposed on the country without any consultation with the people. They claim that the one-party system was installed for the advantage of those in power.

Banda is being urged to emulate former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and abandon one-party rule. □

Cloud over referendum in Malawi

Sowetan 28/4/93

■ **INTIMIDATION CLAIMS** *Fears as poll*

nears on ditching one-party system: (170)

By Camil Daya
Sowetan Africa News Service

BLANTYRE — As the date for Malawi's referendum on multipartyism draws nearer doubts are increasingly being expressed about whether the poll will be free and fair. The vote on June 14 will purportedly decide whether the country should abandon the one-party system ruthlessly maintained by President Kamuzu Banda since 1966 two years after independence from British administration.

The referendum was forced on Banda by growing domestic and international opposition to his Malawi Congress Party's exclusive rule.

But with opposition politicians accusing the government of intimidation it is uncertain whether the poll will produce a generally acceptable result.

Harassment of government supporters is being reported from a number of areas.

Bakili Muluzi, leader of one of the opposition pressure groups the United Democratic Front, said some of its members were abducted and had not been seen since.

People who reported the abductions had in turn disappeared. Muluzi said the abductions were conducted by members of the Malawi Young Pioneers, the paramilitary wing of the ruling Malawi Congress Party.

He said some UDF members had been detained by the police and tortured. Their fate remained a mystery.

Muluzi said he had himself been harassed by the police.

The MCP claimed in January that Muluzi had embezzled its funds some 12 years ago when he was secretary general of the ruling party. He was charged but acquitted in the Blantyre Magistrate's Court.

However, he was re-arrested within hours and told that the prosecution was still proceeding with the case.

A priest of the Catholic Church said in Lilongwe that public rallies scheduled by pressure groups often never get to be held even when prior police approval had been obtained.

The priest, who serves in rural areas near Lilongwe but requested anonymity, said local officials of the Malawi Congress Party threatened traditional chiefs with dire consequences if they allowed their people to attend rallies by opposition groups.

In some instances MCP officials had arranged for 'dancers' known as 'vinyau' to disrupt rallies.

The churchman described one recent incident at a village some 25km from Lilongwe on the road to Salima district where more than 15 000 people had gathered to listen to a leading member of the UDF Aleke Banda (no relation to the President).

As Banda's vehicle approached about 10 'vinyau' sprang from the bushes and

attacked it. The driver turned the vehicle and fled and the rally did not take place.

Another opposition group, the Alliance for Democracy (Aford), has suffered through the continued imprisonment of its leader Chafwa Chihana. Recently Aford said it had uncovered a plan by the MCP to fraudulently boost its votes in the referendum by registering the 1 500 000 refugees from Mozambique as voters.

According to Aford, the government threatened to expel the refugees if they did not vote for the MCP. The government has strongly denied the allegation but Aford insists its information is accurate.

While President Kamuzu Banda appears determined to maintain his ruthless hold on power, events suggest it is weakening.

The judicial system, which has tended to serve Banda's aims, is responding to pressure to conform to acceptable norms. Ironically, much of the pressure comes from within the legal system itself, with many young lawyers opting to leave the heavily controlled Ministry of Justice for private practice.

Working under the umbrella of a revamped Malawi Law Society, they are in effect overseeing the disintegration of Banda's reputedly oppressive judiciary and are committed to bringing every Malawian including Banda, under the law.

Chihana's appeal in March exposed apparent flaws in the judiciary when Chief Justice Richard Banda, who is widely seen to have capitulated to government pressure, upheld Chihana's High Court conviction on charges of sedition and sent him back to prison for nine months with hard labour.

The finding stunned the international community and shocked many Malawians.

Aford officials immediately called for the resignation of the chief justice saying Malawians had lost confidence in him.

They said his wife was a confidant of President Banda's official hostess Cecilia Kadzamura, who is believed to be a powerful figure in the MCP regime. Justice Minister Friday Makuta resigned, reportedly after a clash with cabinet ministers over the Chihana case but the chief justice stayed on.

In an apparent effort to shift attention from the judicial system, President Banda has set up a Political Detentions Review Tribunal, purportedly to review the cases of political detainees. Some lawyers fear, however, that it will merely confirm their detention.

One member of the Malawi Law Society, who did not want to be named, told me that the tribunal was below the High Court in status and yet was treated as if it was above all other legal structures.

He added that the composition of the tribunal was also suspicious. It included MCP stalwarts such as Mr Justice Umyolo as chairman and Chief Kaombi from Banda's home village.



President Banda

Malawi legalises poll violence

By Chris McGreal (170)

MALAWI'S life president, Dr Kamuzu Banda, has imposed new laws that opposition leaders say give his Malawi Congress Party (MCP) immunity from prosecution for violence and intimidation during the referendum campaign on the future of one-party rule.

The Malawi parliament, where the MCP holds every seat, has granted the ruling party, its officials and members the same legal immunity given to government ministers. This formalises the long-standing practice of a government that has frequently abused its powers in dealing with opponents.

But the latest regulations reflect occasional dissent within the legal system at increasing officially-sanctioned violence against Dr Banda's opponents and a renewed crackdown on freedom of speech. The Malawi high court recently overturned the ban on two opposition newspapers, but the

government can now suppress publications

The referendum on June 14 was called under pressure from foreign governments which suspended aid in protest at human rights abuses in Malawi. But with at least one independent poll showing a majority in favour of multi-party democracy, the government is resorting to its well-tested methods of repression.

The main opposition group, the Alliance for Democracy, says there has been a sharp increase in the number of attacks by the MCP's Young Pioneers since the new law was approved. "The MCP and its officials have now been given the mandate to act in any way they choose, knowing that they are not personally liable for their actions. This amounts to giving the MCP and its functionaries immunity from civil and criminal liability," the alliance said.

The British-based anti-censorship group, Article 19, this week issued a report condemning the govern-

ment's handling of the referendum campaign. The report says that since the referendum was announced in October, police have regularly banned Dr Banda's opponents from addressing public meetings, prevented campaign rallies and used an extensive network of laws to restrict freedom of speech.

Dr Banda has kept the alliance's leader, Chakufwa Chihana, out of the campaign. Mr Chihana was sentenced to two years' hard labour on charges of sedition after calling for a multi-party system. The term was reduced to nine months on appeal.

In January Dr Banda banned advocates of multi-partyism from broadcasting on state-controlled radio. Article 19 says that, in a typical week, the only daily newspaper in Malawi, the government-run Daily Times, published 158 column inches supporting one-party rule. It included five front-page stories with headlines such as "One party means peace". No article supported the alternative view.

Guardian/W in W/Man 30/4-6/5793.

park in Sandton at the weekend. Proceeds of the fun day were for abus

Star 4/5/93
Malawi row over separate poll boxes

HARARE — Malawi's opposition groups will boycott next month's referendum on multi-party democracy unless President Kamuzu Banda's government agrees to one of their key demands within a week, a spokesman said yesterday.

Peter Kaleso of the Alliance for Democracy (Aford) said the government had a week in

which to accept a single ballot box instead of separate boxes for "yes" and "no" votes

Opposition groups believe the use of two boxes in the June 14 poll would intimidate voters, who would fear reprisals if they were seen voting for an end to Banda's one-party system.

Aford and the United Democratic Front are the main opposition parties. — Sapa-AFP.

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**I thought I
would die,
says Selles**



Malawi censors

Weekly Mail

WIMON 715 - 135193
Weekly Mail Reporter (170)

THE Malawi government censored last week's edition of *The Weekly Mail and Guardian Weekly*, excising an article about Malawi from each and every copy of the *Guardian Weekly* before allowing the paper to go on sale.

The article, by *Guardian* regional correspondent Chris McGreal, focused on new laws giving the ruling Malawi Congress Party what amounts to immunity from prosecution for acts of intimidation and violence in the run-up to a referendum in June on the future of one-party rule.

Distribution of *The Weekly Mail* in Malawi was delayed by a day while the offending article was removed leaving a hole on the bottom of page 7, although a front page reference to the story, headed "Banda makes violence legal", was left untouched.

The censoring of foreign coverage of events in Malawi continues, despite considerable liberalisation of the press inside the country in the run-up to the referendum. At least eight opposition weeklies and monthlies — most hard-hitting in their criticism — have been set up since President-for-life Hastings Banda agreed to the plebiscite in October.

Star 8/5/78
**Jailed Malawian
democrat ill** (170)

LUSAKA — Jailed Malawian pro-democracy activist Chakufwa Chihana is in very poor condition and needs urgent medical attention, a leading African trade unionist who visited him this week said yesterday.

Chihana (52), a leader of the opposition Alliance for Democracy (AFORD), is serving a reduced six-month prison term for sedition.

Fackson Shamenda, president of the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council, said Chihana was coughing blood.

Shamenda said that despite his condition, Chihana continued to insist on the need for multiparty democracy in Malawi — Sapa-Reuter

AFRICA

Why use two boxes when one will do?

Wm mail 14/5 - 20/5/93. (170)

KALEMBO MALENGA was the last of three men manhandled into the back of an Air Malawi van after dark recently. If the young pro-government thugs dressed in their uniform red shirts had not snatched him in front of witnesses, Malenga fears he might have paid more dearly for joining the campaign for democracy in Malawi.

As it was, the 61-year-old man was dragged off in his underwear. "They told me that when President Banda was being arrested (by the British colonial authorities) in 1959 he was not allowed to dress up," Malenga says.

He is among hundreds of people abducted and tortured in a campaign of intimidation and manipulation on behalf of Malawi's Life President Kamuzu Banda in the run-up to the June 14 referendum on the future of one-party rule in the country.

Members of the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) have been involved in an intimidation campaign extending from attacks on opposition activists to threats to cut off food to entire villages if they vote against one-party rule. Banda is also attempting to manipulate the referendum by forcing voters to choose between ballot boxes marked for and against the one-party state.

Malenga, Biantyre's regional vice-chairman of the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF), and his two colleagues were dragged to the offices of the MCP's youth league. About 22 members of the youth league were on hand, led by their local chairman, Paul Kachitsa.

"Do you think that by joining the multi-party movement you are going to be ministers in a new government?" Kachitsa asked.

He gave a plastic hose to 60-year-old Mussa Umali Majiga and ordered him to beat his colleague. When Majiga refused to do so, the youth league chairman thrashed him.

The three captives were each beaten until blood poured from their backs. The third man, Wadi Damison Ntelera, fainted. After an hour and a half, the beatings finally ended amid demands that they stop acting as "confusionists".

They were then given papers to sign, renouncing "multi-party activity". But they refused and were imprisoned in a cell in the local jail. Three days later, having received no food or medical attention, they were discovered during a routine visit by members of the International Red Cross.

Kachitsa denies that the beatings

Forcing voters to choose between two ballot boxes is part of President Kamuzu Banda's campaign to defeat reform in Malawi, reports
CHRIS MCGREAL



Kamuzu Banda

took place, saying the three men were arrested for "speaking ill of the party", but their wounds are still visible.

Banda rushed into promising the referendum last October, in the wake of wage riots, protestations from the church and cuts in international aid. The president's aides have reinforced his own perception of his popularity for years, but after nearly three decades of rule by terror the MCP baulks at even the limited freedom to criticise now offered.

The government says the vote will be secret, despite the separate ballot boxes that will be provided for pro and anti-reform votes, because the boxes will be shut away in a room which each voter will enter alone. But MCP activists are spreading the word that voters will be photographed or watched.

United Nations observers fear the use of two ballot boxes eases the way for manipulation. "I can't see how the MCP can win unless they rig the

vote. Their insistence on two ballot boxes is an indication that this is what they want to do," said one foreign official.

The UN envoy in Malawi, Michael Hayne, has proposed sending in a mediator after the main church groups said last Friday that they would boycott the referendum. Opposition pressure groups say they will follow suit unless the government abandons its insistence on two ballot boxes.

The government appears to have accepted that it has lost the vote in the cities and is targeting rural areas. Food aid for drought relief from the international community is portrayed as coming from Banda's personal silos, with the threat that if the vote swings the wrong way there may be no more deliveries. People who have fled drought-stricken areas are warned that if they do not support Banda they will be "deported" and lose their new land.

The government has also excluded sections of the population from the ballot, including those aged between 18 and 21, who make up about a third of the population and are considered to be overwhelmingly opposed to the MCP.

The army and police are also forbidden to vote. The military in particular is thought to be strongly in favour of a multi-party democracy. Only the Malawi Young Pioneers, whose existence is dependent on continued one-party rule, will be permitted to vote.

Banda is the only campaigner allowed to broadcast his views on the state radio. Officially, the president does not campaign — he embarks on "crop inspections" around the country. During these visits, police forbid the opposition from holding rallies in the same region.

Nonetheless, the referendum campaign has already brought about change. When Banda descends on his subjects to "inspect the crops", his visits are no longer accompanied by a ritual fleecing of the poor. Before the campaign, every village and town visited by the president was required to donate "gifts". A delegation would arrive ahead of the presidential entourage to select a cow from a family with just three, or a good chunk of the maize crop.

Village headmen still make the pilgrimage to Banda's palace to pledge the loyalty of their subjects and hear the threats of retribution. But many are relaying a different message in their villages, and some have even come out publicly against the MCP. — The Guardian News

Banda's agents mount campaign of terror in Malawi

By Chris McGreal
in Blantyre

KALEMBO MALENGA was the last of three men manhandled into the back of an Air Malawi van after dark one recent Sunday. If the young pro-government thugs dressed in their uniform red shirts had not snatched him in front of witnesses, Mr Malenga fears he might have paid more dearly for joining the campaign for democracy in Malawi.

As it was, the 61-year-old pensioner was dragged off in his underwear. "They told me when Dr Hastings Banda was being arrested (by the British colonial authorities) in 1959 he was not allowed to dress up," Mr Malenga said.

He is among hundreds of people abducted and tortured in a campaign of intimidation and manipulation on behalf of Life President Ngwazi Dr Hastings Banda in the run-up to the June 14 referendum on the future of one-party rule by the Malawi Congress Party (MCP).

A desperate government is pursuing a dual strategy. Recent new

laws giving the party immunity from prosecution for violence against its opponents has heightened an intimidation campaign against an opposition extending from attacks on opposition activists to threats to cut off food to whole villages if they vote against one-party rule.

Dr Banda is also attempting to manipulate the referendum by forcing voters to choose between ballot boxes marked for and against the one-party state.

Mr Malenga, the local vice-chairman of the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF), and his two colleagues were dragged to the offices of the MCP's youth league. About 22 members of the youth league were on hand, led by their local chairman, Paul Kachitsa.

"Do you think that by joining the multi-party movement you are going to be ministers in a new government?" he said.

Mr Kachitsa passed a plastic hose to 60-year-old Mussa Umali Majuga and told him to beat his companion. He refused and the youth league chairman thrashed Mr Majuga. Each of the captives was beaten in turn until blood was

pouring from their backs. The third man, Wadi Damison Nteleru, fainted. An hour and a half later the beating ended with final demands that they stop being "confusionists".

Each was given papers to sign renouncing multi-party activity. Their refusal led to a cell in the local prison. Three days later, with no food or medical attention for their wounds, they were discovered during a routine visit by the International Red Cross. Mr Kachitsa denies the beatings took place, saying the three were arrested for "speaking ill of the party", but the wounds are still visible.

Dr Banda rushed into promising the referendum last October after wage riots, denunciations from the church and cuts in international aid in protest at human rights abuses.

The government says the vote will still be secret despite the separate ballot boxes for pro- and anti-reform votes, because the boxes will be shut away in a room which each voter will enter alone. But MCP activists are spreading the word they will

be photographed or watched. United Nations observers fear the use of two ballot boxes eases the way for vote stuffing. "Personally I can't see how the MCP can win unless they rig it. Their insistence on two ballot boxes is an indication that that is what they want to do," said one foreign official.

The government appears to have accepted that it has lost the cities and is targeting rural areas. Food aid for drought relief from the international community is portrayed as coming from Banda's personal silos, with the threat that if the vote swings the wrong way there may be no more deliveries.

Malawi state radio. Officially, the Life President does not campaign, he embarks on "crop inspections" around the country.

Nonetheless, the campaign has already brought about change. When Dr Banda descends on his subjects to inspect the crops it is no longer accompanied by a ritual fleeing of the poor. Until the referendum, every village and town visited by the Life President was required to donate "gifts". A delegation arrived ahead of time to select a cow from a family with just three, or a good chunk of the maize crop.

Village headmen still make the pilgrimage to Dr Banda's palace to pledge the loyalty of their subjects and hear the threats of retribution. But many are relaying a different message in their villages and some have even come out publicly against the MCP.

Last week Dr Banda went so far as openly to threaten a prominent opponent who recently defected from the MCP. The message is intended for a wider audience and it is clear anyone supporting multi-partyism will be made to pay

The government has also excluded sections of the population from the ballot, including the third of Malawians aged between 18 and 21, judged to be overwhelmingly opposed to the MCP. The army and police are also forbidden to vote. Only the Malawi Young Pioneers, whose existence is dependent on continued one-party rule, is permitted to vote.

Dr Banda is the only campaigner allowed to broadcast his views on



Banda agrees to single ballot box

Star 19/5/93

(170)

BLANTYRE — Malawi's self-proclaimed president-for-life, Kamuzu Banda, has finally conceded to opposition demands for a single ballot box in next month's referendum on multi-party democracy.

Banda's decision was announced during a 45-minute radio address on Monday, and follows warnings from the opposition parties that they would boycott the referendum on June 14 unless he dropped his insistence on having two separate ballot boxes at each polling station, one for "yes" and one for

"no" votes.

Under the system that Banda agreed to — after strenuous arm-twisting over the past few days from a UN envoy dispatched from Geneva — voters will be issued with two ballot papers, for and against the continuation of single-party rule. In a private voting booth they will put one in the envelope and destroy the other. They will then put the sealed envelope in the ballot box.

The two main opposition parties, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Alliance for Democracy, welcomed this

arrangement

"Frankly speaking we are quite happy with that," said a UDF campaigner after listening to Banda's speech.

Opposition sources described Banda's announcement as a "humiliating defeat" for the Malawi Congress Party, which has ruled for 29 years. They hailed his concession as a recognition by the government that unless the opposition parties took part in the referendum, the poll would be regarded as worthless by the international community, and Western aid

donors would be unlikely to resume their supplies of aid. They suspended aid to Malawi a year ago in protest at human rights abuses.

A report by Amnesty International yesterday, completed before Monday's announcement, described regulations protecting free speech for participants in Malawi's election campaign as deeply flawed and ineffective. Amnesty urged the government to free trade union leader Chakufwa Chihana, who is serving a nine-month jail sentence with hard labour for sedition — The Independent News Service.



Banda . . . UN pressure led to referendum concession

3 Times 231513
No boycott (170)

HARARE: Malawi's main opposition group has dropped its threat to boycott next month's referendum on multi-party politics after President Kamuzu Banda approved a new voting system.

Modicai Msishi of the Public Affairs Committee said the opposition welcomed Banda's acceptance of the use of a single ballot box instead of the government's two boxes — one for "yes" and one for "no" — in the June 14 vote.

Court's ruling challenges Banda ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

WMC 28/5 - 3/6/93

By CHRIS MCGREAL

ISSUING an unprecedented challenge to the repressive regime of Malawi's life president, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, the high court has awarded the country's longest serving political prisoner substantial compensation for false imprisonment.

Before his release a year ago, Machipisa Munthali spent 27 years in jail for plotting against Banda's government. The court ruled that he should have been freed in 1973 on completion of his sentence, but was illegally detained. It awarded Munthali 4.5-million kwacha (about R3.75-million).

The ruling challenges the legality of the Preventive Detention Act under which hundreds of Banda's opponents have been held without trial for offences ranging from questioning the official assessment of the president's age (the government says he is 87, the records suggest he is 94) to wielding too much influence inside the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP). This is viewed as a challenge to Banda's leadership.

The ruling is a further embarrassment to Banda in the run-up to next month's referendum on the future of Malawi's one-party state. The courts have recently overturned bans on opposition newspapers and the president was forced to abandon a scheme to use two ballot boxes — for those voting for and against the one party-state in the referendum — which independent observers warned opened the way to intimidation and fraud.

Munthali (68) was arrested on weapons charges during Banda's purge of dissidents in the MCP in 1965, a year after independence. He was tortured during his initial imprisonment and chained in a damp, windowless cell measuring two metres by one metre at the notorious Mikuyu prison near Zomba in southern Malawi.

"They kept me on the condemned block," he said on his release. "Even if they are not going to kill you, they are going to kill those around you and that is very hard."

When Munthali was released from prison last June, the police handed him a letter to sign thanking Banda for letting him go. He said he would rather go back to his cell. He was freed anyway, with a warning not to cause trouble. Munthali defied the order by joining the campaign for an end to one-party rule.

On Banda's announcement that he had dropped his insistence on separate ballot boxes in the referendum, Malawi's main opposition groups backed off a threat to boycott the plebiscite. But they warned that, while it will be harder to commit fraud, intimidation continues.

Last week, Amnesty International warned that regulations to protect free speech during the campaign were "deeply flawed and ineffective."

"Those who do speak out for multi-party democracy are likely to face human rights violations," Amnesty said. "Unless the government takes urgent steps to guarantee basic human rights, the referendum cannot be considered fair." — The Guardian

Guardian (W) in
Banda snubbed
Munthali
by high court

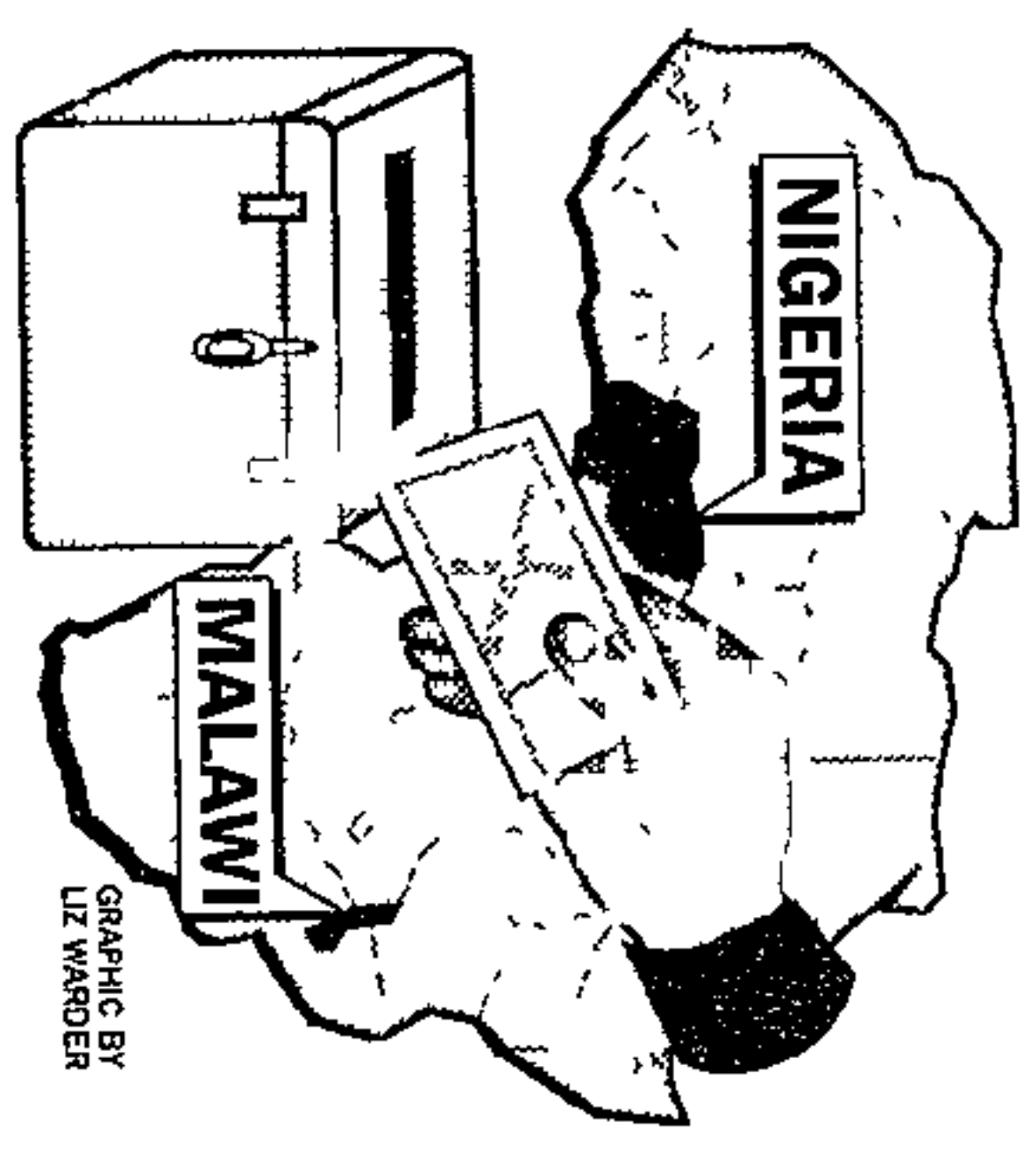
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28/5-3/6/93.
MALAWI'S high court has issued an unprecedented challenge to the regime of "President for Life" Hastings Banda by awarding the country's longest-serving political prisoner substantial compensation.

Before his release a year ago Machipisa Munthali spent 27 years in jail for plotting against Dr Banda's government. The court ruled that he should have been freed in 1973 on completion of his sentence, and awarded Mr Munthali 4.5 million kwacha (about £750,000).

The ruling challenges the Preventive Detention Act under which hundreds of Dr Banda's opponents have been held without trial for offences ranging from questioning the official assessment of the president's age (the government says he is 87, the records suggest he is 94) to wielding too much influence inside the ruling Malawi Congress Party. This is viewed as challenge to Dr Banda's leadership.

A referendum next month will decide whether Malawi will continue as a one-party state.



Malawians are about to vote on whether their country should switch from one-party autocracy to multiparty democracy. CAMIL DAYA reports from Blantyre for The Star's Africa Service.

FOUR million Malawian voters will be called to cast ballots on Monday in a referendum on whether they want democracy — but amid fears that the referendum itself will not be democratic. Opposition groups have accused President Kamuzu Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) of intimidating voters who must decide whether Malawi will become a multiparty democracy or remain a one-party state under the MCP.

Their complaints have been backed by foreign observers, including the European Community. The EC this week complained to the Malawi government that MCP's youth wing, the Malawi Young Pioneers, were intimidating and harassing voters without official hindrance. "There are numerous reports of harassment and intimidation in various forms: physical maltreatment of individual multiparty advocates, obstruction and cancellation of meetings," the EC said.

The government rejected the EC objections as "baseless." Opposition fears that the referendum will not be free and fair have not been allayed by the government's agreement, under pressure, to abandon its original plan to have two ballot boxes — one for yes and the other for no votes.

The opposition parties had objected that the two-box system would make it easy for the government to identify those voting for change and so intimidate them.

According to opposition politicians, MCP stalwarts have threatened people with eviction from their villages if they vote for multiparty democracy.

Another form of voter manipulation is being alleged. To simplify the referendum, voters will be given two ballot papers, one bearing the symbol of a hurricane lamp and the other the MCP's symbol of a black rooster.

Voters must put only one paper in the ballot box — the hurricane lamp if they want de-

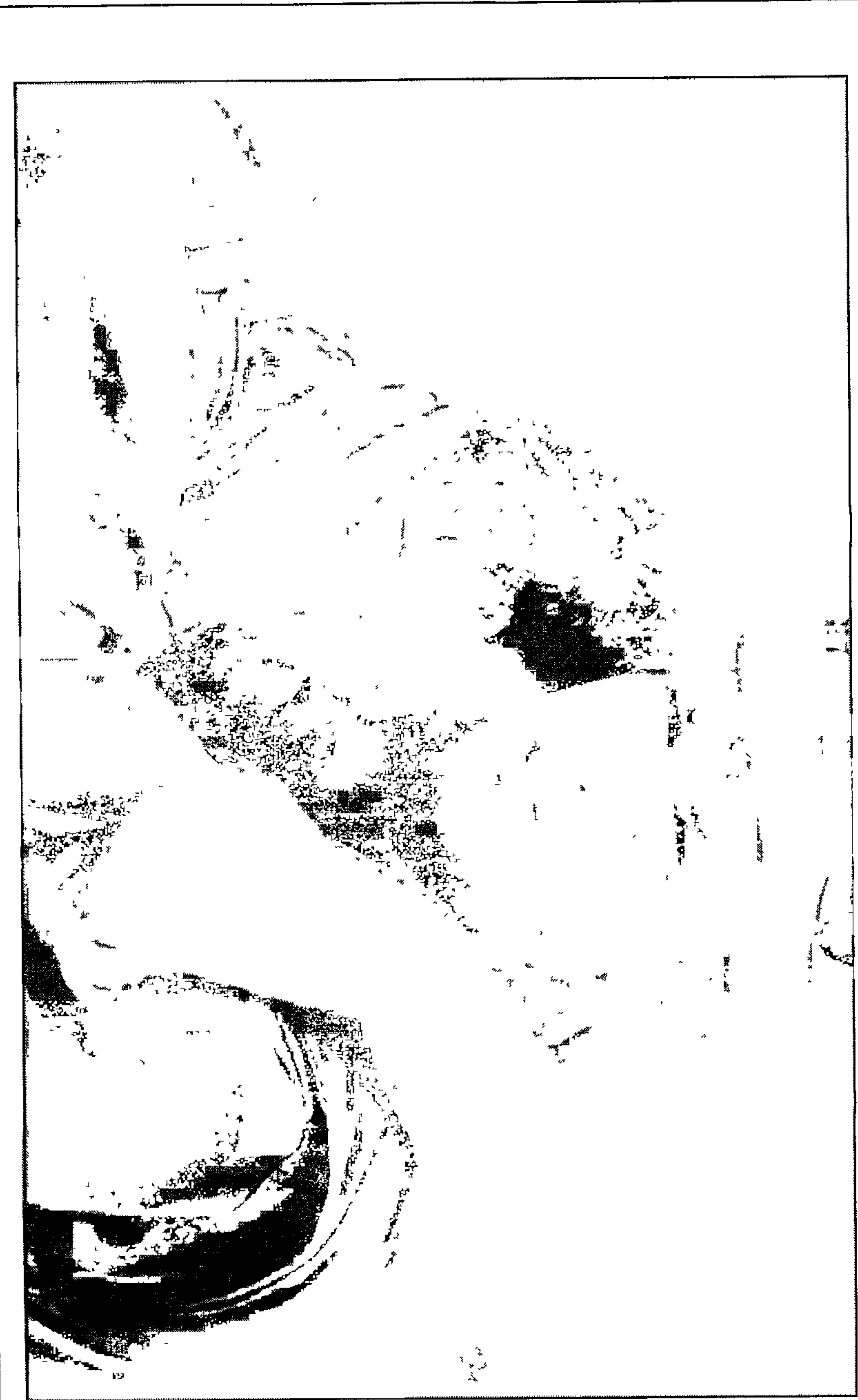
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uphill battle for Malawi

democracy, the black cock if they want one-party rule.

The opposition Alliance for Democracy (Aford) claims MCP leaders are telling voters not to throw away the ballot paper they do not put into the box but to give it to their local chief or MCP leader. It would thus be known who had voted against the government.

The government and the opposition groups are predicting victory for themselves in the



A father's heartbreak... a Bosnian Muslim soldier weeps in the arms of a comrade after finding the body of his son, killed by shelling in the town of Mosser. Fierce fighting between Bosnian Muslims and Croats is taking a horrifying toll.

Picture: David Brauchli, Associated Press

referendum, which is the first fully democratic test the MCP had subjected itself to since it imposed one-party rule in 1986.

For the opposition, the struggle to reach this point has been hard and long. Several of their leaders, including Aford chairman Chakufwa Chihana, have been jailed — some without trial or under conditions of dubious legality. Generally, the government's human rights record has left

the playing field in the run-up to the referendum very uneven.

A Supreme Court ruling in March reduced Chihana's prison sentence from an initial two years to nine months. Considering the time he had already served, it was calculated that he would be set free tomorrow night.

But, according to Aford publicly secretary the Rev Peter Kaleso, the government has decided not to release him until

midnight on Monday, the day of the referendum.

Kaleso says this is an attempt by the government to ensure that Chihana does not participate in the referendum campaign. He had been billed to appear at Aford's final rally tomorrow. Kaleso said the rally would go ahead anyway.

Last month Amnesty International appealed to the government to free opposition politicians who were detained on

their arrival in Malawi from South Africa. The three members of an exiled group which calls itself the Malawi Democratic Party, were released.

But their leader, Robert Khembo, was rearrested for making public statements about his detention.

The opposition has also accused the government of dominating airtime on the State-owned Malawi Broadcasting Corporation and space in the

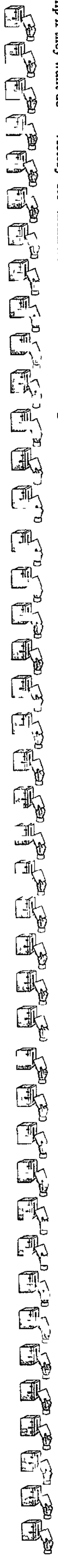
print media.

Speeches by Banda are often repeated on radio, and are broadcast in full while none of the opposition groups has received coverage of their rallies or their views.

So concerned were the opposition parties at the prospect of voter intimidation that for several months they threatened to boycott the poll.

To prevent multiple voting, voters will have their hands marked with indelible ink as they receive their ballot papers. But it is unclear whether the relatively informal monitoring of the referendum by foreign observer missions will be adequate for an unequivocal ruling on the freedom and fairness of the vote.

The outcome will determine whether Banda and his right-hand man, John Tembo, continue their iron-fisted rule of the country. □



Malawi referendum causes confusion

Southern Africa - 10/16/79

By Derek Mapondera

MAKIWI PHIRI is apprehensive about the referendum on political pluralism in Malawi set for June 14

Phiri, a villager, says he does not know what the future holds for his country and wants to know what will happen in the aftermath of the referendum

Unfortunately, the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP), in power since independence in 1964, and pressure groups campaigning for the multi-party system have not addressed this issue at meetings

Instead, both sides are personalising the issue and concentrating on mudslinging, leaving Phiri and others confused over what it is about

Even President for Life, Hastings Banda, who reluctantly accepted the principle of the referendum in October last year, now says a "yes" vote does not mean "yes" to a multi-party state. Instead, he says, it will give Malawians the opportunity to show support for him and his party

The MCP's publicity secretary,

Hetherwick Ntuba, has tried to allay fears about what happens after June 14. His party, he said recently, will accept the result of the referendum

"If people say yes to multi-party," says Ntuba, "it is obvious that we have to respond to their wish. Parties will be registered and campaigning for the elections will begin."

The Malawi constitution outlaws political parties other than the MCP. If the pressure groups — the Alliance For Democracy (AFORD) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) — win the referendum, that clause will have to be removed.

Ntuba says he expects the UDF and AFORD to honour the views of the people and stop pressing for multi-party politics if the electorate votes otherwise in the referendum

Both groups have said they will continue to press for multi-party politics if they lose

"There is no way we would accept defeat," says AFORD spokesperson Harry Chumbe

"The movement for change in this country is too big for a loss"

Malawi



Says Kassim Chilumpha of the UDF "Should the ruling party win, we expect the government to respect certain fundamental rights, like the freedom of expression and speech, freedom of the press and the freedom for pressure groups to continue fighting for pluralism."

Chilumpha, a law lecturer at the

University of Malawi, says there have been no major changes in Malawi and the government must address basic human rights issues

The arrests of multi-party advocates and detentions without trial, says Chilumpha, show the government is still violating the human rights of Malawians — **AIA**

Malawians in pre-dawn poll rush

Star 14/6/93

170

BLANTYRE (Malawi) — Malawians turned out in their thousands before dawn today to vote in a referendum on democracy that could end almost 30 years of one-party rule by Life President Kamuzi Banda.

A line of excited people almost a kilometre long waited outside one polling station in central Blantyre for it to open at 6 a.m. Some said they had slept there all night.

Cheering people gave the V-for-victory and clenched hands signs of an opposition alliance campaigning for a Western-style democracy.

"We are going to vote multi-party. We have suffered a long time. We are cheerful now because things are going to change," said office messenger Wilson Mdala.

Banda has ruled in autocratic style since independence from Britain in 1964.

Chaos

He is fighting to retain the one-party state, saying party politics has brought chaos to the rest of Africa.

He was forced into the referendum by internal unrest and a withdrawal of all but humanitarian assistance from Western donors protesting against human rights abuses.

A big turnout is believed to favour the Alliance for Democracy (Aford) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) in their battle against the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP).

There was no immediate word from rural areas, home for 85 percent of the people of this tiny southern African nation.

Analysts say the peasants are more conservative than townspeople and more subject to intimidation against change.

In a radio address to the nation, Banda, officially 87 but widely believed to be in his mid-90s, appealed to 4.2 million registered voters over the age of 21 to cast their ballots peacefully. He said every Malawian should "be left to vote freely and without fear".

The European Community has protested to the government over reports of intimidation and harassment of voters by the MCP.

Opposition leaders, denied equal access with the government to the media, say the referendum campaign was not free but they wanted to press ahead regardless in response to a groundswell for change.

Aleke Banda, an opposition leader who was jailed for 12 years, says the president is boxed in by world opprobrium and internal revolt.

Aleke Banda is a leader of the Alliance for Democracy, headed by trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana, who was freed on Saturday after six months in jail for sedition.

Aford is campaigning for a multiparty vote with the United Democratic Front led by fired Minister Bakili Muluzi.

In the event of a victory, the opposition wants a government of national unity set up within a week to draw up a democratic constitution and a Bill of Rights and to lead the nation to elections before the year-end.

The government has pledged to honour the result.

The United Nations has organised a monitoring force of 200 from several countries — Sapa-Reuter.

Fears of intimidation as Malawians vote

Amid allegations of government intimidation, Malawians cast their votes today on whether their country should switch from one-party autocracy to multi-party democracy. CAMIL DAYA reports from Blantyre for the Argus Africa News Service.

FOUR million Malawian voters are called to cast ballots today in a referendum on whether they want democracy — but amid fears that the referendum itself will not be democratic.

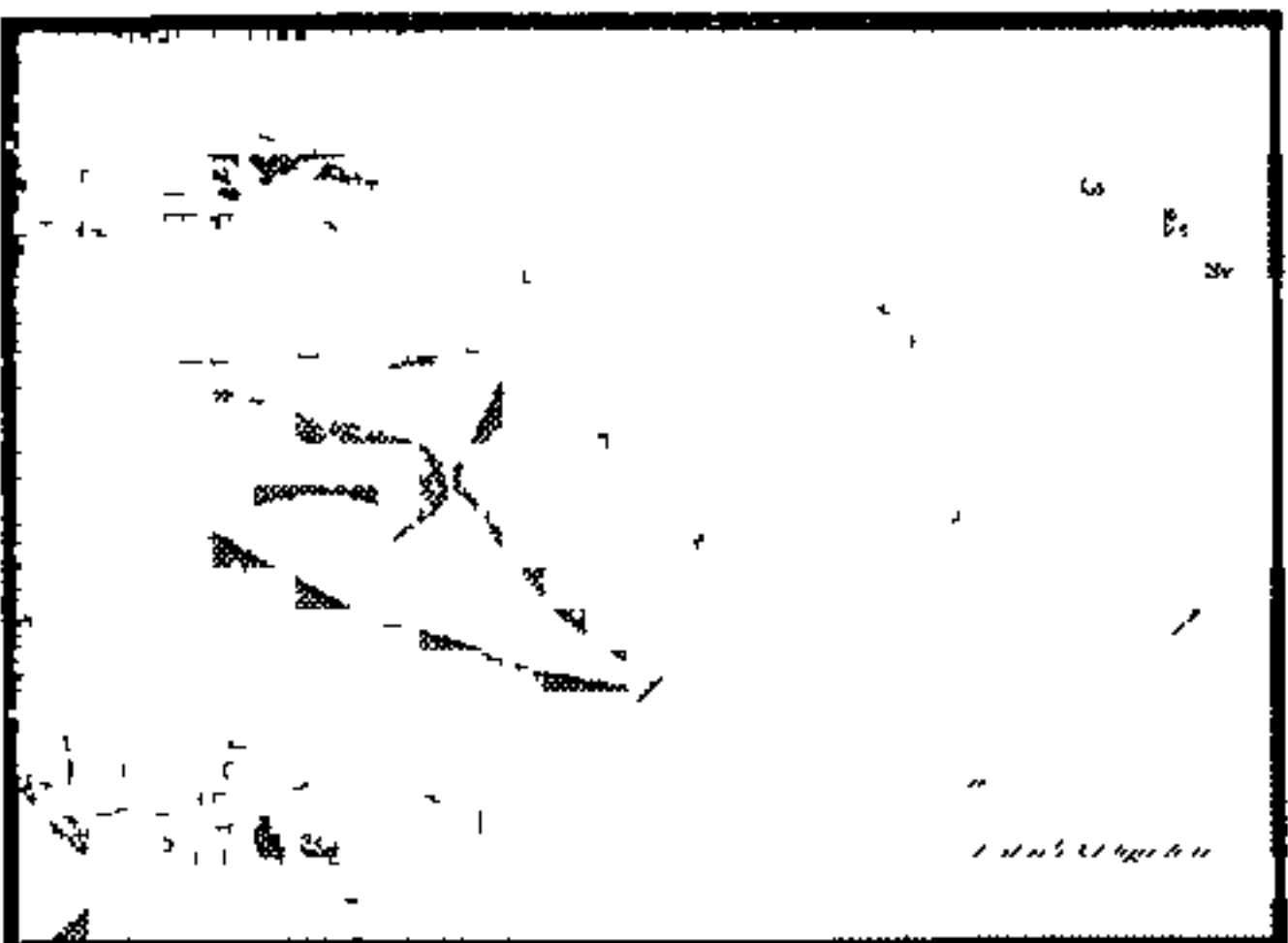
Opposition groups have accused President Kamuzu Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) of intimidating voters, who must decide whether Malawi will become a multi-party democracy or remain a one-party state under the MCP. Their complaints have been backed by foreign observers, including the European Community.

The EC has complained to the Malawi government that the MCP's youth wing, the Malawi Young Pioneers, are intimidating and harassing voters without official hindrance.

"There are numerous reports of harassment and intimidation in various forms physical maltreatment of individual multi-party advocates, obstruction and cancellation of meetings," an EC statement said.

The EC's allegations have been rejected as "baseless" by the government.

Opposition fears that the referendum will not be free and fair have not been allayed by the



DR HASTINGS BANDA
more than 20 years of iron-fist rule

government's agreement, under pressure, to abandon its original plan to have two ballot boxes, one for "yes" and the other for "no" votes. The opposition parties had objected that the two-box system would make it easy for the government to identify those voting for change and so intimidate them.

According to opposition politicians, MCP stalwarts have threatened people with eviction from their villages if they are

found to have voted for multi-partyism.

Another form of voter manipulation is being alleged. To simplify the referendum, voters will be given two ballot papers, one bearing the symbol of a hurricane lamp and the other the MCP's symbol of a black rooster. Voters must put only one paper in the ballot box — the hurricane lamp if they want democracy, the black cock if they want one-party rule.

The opposition Alliance for Democracy (Aford) claims that MCP leaders are telling voters not to throw away the ballot paper they do not put into the box but to hand it in to their local chief or MCP leader. The latter would then know who had voted against the government.

Both the government and the opposition groups are predicting victory in the referendum, which ostensibly is the first fully democratic test that the MCP has subjected itself to since it imposed one-party rule in 1966.

For the opposition, the struggle to reach this point has been hard and long. Several of their leaders, including Aford's chairman, Chakufwa Chihana, have been jailed, some without trial or under conditions of dubious legality. Generally, the govern-

ment's human rights record has left the playing field in the run-up to the referendum very uneven.

A Supreme Court ruling in March this year reduced Chihana's prison sentence from an initial two years to nine months. Considering the time he had already served, it was calculated that he would be set free on the night of June 12.

But, according to Aford's publicity secretary, the Reverend Peter Kaleso, the government has decided not to release him until midnight tonight. Mr Kaleso says this is an attempt by the government to ensure that Mr Chihana does not take part in the referendum campaign.

Last month Amnesty International appealed to the government to free opposition politicians who were detained on their arrival in Malawi from South Africa. The three members of an exiled group, which calls itself the Malawi Democratic Party, were released but their leader, Robert Khembo, was rearrested for making press statements about his detention.

The opposition has also accused the government of dominating airtime on the state-owned Malawi Broadcasting

Corporation and space in the print media. Speeches by President Banda are often repeated on radio, and are broadcast in full while none of the opposition groups has received coverage of its rallies or its views.

So concerned were the opposition parties at the prospect of voter intimidation that for several months they threatened to boycott the poll, thereby rendering the outcome illegitimate.

The leader of the United Democratic Front, Bakili Muluzi, said that some of its members were abducted by the Malawi Young Pioneers, the MCP's youth wing, and had not been seen since.

To prevent multiple-voting, voters will have their hands marked with indelible ink as they receive their ballot papers. But it is unclear whether the relatively informal monitoring of the referendum by foreign observer missions will be adequate for an unequivocal ruling on the freedom and fairness of the vote.

The outcome will determine whether President Banda and his right-hand man, John Tembo, continue their iron-fisted rule of the country. If the voters opt for multi-party politics a date will have to be set for the election of a democratic government.

170 ARG 14/6/93

SA-Maputo crime arms clamp planned

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africa and Mozambique have struck a far-reaching deal aimed at stemming the flow of weapons into South Africa and clamping down on organised car theft and drug smuggling between the countries.

Swaziland will also be involved in a "Trilateral Crime, Security and Border Co-ordination Monitoring Committee" — the first in the region.

In a joint statement after a meeting in Cape Town yesterday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Mozambique's Internal Affairs Minister Manuel Jose Antomo described the pact as a major breakthrough. They said it was aimed at including the entire southern African region.

In terms of the deal, the following crimes have been identified as a top priority: organised arms smuggling, the organised drugs trade, organised car theft, and syndicates involved in other serious crime.

The trilateral monitoring committee will deal with train-

ing of special investigation units for certain crimes, training border staff in search techniques, and improving existing relations between the police forces in the three countries. Both Ministers agreed that the extradition of criminals should receive the highest priority.

The statement said Kriel would meet his Swazi counterpart "in the near future" on the strategy. "However, to be effective, this plan will have to be extended to countries in the sub-region and further north."

"It has now become clear that arms smuggling and other serious cross-border crimes have reached such serious proportions that they can only be dealt with on an international basis," the statement said.

● Three Mozambicans who were arrested near Komatipoort, in the eastern Transvaal, on Sunday, allegedly in possession of four ground-to-air missiles, are expected to appear in court today, reports Sapa.

Two of men are alleged to be Frelimo soldiers, the third a former Frelimo soldier. They apparently crossed the border from Mozambique into South Africa.

Banda 'trailing at polls'

BLANTYRE — Pro-democracy forces claimed a huge lead in initial vote-counting in Malawi's referendum on one-party rule early today.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), which is fighting President Kamuzu Banda, said that with about one-third of possible votes counted, their side had 89 percent and the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) 11 percent.

UDF monitors taking part in counts at polling stations reported 1.3 million votes for multiparty democracy against

160 000 for continued single party rule by 1 am today. About 4 500 000 voters over the age of 21 are registered.

The UDF said their unofficial figures showed landslides for their side in the northern and southern regions. But the MCP was leading in the central region by 71 percent to 29 percent, they said.

When polling stations closed yesterday, both sides were claiming that victory was within their grasp.

The official result is expected later today — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 15/6/93

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(170)

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The official result is expected later today. — Sapa-Reuter

Malawi votes on multiparty rule

B1 Day 15/6/93

BLANTYRE — Tens of thousands of Malawians, some voting for the first time in their lives, turned out yesterday for a referendum on introducing multiparty politics after 30 years of single-party rule.

Well before dawn, hundreds of people lined up at voting stations here in the economic capital, the country's biggest city with 400 000 residents.

The atmosphere was calm and good humoured, as women with babies on their backs mingled patiently with civil servants wearing ties. There were a few uniformed police at the voting stations, but no sign of any major security force presence.

"Today we are going to kill the black cockerel," said one voter, referring to the emblem used by the Malawi Congress Party of President Kamuzu Banda. "For the first time in Malawi, we are voting with our hearts," he added.

Many voters in Blantyre said openly they wanted to change the system, but political observers were unsure how the countryside would vote. Most of the country's 9-million population lives in rural areas and is used to life under organisations run by the sole legal party and its Young Pioneers loyal to Banda.

From Mzuzu in the north, Aaron Longwe of the Alliance for Democracy said that there was a big turnout in the region. There had been no incidents, everybody was in a good mood "and making jokes about the death of the cockerel", he said.

Diplomats in the administrative capital Lilongwe reported a big turnout there too

Many firms and most offices closed down for the day. Stores in central Blantyre stayed open, with staff voting early in the day.

(170)
Government officials, members of opposition parties, and international observers were supervising the referendum at each voting station. About 4.2-million are eligible to vote. Full results were not expected before today, to be announced in Lilongwe by Malawi University vice-chancellor Brown Chumphamba. He is chairman of the national referendum commission.

Banda, believed to be in his 90s, was proclaimed life president in 1971 and has ruled the small former British protectorate in south-east Africa since independence in 1964.

For most of that time, nothing seriously challenged his rule and personality cult. But in the past few years, pressure mounted from donor countries irritated by human rights violations and reports of torture and political assassination.

Television does not exist in Malawi, and the radio is in government hands. But the advocates of a change to the one-party system have been supported by the emergence of an independent press, with no fewer than 17 titles appearing since the announcement of the referendum barely six months ago.

The opposition, dominated by the Alliance for Democracy and the United Democratic Front, has held political meetings across the country and has accused Banda of running the country as if it was his own farm. — Sapa-AFP.

Soros in for long term, say analysts

Biday 15/6/93

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ISTANBUL — George Soros and Sir James Goldsmith, the influential investors who sparked the gold market to 28-month highs last month, are in the commodity for the long term, say leading gold analysts.

The massively wealthy, clout-carrying US investment funds also saw gold as a long-term item in their portfolios, analysts at the Financial Times World Gold Conference said.

Although the gold price has stalled at around \$370 an ounce recently and was set in London yesterday at \$366.30, after climbing to \$384.50 last month, 18% above the seven-year lows plumbed in March, the bull run was not necessarily over yet, the market experts said.

"I would be happy seeing prices in

the \$360s," said David Pryde, head of commodity trading at J P Morgan, New York. That would attract more liquidity to a market which had risen too fast and was correcting itself.

Omega Advisors' Frank Veneroso said "Soros is not in gold for the short term. If he was he would not have bought 13.5% of Newmont (Mining from Goldsmith) That is now a registered stock which he has to hold for six months. For a short-term investment he would have bought 9%."

Goldsmith invested part of his sale of Newmont stock in gold options.

Pryde noted that while some investors had taken profits, they would have an investment in gold that they would use for trading and a "core" investment for the long term.

Veneroso emphasised two factors behind the investment funds' fundamental view of gold.

"Mine supply has increased on average by 1.7% a year over the past two decades," he said. "Meanwhile, the Far East has seen the fastest growth in the economic world, averaging 9% a year against a Western average of about 2%. And the Far East consumes 10 times as much gold per unit of income as anywhere else."

The gold supply-demand balance is in deficit of more than 600 tons this year, according to Gold Fields Mineral Services' Gold 1993 survey.

Further, it is unlikely that the market will see much additional supply from mine-company forward sales.

— Sapa-Reuter

Wednesday, June 16 1993

Demand for Banda to go

CT 16/6/93
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BLANTYRE. — Malawi opposition leader Mr Chakufwa Chihana, buoyed by claims of victory over one-party rule in a referendum, yesterday demanded that Life President Kamuzu Banda move aside and appoint him executive prime minister.

Computing about one-third of possible ballots, the United Democratic Front (UDF) said that it and Mr Chihana's Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) had polled about 70% of the vote nationwide in favour of multi-party politics.

Mr Chihana, 52, freed from jail last Saturday after serving six months for sedition, told reporters Mr Banda should resign as life president of his Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and become the figurehead of a transitional coalition government to prepare for multi-party elections.

"He no longer has the support of the country. We will give him a smooth exit," he said at his home in the capital, Lilongwe.

Opposition buoyed by referendum

"Banda should call on me as executive prime minister to form a council of ministers drawn from AFORD, the UDF and the MCP."

No reaction was available from the MCP or from the UDF, whose leader Mr Bakili Muluzi, a former minister, was widely expected to be a front-runner for leadership of a post-Banda Malawi.

If the opposition does win the referendum, its leaders are expected to demand the swift installation of a multi-party government to draw up a new constitution and arrange elections by the end of the year.

Mr Banda, however, is almost certain to resist such a swift transition from almost 30 years of one-party rule.

"The black cock is dead," Mr Muluzi said.

Voters, thousands of them illiterate, had to choose between the MCP's black cockerel symbol and the hurricane lamp of the pro-democracy alliance.

Mr Chihana, who has led a life of imprisonment and exile as a result of his opposition politics, declared "I have been vindicated."

The UDF by midday yesterday was saying its unofficial monitors had totalled 784 000 votes for change against 309 000 for a continuing one-party state.

Mr Banda, officially 87 but widely believed to be in his mid-90s, was forced into the referendum by internal unrest and a withdrawal of all but humanitarian assistance from Western donors protesting human rights abuses — Sapa-Reuter.

Landslide vote for Malawi democracy

(170) ARG 16/6/93

CAMIL DAYA
Argus Africa News Service

BLANTYRE — Malawians have decisively rejected the autocratic rule of President Hastings Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party by voting overwhelmingly for multi-party democracy

In the first test of public opinion since Dr Banda banned opposition parties in 1966, a huge 73,4 percent of those voting supported a switch to a multi-party system and only 26,6 percent voted for continued one-party rule

This week's referendum, which was forced on Dr Banda by the withdrawal of aid from foreign donors critical of his policies, is a big setback for the man who has dominated Malawi for 30 years

What will happen next is uncertain. Dr Banda is widely expected to call a general election, and the referendum outcome suggests that it would result in the defeat of the Malawi Congress Party and the end of his rule

At least one opposition figure has called for the immedi-

ate installation of a government of national unity and the drafting of a new constitution before an election is held

The news of the landslide for democracy in the referendum was greeted with delight in most of Malawi yesterday

There was no immediate reaction from the government but Dr Banda is expected to make a statement soon

Chakufwa Chihana, leader of the Alliance for Democracy (Aford), one of the groups that campaigned for multi-partyism, said his group would press for the installation of a government of national unity

He said a new constitution should then be drawn up by a multi-party forum before a general election was held — preferably before the end of the year

The referendum result was a personal vindication for Mr Chihana, who has been imprisoned three times for advocating democracy in Malawi

The voting in the referendum was orderly and there were no immediate allegations of large-scale irregularities

Star 16/6/93

Malawi heads for multiparty democracy

BLANTYRE — Malawi was heading towards multiparty politics yesterday as opposition movements forecast a crushing majority of 75 to 85 percent in favour of a multiparty system.

There was no official word on referendum results, with counting proceeding slowly in the administrative capital Lilongwe.

Full official results were unlikely to be issued until late yesterday, international monitors of Monday's referendum said.

But the Alliance for Democracy, one of the main groups

advocating multiparty politics, said its figures showed a clear victory for multiparty politics in the heavily populated south, including Blantyre, the economic capital. In Lilongwe, in central Malawi, it put the pro-democracy vote at 72 percent.

The opposition even claimed a 62 percent vote for their cause in Dedza, the hometown of Malawi strongman and Minister of State John Tembo.

Only in the central rural fiefdoms of the ruling Malawi Congress Party did the opposition

forecast a majority in favour of one-party rule.

Observers put voter turnout among the 4.2 million electorate at more than 80 percent.

President Kamuzu Banda was forced to call the referendum under heavy pressure from donor countries protesting against human rights violations.

● The Malawi government has denied that it has barred the Argus Group's Joe Latakomo from covering the referendum because of displeasure at past reports. — Sapa-AFP.

Malawian poll joy

(170) at 17/6/93
BLANTYRE. — Malawians held their biggest and most joyous party yesterday in more than 30 years after official results showed they heavily rejected the country's autocratic ruler, life-president Dr Kamuzu Banda, in a referendum on democracy.

Celebrations started after it was announced that 63,5% of the electorate had voted for the introduction of a multi-party democracy. — The Telegraph plc, London

Malawi

Star 17/6/93

rejects

Banda

BLANTYRE — Jubilant Malawians danced in the streets yesterday after rejecting Life President Kamuzu Banda's iron-fisted one-party rule in a non-binding referendum on Monday. (170)

The state-run Malawi News Agency quoted referendum chairman Brown Chiphamba as saying 1,99 million of the 3,1 million voters (64 percent) supported a multiparty democracy.

Thousands of people poured out of shops, offices and factories after the announcement at midday. Most flashed "V for victory" signs, the symbol of the opposition.

"We're on their side," said a police officer who clutched a baton in one hand and made a "V for victory" sign with the other.

What will happen next is uncertain. Banda is widely expected to call a general election. At least one opposition leader has demanded the immediate installation of a government of national unity. — Star Africa Service and Sapa-Reuter.

Joy sweeps Malawi as poll rejects Banda

BLANTYRE — Jubilant Malawians shouted and danced in the streets yesterday after rejecting Life President Kamuzu Banda's iron-fisted, one-party rule in a non-binding referendum.

The state-run Malawi News Agency quoted referendum chairman Brown Chiphamba as saying 64% of the 3.1-million voters supported a multiparty democracy. Monday's referendum asked Malawians if they preferred the one-party system Banda imposed after taking power at independence from Britain in 1964, or wanted a Western-style, multiparty system.

Thousands of people poured out of shops, offices and factories in Blantyre after the midday announcement. Most flashed "V for victory" signs, symbol of the opposition movements.

"This is the best day in my life," said a weeping Norbert Chayenda, who voted for Banda before independence but has now joined the opposition Alliance for Democracy. "It is time for Kamuzu to go."

Women danced on street corners, and cars, trucks and buses sped through city streets with blaring horns and cheering, whistling occupants.

"We're on their side," said a police officer who clutched a baton in one hand and made a "V" sign with the other.

Opposition officials said they would meet Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party tomorrow to discuss what should happen next. The two leading opposition groups called on Banda to form a coalition government of national unity or resign.

In Lilongwe, the capital, EC envoys said they planned to meet Banda and urge him to step down — Sapa-AP

● See Page 5

Malawi held in thrall by Banda

B/Day 17/6/93
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Own Correspondent

FEW, if any, of Africa's dictators have measured up to the standards set by Hastings Kamuzu Banda — in egocentricity, in longevity both political and personal, or in wielding power.

For nearly 30 years, he has held in thrall Malawi's 8-million people

His arch-conservative demeanour and professed devotion to Christianity was the public face.

The private one was of a man who invoked African spirits to condemn enemies to damnation

His biographer spent weeks interviewing elders in his birthplace, a village near Kasungu They recalled that Banda was born during a tribal uprising in February 1898, which means that he would now be 94.

Having received a basic education from Church of Scotland missionaries, he continued his studies in the US He studied history and political science, as well as medicine, eventually gaining a doctorate of medicine

He continued studying in Edinburgh

He established a thriving practice as a doctor in Harlesden, London

As the winds of change swept through Africa, Banda became something of an icon to politicians, left-leaning journalists and others interested in the future of the continent

His puritanism failed to prevent him being named as a co-respondent in a divorce suit brought by his Eng-

lish secretary's husband Within a few months, Banda had closed his London practice and returned to Africa, establishing a small practice in Kumasi, in what was to become Ghana

He was lured from this idyll by the burgeoning black nationalist movement in Nyasaland, mobilising to oppose the newly formed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Inevitably, he came into contact with Sir Roy Welensky, federal premier, and soon joined that select band of African political jailbirds

He served a year in Gwelo Prison in Southern Rhodesia before he was released

Within a year of his return, as leader of the Malawi Congress Party, he had swept the polls Within two years, Nyasaland seceded from the Federation and a year later the country became independent Malawi with Banda as prime minister In 1966, Malawi became a republic President Banda soon stamped his persona on every aspect of life

Nothing happened without Banda getting to know about it.

Several opposition leaders died in mysterious circumstances

A dictatorship it certainly was, but Malawi under Banda has worked The people were relatively content — as long as they did exactly what they were told — Daily Telegraph

Star 18/6/93
**I won't quit
or hand over,
says Banda**

BLANTYRE — Malawi Life President Kamuzu Banda said yesterday he accepted the result of this week's democracy referendum but said his autocratic government would not resign or be replaced by an interim government.

He said Monday's two-to-one vote for multiparty rule presented voters with a choice of political systems but did not give the opposition the right to form a transitional government.

"The suggestion that this government or I should resign or be replaced by an interim government is out of the question and unacceptable," Banda said in an address broadcast on radio nationwide.

"What the people of Malawi have said in this referendum is that they want other political parties to be formed in this country to compete with the (ruling) Malawi Congress Party," Banda added (170)

It was his first public address since the results were announced by the Referendum Commission on Wednesday, showing 63 percent in favour of political pluralism.

Opposition leaders rejected Banda's statement, accusing him of clinging to power and violating the spirit of the referendum.

"The referendum is the will of the people. Banda is trying to give himself the lease of life illegally," AFORD leader Chakufwa Chihana told Reuters.

UDP secretary-general Harry Thomson added, "We are disappointed to hear the president come up with such a speech."

Banda has tolerated no opposition since declaring himself life president after Malawi gained independence from Britain in 1964 — Sapa-Reuters.

President Kamuzu Banda was defeated in this week's Malawi referendum. But, as JOE LATAKGOMO reports, divisions in the opposition may enable Banda to make a political comeback.

THE referendum in which Malawians decisively rejected President Kamuzu Banda's autocratic rule in favour of multiparty democracy has left a number of uncertainties. Not the least is Banda's own future.

Though he was defeated in the referendum this may not be the end for either Banda or his Malawi Congress Party (MCP).

If Banda decides to call an immediate election the multiparty campaigners may find that they do not have much else in common other than their desire for democracy. They might be so divided that Banda and the MCP could emerge victorious.

But for the moment not only Banda but also his closest advisors, Minister of State John Tembo and the Official Hostess, Cecilia Kadzamura, who are generally believed to be the power behind the throne, must now consider their own options. Tembo was being widely tipped as the man most likely to succeed Banda.

Banda and Ivory Coast President Houphouet-Boigny are the last survivors of the African leaders who were swept into power by the departure of European colonialism.

The most recent one to go was President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. Julius Nyerere has gone. Kwame Nkrumah is long gone.

Now Banda, who is reputed to be well into his nineties, must face the prospect of either stepping down or being pushed out of power.

Malawi opposition politicians hope he will opt for the former, lest he be further humiliated.

At least two factors led to Banda's defeat in the referendum and his possible downfall as a result.

The first was his insistence on not Africanising the economy, and particularly the bureaucracy, at independence. Responsibility was given to white expatriate workers and certain levels of the bureaucracy were said to be "white men's jobs".

These moves alienated the black educated class, who had visions of post-colonial prosperity, viewing the bureau-

At the height of the Cold War, Banda was seen by the West as strategically important.

cracy as part of the bounty to be shared once the colonists had gone.

As the educated groups continued to drift away Banda turned to the peasants and used massive patronage to gain their favour, while dealing ruthlessly with opposition.

In moving the capital from Zomba to Lilongwe, he won the support of many in the central region, as is evi-

denced by the strong voting in this region for the retention of the one-party system.

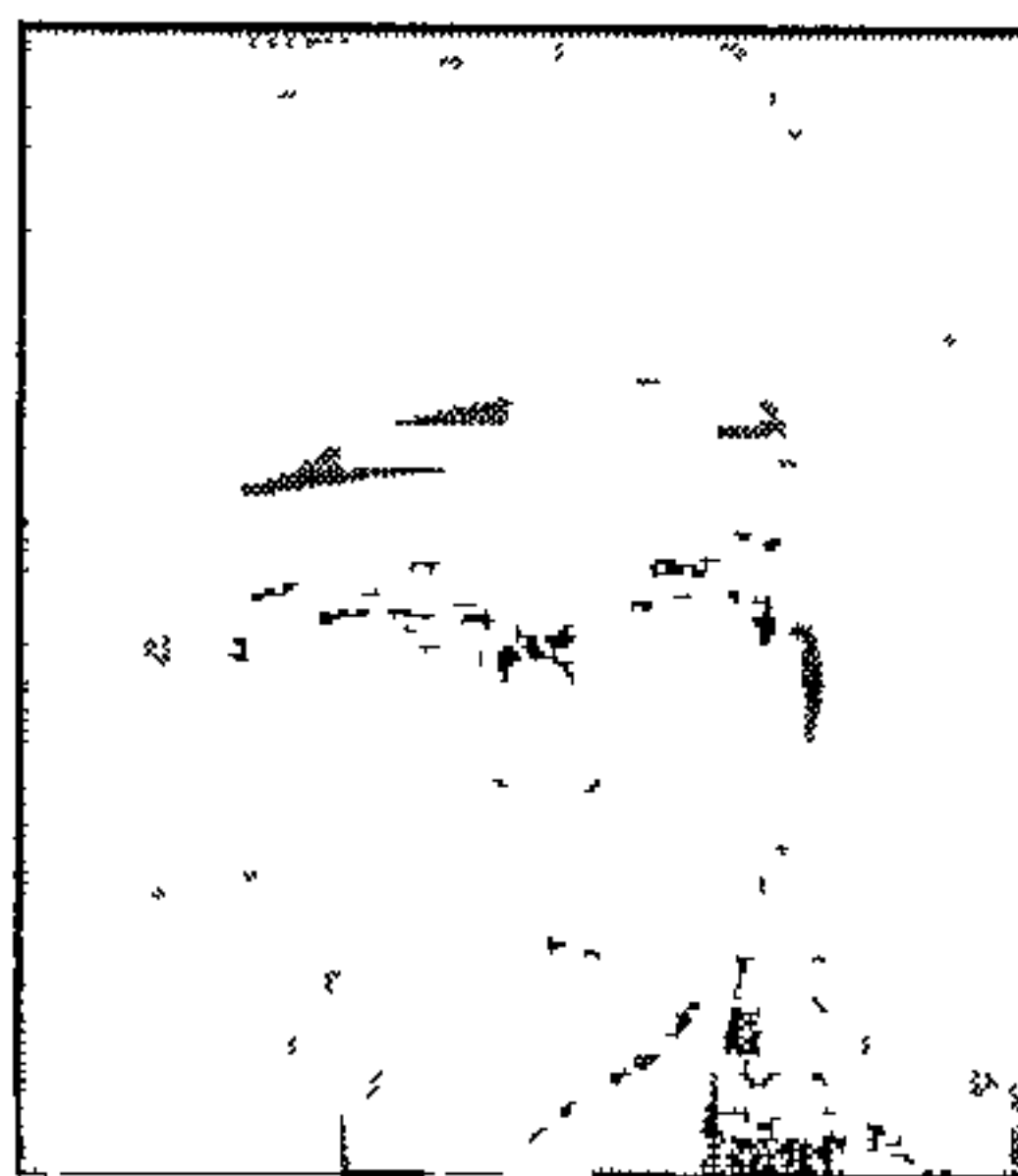
Banda became one of Africa's most ruthless and powerful rulers, holding, in addition to the Life Presidency, the cabinet portfolios of External Affairs, Works, Agriculture, Justice, Women's and Children's Affairs, and Community Development and Social Welfare.

His photograph appeared on women's dress material, it had to be displayed in government offices, his acolytes spoke in veneration of the man and — officially — he could do no wrong. Anybody who criticised him was seen to be hostile and punishment was swift and heavy.

Machipisa Munthali, now 68 years old, received some of the worst treatment meted out to Banda's political opponents. Last month a court awarded him the equivalent of R3 million in compensation for being jailed for 27 years, 20 of them illegally.

Orton Chirwa, one of Munthali's contemporaries, was not so lucky. He died in prison after he and his wife Vera had been kidnapped in Zambia and jailed in Malawi. Mrs Chirwa may yet emerge from jail to celebrate what the death of her husband, and others, has helped to achieve for her country.

In 1979, Banda admitted that a par-



President Banda . . . said to be in his nineties.

cel bomb that injured another of his opponents, Dr Attati Mpakati, had been sent on his order. Mpakati was murdered in 1983.

When the Roman Catholic Church last year published an open letter criticising the country's abuse of human rights, a wave of opposition emerged and led to the formation of various alliances in exile.

Among these was Chakufwa Chihana's Alliance for Democracy, which spearheaded the campaign that led to

the referendum this week Chihana was himself jailed for nine months when he returned to Malawi.

After the referendum Chihana suggested that he be appointed interim executive prime minister, a proposal that was not well received in the ranks of the United Democratic Front and other multiparty campaigners.

Banda's second fatal mistake was his failure to read the message evident at the end of the Cold War.

At the height of the East-West rivalry, he was seen by the West as strategically important and a blind eye was turned to his abysmal human rights record. When the aid taps were turned off at the end of the Cold War, Banda began to realise the seriousness of the demand for democracy.

The outcome of the referendum makes a general election inevitable. Opposition groups are demanding a government of national unity first, but some observers think Banda might call an election soon to outfox an ideologically divided opposition.

More than a million Malawians voted in effect for Banda's MCP in the referendum. Assuming that each of the opposition groups has an equal share of support among the remaining 2 million voters, it is unlikely that any of them would win convincingly in a general

election.

Perhaps anticipating this, Chihana has suggested that Banda should back from politics and become a non-executive president.

The politics of succession aside, even greater challenge for Malawi to get the economy off the ground.

The illusion of prosperity fostered by Banda has to be seen for what it is. Malawi is still one of the six poorest countries in the world and whoever takes power will have to face this □

Party time . . . Malawians celebrate in Blantyre after the referendum rejected authoritarian rule and called for multiparty democracy.

Picture: A1

Star 18/6/93

Banda's last chance

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Victorious Malawians demand an interim govt

BLANTYRE — Malawi opposition leaders are demanding that an interim government be formed within the next seven days, in the wake of Monday's referendum which ended one-party rule (70)

Modical Msisha, spokesman for the Public Affairs Committee, an umbrella body for all the main opposition groups in the country, said the ruling Malawi Congress Party government had to be removed quickly and replaced with an interim one

His group would push for this at a meeting with the president's committee on dialogue today.

The meeting was expected to be attended by representatives of the opposition Alliance for Democracy,

United Democratic Front, church organisations, the business community and lawyers.

Msisha said the Congress Party could not be trusted to implement the change from single-party to multi-party rule

Since the release of the referendum results on Wednesday, Life President Kamuzu Banda has not publicly acknowledged his defeat.

An unnamed government official said yesterday the government accepted the results of the referendum. But Msisha said Malawians wanted to hear directly from Banda himself.

A total of 67% of Malawi's 4.7-million people cast their votes on Monday and the "yes" vote won by 63%. — Sapa-AFP.

NEWS IN BRIEF

B10AM 18/6/93 (170)
Extra Malawi flight

SAA is to resume flights to Blantyre in Malawi from July 3, in addition to its three flights a week between Johannesburg and Lilongwe.

The new flight to Blantyre will leave Johannesburg on Saturdays at 11am, arriving at 1 05pm, and leave Blantyre at 2pm, arriving in Johannesburg at 4.15pm

A SAA spokesman said yesterday, Blantyre was ideally situated for holidaymakers wanting to visit Lake Malawi and surrounding areas and Saturday flights should be popular among leisure travellers

Malawian 'yes' to democracy

Weekly Mail Reporters and Sapa
MALAWIAN opposition leaders demanded presidential and parliamentary elections before Christmas after life president Kamuzu Banda's one-party rule had been trounced in a referendum this week. W/Mail 18/6-24/6/93. (170)

The two leading opposition groups, the Alliance for Democracy and the United Democratic Front, called on Banda to form a coalition government of national unity or to resign.

Some suggested he could serve as a ceremonial figurehead to the coalition government. Others were not as conciliatory, and demanded that he install a government of national unity within seven days to draw up a democratic constitution and prepare for a general election.

The government has rejected a coalition leadership, saying it will remain in power until elections. Under the constitution, the next national elections are due only in 1997.

Referendum chairman Brown Chiphamba said 64 percent of the country's 3.1-million voters had voted "No" to one-party rule. The referendum asked Malawians if they preferred the one-party system Banda has enforced since 1964 or multi-party democracy.

Foreign donors pushed Banda into the referendum when they halted all but humanitarian aid to Malawi. Almost \$70-million in aid money was frozen this year. The Malawian opposition wants donors to keep up the pressure until an election is announced. Banda has also freed hundreds of political prisoners and legalised opposition political movements. Trade unionist and head of the opposition alliance Chakufwa Chihana was released only this week.

Overjoyed Malawians danced in the streets as they chanted "multi-party, multi-party" and flashed "V-for-victory" signs.

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Mass turnout: Malawian villagers lining up at a field polling booth

Malawi cities reject Banda

Guardian in w/ mail 18/6-24/6

Chris McGreal in Blantyre

MALAWI opposition leaders claimed a substantial victory after voters turned out in droves to decide the fate of Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda's one-party rule.

With about a quarter of the vote counted, returns were overwhelmingly in favour of democracy. In some places more than 90 per cent voted against continued one-party rule, although the results from crucial rural areas were still not in.

In Blantyre, Malawi's largest city, people began queuing at 4am to vote in the referendum on introducing a multi-party democracy. By breakfast time, two lines extended for more than a mile from the main polling station to the city's outskirts.

Dr Banda, Africa's longest-serving dictator, made a final plea for support: "Don't you want your Kamuzu to rule? Then show those people you don't want anybody but your Kamuzu."

The government newspaper also appealed for a "Vote for Black Cock", the symbol of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), in power since independence from Britain 29 years ago. "People are tired of the old regime," said McPherson Gondwe, who was born the same year Dr Banda came to power. "People want change."

Although the vote will decide whether to legalise opposition parties, it is mainly a test of the MCP's standing. There has been little debate about democracy.

Instead, the vote will turn on a weariness with repression, corruption and poverty.

But while the cities and semi-urban areas appear overwhelmingly in favour of a multi-party system, more than four out of five Malawians live in villages. It is there that the issue will be decided.

On the Thunga tea plantation, owned by Lonrho, where workers earn about 50 pence a day, observers concluded the vote would

be for democracy. At Nansato, polling was at the local school, where children sit on the floor because there is no money for desks. The headmaster, Michael Michembo, also thought the vote would be for democracy. (170)

In rural areas, where the traditional authority of village chiefs is still strong and dissent is most difficult, multi-party advocates cannot be so certain of victory. Government intimidation brought warnings from the 200-strong international monitoring team.

In the cities, the MCP focused on harassing opposition activists, but in the countryside whole communities were targeted. Some villagers were warned they might lose their land if the vote swung the wrong way. Rumours were spread of a "magic eye", or hidden camera, inside polling booths.

But it may not have been enough. In Mikombe village, few people lined up at the polling booth in a field would say how they voted.

Malawians await talks on poll

BLANTYRE — Malawian opposition leaders entered talks with the government yesterday to thrash out differences over what their referendum victory means for the country's political future

Life president Dr Kamuzu Banda accepted the outcome of the referendum, which showed 63% support for an end to one-party rule, but he refused to resign

(170) CF 19/6/93
He has, however, promised a change to the country's constitution and elections within a year

He said "The suggestion that this government or I should resign or be replaced by an interim government is out of the question and unacceptable

"What the people of Malawi have said is that they want other political parties to be formed in

this country to compete with the (ruling) Malawi Congress Party'

But Mr Chakufwa Chihana, leader of the opposition Alliance for Democracy, said "Dr Banda is trying to cling to power despite his rejection by the people"

Mr Chihana demanded the establishment of an interim government of national unity within seven days of the referendum result

Star 19/6/98

Banda's opponents keep up the pressure

(110)

BLANTYRE — Ignoring President Kamuzu Banda's refusal to step down in view of his defeat in the democracy referendum, Malawi's opposition groups yesterday repeated their demand for an immediate transitional government.

The opposition parties submitted their demand at a meeting in Blantyre with the President's Committee, which consists of Cabinet Ministers and senior government officials.

The aged president said in a national broadcast yesterday that he accepted the result of Monday's referendum, in which Malawians voted two-to-one for multiparty democracy rather than continue with the unchallenged rule that Banda's Malawi Congress Party has maintained for the past 30 years.

AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

However, Banda said this did not require him to resign or his government to make way for a transitional government.

Instead, the constitution would be changed to allow for multiparty democracy, and arrangements would be made for an election.

The opposition groups rejected Banda's statement and accused him of trying to hold on to power against the expressed wishes of the people.

When they repeated their demand for a transitional government to rule pending the amendment of the constitution and a general election at yesterday's meeting, the government representatives said they would convey this to Banda.

Rejected Banda could still win

MALAWIANS decisively rejected President Kamuzu Banda's autocratic rule in favour of a multi-party democracy in a referendum this week — and this has left a number of uncertainties — not the least Dr Banda's own future

Though he was defeated in the referendum, this may not be the end for either Banda or his Malawi Congress Party. If he decides to call an immediate election the multiparty campaigners may find they do not have much else in common other than their desire for democracy. They might be so divided that Banda and the MCP could emerge victorious in a party-based poll.

But for the moment not only Banda but also his closest advisers, minister of state John Tembo and the official hostess, Cecilia Kadzamura, who are generally believed to be the power behind the throne, must now consider their own options. Tembo was being widely tipped as the man most likely to succeed Banda.

Banda and Ivory Coast President Houphouët-Boigny are the last survivors of the African leaders who were swept into power by the departure of European colonialism. The most recent one to go was Banda's neighbour, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. Julius Nyerere has gone. Kwame Nkrumah is long gone.

Now Banda, reputed to be well into his nineties, must face the prospect of stepping down or being pushed out. Malawi opposition politicians hope he will opt for the former, lest he be further humiliated.

At least two factors have led to Banda's defeat in the referendum and his possible downfall as a result. The first was his insistence on not Africanising the economy, and particularly the bureaucracy, at indepen-

■ Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda's defeat in the Malawian referendum marks the end of the road for him — or does it?

JOE LATAKGOMO of Weekend Argus Africa News Service analyses the issue

Responsibility was given to white expatriate workers and certain levels of the bureaucracy were said to be 'white men's jobs'. These moves alienated the black educated class, who had visions of post-colonial prosperity, viewing the bureaucracy as part of the bounty to be shared once the colonists had gone.

As the educated groups continued to drift away Banda turned to the peasantry and used massive patronage to gain their favour, while dealing ruthlessly with those who opposed him. In moving the capital from Zomba to Lilongwe, he won the support of many in the central region, as evidenced by the large referendum votes in this region for the retention of the one-party system.

Banda turned into one of Africa's most ruthless and powerful rulers, holding, in addition to the life presidency, the Cabinet portfolios of external affairs, of works, of agriculture, of justice, of women's and children's affairs, and of community development and social welfare.

His photograph appeared on women's dress material and it had to be displayed in government offices. His acolytes spoke in veneration of the man and — officially — he could do no wrong. Anybody who criticised him was seen to be hostile and punishment was swift and heavy.

Machipisa Muntali, now 68, received some of the worst treatment meted out to Banda's political opponents. Last month a court awarded him the equivalent of about R3-million in compensation for being jailed for 27 years, 20 of them arbitrarily and illegally.

Orton Chirwa, one of Muntali's contemporaries, was not so lucky. He died in prison after he and his wife Vera had been kidnapped in Zambia and jailed in Malawi. Mrs Chirwa may yet emerge from jail to celebrate what the death of her husband, and others, has helped to achieve for her country.

In 1979 Banda admitted that a parcel bomb that injured Dr Attah Mpakati had been sent on his order. In 1983 Mpakati was murdered. In March 1990, 20 protesters were shot dead. Following a dispute between John Tembo and Dick Matenje over succession to power, Matenje and three others died, allegedly in a car accident.

When the Roman Catholic Church published an open letter last year criticising the country's abuse of human rights, a wave of opposition emerged and led to the formation of various alliances in exile. Among these was Chakufwa Chihana's Alliance for Democracy, which spearheaded the campaign that led to the referendum this week. Chihana was himself jailed for nine months when he returned to Malawi.

After the referendum Chihana suggested that he be appointed interim executive prime minister, a proposal that was not well received in the ranks of the United Democratic Front and other multiparty campaigners.

Banda's second fatal mistake was his failure to read the message evident in the end of the Cold War. At the height of the East-West rivalry he was seen by the West

as strategically important and a blind eye was turned to his abysmal human-rights record. When the aid taps were turned off by the West after the Cold War ended, Banda began to realise the seriousness of the demand for democracy.

He had alienated most African leaders by becoming the only one to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa, in 1967. He further alienated them by refusing to support Robert Mugabe's Patriotic Front in the Rhodesian war and Frelimo in its war against the Portuguese in Mozambique. Instead, he supported and provided a base for Renamo, the rebel Mozambican movement backed by Pretoria.

The outcome of the referendum makes a general election inevitable. Opposition groups are demanding that a government of national unity be formed first, but some observers think Banda might call an election soon, while the opposition is still divided on ideological issues. More than one million people voted in the referendum. Assuming that each of the opposition groups has an equal share of support among the remaining two million voters, it seems likely that none would win convincingly in a general election.

Perhaps anticipating this, Chihana has suggested that Banda should step back from politics and be made non-executive president.

The politics of succession aside, an even greater challenge for Malawi is to get the economy off the ground. The illusion of prosperity fostered by Banda has to be seen for what it is. Malawi is still one of the six poorest countries in the world and whoever takes power in a democratic era will have to face the associated problems

AFG 19/6/93



OLD WAYS-
Malawian President Hastings Kamuzu Banda, whose regime looks set to crumble after the nation voted this week to reject one-party rule. But Dr Banda is still clinging to power, and is refusing to resign.

Banda moves to delay democracy

SI Times 20/6/93

PRESIDENT Kamuzu Hastings Banda's single-party government in Malawi has begun manoeuvring to delay a return to democracy demanded by voters in this week's referendum.

Dr Banda, who has ruled the country with an iron fist since 1964 when it gained independence from Britain, insisted he would not resign to make way for a transitional government.

After 63.5 percent of voters backed the introduction of multi-party democracy, the opposition alliance — which is still illegal — demanded that an interim all-party government be set up next week, pending the first multi-party general election for more than 30 years.

But Dr Banda said "The win of the multi-party side of the referendum does not mean that the Malawi Congress Party (the ruling and only legal party) ceases to exist.

"Neither does it mean the multi-party advocates have been elected to replace the present government

By FRED BRIDGLAND in Blantyre

"Anyone who interprets it in this way is wrong. The suggestion that the government or I should resign is out of the question and unacceptable."

Dr Banda said he would soon recall the single-party parliament, in which he appoints all MPs, to amend the constitution to give legal status to opposition parties and allow for multi-party elections.

He hoped these would take place within a year.

But the opposition, falling under an umbrella body called the Public Affairs Committee, wants the elections to be held within six months.

"After 31 years of dictatorial power, the Malawi Congress Party can't introduce a new democratic system of government without our input," said Harry Thomson, secretary-general of the United Democratic Front, one of the main opposition groups.

"They cannot continue in power as though nothing has changed. They cannot be both referee and player in the introduction of a new system."

The opposition has threatened to call a mass campaign of civil disobedience and industrial action in pursuit of its demands.

Shortly after taking office in 1964, Dr Banda outlawed all opposition parties. Then, in 1971, he appointed himself President for Life and moved to crush all those who criticised his rule.

But a vocal campaign for democracy has been growing since March 1992, when Roman Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter condemning Dr Banda's human rights record.

Malawian exiles and critics also formed a front to push for change.

The decline set in further two months later when up to 38 people reportedly died in riots which followed labour strikes in the worst anti-government unrest since Dr Banda came to power. — © The Telegraph, London

Police ban (170) Malawi rally

BLANTYRE — Malawi police cancelled a big opposition rally yesterday, to the fury of thousands of multi-party advocates, who had converged at a stadium here in the wake of a referendum that backed multi-party democracy.

Supporters of the opposition United Democratic Front, gathered at the stadium for the rally, said that four heavily armed policemen arrived at the stadium and told the UDF officials that the rally could not proceed.

CF 21/6/93
Meanwhile hundreds of thousands of Malawians gathered in churches throughout the country yesterday to give thanks for the defeat of President Kamuzu Banda — Sapa-AFP

Fury as rally in Blantyre is banned

Star 21/6/93

(170)

BLANTYRE — About 20 000 Malawians who had gathered for a pro-democracy rally were dispersed yesterday — by four policemen.

The huge crowd left in anger after converging on a Blantyre stadium for an event organised by backers of multiparty democracy.

Some had travelled up to 300 km for the rally.

Supporters of the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF), who had gathered early at the stadium, said four "heavily armed policemen" arrived and told the UDF officials that the rally could not proceed because the police commissioner had not issued a permit.

When it was announced on the public address system that the much-publicised rally had been cancelled, many started trooping out of the Nyambadwe stadium, but some remained for a few minutes, shouting abuse at the police and chanting "To hell with Banda. We want change."

Bekisi Siwula, an accountant and member of UDF said, "I

have never been annoyed to this extent. You have never seen a war in Malawi, but this time you are going to see it."

A member of the UDF executive, Zililo Chibambo, said the government was trying to provoke people to turn violent so that it could take any measures it wanted to foil the process of change about to take place.

Some said the police had "actually threatened to open fire if people did not disperse".

"Most Malawians have not seen firearms before and the moment they see a gun they run for their lives," said a polytechnic student, Charles Likambale.

"Despite the fact that we voted last week for multiparty politics, we haven't changed, not even an inch. We are still under Banda's ruthless ruling," he said.

Likambale questioned why the police let the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation run the announcement about the rally for nearly 12 hours before cancelling it.

Blantyre police spokesmen refused to comment. — Sapa-AFP.

Star 22/6/93

Malawi to scrap

one-party clause

BLANTYRE — Malawi is to repeal the constitutional clause declaring the country a one-party state, a senior opposition spokesman said yesterday. (ITC)

The United Democratic Front's Aleke Banda said a meeting between government and opposition delegates agreed that parliament would repeal the relevant section of the constitution next Tuesday. — Sapa-Reuter.

AFRICA

Malawi opposition aims to topple Banda

B Day 22/6/93

BLANTYRE — The victorious opposition in Malawi's democracy referendum is planning a campaign of mass civil disobedience and strikes to topple the regime of Life President Hastings Banda if he continues refusing to countenance a transition to democracy.

The Rev Mahone Chande, a leading member of the Public Affairs Committee, the umbrella organisation of Banda's opponents, said "We will be telling people to refuse to go to work until we have brought this government to its knees. We will tell the donor countries not to resume aid and we will ask the UN to bring Banda to his senses"

But the opposition — overwhelmingly backed by voters last week in a referendum on the 30-year-old one-party system — has certainly been shocked out of its victory euphoria by Banda's rejection of one of its main demands — that an all-party transitional government of national unity be established to organise, by Decem-

ber, the country's first general election in more than 30 years

In a speech on government-owned Malawi Radio, Banda, 96, who also likes to be called "Nkwazi" (Conqueror), said "The suggestion that the government or I should resign, to be replaced by an interim government, is out of the question"

Government and opposition negotiations failed to resolve the dispute at in Blantyre on Friday but government strong man John Tembo did agree to set up a meeting between Banda and opposition leaders this week to head off the crisis

However, in an ominous development for the government, two companies of 200 men of the Malawi Rifles — part of a 30 000-strong army which until now has stayed firmly above politics — marched fully armed through the Blantyre working-class suburb of Ndirande in support of a transition to multiparty democracy

Meanwhile, pressure is mounting from various parties, among them Machupisa Munthali, known

as "Malawi's Mandela" for the 27 years he spent in prison for opposing Banda

Munthali, 67, and on the executive of the Alliance for Democracy, one of the main groups operating under the opposition umbrella, said Banda had put opposition leaders in an impossible position. After last week's street celebrations, they could hardly now tell the people that the victors of the referendum by a two-thirds margin would be allowed no part in an interim government

"It would be seen as a great betrayal," said Munthali, who saw scores of Banda's opponents go past his cell to the gallows.

Harry Thomson, secretary-general of the United Democratic Front, another of the opposition groups under the opposition umbrella, said "They cannot continue in power as though nothing has changed After a referendum result like this, there can be no compromise on our demand for the installation of an interim government" — Daily Telegraph

Malawi to form caretaker govt

BLANTYRE — The Malawi government and its opposition has agreed to form a parallel caretaker government in the form of an executive council, averting the risk of mass violent protest

A spokesman for the opposition Alliance for Democracy, the Rev Aaron Longwe, said yesterday that at a meeting on Monday the two sides had agreed to form a National Executive Council (NEC) which would have control over the parliament.

The opposition had originally demanded ministerial powers

A committee of seven government representatives and seven opposition members had been appointed to work out the technical responsibilities of the NEC. A national consultative council has also been formed to advise the NEC, Mr Longwe said.

The meeting on Monday between the Public Affairs Committee, representing all the opposition forces in the country, and the Presidential Committee on Dialogue also agreed that parliament would sit next Tuesday to repeal a section of the constitution to legalise the formation of other political parties — Sapa-AFP

Malawi parties agree on joint govt

BLANTYRE — Malawi's opposition parties and the government have agreed to form a parallel caretaker government, in the form of an executive council, to avert the risk of violent mass protest.

A spokesman for the opposition Alliance for Democracy, the Rev Aaron Longwe, said yesterday the two sides had agreed at a meeting on Monday to form a National Executive Council (NEC) which would have control over the parliament. (10)

The opposition had originally demanded ministerial powers.

Repeal

A 14-man committee, comprising seven from the government and seven from the opposition, had been appointed to work out the NEC's technical responsibilities, Longwe said.

The meeting on Monday between the Public Affairs Committee, representing all the opposition forces in the country, and the Presidential Committee on Dialogue also agreed that parliament would sit on Tuesday to repeal a section of the constitution to legalise the formation of other political parties

— Sapa-AFP

Banda offers amnesty to Malawi's political exiles

APR 24/6/93

HARARE — Malawi's life president has declared an amnesty for thousands of political exiles, inviting them home for the first democratic elections since independence 29 years ago

President Kamuzu Banda, a nonagenarian former family

doctor, said they should participate in the run-up to presidential and parliamentary polls later this year, a spokesman in his office said

The announcement came two days after Banda's Malawi Congress Party and opposition groups formed a joint committee to run the country until the

vote

170

Malawian voters rejected Banda's iron-fisted one-party rule in a referendum last week and demanded Western-style democracy

Afterwards, Dr Banda spurned opposition calls for him to resign and form a coal-

ition government

The main opposition groups, the Alliance for Democracy (Aford) and the United Democratic Front, have offered to make Dr Banda a ceremonial head of state, arguing that he has lost popular support to govern — Sapa-AP.

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Own Correspondent

much to conserve increasingly scarce food aid resources"

He calculated about two-million tons of grain were at sea throughout the world at any one time. An initial reserve of this amount would be advisable in the short term, building up to a reserve of four-million tons.

UN Food Aid Programme CE Catherine Bertini told delegates that "relatively few" people in southern Africa would need food aid this year.

She said widespread rains in March should result in good crops in Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania. The crop position in Mozambique and Botswana was also brighter, even though the rains were delayed in both countries.

The world was not fully aware of the success of last year's international famine relief programme in southern Africa, she said.

An estimated 18-million people had faced starvation in "the worst drought to afflict southern Africa in living memory." But millions of tons of food aid were delivered to landlocked countries such as Botswana, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe — Daily Telegraph.

Amnesty for Malawi exiles

B/Dav 24/6/93
HARARE — Malawi's life president, Kamuzu Banda, yesterday declared an amnesty for thousands of political exiles, inviting them to return home for the first democratic elections since independence 29 years' ago.

The announcement, reported the official Malawi News Agency, came two days after Banda's Malawi Congress Party and opposition groups formed a joint committee to run the country until the presidential and parliamentary elections later this year.

Malawian voters last week rejected Banda's one-party rule in a referendum, demanding a Western-style democracy.

Afterwards, Banda spurned calls for him to resign and form a coalition government, but promised democratic elections.

Malawi's parliament meets on Tuesday to repeal clauses in the constitution outlawing opposition parties. (170)

Those laws were temporarily lifted to allow campaigning for last week's referendum.

The main opposition groups, the Alliance for Democracy and the United Democratic Front, have offered to make Banda a ceremonial head of state. — Sapa-AP.

Angolan food aid flights halted

B/Dav 24/6/93
SAO TOME — The Angolan government said yesterday it was stopping relief flights to the rebel-held city of Huambo until Unita allowed relief flights to three besieged towns held by the government.

Social Affairs Minister Norberto dos Santos told state radio that Unita had refused to let the UN World Food Programme (WFP) fly food and medicines to the besieged towns of Cuito, Menongue and Malanje until next week. (5)

The government had therefore decided to suspend authorisation for relief flights to Huambo until aid could be flown into

these towns, he added

Diplomats say Unita is close to taking Cuito and Menongue, two provincial capitals on the fringes of the central highlands. They have been under siege for nearly six months.

Unita accused the Angolan government of trying to use food aid as a political weapon.

The partial suspension of aid flights is a blow to the WFP, which only resumed a full-scale food distribution programme on Monday after Unita shot down one of its planes in April — Sapa-Reuter

Malawi opts for joint control

Chris McGreal in Blantyre

The Malawian government and opposition have agreed in principle to a parallel administration with joint control over the cabinet and parliament after the ruling party's defeat last week in the referendum on one-party rule.

A deal was struck after the opposition backed off from its demand for seats in the cabinet, perceiving the advantages of sharing power without accountability.

The government agreed on Friday to a demand by one of the two main opposition groups, the Alliance for Democracy (Aford), for jointly overseeing the cabinet and parliament through two councils.

Under the scheme, a national executive council would have effective control of ministries, while a national consultative council would draft a new constitution. Its decisions would be binding on the one-party parliament.

A second opposition group the United Democratic Front (UDF) had insisted on power sharing within the cabinet. The talks became deadlocked on Friday night, but by next morning, the UDF leadership had revised its demands.

The opposition would effectively have joint control of the government without the same responsibilities, distancing itself from an unpopular administration in the run-up to the first free elections in nearly three decades.

The powers of Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda would technically remain undiminished. He would retain the authority to rule by decree. But the coming days will test the government's resolve in tackling the opposition. The two sides will meet in the next week to decide the level of representation for each party and the terms on which agreement would be reached within the committees.

The government has promised to recall parliament next week to amend the constitutional ban on multi-party politics, and other restrictions on basic freedoms. The two sides have also agreed on a committee to look into the workings of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC). The opposition says the government has already launched an unofficial election campaign on the radio — since there is no television in Malawi.

SOWETON 25/6/98

Political exiles get amnesty

BLANTYRE — Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda has declared a general amnesty for thousands of political exiles with immediate effect, the state-run radio reported yesterday. (170)

A statement by his office quoted by radio said Banda was inviting them to return home to join in the political process before the first democratic general elections expected within a year.

Malawians voted overwhelmingly in a referendum last week to reject Banda's one-party rule set up after 1964 independence from Britain. The parliament meets next Tuesday to repeal a constitutional clause outlawing opposition parties and declaring the country a one-party state.

Thousands of Malawians went into exile to escape Banda's iron-fisted rule which came under fire for human rights abuses by Western donors who forced him to hold the referendum by withdrawing all but humanitarian assistance.

Banda pledged last week to respect the results of the poll —
Sapa-Reuters

One-man Banda 170

Guardian/W in W/Mail 25/6/1993

MALAWI'S PEOPLE may congratulate themselves for defying their dictator and voting to reverse his one-party, one-man rule. After decades of repression, Hastings Banda has been pushed into easing his control by age, by the changing political map of southern Africa and by international pressure. It is better late than never — though much too late for the thousands of Malawians killed and tortured by this regime. But western countries must refrain from self-congratulation: Dr Banda should and could have been repudiated many years ago.

The stock epithets until recently tell the tawdry tale: Banda was widely portrayed as “pro-western” and a “staunch anti-communist” who had stamped his authority on Malawi in a “highly individual style”. On his state visit to Britain in 1985 the Queen praised Malawi's farming achievements, while Mrs Thatcher described Malawi as a model for the rest of Africa. Four years later Mrs Thatcher paid her return visit amid indications that she would not think of following up Amnesty International's reports on detention without trial. It was only two years ago that Britain halved its aid to Malawi because of its human rights record and urged the release of political prisoners. In yet another report, Amnesty said last year that detainees suffered “deliberate cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment”.

Dr Banda, who rarely admits to internal opposition, replied that if exiled dissidents returned to Malawi, they would become “meat for crocodiles”. Last October the ordeal of Orton and Vera Chirwa — opposition barristers who had been kidnapped in Zambia in 1981 — came to its tragic end when Orton died in prison and his wife was finally released. She had seen her husband once before his death. By this time Dr Banda was showing increasing signs of disorientation in the new atmosphere where fear was no longer an adequate weapon. In January this year, 30,000 demonstrators supported an opposition meeting, while just four people turned up for a ruling party rally. After the western aid suspension in April 1992, more prisoners had been released and Dr Banda conceded the referendum.

Linking aid to human rights and to Mr Hurd's principle of “good governance” has become much easier in the new international climate. But years of neglect only make a smooth emergence into democracy much more difficult now, even if Dr Banda finally concedes the elections for which his people have voted. There are still opportunities for rigging and repression. And pressure must be maintained to ensure that Malawians do not fall into the hands of another baleful strong man.

Unita blocks bid to rescue foreigners

ARC 28/6/93

SAO TOME — The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) plans to send a second aircraft to evacuate foreigners from the rebel-held city of Huambo today, Angolan state radio said.

But the radio, monitored in the island state of Sao Tome and Principe, said the rebel movement Unita would not allow any nationals of Sao Tome or Cape Verde, who account for many of the foreigners left in Huambo, to board the flight.

The ICRC flew more than 100 evacuees from Huambo to Sao Tome on Thursday. Most were Portuguese and Angolans related to Portuguese residents in Angola, but the group also included four Brazilians.

An estimated 360 Portuguese and up to 200 other foreigners were trapped in Huambo, a city of half a million people in the central highlands, when it fell to Unita in March after a two-month battle.

A second evacuation flight was planned for Thursday, but this was cancelled after the first aircraft landed in Luanda due to technical problems and the evacuees were transferred to another aircraft to continue their journey to Sao Tome.

Unita accused the Angolan government of forcing the aircraft to land in Luanda for political reasons and ICRC officials said the evacuation programme would have to be renegotiated from scratch — Sapa-Reuter.

Seven parties for Malawi

(170)

LILONGWE — Seven political parties are being formed in Malawi to compete in the country's first general elections in three decades.

The parties will contest 146 parliamentary seats, said the Rev Emmanuel Chinkwita, acting chairman of the loose alliance of opposition movements in Malawi, the Public Affairs Committee (PAC).

The Malawi parliament is scheduled to meet on June 29 in the former capital Zomba to revoke section 4 of the constitution, which enshrined one-party rule.

This will pave the way for the formation of other parties following a 63 percent victory for multi-partism in the June 14 referendum.

President Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) has been the sole ruling party since independence from Britain in 1964 — Sapa-AFP.

Repatriation aid appeal

JOE LATAKGOMO
Argus Africa News Service

CAIRO — The Organisation of African Unity Council of Ministers has appealed to the international community to help Mozambique repatriate more than 1.5 million returning refugees from neighbouring countries and integrate more than four million displaced people within the country.

The Council of Ministers resolved at the weekend to call upon the parties in Mozambique to "scrupulously observe the spirit and the letter of the commitments made in the General Peace Agreement as an essential condition for the restoration of a lasting peace."

The OAU, while regretting the delay in the implementation of the agreement, expressed satisfaction with the end of military hostilities in the country.

Dilute call for lanten...

Seven new parties for Malawi poll

Star 28/6/93

LILONGWE — Seven political parties are being formed in Malawi to compete in the country's first general election in three decades, a senior opposition party official said yesterday. (170)

The election is scheduled to be held later this year.

The parties would contest 146 parliamentary seats, said the Rev Emmanuel Chinkwita, acting chairman of the opposition movements in Malawi, known as the Public Affairs Committee.

The Malawi parliament is scheduled to meet tomorrow to revoke section 4 of the constitution which enshrined one-party rule, and thus pave the way for the formation of other parties following a 63 percent victory for multipartyism in the June 14 referendum — Sapa-AFP.

Malawi constitution set to be amended

Star 30/6/93

(170)

BLANTYRE — The Malawian parliament met yesterday to revise the constitution in line with the huge vote in favour of a multiparty system in a referendum on June 14

The main proposals are to revoke a clause which bans opposition parties and to adopt a Bill which spells out the rules and regulations for registering political parties.

These were among several draft laws submitted at the 149-member parliament early yesterday and a vote was possible later in the day, legislative sources said.

Malawi has been a one-party state under President Kamuzu Banda since soon after independence from Britain in 1964.

A third proposal would repeal the "Decency in Dress Law" of 1972, which forbids women from wearing trousers, and another would endorse the general amnesty which Banda declared for thousands of political exiles on June 23.

Banda has rejected the idea of an interim government, but has said that the constitution could be amended to allow for political pluralism and that full elections could be held within a year.

The two main opposition groups, the United Democratic Front and the Alliance for Democracy, agreed at the weekend to forge a united front against the ruling Malawi Congress Party before the elections. — Sapa-Reuter

Malawi lets opposition register

6/8/93 11/1/93
LILONGWE — Malawi's parliament has revised the constitution to allow opposition parties to register following a referendum vote in favour of multi-party politics (170)

Registering a party will now legally require at least 100 registered members to apply in writing to the registrar — a government official empowered to refuse or allow an application.

Parliamentary members from the ruling Malawi Congress Party made the amendment in their first sitting on Tuesday after life President Kamuzu Banda lost his bid to keep Malawi a single-party state in the June 14 poll.

The move followed angry scenes outside the building when opposition members and several journalists from the mushrooming independent Press were prevented from attending the sitting.

An official was later quoted as saying the opposition and journalists needed to seek advance clearance in order to enter parliament as observers.

Two bills were withdrawn without explanation on Tuesday. One was to legalise the formation of a national executive council, including opposition members, to monitor government activity until general elections were held in December.

The other was to repeal the Decency in Dress Act that forbids women from wearing short skirts or long trousers.

The Public Affairs Committee is also demanding the repeal of sections 8 and 9 of the constitution, which give supreme powers to Banda and recognise him as life president. — Sapa-AFP

BRIEFS

Islamic scholar endorses killings

w/m mail 2/7-8/7/93

UN's 'new colonialism'
CAIRO — Sudanese military ruler Omar Hassan al-Qashir told an African summit the United Nations was the tool of a new colonialism and its peacekeeping troops should leave Somalia. "It is about time to ring the bells of alarm and alert the people and countries of Africa about the necessity of fighting colonialism, which as soon as it left through the front door as a result of armed struggle returned to try and enter through the back door," he said. — Sapa

w/m mail 2/7-8/7/93
Toll spirals to 31

MOGADISHU — The UN death toll in Somalia rose to 31 when a second Pakistani was reported killed in a raid on a suspected ammunition dump. — Sapa

Elections rigged

BRAZZAVILLE — The Congolese Supreme Court said there were irregularities in the organisation of the country's recent general elections whose results were challenged by the opposition and sparked unrest. — Sapa

Dawn of democracy

ZOMBA — Malawi's parliament, spurred by a huge popular vote for multi-party democracy, adopted laws to end one-party rule and allow exiled dissidents to return home. — Sapa

Embargo lifted

WASHINGTON — The United States has lifted a domestic arms embargo against Angola, allowing the sale of non-lethal military equipment, the US State Department said. — Sapa

By Deborah Pugh CAIRO
ONE of the world's leading Islamic scholars, Sheikh Muhammad Ghazali, has shocked Egyptians by effectively endorsing the extra-judicial killing of anyone who opposes the implementation of Islamic law, known as the Shari'ah.

Sheikh Ghazali's views were given while testifying at the trial of Islamic militants accused of murdering the Egyptian author, Farag Fouda.

They brought strong criticism this week from the Egyptian Organisation for Human Rights, which said that his testimony was "tantamount to the excommunication of a large section of Muslim society, as well as a clear invitation to murder. It is a legitimisation of the various acts of terrorism and violence that have afflicted this country in recent times".

Sheikh Muhammad Ghazali was called on to give evidence last week by the defence, which is attempting to prove that the accused were acting in accordance with Islam by assassinating Fouda in front of his office in June last year. When asked if someone who opposed the application of Islamic law was an apostate, Sheikh Ghazali told the court: "Yes, he is an apostate".

The Sheikh then went on to explain that the death penalty was generally accepted by Muslim jurists as the punishment for apostasy, to be carried out by the state, although he thought life imprisonment was sufficient.

Liberal Muslims argue that in early Islam apostasy meant treason against

the young state and not rejection of the rigid legal code of Shariah, which became codified over the centuries and goes beyond the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and the Quran.

Sheikh Ghazali told the court, from which all journalists working for the international media were barred, that "the application of the punishment is obligatory" even if the state did not apply the Shari'ah.

The Sheikh was then asked whether, as in the case of Dr Fouda's murderers, there was an Islamic punishment for those who took the law into their own hands and carried out the punishment. "I cannot recall any", Sheikh Ghazali replied.

As one Egyptian journalist wrote after reviewing the case. "When I say that this statement from the Sheikh permits the murder of all of us (who do not believe in the implementation of the Shari'ah), I am not exaggerating".

Since President Anwar Sadat's ruling that the Shari'ah would be the main source of law in Egypt there have been moves to force all of Egypt's legal system to comply with the Shari'ah. There has been no official comment from the Egyptian authorities on the issues raised by this and similar cases on which there has been no final verdict.

Liberal Egyptians are concerned that the judiciary will accept the verdict of Sheikh Ghazali, who has received Saudi awards for his services to Islam and is extremely influential — The Guardian News Service

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Malawians ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ cry out for change from Banda regime

CT 5/7/93

ROBIN HALLETT looks at Malawi and Haiti, and notes similarities between the oppressive regimes of Dr Hastings Banda and the late "Papa Doc" Duvalier

MALAWI, ever since achieving independence in 1964, has been the most buttoned-up country in Africa. A strict control was imposed on journalists entering the country. As a result no country of its size has been so meagrely reported. Reports by Amnesty and the US human rights agency, Africa Watch, provided evidence of some of the abuses that were taking place, but there was never enough material to put these in a wider context

Two years ago an Observer journalist, Julie Flint, visited Malawi as a tourist and wrote a brief article on her return. She said nothing more startling than could have been obtained by combing through old press cuttings and chatting to locals in hotels in Lilongwe, but her article caused a furore.

First an angry letter from the Malawian High Commissioner in London, then space allowed for an article by John Tembo, after the Life President the most important man in the country, under the headline, "Malawi — Oasis of Achievement in the Desert of the Third World", finally a week later a formal apology to the Life President himself.

These were in the days when the Observer was under the ownership of Lonrho, and Lonrho, as the Observer's critics gleefully pointed out, had extensive holdings in Malawi

Andy Kershaw, a BBC reporter who recently visited Malawi, has compared the country with Haiti, a country he had also visited, and pointed to the similarities between Nwagze, the honorary title of Life President Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda and "Papa Doc" Duvalier

The comparison intrigued me, because for the first time in my life I had just had brief contact with Haiti

I had the opportunity of meeting and listening to a remarkable Haitian, Charlotte Werleigh, who had been minister of education in the government of Father Aristide, and who is now an exile in the United States

Haiti is a country with a remarkable, if deeply painful, history. Once the richest French colony in the West Indies, its people, most of them slaves of African descent, fought their war of liberation in the first decade of the 19th century and succeeded in maintaining a shaky independence during the long age of imperialism.

Francois Duvalier came to power in 1957 and ensured that his life presidency passed to his son, the 19-year-old Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") after his death in 1971. The second Duvalier was forced to flee the country in 1986. There followed a confusing period of military rule until November 1990, when a charismatic 37-year-old Catholic priest, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was elected president with 67% of the vote

Aristide was known as a "priest to the poor". One of his first acts was to renounce his presidential salary. He ordered that Creole, the language of most Haitians, be set beside French, spoken mainly by the elite, as a national language. But when he attempted to prevent sections of the military from continuing their highly lucrative dealings in drugs, he provoked a mutiny which led to extensive bloodshed and his own escape was



NEITHER IMMORTAL NOR INVULNERABLE ... Even if Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda retires gracefully, the people of desperately poor Malawi still face the most daunting problems

only made possible by the intervention of the ambassadors of the great powers

Haiti's present military regime is now under great pressure from both the United States and the Organisation of American States to allow Aristide to return

Haiti is the poorest country in the Americas. Its people have suffered grievously from ruthless oppression. But the picture, as Ms Werleigh painted it, is not entirely gloomy. Aristide had shown Haitians that things could be different. The military lack the means to be totally repressive. There is now a plethora of subversive publications, like *samizdat* in the old Soviet Union, and small groups of ordinary people come together clandestinely to discuss the situation

So there is now in Haiti, as there is in Malawi and other parts of Africa, an element of hope. Those dreadful old autocrats have been shown to be neither immortal nor invulnerable. Even the most totalitarian of rulers can no longer ensure that his subjects are totally isolated from currents of opinion in the outside world.

The BBC World Service has been a not insignificant factor in creating the new mood in Malawi, even as Radio Free Europe was in the former Communist lands

But even if — and it is a substantial if — Banda retires gracefully and Aristide is restored to power, the peoples of those two desperately poor countries will still face the most daunting problems. And yet a new factor, often ignored by economists, has been introduced into the situation — the openly expressed desire of millions of people for a better life. "We are tired, we want change" was the refrain Kershaw encountered and recorded everywhere he went in Malawi

For once one had the feeling that one was listening to the authentic voice of the people

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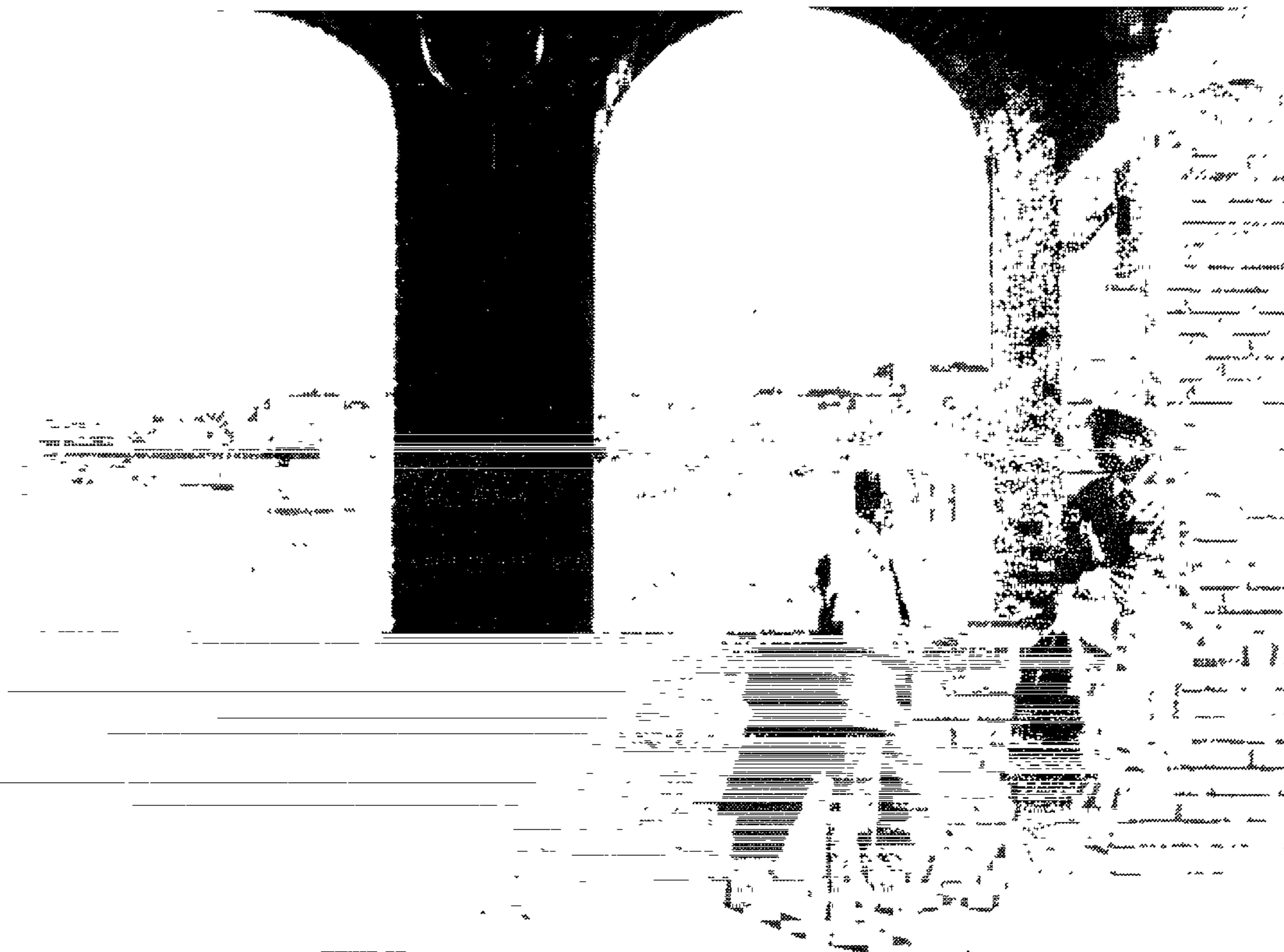
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PHOTOGRAPH GRAEME WILLIAMS

The Founder's elite tree of knowledge

Guardian Weekly 9/7-15/7/93. 170

Kamuzu Academy, the Eton of Africa, was founded by the leader who helped free his country from colonial rule. But, says **Chris McGreal**, it offers a classical English education and the students' native tongue is forbidden

THROUGH her years submerged in battle with ancient Greece, Clara Magola never found time to visit the Kachere tree - a short walk across the Malawi bush. "The only thing I know is that Kamuzu did his first years of school under the tree. The tree is quite old," the 18-year-old student said.

It would have to be old. The Kachere tree is a national monument to His Excellency the Life President of Malawi Ngwazi Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda's first contact with the alphabet at the turn of the century. Queen Victoria was still on the throne and the young Kamuzu Banda was one of her colonial subjects. He never recovered.

A few hundred yards from the Kachere tree stands the greatest monument to Dr Banda's obsession with himself and his confusion over his African roots and European education, the Kamuzu Academy. It is better known outside Malawi as the Eton of Africa, or Eton in the Bush.

The teachers dislike the name. They say it smacks of privilege when the intent is to provide a classic British boarding school education to the poorest Africans. But they cannot deny elitism. The 372 students are fed a compulsory diet of Latin, ancient Greek, ancient history and other elements of a classic education. Every student sits 10 British GCSE exams, setting standards to rival any school. Last year more than two-thirds of the students got an "A" grade in ancient Greek. Only Africa is shut out from

the curriculum and the academy

Banda has said publicly he does not consider any Malawian fit to teach at the Kamuzu Academy. They do not have the education, he says. Most of the teachers are British. The students are forbidden to speak their African mother tongues. They are taught of the Trojan Horse but not of Kenyatta.

The Kamuzu Academy is not the minor obsession of an outdated African dictator. Inside its walls can be found a microcosm of his rule. For 29 years he has run his country like his boarding school: uniformity, conformity and Banda knows best. No questioning is allowed. Detention for those who break the rules, no matter how illogical or arbitrary.

Banda is torn between his African roots and the British society he was driven to embrace or remain a second-class citizen in his own land. He left at an early age to work the gold mines of South Africa. He did not return to what was then the British colony of Nyasaland for 43 years. By then he had qualified as a doctor in America, retrained in Edinburgh and set up practice in Liverpool. When he returned to help liberate his nation from colonial rule he was fluent in Latin but had forgotten his native Chichewa.

Banda views the academy as the modern equivalent of the Scottish Presbyterian missionary school that gave him his first educational leg-up. But it comes with the prejudices about the superiority of western culture instilled in him over the

decades. He has described the £2.5 million a year spent on the school, the equivalent of about one half of the national education budget, as his personal gift to prepare future generations of Malawian leaders. But such leaders must be in his mould. He has often described himself as the most educated man in Malawi. "I'm old fashioned. To me, one cannot understand European civilisation without knowing the history and languages of the Greeks and Romans. No one can discuss and fully appreciate problems of modern Europe and of many other countries if he knows nothing of the influence of the Romans and of the Greeks on European civilisation. That is why I decided to establish the academy," Banda said on the school's 10th anniversary last year.

Banda is known at the school as H.E., as in His Excellency. The British headmaster, Antony Cooke, a modern languages teacher formerly at Charterhouse, talked of him in reverential terms as the Founder. "The Founder is a total protagonist of western culture and you can see from his dress and British style of speech that he believes it should be put to use where it is of benefit to Africa. It's a question of a small African country acquiring respect when it can relate to western countries. H.E. speaks Latin fluently and frequently does so. When he comes here, or if we are honoured by an audience, he speaks Latin."

The Kamuzu Academy is hidden at the end of a 20-mile dirt track through the central Malawi bush. The billowing orange dust gives way to a sharp turn on to a tarmac road. A bank, petrol station and post office, built at the same time as the school, mark the way to the centre of this little universe. The signs to

"Monument" target the Kachere tree. A few yards on, an arch and wrought iron gates loom large. As one peers through at the sprawling red brick school, Africa vanishes.

A small chapel is planted on the lush cultivated lawns and there is a golf course. Behind an artificial lake is the library, loosely modelled on Washington's Library of Congress and home to a dictionary signed by Ronald Reagan. The rugby fields might indeed be a piece of England.

Some new students arrive barefoot from distant villages to be introduced to detentions and houses, chess clubs and cricket, and chips and lunch

Only the heat and the Malawian security guards snapping to attention shake the illusion.

The 35,000 candidates each year are nominated by state primary schools, whittled down by government exams and finally selected by the academy staff. Two boys are accepted for every girl, many on scholarships. The process is supposed to counter political influence and the children of some prominent Malawians have been turned away, even though the board of governors is dominated by the most powerful politicians in the country.

Some of the new students arrive barefoot from distant villages, to be

fitted with green blazers adorned with the school crest, the Kachere tree. They are introduced to detentions and houses, chess clubs and cricket, and chips for lunch. On special occasions they wear straw boaters. When a young Malawian encounters the art master, former London comprehensive teacher Phil Simmonds, it is the African who must adjust. "Some are totally gobsmacked when they come here. If you think that some came from a village they have never left before, it's the first time they've seen a white person, seen a lavatory, used a knife and fork. Some of the girls kneel down at my chair," he said.

Africa is soon beaten back. Clara Magola is from Machinga. A prefect, the head of her house and a chorister, she is taking A-levels in ancient history, religion and English literature. Her exams will be in English. She was not permitted to study or speak her native tongue, Chichewa.

"CHICHEWA is prohibited but we just do it illegally. If they catch you then they put you in detention. You know Africans tie things in their hair? Girls aren't allowed to do that here. The education is very good but it's not really worth learning ancient Greek. I thought I would never get used to it. I was quite impressed by those who could. At GCSE if you get a 'B' or above you have to do it for A-level. But I was lucky enough to get a 'C' in Greek and Latin."

History is world history. The headmaster says there is not much about Africa because it is not relevant to the British curriculum and the students are not interested. But Denis Njiko, 18, taking his GCSEs, would like to know more. "We don't know much of Malawi history ourselves. They keep Africa away from us. We're not told the true history," he said. The other students fell into stunned silence. A few minutes later one came up to say that Denis was right but that to criticise the curriculum is to criticise H.E.

The school's policy is not to adapt to Africa but that Africans adapt to the school. "There's some adaptation needed," Cooke asserted. "There's a big, huge, difference between African students and teaching staff here. We don't really know about African culture. Whatever secrets they share among themselves isn't our business. They know they have to adapt to the academy for term purposes. There is contact among pupils without us being aware of what is said or thought, which is why they adapt back to their own culture. Many find that they would never give us the African culture but they are aware that to make Malawi competitive they have to accept the demands made by western culture." The method is designed to expand horizons and the minds. The reasoning is that what the students learn is less important than teaching them to think. But stretching the mind only goes so far. Students were discouraged from debating the recent national referendum on the future of one-party rule, which saw Banda heavily defeated.

"It would have been tactless to do so. It would have been bad manners to the installed ideology, to the Founder who is employing or funding those here," Cooke said. "The students showed very good devotion to their studies to the exclusion of other things." Some of the students thought differently but the debating society in any case had collapsed.

Continued on next page

Japan: the land of the rising dirt

Guardian | W in w/Mail 9/7-15/7/93.

Citizens of the world's strongest economy who vote in this month's election will have to decide between the corrupt and the witless **Kevin Rafferty** reports

WHEN Kichii Miyazawa became prime minister of Japan less than two years ago, it was supposed to mark the start of a new era in which Japan could become an international force to be reckoned with. At last in Miyazawa, the world's strongest economy had a leader who spoke English fluently, understood economics, was as intelligent as any leader anywhere and could hold his own with any bureaucrat in his home country.

Miyazawa's own foreign minister Kabun Muto joked that if the prime minister dropped dead, the ruling Liberal Democratic Party might have a better chance of winning this month's general election. It was a bit of an in-house joke, referring to the fact that the last time the LDP was in such a mess, defeated in a no-confidence vote in 1980, the then prime minister Masayoshi Ohira died suddenly and the party swept back to power on a sympathy vote. But this time, so pathetic has been the performance of the LDP under Miyazawa, so lacklustre the leadership, so arrogant the corruption, that it is doubtful whether the abrupt departure of the prime minister even in heart-rending circumstances would save the LDP from defeat and probable fracture.

But it is too early for the rest of the world to rejoice. For a start, the general election this month will be fought under the same corrupt system, which gives an immediate edge to the LDP because it has the biggest funds (and Keidanren, the powerful federation of economic organisations, will continue to provide the party with money), because it alone can field a full slate of candidates and because its MPs have been entrenched and have fed a range of juicy pork barrel projects to keep their constituents happy.

Visitors from Europe or North America frequently ask about the "factions" that bedevil Japanese politics. What are they all about? What

do they stand for? they ask, expecting to hear about great rolling policy debates. The answer is simpler and sordid — the factions have nothing to do with policy but everything to do with power. You need money and patronage to get elected to parliament. You choose your patron, the faction leader, and he sees you right, and in parliament there are plenty of opportunities for making money for yourself while keeping the constituents sweet and perhaps in due course climbing the factional ladder and being master and manipulator of even more money. All the LDP factions trace their roots back not to some seminal clash about policy, but to their tribal predecessor and to his predecessor and to his, back beyond 1955 when the party was founded.

It is no accident that the LDP MPs are on average dollar millionaires and three times richer than non-LDP members, and that is only according to declared assets at par values, not including market value of land or assets or gold bars under the bed or works of art or money or land held by wives or children.

But of course the Japanese system, though on paper a parliamentary democracy much like Britain's, works very differently from anything in the West. The bureaucrats are more powerful. Cabinet seats are distributed, firstly according to the factional strengths in parliament and then like sweets to people who have served five or more terms in parliament. Increasingly, factional leaders have preferred to hold powerful party posts where they can pull strings out of the limelight. "Godfather" Shin Kanemaru, the most powerful recent politician, was not in the cabinet — but everyone knew where the real power lay.

It was a neat balancing act. The bureaucrats ran the country. The industrialists provided the money to oil the wheels and to sweeten the politicians to organising matters their way if the civil servants got



Japanese security police tackle colleagues posing as terrorists in practice for this week's Group of Seven summit in Tokyo.

PHOTOGRAPH TSUGUFUMI MATSUMOTO

stroppy. (The balance between bureaucrats and industry is preserved because many senior bureaucrats on retirement go through a process of amakudari — literally, descent from heaven — in which they end up as "advisers" to big corporations at fatter salaries than they ever knew in their working lives.) The politicians kept the people happy with offerings from their pork barrel.

THE Socialist opposition (the party calls itself Social Democratic in its English title though still Socialist in Japanese) was handicapped in cracking such a system. The odds were lengthened by the existence of a factional system within the party. It is looser in that members can belong to more than one faction, but personal infighting is more intense. The party also shot itself in the head by clinging to several policies that the electorate was afraid of. Apart from the obvious socialist dogma, the party still hasn't accepted the Self-Defence Forces (effectively the armed

forces) as legal under Japan's peace constitution and can't quite bring itself to recognise South rather than Stalinist North Korea.

Miyazawa's problem was that when he finally climbed to the top of the greasy pole, he just sat there. For a while he was protected by Kanemaru, the master manipulator. But when Kanemaru fell and the corruption of the political system began to be exposed, Miyazawa did nothing. He neither boldly went along with his internationalist instincts to ally himself with the reformers, claiming that Japan in the 21st century needed reform, nor did he try to play the smoke-filled back rooms and mix and manipulate.

Takeshi Hosomi, one year junior to Miyazawa in the ministry of finance, who rose to be vice-minister and is now chairman of NLI Research, part of the Nippon Life Insurance group, laughingly says "Miyazawa is like Clinton, he never faced fire and he dodged the draft as a soldier by being a civil servant." He adds more seriously

"Miyazawa is too set in his ways." Someone who knows the prime minister well claims "He sits arrogantly in his own world, considering himself too superior to argue or enlist help of people whom he considers inferior."

None of this is much consolation to the electorate wondering for whom to vote on for July 18. Pity the voter who has to make a leap in the dark. For all the stench of corruption in the air and all the opinion polls saying that everyone is fed up with it, his or her "choice" in voting is between the ruling candidate who has served and fed titbits to the constituency for years — and probably his father and possible his grandfather did before him since LDP politicians' jobs are increasingly hereditary — or a renegade LDP reformist who now claims to have renounced his grubby past or a pale "Socialist" imitation who hasn't the wit to support policies that resemble anything from the real world. "None of the above" would probably be the preferred option.

Judaism's second-class citizens

Marina Benjamin explains why Jewish women are challenging orthodox attitudes

"BLESSED ARE you, Lord our God, King of the Universe who has not made me a woman." With this prayer, orthodox Jewish men begin each day, happily reassured of their place in the order of things. Is it any wonder that many modern Jewish women are questioning their place within Judaism?

"Judaism until now has been that of Jewish men, not of Jewish people," reform rabbi Sheila Shulman says. "As a Jewish woman and feminist, I feel the experience of women is absent from Jewish writings and that it is not within the province of men to describe it, nor to tell us how we should be."

Women are second-class citizens in orthodox Judaism. At root it is a matter of body politics. Women are deemed impure when they are menstruating: lest they contaminate

prayer services or, with their alluring voices, disturb men's concentration, they are banished to the upper galleries of the synagogue.

The ferment of discontent among Jewish women has aroused concern at the highest level. Chief Rabbi Dr Jonathan Sacks has had his ear to the ground and his eye on demographic statistics for some time. While the decline in synagogue membership (101,000 households in 1990 compared with 109,000 in 1983) may or may not be linked to "the woman question", any attempt to reverse the trend depends on its resolution.

When he assumed office, Dr Sacks commissioned a national review to canvass women of all denominations on every aspect of Jewish life. The review inaugurates his Decade of Renewal, he is committed to breathing new life into

the Jewish community — and is looking to women to get the ball rolling.

For the first time in Jewish history, women's voices are being heard. The scale of their response has overwhelmed Rosalind Preston who is chairing the review. In London alone, 40 volunteers help her organise meetings to garner women's views on issues as diverse as equality and education, sexuality and racism, divorce and prayer. Their job is to listen and three messages are reverberating loud and clear: single women, divorcees, widows and older women feel the community fails to address their needs, concern about how divorce and separation affect the community is widespread, preparation within the community for marriage, long-term relationships and parenting is thought inadequate.

Jewish women are caught in a double bind, marginalised in the community if they are not wives and mothers, under excessive pressure to be perfect if they are. The Chief Rabbi's targeting of women is undoubtedly a compliment to women's pivotal position in family life. But to what extent is it an appeal to women to be ever more dutiful to spouse and children?

Julia Bard, journalist, secular Jew and member of the Jewish Socialist Group, dismisses as "crocodile tears" the Chief Rabbi's concern over women and sees talk of declining synagogue figures as a smoke screen. "The crisis in the Jewish community is a matter of ideology, not demography," she says. "It's about what constitutes Jewish identity and where power lies within the community. This crisis is being fought on two territories: the hearts and minds of women and secularism."

If, as Bard suspects, a desire to usher in a new conservatism lurks behind this reaching out to women,

it may be too late. In February, a group of orthodox women affiliated to Stanmore Synagogue broke with tradition, they instituted women-only Sabbath prayer services.

Prayer group member Sharon Lee, inspired by the potential for change that the review has put on the community agenda, has been instrumental in organising the launch of the Jewish Women's Network, intended as a forum for dialogue between Jewish women of every description who are attempting to improve their lot in Jewish life. As she sees it, "The debate is between loyalty to tradition and the dignity of women — every Jewish woman needs to think about her position in this debate."

If established religion refuses to flow with the tides of change, it jeopardises its own survival. It is a credit to Rabbi Sacks that, despite opposition from reactionary rabbis, he has recognised that Jewish orthodoxy has little chance of a solid future if that future is bought at the expense of the welfare of half the community.

Putting on a show for the girls

Eileen Summers on how a US gallery is introducing woman-on-canvas to man-on-the-street

THE NEXT time you are compiling a general knowledge quiz for a party or pub contest, try this one. What links the following women? Clara Peeters, Artemesia Gentileschi, Rosa Bonheur and Judith Leyster?

Chances are, both teams will be stumped. The answer is that they were all artists of considerable distinction and repute in their respective times, between the 17th and 19th centuries, but man-in-the-street recognition has eluded them and all the other acknowledged first-rank women painters — Angelica Kauffmann, for example, and Elizabeth Vigée Le Brun, Kathe Kollwitz, Gwen John, Helen Frankenthaler. Not for them the fame of a Leonardo, Titian or Rembrandt.

Twelve years ago, a Washington woman art-lover set out to redress the balance. Wilhelmina (Billie) Holladay gathered around her other women art lovers and, with the vital gift of the collection owned by Holladay and her husband, they have brought forth the superbly-housed and endowed National Museum of Women in the Arts (NMWA). Located only a few blocks from the White House, it is maintained through an organisation of volunteers in every state, its supporters and patrons include Barbara Bush.

The museum is almost certainly the only one of its kind in the world. Its intent, according to Billie Holladay, "is not to separate art into male and female but to uncover and celebrate the hidden contributions of women in the arts." The NMWA's permanent collection contains more than 900 works by women artists from 29 countries, over 200 of them

could find nothing about her. Yet a picture by this "unknown" 17th-century artist sold at Christie's in 1973 for £39,000.

Billie and her husband Wallace, a Washington architect and developer, decided to concentrate thereafter on women artists. Following her lead, the NMWA takes the position that, until fairly recently, the work of women artists has been down-graded if not actually ignored by a demonstrably male-dominated art establishment. "Even today, women artists are conspicuously under-represented in the major museums of the world," she says.

Billie Holladay believes the NMWA has played a major role in producing a turnaround — or at least the beginnings of one. "We have played a large part in the greater demand at auctions and elsewhere for works by women artists. The increased number of women included in group and solo exhibitions have been encouraged by our efforts, the ripple effect is reflected in the correspondence we receive."

Time magazine's art critic, Robert Hughes, appears to back those NMWA detractors who claim that art by women that is of museum quality is already hanging there. Yet support has come from the deputy curator for 20th-century art at New York's Metropolitan Museum, Lowery Sims. "The women's museum could find talent that might be overlooked," he explains. "So it's an exciting and interesting venture."

The director of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles, Richard Koshalek, has reservations. "Museums have been very slow to respond to important artists who are women," he concedes, "but I don't know if the solution is to isolate artists in a women's museum."

The NMWA has been housed, since 1987, in a resplendent, five-story building in downtown Wash-



Banda faces new challenger as Malawi presidential polls loom

Sowetan 12/7/93

BLANTYRE — Trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana, chairman of the Alliance for Democracy, has launched his campaign as Malawi's first opposition presidential candidate ahead of a poll expected in December

Chihana (53) was released from prison on June 11 after serving nine months on charges of sedition (170)

He is affectionately called the "brave one" by admirers for openly coming home from neighbouring Zambia to challenge President Kamuzu Banda and sparking off a national referendum last month that backed the introduction of

multiparty politics

Chihana was arrested on his return on April 6 last year and tried for sedition in a case that generated international concern. His two-year sentence was subsequently reduced to nine months.

Chihana's campaign rallies have begun to draw the crowds, who have appeared moved by his attacks on Banda.

"Banda has been living on borrowed time and money and has squandered the opportunity to develop Malawi," he charged recently.

He said Banda's government had been preoccupied with constructing pal-

aces in a country of grinding poverty.

"The main agenda of the Banda government has been to build a big house in the bush," Chihana declared at a rally in Lilongwe, apparently referring to a new palace that opened last year and is estimated to have cost the government about R150 million.

"How can one person with no child or wife have 13 state houses or palaces?" he asked.

Banda is a bachelor president but his companion for over 25 years has been official hostess Cecilia Kadzamira — Sapa-AFP

Star 14/7/93

Malawi talks run aground

LILONGWE — Talks between the Malawi government and the opposition on the formation of two interim national councils to run the country until general elections have collapsed, opposition and government sources said yesterday.

It was unclear when the talks would resume. Mass action was threatened by the opposition.

Star 16/7/93

Banda frees ex-Minister

BLANTYRE — A former Minister in President Kamuzu Banda's Cabinet who was jailed for 22 years for sedition was released yesterday after pressure on the government by leaders of the southern region of the ruling Malawi Congress Party.

Gwanda Chakuamba was at one time considered a possible successor to Banda and was leader of the notorious Malawi

Young Pioneers, the youth group that has terrorised opponents of the Banda regime.

He was held for 13 years in Zomba maximum security jail.

Chakuamba was expected to attend a welcome rally in his home town. Muona, said a spokesman for the United Democratic Front, raising speculation that he had joined the opposition. — Star Africa Service.

Fm 16/7/93

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SOPLATS Fm 16/7/93

Time to cash in

Activities: Controls platinum and base metal prospect near Potgietersrus and heavy mineral sands project in Malawi

Control: Southwits 81%

Chairman: N Stavrakis

Capital structure: 10,7m ards Market capitalisation R26,8m

Share market: Price 250c 12-month high, 325c, low, 10c Trading volume last quarter, 138 000 shares

Year to February 28	'90	'91	'92	'93
Available cash (Rm)	0,5	1,3	0,08	0,01
Exploration expenditure (Rm)	0,2	3,0	1,3	0,2
Operating loss (Rm)	0,22	2,7	1,2	0,2
Earnings (c)	(2,1)	(27,0)	(11,5)	(1,9)
Dividends (c)	nil	nil	nil	nil

Southern Platreef Mining Company (SoPlats) shares have gone into orbit. But, if they are really worth 250c, why is controlling company Southern Witwatersrand Exploration Company (Sowits) selling its 81% stake for just R347 641 or 4c a SoPlats share? That question screams off the page for anyone delving into the annual reports of the two companies.

The answer is that this cash-strapped company has been forced to throw in the towel on its once-vaunted Potgietersrus platinum and base metal project, south of JCI's Potgietersrus Platins (PP Rust) mine. When listed, the developers touted SoPlats as another PP Rust. In last year's report reality had set in and feasibility studies on the project were looking at a "small scale optimisation" approach, which still gave a net present value of R15m.

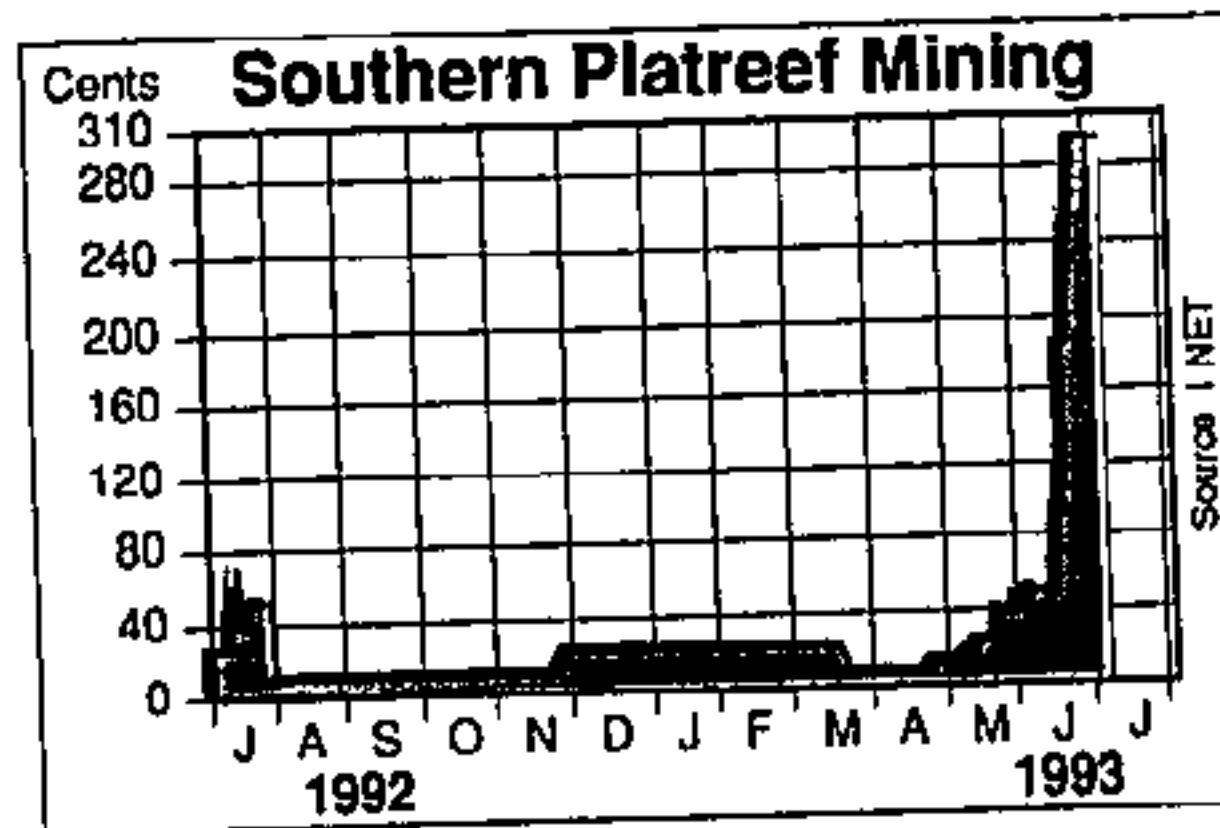
This year, flat base metal prices — the project depends heavily on nickel — have forced developer Sowits to grant an option to sell the project at 4c a SoPlats share to an unidentified third party. This is after spending R5m exploring it. The message should not be lost on those buying SoPlats now. SoPlats may have a winner with its Malawi venture, but its management was convinced it had a winner in the Platreef project.

Chairman Nick Stavrakis says the company has acquired an exclusive prospecting licence over a heavy mineral sands (HMS) project in the Shire Valley, which was looked at in the Sixties and Seventies by two Canadian mining companies. Regional wars and adverse political conditions prevented development. Stavrakis says preliminary investigations based on the previous exploration work shows HMS grades of 17,3% ilmenite, 3,3% rutile, 3,2% zircon, 3,1% monazite and 10% corundum.

Stavrakis says estimated reserves are 100 Mt of extractable heavy minerals and

adds the Malawi deposit must be rated "extremely high" against the Natal north coast reserves. Maybe, but much water has to flow under the bridge before this project, or some others proposed for Mozambique, Tanzania and Madagascar, get off the ground.

The Malawi project is 560 km inland, competing projects are all on the coast. Transport of the beneficiated products to the nearest port — Nacala in Mozambique — is an additional cost. There is also the issue of available infrastructure in Malawi should the developers want to build a smelter on-site to produce titanium slag.



Stavrakis is adamant the infrastructure — labour, roads, fresh water and electricity — is there. The 10% corundum content, he says, could be critical for this project. The other southern African deposits do not contain this material, which is used in abrasives.

The project might eventually come to something, but, if investors in mineral exploration shares should have learnt anything from their volatile performance over the past five years, it is to trade them. If you made a profit during SoPlats's rise from 10c, then follow one of Woody Allen's better pieces of advice: take the money and run.

Brendan Ryan

Divisions among Malawi's opposition parties may ensure a continuation of Kamuzu Banda's long grip on his country — this time by popular consent. CAMIL DAYA reports from Lilongwe.

Banda could stay on — by popular wish

Star 22/7/93
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WHEN Malawians last month voted two-to-one against retaining the single-party system imposed by President Kamuzu Banda they put in motion an irreversible political evolution

Charting Malawi's route to a democratic political dispensation is now the responsibility of both Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and the many new politicians who have come to light since he was forced by international pressure to take the shutters off Malawian politics.

Although both government and opposition groups have displayed a remarkable commitment to a negotiated resolution of the differences arising from the referendum, the "transition", as it is officially called, remains a difficult process.

Commitment

This is not unexpected, since Banda refused to accept that his government should resign because of its defeat in the referendum, and since the opposition parties are deeply divided.

The Presidential Committee on Dialogue (PCD), which represents the government in the negotiations, has reaffirmed its commitment to seeing through the establishment of a multi-party state

Minister of State John Tembo said the PCD's apparent tardiness in meeting the opposition groups' Public Affairs Committee (PAC) was due only to its preoccupation with organising the Republic Day celebrations on July 6, and negotiations would now resume.

He said, however, that the PCD wanted to modify the agreement reached earlier on the establishment of the transitional administration, known as the National Executive Council (NEC), which will supervise the running of the country until a general election is arranged.

A more serious threat to the transition appears to lurk in the



Banda . . . gave way to International pressure.

dissension among the opposition groups, notably the United Democratic Front (UDF), which has formed itself into a fully-fledged political party, and the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD), which has remained a pressure group.

Not only do the two organisations mistrust the government, they also mistrust each other.

In a recent speech to University of Malawi students, AFORD leader Chakufwa Chihana questioned whether Malawians could trust "some of these people who are now parading, like converts to a new church, as committed democrats, spouting forth about the need for human rights".

In an apparent reference to the several members of the UDF who are former government ministers, Chihana said: "It is the responsibility of society to ensure that those charged with public office are held accountable for their actions, and even their inaction. In this country, however, those who have been responsible for our misery . . . want to shift all the blame on to one single individual (Banda)."

The UDF for its part has labelled AFORD as a regionally-based group seeking to promote the interests of people from the north of the country. The UDF says that not only Chihana but most of AFORD's executive are from the north.

This could weigh heavily against AFORD in an election, for the north has a relatively small population composed mainly of the Tumbuka, Tonga and Ngoni tribes, who are heavily outnumbered by the Chewas in the central region and the Yaos in the south.

The northerners have a generally higher level of education, which had led to their having a disproportionate influence in the country until Banda's government, in an effort to reverse this trend, took steps to marginalise them.

AFORD and the UDF have produced differing socio-economic policies

The UDF is campaigning on promises to increase basic wages and scrap primary school fees, while AFORD is advocating the redressing of social and economic inequalities

Insistence

No date has yet been set for the election. It is expected to be held either in December this year or May next year. United Nations representatives argue that a December election would not allow enough time for preparation and campaigning in a country that has not known democracy.

AFORD and the government agree with this but the UDF is insisting on a December poll

If the majority wish prevails, Malawians will go to the polls in about nine months' time. And if the opposition to the MCP splinters further, they could find themselves in the ironical situation of being ruled again by Banda's party, but now by popular consent. — Star Africa Service. □

Opposition squabbles as Banda's power fades

CAMIL DAYA of The Argus Africa News Service reports from Lilongwe on a difficult period of transition for Malawi

(710) 26/1/73

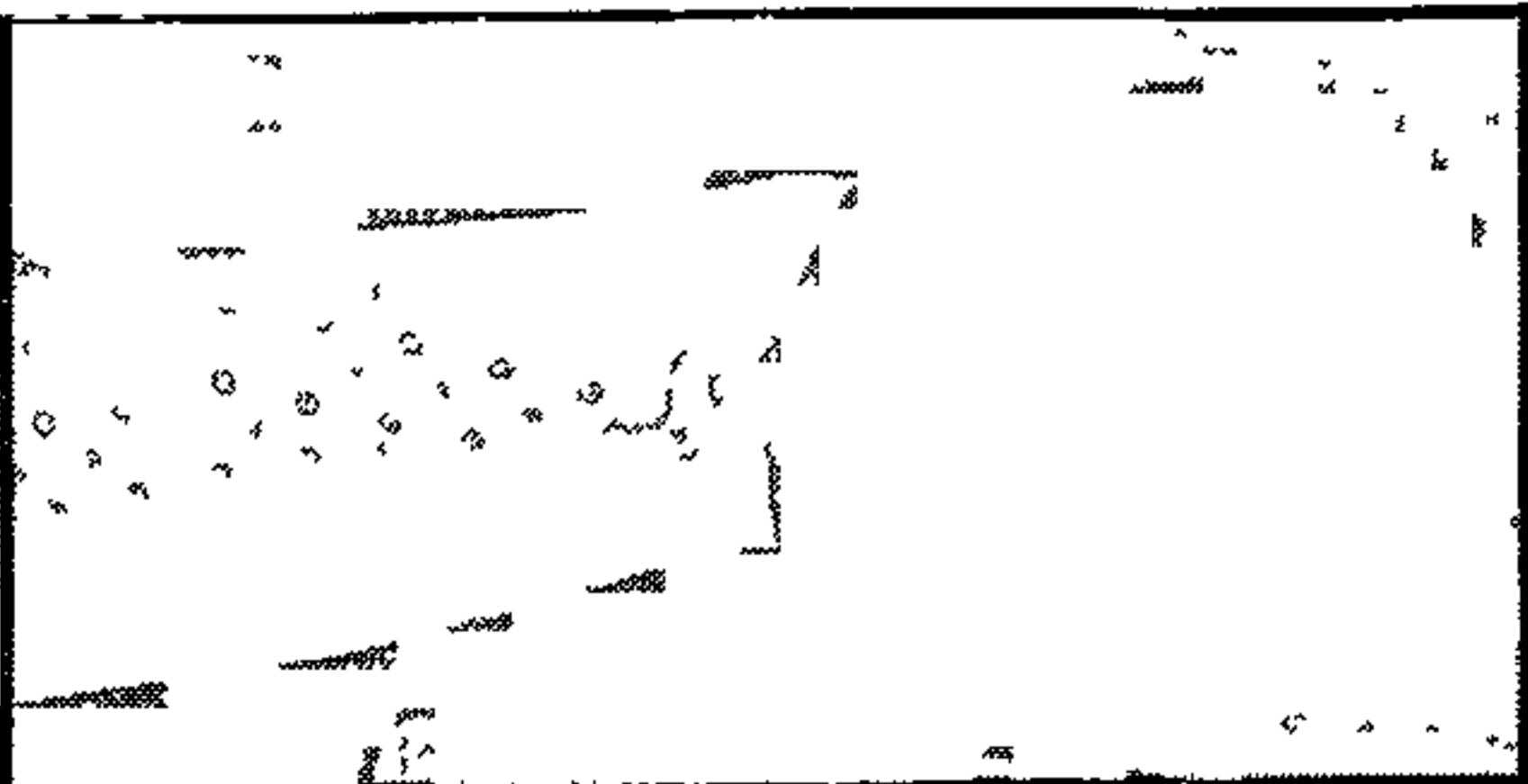
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Mr John Tembo... wants to modify the agreement on running the country during the transitional period.

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Mr Tembo has not specified what changes the PCD wants to make but these will presumably be raised in its meetings with the PAC

A more serious threat to the transition appears to lurk in the dissension among the opposition groups, notably the United Democratic Front (UDF), which has formed itself into a fully-fledged political party, and the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD), which has remained a pressure group. Not only do the two organisations mistrust the government, they also mistrust each other

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"We must expect them again to run away from their responsibilities in future if things go wrong"

The UDF for its part has labelled AFORD as a regionally-based group seeking to promote the interests of people from the north of the country. The UDF says that not only Mr Chihana but most of AFORD's executive are from the north

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country until Dr Banda's government, in an effort to reverse this trend, took steps to marginalise them

AFORD and the UDF have produced differing socio-economic policies. The UDF is campaigning on promises to increase basic wages and scrap primary school fees, while AFORD is advocating the redressing of social and economic inequalities through the government helping the poor to take part in economic activity and have "a fair share of the fruits of their labours"

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Africa

in the

Yet another Malawi party

BLANTYRE — A former

Malawian diplomat announced plans yesterday to launch the country's sixth registered political party following a June referendum rejecting one-party rule.

Mr. Tim Mangwazu (59), who has served as Malawi's ambassador to Washington and the United Nations, said he would officially launch the Malawi National Democratic Party tomorrow

(170)

SEARCHED 31-7-93

Malawian exiles to return

THREE members of the Malawi Democratic Party, including the party's president who has been in exile for nine years, are to return to Malawi today after having being granted amnesty. They are MDP president Kamlepo Kalua, Ismail Milanzi and Peter Simaka. The MDP was formed in Johannesburg in 1991. — Sapa

(170)

SEARCHED 31-7-93

50 000 members, says SACP

THE South African Communist Party celebrated its 72nd anniversary yesterday. The SACP claims its membership has grown from 2 000 in 1990 to just less than 50 000 — Sapa

(187)

Indian N...

Aid to Malawi 'possible'

EDWARD WEST

WITH Malawi voting to become a multiparty democracy, a resumption of international aid and an improvement of trade could be expected, Africalink national development manager Peter West said yesterday.

Africalink is a combined Grindrod, Walon and SDV forwarding and transport arm into Africa *8/Day*

West said local exporters and road hauliers had faced lengthy delays in receiving forex payments from Malawi over the past 8-12 months. The Road Freight Association said SA truckers were sitting on debt exceeding R55m earlier this year, he said. *318193*

An association spokesman said yesterday it had had to negotiate an agreement with the Reserve Bank to obtain a commitment from Malawi to have the debt repaid. Some hauliers were near bankruptcy because of this unpaid debt, he said. *(170)*

The Foreign Affairs Department and Safto said a positive result from the plebiscite should see the taps partly reopened to foreign aid inflows. West said indications were that aid would be resumed in September.

While these funds would be carefully allocated to approved projects and economic needs, it would go some way towards relieving the country of the recent forex drought, he said.

focus on ~~INFORMATION~~

Sowetan 4/8/93

THE NATIONAL AFRICAN Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry's 29th annual conference highlighted a new sense of realism that is emerging among black business people

"Time for pious irrelevancies is past, now is the time for action," says National Sorghum Breweries chief executive Mr Mohale Mahanye

In the past, gatherings like this used to be preoccupied with finger pointing and very little action — to the extent that some people dismissed Nafcoc conferences as "social occasions"

There was concern that black businessmen were falling into a trap that caught many leaders in post-colonial Africa, where every weakness in governments was blamed on the colonial masters

Conference rooms overflowed with business rhetoric, with most of the time devoted to mourning and crying foul. Even political parties which many expected to break from the monotony when invited to speak at Nafcoc AGMs jumped on to the bandwagon

This year, though some people still went to gamble while the conference was on, the majority were patient enough to listen to a variety of speakers who gave practical presentations to the audience

The seriousness that was reflected at Sun City could probably be attributed to the leadership style of Mr Archie Nkonyeni

In contrast to his predecessor, he does not seem to believe in diplomatic talk and therefore calls a spade a spade

In his speech Nkonyeni attacked the Small Business Development Corporation for its ineffectiveness and unwillingness to break from the apartheid culture

He called for a complete overhaul of the ownership and control of the institution

Nkonyeni described the SBDC as a prisoner caught up in a web of bureaucracy that appeared totally insensitive to the changing economic climate of the country

The Nafcoc president also echoed the major fear of black business people — marginalisation

At the moment neither the liberation movement nor the Government have come up with a concrete policy to define the role of black business in the post-April 27 era

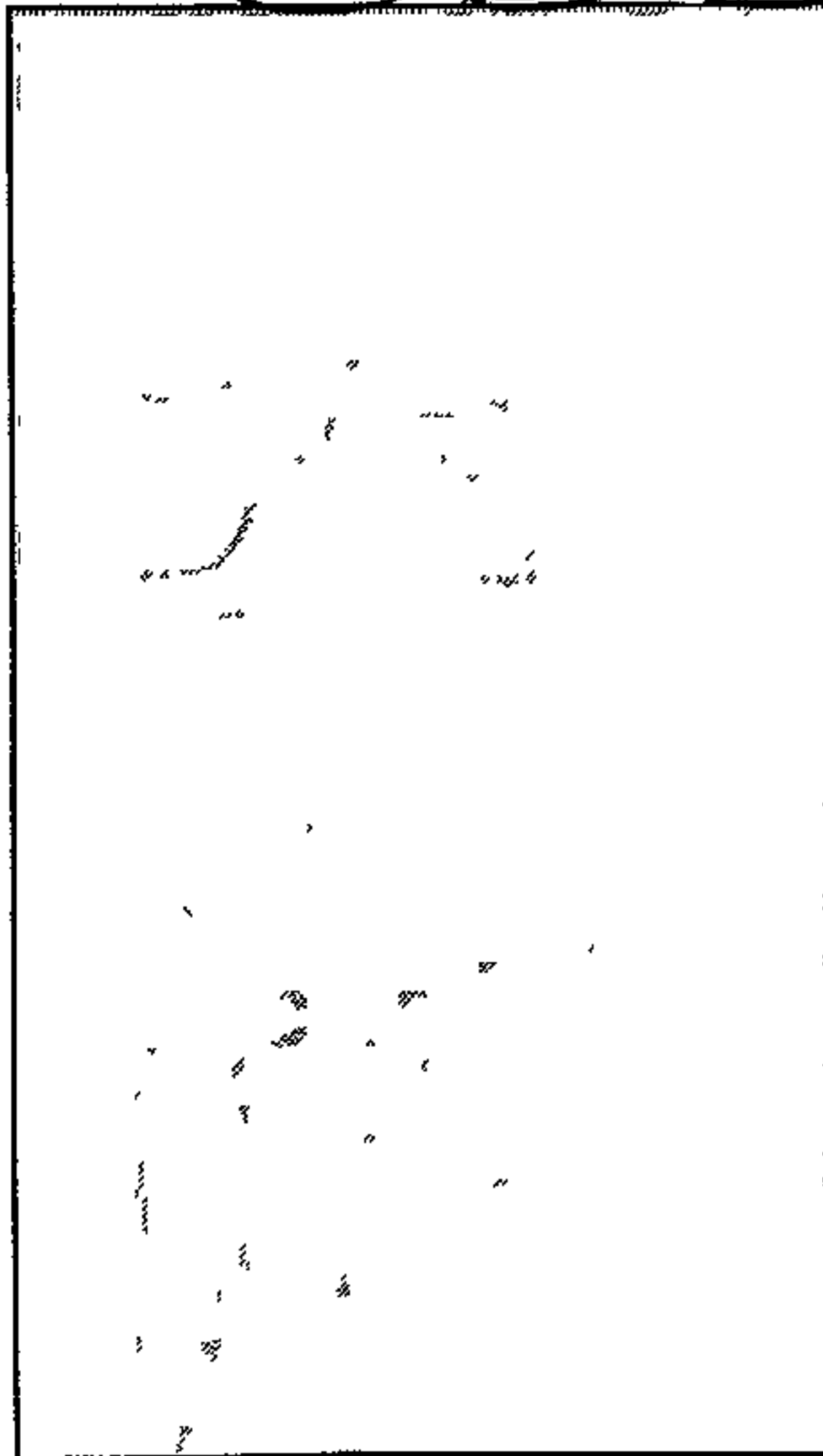
It is only next month the National Economic Forum has promised to release a document proposing the part to be played by small businesses in the future South African economy

While it is true that most small business enterprises in the country are black, addressing the interests of small business only will not be enough to address the fears of black business. The essence of Nkonyeni's speech is that while black business organisations have sup-

THE National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry's 29th annual conference highlighted a new sense of realism that is emerging among black business people. Business Reporter

Mzimkulu Malunga explains:

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Mr Archie Nkonyeni .. good leadership style.

ported the liberation movement unashamedly in the past, there were signs that politicians within these movements were aligning themselves with white business and forgetting their long-time backers

Many black business people are unhappy with the way in which a company, believed to be close to the liberation movement, has set itself on a competition path with black companies, while expectations had been that the company in question would facilitate black entry into the mainstream of the economy

Nafcoc caused an uproar in the corporate world when it refused to oppose economic sanctions against South Africa in the mid-eighties

The 1993 conference will be remembered by many in Nafcoc as the year in which businesswomen, who for a long time went to such



occasions only to accompany their husbands, made their presence felt

The passing of a resolution unambiguously explaining women's rights within Nafcoc's ranks was a major breakthrough in the male-dominated business world

Black businesswomen had brought Mrs Adelaide Tambo to hammer home the women's lib message

Tambo said women comprised the most disempowered group in the country and they also formed the majority of the unemployed

She was adamant "Our situation cannot correct itself without our active intervention"

In her passionate call for women to be released from the bondage of economic exploitation, Tambo recalled the old Africa saying "Mangwana o tswara thupa ka bohalleng," meaning that the mother will do all she can to help her family

Accompanying the speeches, some of which nearly brought the delegates to their feet, were issues relating to unbundling and affirmative action

The committee charged with the responsibility of investigating means through which black participation could be intensified in the corporate world, was given the additional task of devising strategies that could be explored to maximise black business benefits from the process of unbundling

Commonly known as the "3456 Committee" in Nafcoc circles, the committee was appointed as a follow-up to a call made by former Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane in 1991.

He had, among other things, suggested that 40 percent of the shareholders of companies quoted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange should be black

Our situation cannot correct itself without our active intervention

Aiding training of blacks

THE Association for the Advancement of Black Accountants of South Africa is an organisation that facilitates and encourages institutions and firms to train black accountants

It is, however, not involved in certifying or training accountants. Once a member of a particular professional body is qualified with certification as a CA, CIS, B Com or ACCA he or she is able to apply for membership of

Abasa as long as the person is black.

The ACCA complements the objectives Abasa has established. When Abasa was started, representatives went to the UK to seek opportunities for those unable to get into the profession and it was on the basis of their report that the ACCA was invited to participate in South Africa. Black South Africans were unable to train as accountants until 1976.

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Which firms make a difference?

Each year we try to find out which company in South Africa has the best social investment and responsibility programmes, reports **Reg Rumney**

WHICH company in South Africa is far ahead of the field in ploughing some of the money it makes back into the benefit of its workers and the community?

The Business & Marketing Intelligence survey of social investment last year found perceptions did not always exactly match reality

There is a dearth of facts and figures on social investment in South Africa. As David Bonbright, of the Development Resources Centre, points out, measuring such investment is made difficult by the absence of donor disclosure laws, limited tax incentives and a

tradition of non-disclosure by government

When it comes to individual companies, a problem is that social investment and marketing are not the same thing, and that some companies and foundations ostensibly keep a low profile to avoid being inundated with requests for money

The difference between marketing and true social involvement is a distinction *The Weekly Mail & Guardian* is careful to make in surveying companies for our yearly Investing in the Future Award

The purpose of the award is to give recognition to those companies who really have made a difference, and publicise some of the things they have done. In October we will confer the award on the company judged by our panel to excel in social investment.

As part of the process of identifying likely candidates for the award, we ask for nominations from the business community and the

public at large of companies who have outstanding social investment programmes

Accompanying the awards is our special *Investing in the Future Review*, an in-depth study of some of the issues around corporate social responsibility and investment.

We have added a special award for social investment by smaller companies, which may not have the resources of big corporations, but who nonetheless have shouldered the burden of good corporate citizenship

A small business could be defined as one with turnover of up to R10-million, gross assets of up to R5-million, and with no more than 100 employees. It would also ideally be owner-managed. However, we realise there has to be some flexibility and that some small businesses may not fit the definitions exactly

Please fax nominations to Reg Rumney or Tessa Weakley at (011) 403-1025, or phone either of them at (011) 403-7111

Unionists appointed to NSB board

NATIONAL Sorghum Breweries has appointed trade union officials to its board of directors in a drive to fortify its commitment to black economic empowerment

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And NSB has also set aside R5 million which will be used to fund employees

who want to improve their academic qualifications

~~FSE~~ ~~F76~~

This announcement was made at a meeting attended by directors of the NSB and 22 officials of the Food and Allied Workers Union and Food Beverage Workers Union held at Langlaagte

in Johannesburg last week

Mr Mohale Mahanye, chief executive officer of NSB, announced that officials of Fawu and the FBWU who represent workers at the company's 22 plants, had agreed to be appointed to the board of directors

JOBS

ST Times (Buss) 15/8/93
Managing for SURVIVAL
 (172)

By **CHERYLYN IRETON**

IT might jar the senses that corporate leaders are worrying about green issues while the country is bleeding. An executive faced with depressed markets, labour problems and all the trauma associated with South Africa's political transition will probably be tempted to shelve matters green and concentrate on survival.

But the Institute of Directors (IOD) suggests that by ignoring the issues executives may be jeopardising their company's future.

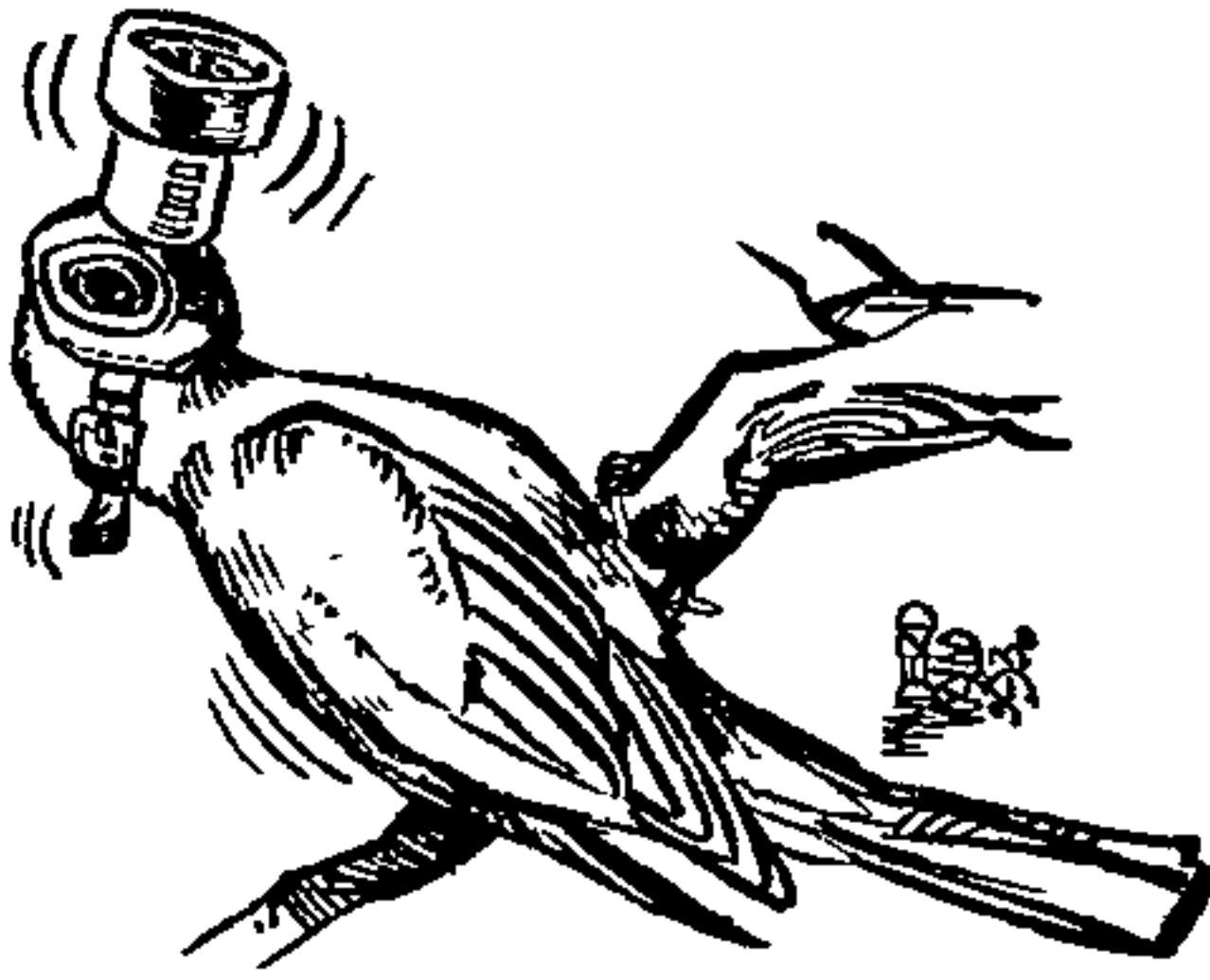
The IOD has just issued a set of directors' guidelines on corporate environmental management in an attempt to stimulate and guide decision making.

"Management should realise that the resources of the earth are finite and that if conservation is not positively practised, business will undermine the very basis of its existence by destroying its essential resources," says the study

"Environmental management makes plain good business sense," adds Jonathan Hobbs, director of the Industrial Environmental Forum "It is a fallacy that it is a nicey Companies need to use resources more efficiently and effectively to enable them to sustain their business."

Part of the sluggishness of some business leaders in formalising environmental management in South Africa may be the apparent conflict it has with company profits and the reality that the long-term benefits are difficult to measure up front.

IOD president Basil Hersov says the institute's role is to assist and guide directors



"As population continues to explode, pollution and exploitation problems become increasingly complex. Greater responsibilities are placed on our country's directors as they face decisions affecting both business profitability and survival."

Executive director Richard Wilkinson says the IOD's concern with environmental management should not be seen in isolation.

"We participate in the peace accord, affirmative action, deregulation, corporate governance and other issues — like the environment — which are of considerable importance to directors"

The guidelines have been assembled by Margaret Rawicz, a consultant currently completing a doctor's degree in Business Environmental Management in SA.

Mrs Rawicz says the need for environmental management comes from several spheres including political, economic, socio-cultural, technical and legal influences.

Political influences include pressure

Key SA industries that require environmental management & auditing

- Chemicals
- Effluent treatment
- Electric and data processing
- Energy
- Engineering
- Food and drink
- Metals
- Beneficiation
- Coal
- Extraction
- Manufacture
- Mining
- Paper and boards
- Printshop
- Textiles and leather
- Waste disposal

Source: INSTITUTE OF DIRECTORS Graphics: FROYA KRISCH

from bodies such as the United Nations, international legislation and treaties concerning conservation, and the growing support of green movements.

Domestically, the tightening of environmental legislation, union pressure

and the growing education on pollution prevention and waste management are factors.

Economic influences include the growing awareness of the hidden costs of running environmentally risky businesses and of the benefits that environmental planning can bring.

"The penalties for ignoring environmental issues are the possibility of barriers to finance and to European markets, liability costs, increases in clean-up costs, insurances and taxes.

"The advantages include the potential for economic growth and the competitive edge that becoming a 'green' business may give in the markets."

Technical influences on management include advances in technology for pollution control, recycling, hazardous-waste handling equipment, and an increase in opportunities for technology transfers.

Legal factors that cannot be avoided are the international trend to stricter environmental laws, the national emphasis on stricter legislation for waste emission and disposal, and pressure and permitting requirements from the authorities.

Mrs Rawicz's study, which Mr Hersov describes as an unbiased, effective reference book covers:

- objectives, benefits and costs of environmental management;
- legislation and regulation,
- the role in relation to business management strategy;
- environmental management strategies,
- middle management's role;
- management planning;
- environmental auditing;
- environmental impact assessments.

Copies of the guidelines can be obtained from the Institute of Directors

London paper cites massive gold sales by US financier's Quantum Fund

Finger points to Soros

BY NEIL BEHRMANN

London — Market sources believe that George Soros' \$30 billion (R100 billion) Quantum Fund recently sold the gold it bought earlier in the year.

Huge amounts of gold have been sold on Comex, the New York futures and options market, over the past two weeks.

The open interest on Comex has plunged to the equivalent of 17.5 million ounces from its recent peak of 21 million ounces as commodity funds and other speculators dumped gold.

Gold fell last week under \$368 — more than \$40 below its peak of \$409.50 reached in Hong Kong a fortnight ago.

The finger is being pointed at George Soros, with the London Sunday Times claiming he has sold 2 to 3 million ounces.

Most of this would have been sold in the futures and options market



George Soros... has not confirmed profit-taking

The market noticed that there was a big physical seller of gold in recent days and dealers suspected a European nation was using its gold to replenish foreign exchange lost in currency support operations.

A large proportion of the gold was sold through a lead-

ing US house with topnotch central bank links, according to market sources.

Since this was physical bullion, a central bank was cited, the obvious candidate being the Bank of France, which holds just under 82 million ounces of gold worth \$30 billion at market prices.

This valuation almost matches estimates of a \$31 billion decline in France's foreign exchange reserves.

The reserves fell while the central bank sold foreign currency in an unsuccessful attempt to support the franc.

Yet bullion dealers believe that if the Bank of France did make use of its gold holdings, it would not have sold outright.

It is far more likely that the central bank would have swapped the gold for foreign exchange. In other words, gold would have been used as collateral for loans.

When swaps take place, however, bullion banks accept the risk of holding the gold and hedge their positions.

So recent physical sales of gold by US houses could have reflected a swap transaction, say dealers. The Bank of France has refused to comment.

Reports that the Quantum Fund took profits on its gold

have not been confirmed by Soros, but well-informed sources told the Sunday Times the fund had been selling.

Soros, apparently still holds 10 million shares in Newmont Mining, which he bought from Sir James Goldsmith for \$39.50 — the shares are currently trading at \$48.

The market takes Soros seriously because he made an estimated \$1 billion for the Quantum Fund by selling sterling short in September 1992.

A well-publicised purchase of gold by Quantum and financier Sir James Goldsmith last April set the market alight, encouraging other speculative players to enter the market.

The predictions became self-fulfilling and gold soared to \$410 from around \$335 in April.

According to the Sunday Times, Sir James, who originally disclosed that he bought gold in 1990 when prices were around \$370, is still holding onto his bullion.

Sear

16/8/93

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Malawi agrees on a council (70)

JOHANNESBURG. —
The government and the
opposition in Malawi
have agreed on a council
to supervise the transi-
tion to democracy

● Mr Martin Munthali,
who sued the Malawi
government for wrongful
detention after 27 years
in jail, has received his
compensation from the
government — a million
US dollars — Sapa-Reu-
ter-AFP

CT 16/8/93

BRIEF

Agreement

in Malawi

Star 16/8/93

The government and the opposition in Malawi have agreed on the powers and composition of a national consultative council which will supervise the transition to democracy — Sapa-Reuter

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Malawian impasse resolved

Star 19/8/93

■ STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Blantyre — The deadlock between President Kamuzu Banda's one-party government and the newly formed opposition parties over how Malawi will be administered has been broken.

The impasse arose after the government was decisively defeated in the referendum in June on whether Malawi should remain a one-party state under Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) or become a multi-party democracy. (170)

The MCP agreed to call an election, but a dispute arose over how the country should be ruled in the meantime.

It has now been agreed that a national consultative council (NCC) will be formed, comprising seven Banda and seven opposition representatives.

It will appoint a national executive committee, with two members from each side, which will formulate policy, initiate legislation on the transition to democracy and monitor its implementation.

The committee's proposals will be passed through the Cabinet to parliament, which will either put them into law or refer them back to the committee for further consideration.

Skills workshops ^{CT25/8/93} ⁽¹⁷²⁾ for small business

By **MAGGIE ROWLEY**
Deputy Business Editor

A SERIES of workshops aimed at developing business skills for small, established entrepreneurs and managers is being launched in the Western Cape

The workshops are to be run by Business Skills for Southern Africa (BSSA), a non-profitmaking foundation formed by Coopers & Lybrand in partnership with the National Industrial Chamber

BSSA acquired the rights to a tried and tested British programme which has been run successfully in Britain since the early 1980s and has adapted it to suit South African conditions

The six core modules cover practical marketing, personal selling skills, customer care, debt recovery and cash control, increasing profit through correct price and effective management

To date about 600 entrepreneurs and managers have been trained on 20 similar courses in Natal and the Transvaal by BSSA which is now launching the first course in the Western Cape region

Coopers Lybrand partner Mario Rosingana said the courses were designed for people with up and going businesses who had felt "the pain of being turned down for loan finance or experienced bad debt, problems of cash flows, difficulties in marketing products and so forth"

Star 3/9/93
**Malawi strikers
seal off street**

Blantyre — About 2 000 of the more than 105 000 striking Malawian civil servants blocked one of Blantyre's main streets yesterday until armed policemen moved in to clear the road.

The civil servants, who make up the single largest group of workers in this tiny and poor southern African country, are demanding a 150 percent across-the-board salary increase (170)

In a last-minute attempt to avert the strike, the Malawian government awarded a 10-15 percent pay increase on Monday and appealed to the workers not to go ahead with the stoppage. — Sapa-AFP.

Star 17/9/93

Elections for Malawi in May

Blantyre — Malawi's first multi-party elections are to be held on May 16 next year

170

The date was agreed upon between members of the National Consultative Council, made up of both government and opposition politicians, the President's Committee on Dialogue which represents President Banda, and the Public Affairs Committee, an umbrella body for the opposition parties.

The meeting reportedly also agreed that parliament meet next month in Zomba so that the law providing for life presidency for Banda can be scrapped. — Star Africa Service.

Malawians revel in new openness but Banda clings on

(170) ARCT 29/9/93
 Malawi's octogenarian President for Life looks increasingly as though he may keep that title as the opposition dithers, The Argus Africa News Service reports from Blantyre

MALAWI'S governance has become remarkably transparent since the voters rejected President Kamuzu Banda's single-party government in the referendum in June

For the first time journalists are reporting on issues that in the past were considered untouchable. Even cartoons of the president and his ministers are frequently published — something that once could have landed editors in jail

One of several independent daily newspapers that have mushroomed in the new climate of relative tolerance published a cartoon showing Dr Banda being pushed in a wheelbarrow by his right-hand man, Minister of State John Tembo. The suggestion obviously was that Dr Banda is no longer able to run the country and Mr Tembo is in fact in charge.

Recently a rumour circulated that Dr Banda had died. This subject was once so taboo that no journalist would have dared to touch it but this time a reporter was bold enough to telephone the presidential palace to check the rumour. The palace denied it by way of a rude remark and the story was published — and the newspaper was bought out by Malawians relishing the new freedom of information

There are at present more than 20 independent newspapers, all of which are often critical of the government and of Dr Banda in particular

The judicial system, which had lost credibility because of interventions by Dr Banda and some of his cabinet colleagues, has also had some of its stature restored, notably when Machipisa Munthali, who is often referred to as the Nelson Mandela of Malawi because of the time he spent in jail as a political prisoner — was awarded about R3,7 million for illegal detention.

Aleke Banda, another opposition politician, sued the Malawi Congress Party for defamation and was awarded about R225 000. The children of three cabinet ministers who died mysteriously in 1983 also plan to sue Dr Banda for damages.

In spite of the new sense of freedom after years of dictatorship, the transition to a new political dispensation that many Malawians expected as a result of the referendum has not materialised. While accepting the voters' preference for a multi-party system, Dr Banda is insisting on his government serving

out its term before a new one is democratically elected, and the divided opposition seems unable to force the pace of change

The National Consultative Council (NCC), created as a policy-forming body representing all political parties, met for the first time in Lilongwe recently, but the council did little apart from drawing up an agenda

The opposition parties, working under the umbrella of the Public Affairs Committee (PAC), are widely considered to have made too many compromises to retain the initiative that came their way through the referendum

Recently, Dr Banda's Presidential Committee on Dialogue proposed that the NCC should not be empowered to change any law without the approval of parliament, contrary to initial agreement on the structure and functions of the council

The government's success in neutralising the opposition is attributed to the political skills of the Minister of Health, Dr Hithewick Ntaba, whose star seems to be shining brightly in the MCP. Dr Ntaba is even being tipped as a possible successor to Dr Banda — a post previously considered to be reserved for John Tembo

But even Mr Tembo is speaking reconciliation these days, in sharp contrast to his reputation as the MCP's hatchet man. At public meetings he has urged respect for the rights of opposition parties.

While it is still holding on to power, the MCP has been hit by a string of resignations. First, Justice Minister Friday Makuta quit, accusing the president of interfering in the administration of justice, and joined the opposition United Democratic Front. Then Fidesi Ndasauka, MCP chief for the Mulanje area, also resigned to join the UDF. He was followed by Trade and Industry Minister Dalton Katopola

The UDF made another significant gain when the Chief of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), Dr Bingu wa Mutharika, announced that he had joined the party

In spite of these successes, the opposition groups appear to have been disarmed by the government's new openness. The question now is whether they will be able to hold together long enough to see the ageing Dr Banda out of office, or whether the man who bestowed on himself the title of President for Life will be able to retain it by winning the election

Malawi opposition gets bigger say

South 1/10 25/10/93

MALAWI'S opposition parties have welcomed the recent signing of a new agreement which gives them a bigger say in government in the run-up to the country's first multi-party elections

Speaking from his Blantyre office, United Democratic Front chairperson Mr Bakilu Muluzi said "We have made some inroads and a breakthrough in our quest for democratic tenets in Malawi. People's views are now respected and that is what you call democracy"

The leader of the Alliance for Democracy, Mr Chakufwa Chihana, said "This is what we have been fighting for. We have at last made a worthwhile headway but

there are a lot of repressive laws to be erased from the statutes"

Dr Harry Bwanausi, who heads the United Front for Multi-party Democracy, said the road to the elections was beginning to be smooth (170)

"Malawi has a bright future and better constitutional prospects for participation by all Malawians through their respective political parties," he said

A national executive council will make recommendations to the cabinet in terms of administrative matters during the transition period

Similarly, a national consultative council will oversee the drafting of the new Malawian constitution, the delimitation of constituencies and the drafting of new electoral regu-

lations

The consultative council will also be responsible for the electoral commission governing elections and the removal of all repressive and oppressive laws from the statutes during the transition to elections scheduled for mid-1994

A spokesperson for the ruling Malawi Congress Party, Dr Hetherwick Ntaba, said, however, that the working group of representatives from the various parties had dropped demands that the two councils should have overriding powers over the cabinet.

"But their decisions and recommendations will be given serious hearing and attention by the Malawi government," said Ntaba

According to the agreement,

both councils would have an implicit veto on any legislation the government might wish to pass, if found to be incompatible with national aspirations

The working group also agreed that every registered political party in Malawi would contribute seven members to the public affairs committee, which in turn would propose two members to both the national executive council and the national consultative council.

"The Malawi government and the opposition have at last reached a compromise and a working rapport and the constitutional set up should smoothen things during the transitional period," said a senior government official in Lilongwe —

AIA

Banda 'looking forward to going home'

MALAWI President Hastings Kamuzu Banda was feeling better and looking forward to returning home after brain surgery in Johannesburg, hospital authorities said yesterday. *B/Say*

Garden City Clinic manager Andre Nel said Banda continued to make good progress after surgeons removed excess fluid from his brain on Sunday. *(170)*

"The cause is unknown but it has been confirmed that he does not have a brain

STEPHANE BOTHMA

tumour. There are also no signs of a stroke. The prognosis remains good."

Nel said earlier Banda could be discharged from the clinic within a week or two if his condition continued to improve.

Banda was flown to SA on Saturday, accompanied by an SA doctor and nurses, to "specialised facilities for diagnosis and treatment". *6/10/93*

Banda's illness unsettles Malawi

(170)

WM 8-14/10/93

As ageing President Hastings

Banda is taken ill, Malawians are asking what kind of party keeps a man in jail for 13 years and then makes him its general secretary?

Nick Young in Lilongwe

UNCERTAINTY surrounding the health of Malawi's President Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, flown to Johannesburg for emergency medical treatment last weekend, has jolted the ruling party into making an unprecedented appointment and highlighted complications in what had so far seemed a smooth transition to multiparty government.

Gwanda Chakuamba, a former government minister who was jailed for sedition in 1980 and not released until July this year — whereupon he joined the opposition United Democratic Front — has been made secretary general

of President Banda's Malawi Congress Party

The post had been vacant for 10 years. Its last occupant, Dick Matenje, died in a 1983 road "accident" — described by the pro-democracy movement as an extra-judicial execution — after disagreements with the president.

The title of secretary general was a gift to be given by the president. Apparently fearing rivalry, he had refrained from bestowing it, even upon the otherwise favoured John Tembo, Minister of State in the Cabinet Office, uncle of Dr Banda's official consort and long considered his heir apparent.

Political commentators from all camps received the news of Chakuamba's elevation with astonishment when it was made public on Wednesday. It is not yet known whether Banda (96) approved the appointment from his sickbed, or whether it is the initiative of senior party colleagues in an attempt to resolve a constitutional crisis. Only hours before the announcement was made, a government minister had commented "it is not up to people like us to

choose someone."

Although no official comment has been made on the nature of Banda's illness, statements from Garden City Clinic about his treatment and progress, so far described as "good", are consistent with speculation that he suffered a subdural brain haemorrhage. The condition is not uncommon in elderly people and, if treated, is not in itself life-threatening. Government secrecy, however, fuelled rather than dampened midweek speculation.

According to the constitution, if Banda either died or was unable to perform the functions of office, power should pass to a presidential council led by the secretary general of the Congress Party. Hence the pressure for the party, conducting its annual convention this week in secret and in Banda's absence, to fill the post.

Yet it is not clear that present constitutional arrangements remain valid. Since the June 1993 referendum, in which a decisive majority of Malawians voted in favour of political pluralism, the government has until now honoured

its pledge to involve the opposition in negotiations on the country's future.

A National Consultative Council was set up in August, charged with drawing up an electoral law and timetable. Government representatives on the council are outnumbered by representatives from the now legalised opposition parties.

Negotiations were proceeding smoothly, and a target date set for elections next May, in the expectation that agreements would be rubber-stamped by the existing parliament. But it is now an open question as to whether the council would have a role in the selection of a caretaker president, if this proved necessary.

Bakili Muluzi, leader of the United Democratic Front, has called for "all opposition parties to be involved in finding an interim solution" if Banda does not make a full and rapid recovery.

The rival Alliance for Democracy would favour the appointment of a non-political caretaker president, preferably a high court judge, pending elections. Spokesman Mordecai Msisha said the Alliance "would not consider any form of power sharing without a clear mandate from the Malawian people".

A further dispute has arisen between the council and the government over the Malawi Young Pioneers. The council had called for the disarming of the paramilitary wing of the Pioneers, in effect a 2 000-strong private army of the Congress Party, immune from prosecution.

The government, although apparently committed to eventually disarming the Pioneers, argues that it is not in the council's brief to make this kind of decision.

All this leaves Malawians wondering where authority now lies in the country.

Rumours about Banda's illness, many of them remarkably accurate, were rife among the opposition parties long before the Malawian Broadcasting Corporation announced that Banda had left the country for a "routine check-up".

Later informed by the state radio that Banda had undergone neural surgery, Malawians responded with a mixture of concern and caution. Despite his long dictatorship, there is little

acrimony towards Banda. The excesses of his regime are commonly attributed to his coterie of ministers, who are perceived as manipulating and lying to the president.

In a special edition of *The Nation*, one of more than a dozen opposition and independent newspapers now circulating freely, it was remarked that "Dr Banda deserves the support and sympathy of every Malawian of goodwill". But the predominant feeling on the streets was one of worry at the implications. Banda's ill-health could have for the process of democracy.

This is now compounded by puzzlement at Chakuamba's appointment. Three questions are on everybody's lips. What kind of party keeps a man in jail for 13 years and then makes him its general secretary? Did Chakuamba get the job because no one else in the party wanted to lead the party into an election it will almost certainly lose? Will he be the Congress Party's presidential candidate?

Malawi press blossoms, but will the flowers fade?

(170) wmm 15-21/10/93

Farouk Chothia recently held a training session for journalists in Malawi. He witnessed a 'Blantyre spring', in which a new crop of independent newspapers — and some owned by opposition parties — have set out to rewrite Malawi's history

DAY after day Aloystus Kadalie (not his real name) wrote the same stories. President of Malawi Dr Kamuzu Banda visits cornfields in the central region, Banda's "Official Hostess", Cecilia Kadzimira, opens a new hospital, Minister of State John Tembo addresses a rally

A journalist for 30 years in Malawi's state-controlled media, Kadalie got his only break in the 1980s. Mozambican refugees fled into Malawi to escape the civil war in their country.

It was a watershed moment — for the first time he felt he was a journalist.

"That was the one time when I got the freedom to write what I wanted to, to go and find out for myself what was happening."

Now 53, Kadalie, a gentle, wry-humoured, thoughtful man with an impeccable grasp of English, has been given a second chance. He has joined one of the 20 or more independent papers which have sprung up in Malawi in the past year.

Banda's 30-year regime stunted journalism in Malawi to a much greater extent than South Africa's finger-wagging PW Botha. With the only newspapers, *The Daily Times* and *Malawi News*, owned by the government, journalists were forced to follow the writ of politicians. A law decreed life imprisonment for journalists guilty of "sedition" — it still provides for a five-year prison term.

Kadalie said there was a period when Banda's picture had to appear on the front page each day, when government ministers told journalists what aspects of their speeches to report and demanded that stories be vetted before publication. It was mandatory to use the leader's full title "His Excellency the Life President Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda" and to refer to his right-hand man as "Minister of State the Honourable John Tembo".

Journalists lived in terror of the politicians. "A colleague once covered a speech delivered by the Official Hostess," Kadalie said. "It was claimed that he misquoted her. He ended up in jail."

The media was a microcosm of Malawian society: an eight million-strong nation which was not even allowed to speculate on how old their leader was. Thought to be in his 90s, Banda's age is an official secret. In their homes, Malawians were not allowed to hang pictures higher than Banda's portrait.

In his 30-year reign, Banda — and in recent years, Kadzimira and Tembo — has tolerated no opposition: close colleagues who questioned his authoritarian rule were jailed.

At least 13 000 people disappeared, many of them, it is

MWANZAMU



Witness identifies death site, villagers corroborate

Two years after his visit, Mr X last week travelled to the spot on the Thamboni road where he saw the bodies of the four politicians. The road to Thamboni is a typical dirt road passing through ordinary villages where the people grow maize, pigeon peas or beans.

The exposé on the death of four politicians appeared under the headline, 'Mwandza murders', in *The Nation*.

rumoured, into the crocodile-infested Shire River.

The editor of *The Monitor*, Daring Chirwa, recalled "You couldn't be critical of Banda, or you'd be picked up." Although he had a keen interest in politics, Chirwa steered clear of the subject as a journalist, instead reporting on sport for the government-owned press.

His career stagnated because of the imprisonment of his sister and brother-in-law for political offences.

Banda's grip on power loosened last year after tens of thousands of Malawians cast their fears aside to take part in mass demonstrations against the one-party system. Buckling under the pressure, the president-for-life called a referendum in June this year, in which 63 percent of Malawians voted in favour of multi-partyism.

Journalists are now crying out for the journalistic skills they have never needed. In the classroom they described the tough conditions under which they work: most of the newspapers have only one telephone, one car and one room which serves as an office. A pen costs about R3,50, a notebook R20, and wages are low.

They also spoke passionately of their dilemma: how to produce good newspapers while fighting for change. Under commercial pressure, many publications are expected to disappear after next year's multiparty elections, but the journalists want, at least, to see Banda, Kadzimira and Tembo off the political stage.

Their method is to rewrite Malawi's official history by unearthing the Banda government's unpublished atrocities. *The Monitor* carries a weekly column entitled "Know Your History" which focuses on Banda's misdeeds.

At the same time, they are terrified by what they are doing. In their columns and cartoons they deride the government, and some of their reportage is highly defamatory.

But in conversation they still cannot refer to Banda and Kad-

zimira by their surnames, calling him respectively "the president" and "the mama".

The Nation, owned by opposition politician Aleke Banda, epitomises the new brand of journalism. In a powerful exposé illustrated with crude but effective graphics, it recently shed light on the death of four senior politicians — Dick Matenje, Aaron Gadama, Twaibu Sangala and David Chiwanga — in 1983.

The Nation ferreted out an eyewitness, a retired police officer, who broke his 10-year-silence to reveal that the four had been shot in cold blood. In its report days after the event, the government-owned *Daily Times* merely quoted an official statement saying the four had died in a car accident.

This edition of *The Nation* sold out within hours. Demand was such that it was reprinted and back on the streets five days later. The government has not rebutted the accusations, still less taken court action. Its only response has been to close the national archives — an important resource for *The Monitor's* history column — for "administrative reasons".

A vital restraining influence has been the freeze on aid by the international community until elections are held. But this period of unbridled press freedom may be a brief summer.

The exposés, because they are new in Malawi and allow the expression of long pent-up anger, have hugely boosted newspaper sales. Just as February 2 1990 posed a crisis for South Africa's "alternative" press, a new order in Malawi may cut the ground from beneath the fledgling independents.

Ownership poses the other problem. Most of the papers were launched by members of opposition parties, notably the Alliance for Democracy and the United Democratic Front.

If they come to power, will they respect the autonomy of newspapers they control?

Nation Exposed

We have called Mr X, who is a police officer, in order to protect his identity. He has however signed affidavits, and *The Nation* carefully examined his story and compared it with other versions believed in fact. Mr X's story in fact deserves to be taken seriously. *The Nation* felt that in making the revelation this time Mr X is motivated by a desire to clear his conscience. He says he was shocked by what he saw in 1983. These years he has felt very about not having been able to tell the public what he saw. *The Nation* is satisfied about Mr X's integrity, and we have no reason to suspect that he is motivated by a desire to harm anyone.

A government spokesman in *The Daily Times* of Wednesday 25 May 1983, said the men had died in an accident without specifying where the accident occurred.

Concern about Malawian govt

MALAWIAN opposition parties have asked for a meeting with the government to discuss who should run the country while President Kamuzu Banda recovers from surgery in Johannesburg.

"We have asked the government for a meeting within this week," Bakili Muluzi, chairman of the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF), said by telephone from Blantyre yesterday.

"We are very concerned about Banda's sickness at this hour of transition (to democracy)"

The ruling Malawi Congress Party's (MCP) constitution says if the president dies or is unable to govern, the secretary-general and two senior cabinet ministers should form a commission to run the country until general elections in 45 days. *Biday*

"This should not happen," Muluzi said "We (the opposition) want to be involved in that sort of decision-making." *7/10/93*

The MCP on Tuesday named Gwanda Chakuamba, one of a number of government figures who were jailed or vanished after falling foul of the president, as the new secretary-general. *(170)*

A spokesman for the Garden City Clinic where Banda underwent brain surgery on Sunday said yesterday Banda was making good progress. — Sapa-Reuter.

Malawi opens up to investment

BLANTYRE — Malawi has finally opened its doors to foreign investment.

With assistance worth \$1m from the World Bank, the government has established the Malawi Investment Promotion Agency to attract local and foreign investors.

Agency head MacDonald Banda said the few investors Malawi had attracted thus far had concentrated on tobacco, ignoring mining, manufacturing and the service sectors.

Banda pointed to Malawi's good roads and telecommunications and said his agency had streamlined administrative hurdles that had frustrated potential investors in the past.

Foreign firms can now become incorporated in Malawi in 15 days, rather than two years as before. In addition, companies can import capital equipment duty free and are exempt from value-added taxes.

But opposition politician and former Malawi Chamber of Commerce and Business chairman Harry Thomson warned that foreign investors were looking for tariffs that made imported goods cheaper and easier to sell than domestically produced products.

He urged the government to take steps to help local industries withstand "ruthless and unfair competition (from) foreign imports, which in many cases are of inferior quality."

But he agreed that the launch of the investment agency was "a challenge to the private sector" in Malawi — Sapa-AFP.

Star 12/10/93

Banda makes progress despite convulsion

■ BY SHIRLEY WOODGATE

Malawian President Kamuzu Banda has suffered a mild convulsion in a Johannesburg hospital where he underwent neuro-surgery last week, said Garden City Clinic manager Dr André Nel

Doctors had earlier confirmed that excess fluid was removed from Banda's brain during the operation, but that he did not have a brain tumour

Nel added that despite the setback, which had not recurred, the ageing African ruler was making "acceptable" pro-

gress, although he was suffering from depression (170)

"This may be a consequence of the operation and his stay in the intensive care unit"

He is due to be transferred to a normal ward today

If he continues to make good

progress, he may be discharged from hospital within a week to 10 days, Nel said

Banda, believed to be in his 90s, was flown to Johannesburg from Malawi last Saturday, accompanied by a South African doctor and nurses, and underwent surgery the next day.

Malawi to
close courts

BLANTYRE — Malawi's traditional courts, used extensively to try political opponents of President Hastings Banda, have been suspended, a local newspaper reported yesterday.

The Malawi Democrat quoted Justice Minister Lovemore Munlo as saying the suspension would remain until parliament repealed the law under which they were established.

Widely criticised by international human rights organisations as "kangaroo courts", the traditional courts denied defendants legal representation and were presided over by government-appointed chiefs with no legal qualifications.

The courts had the power to impose the death penalty — Sapa-AFP (170)



Malawi's interim leader was once sent to jail by Banda

Star 15/10/93

STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Blantyre — In an ironic twist of fate, President Kamuzu Banda's role as head of state in Malawi has been taken over, at least for the time being, by a man he had once jailed for 22 years for sedition.

Gwanda Chakuamba could even end up as president of Malawi if Banda — in a Johannesburg hospital after undergoing brain surgery — does not recover within the next two weeks.

In terms of the constitution, Chakuamba, as secretary-general of the ruling Malawi Congress Party, has become chairman of the Presidential Council which has been set up to take over the

president's functions because of Banda's illness. He resigned only a few days ago from the opposition United Democratic Front to rejoin Banda's MCP as secretary-general.

Succeed

The other members of the three-man Presidential Council are Minister of State John Tembo, who had long been regarded as Banda's right-hand man and likely successor, and Robson Chirwa, the MCP's northern region chairman.

The Presidential Council can function for only two weeks before a new head of state is chosen.

Unless Banda recovers sufficiently to resume his

duties, Chakuamba, as chairman of the Presidential Council, is ostensibly the one most likely to be appointed to succeed him as president.

Many Malawians are wondering, however, whether the real power does not remain with Tembo and his niece Cecilia Kadzamira, Banda's Official Hostess, who accompanied the ailing president to Johannesburg and has remained close to him ever since.

Chakuamba once headed the Malawi Young Pioneers, the youth movement which forcefully maintained respect for the MCP during the unchallenged years of Banda's rule.

He later lost favour with Banda.

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Malawi sets date for first poll as Banda loses grip

ARG 16/10/93
BLANTYRE — Malawi's first multiparty presidential and general elections will be held on May 17.

The Daily Times reported this yesterday as a new presidential council was due to be sworn in.

Kaliyoma Phumisa, the chairman of the National Consultative Council (NCC) a grouping of all six of the country's political parties, told the semi-official daily that the council had agreed on the date at a meeting this week.

Mr. Phumisa said results of the presidential and parliamentary elections would be announced on May 19 and the president sworn in on May 21.

Meanwhile, a newly-appointed presidential council was due to be inaugurated amid a constitutional crisis caused by the absence of the elderly President Kamuzu Banda, who underwent brain surgery in South Africa on October 3.

The constitution, which will be largely rewritten to allow for multiparty politics when parliament meets this month, deliberately avoided the taboo issue of succession to Mr. Banda, believed to be in his nineties.

This week the NCC forced lieutenants to the "life president" to form a council as stipulated in the constitution to perform his duties — Sapa-AFP

Star 16/10/93

Banda's stand-in (170)

BLANTYRE. — A man who spent 13 years in jail for anti-government activities was sworn in yesterday as head of a council to run Malawi while President Kamuzu Banda recovers from brain surgery in South Africa.

Gwanda Chakuamba (58) pledged to serve Malawians while Banda is recuperating. Chakuamba was jailed for anti-government activities and plotting to assassinate Banda. Sapa-
Reuter.

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Banda holds talks

Malawian President, Dr Kamuzu Banda held a one-hour discussion yesterday with the newly formed Malawi Presidential Council, Garden City Clinic manager Dr A Nel said in a statement.

The meeting discussed proceedings at the Malawi Congress Party's annual congress and the upcoming elections.

Banda was recovering well, the statement said, adding that the ailing president was receiving

physiotherapy and walking short distances.

Banda's Malawi Congress Party has rejected opposition demands that an interim president be appointed until elections scheduled for May

Party spokesman Hetherwick Ntaba told the semi-official Malawi News at the weekend that a three-man Presidential Council appointed last week would run the country until Banda recovers or the elections are held — Sapa.

170

Star 26/10/93

Malawi groups want interim president

Blantyre — Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda is recovering well after a brain operation in SA, his doctor said yesterday.

"I saw him this morning. We had a long chat. He is in high spirits after spending a comfortable night and he is pleased to

be home," said Dr Hetherwick Ntaba, who is also foreign minister.

Banda, believed to be in his 90s, returned to Malawi on Sunday.

A three-man presidential council has been running the country during his illness

Opposition groups in the country have demanded that the council convene parliament by tomorrow to elect an interim president.

They have threatened a civil disobedience campaign unless the demand is met — Sapa-Reuter

170

Backstage manoeuvring to fill the leadership gap caused by President Banda's illness may have had a Frankenstein effect, with his stand-in seizing the trappings of power, *Star Africa Service reports*

Malawi's 'boss' but for how long?

Star 5/11/93

Gwanda Chakuamba, the man appointed as stand-in for President Kamuzu Banda during his illness, appears to have taken firm control of the Malawi government.

Chakuamba has told people in his home district of Bangula that he is now running the country whether the opposition parties like it or not.

After the defeat of Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) in the referendum last June on multiparty democracy, the government agreed in effect to share power with the opposition until an election next May. This was to have been done through a National Consultative Council on which both government and opposition are represented.

The situation changed somewhat, however, when Banda was flown to Johannesburg for brain surgery last month.

A three-man Presidential Council was set up to carry out his functions, as required by the MCP constitution which, in a carry-over from the one-party state, is also Malawi's constitution.

Chakuamba became chairman of the council by virtue of his position as MCP secretary-general, to which he had only recently been appointed by Banda.

It was an appointment that surprised most Malawians since Chakuamba had not long been out of the jail to which he had been sent for a 22-year sentence ordered by Banda after falling out with him. What made it more surprising was that while in jail Chakuamba had abandoned the MCP to join the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF).

His quick return to the MCP was seen by many Malawians as a move of political expediency unlikely to raise his public popularity, which had, in any case, suffered from his leadership, before going to jail, of the Malawi Young Pioneers, the youth organisation that ruthlessly enforced MCP dictates.

He has taken to behaving more like a fully-fledged president than a *locum*, travelling in a motorcade with police sirens blar-

ing and being accompanied everywhere by security agents.

One Malawian journalist dubbed him the "prisoner-turned-president".

Dismissing criticism of his flip-flop allegiance, Chakuamba said: "It is my right to choose any party that I like I am running the country."

Recently, Chakuamba boasted: "No other person but the president can receive credentials from an ambassador of another country yet I was recently doing just that in Zomba (site of State House)."

In a Cabinet reshuffle this week Chakuamba was made Minister of Home Affairs. Since this portfolio controls the security police it is one of considerable power, and Chakuamba's ability to acquire it suggests he has become more than Banda's understudy.

Speculation

His apparent rise to power has surprised many Malawians, who had believed that the real power behind Banda's throne was held by Minister of State John Tembo and his niece, Cecilia Kadzamira, Banda's Official Hostess.

When Chakuamba was made MCP secretary-general there was speculation that he was fronting for Tembo.

But since becoming chairman of the Presidential Council Chakuamba has acted more like his own man than as a Tembo surrogate, leading some Malawians to speculate that Tembo, even though he is a member of the council, may have lost control of his Frankenstein creation.

Ironically, Chakuamba may not be any more popular than Tembo and no more likely to lead the MCP back to power.

When he came out of jail as a UDF champion people in the Lower Shire Valley chanted at a UDF rally: "Wherever Gwanda Chakuamba goes we will follow." But recently the local chief Nyachikadza put a new twist on it by saying: "We are not wagons

that have to follow Gwanda wherever he decides to go."

Chakuamba's own Chief Mlolo has said he feels betrayed and agrees with the view expressed by some Malawians that Chakuamba is a "sell-out".

Chakuamba's seemingly unchallenged assumption of the leadership of the MCP suggests that he will be at the party's helm during the election if the aged Banda does not recover sufficiently to take over again.

His chances of leading the MCP to victory in the election will be lessened, however, if the opposition parties carry through their current moves to cease their bickering and unite to oust the government.

After uniting successfully against the MCP in the democracy referendum, the UDF and the Alliance for Democracy (Aford) opted to fight the election separately. This dismayed Malawians who saw in it a "Kenya syndrome", with the party that had imposed one-party rule being returned to power in a democratic election because of division among the opposition.

Responding to the growing public demand for opposition unity, the UDF sent signals that it was willing to talk about it. Aford leader Chakufwa Chihana initially spurned these overtures, saying the UDF had too many corruption-tainted deserters from Banda's dictatorship in its ranks for his liking.

Recently, Aford has indicated that it is willing to talk about some form of united front in the election.

Chihana may change his mind about unity if it becomes clear that Banda's illness will remove him permanently from the MCP's leadership, for without Banda's craftiness and mystique the MCP would represent far less of a threat.

But Chihana will probably be much more amenable to unity if he thinks that Tembo still holds the MCP's reins and that Chakuamba, while he may be wearing Banda's hat, is wearing Tembo's bridle.

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NEWS FEATURE *As Banda lies disabled, stand-in leader boasts he is new pied-piper*

Modern-day Sowetan 8/11/93 Frankenstein (170)

**Sowetan Africa News
Service**

BLANTYRE — Mr Gwanda Chakuamba, the man appointed as stand-in for President Kamuzu Banda during his illness, appears to have taken firm control of the Malawi government. Chakuamba has told people in his home district of Bangula that he is now running the country, whether the opposition parties like it or not.

After the defeat of Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) in the referendum last June on multiparty democracy the government agreed in effect to share power with the opposition until an election is held in May. This was to have been done through a National Consultative Council on which the government and opposition are represented.

The situation changed somewhat, however, when Banda was flown to Johannesburg for brain surgery last month. A three-man Presidential Council was set up to carry out his functions, as required by the MCP constitution which, in a carry-over from the one-party state, is also Malawi's constitution.

Banda appointee

Chakuamba became chairman of the council by virtue of his position as MCP secretary-general, to which he had only recently been appointed by Banda.

It was an appointment that surprised most Malawians, since Chakuamba had not long been out of the jail to which he had been sent for a 22-year sentence ordered by Banda after falling out with him. What made it more surprising was that while in jail Chakuamba had abandoned the MCP to join the opposition United Democratic Front.

His quick return to the MCP was seen by many Malawians as a move of political expediency unlikely to raise his pub-

caused by Banda's illness may backfire:

**It is my right to
choose any party
that I like**

lic popularity, which had in any case suffered from his leadership, before going to jail, of the Malawi Young Pioneers, the youth organisation that ruthlessly enforced MCP dictates.

But none of this seems to have bothered Chakuamba since his sudden elevation to power. He has taken to behaving more like a fully-fledged president than a *locum*, travelling in a motorcade with police sirens blaring and being accompanied everywhere by security agents. One Malawian journalist dubbed him the "prisoner-turned-president".

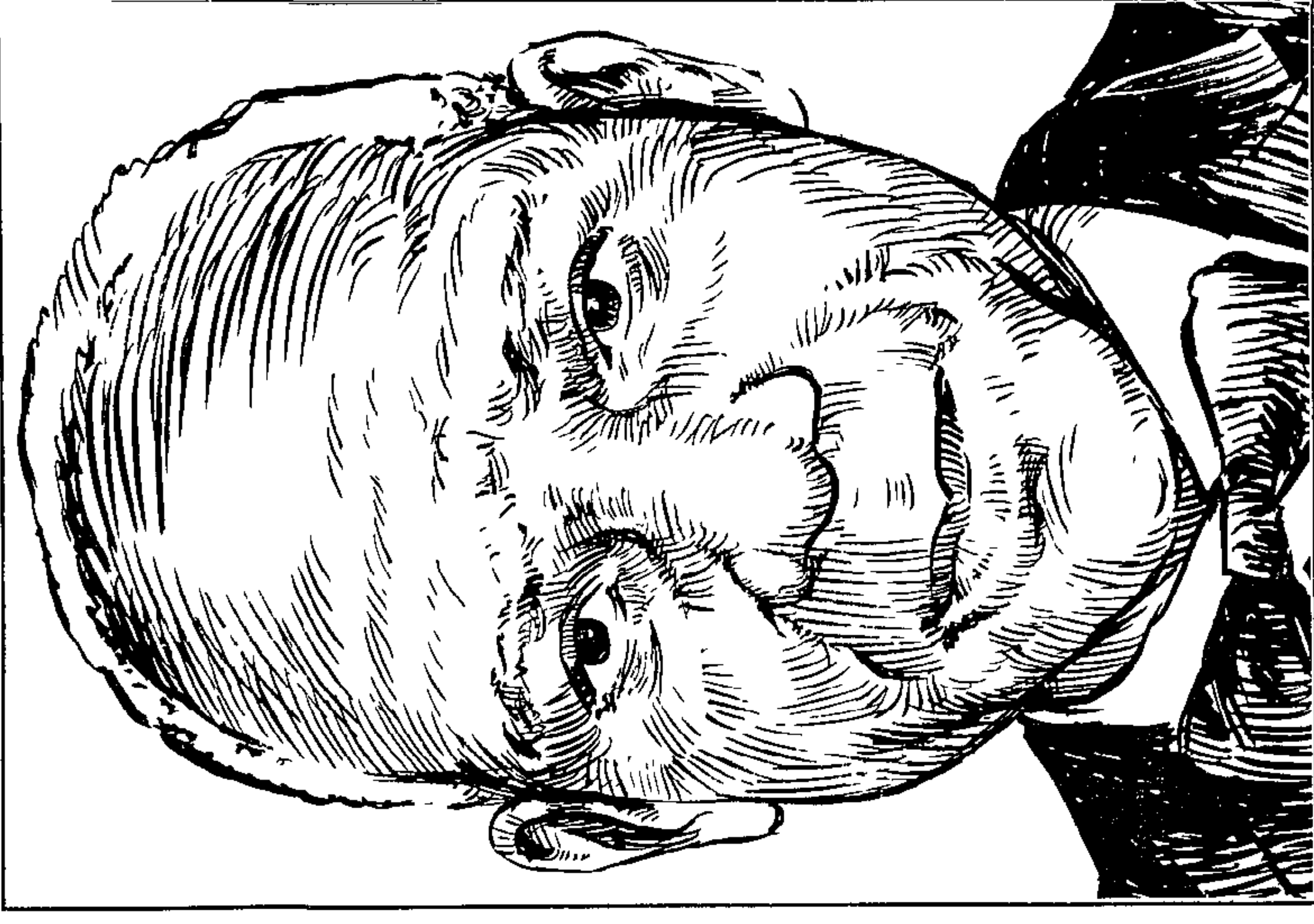
Dismissing criticism of his flip-flop allegiance, Chakuamba said "It is my right to choose any party that I like. I am running the country".

He denied suggestions by opposition politicians that he had been bribed by the MCP to defect from the UDF.

Recently Chakuamba boasted "No other person but the president can receive credentials from an ambassador of another country yet I was recently doing just that in Zomba (site of State House)".

In a cabinet reshuffle this week Chakuamba was made Minister of Home Affairs. Since this portfolio controls the security police it is one of considerable power and Chakuamba's ability to acquire it suggests he has become more than Banda's understudy.

His apparent rise to power has surprised many Malawians who had believed that the real power behind Banda's throne was held by Minister of



Malawi president Kamuzu Banda ... appointed someone to act in his place during his illness.

through their current moves to cease their bickering and unite to oust the government.

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idiosyncratic rule on way out • Settlers block roads

Unpopular laws to go in Malawi

Sowetan 9/11/93

Sowetan Africa News
Service

■ HARSH RULE Women will

wear pants and men long hair:

BLANTYRE — The law under which President Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party government was able to jail people without trial will be scrapped when parliament meets on November 16 (170)

Also to be repealed is the law forbidding long trousers on women and long hair on men which the country's idiosyncratic president imposed rigorously during his years of autocratic power

The scrapping of these and other unpopular laws has been agreed to by the National Consultative Council, the multiparty body formed ostensibly to run the country after the voters

overwhelmingly rejected the MCP's one-party rule in a June referendum

While the five opposition parties are supposed to be running the country jointly with the MCP government through the NCC, the real power appears to remain with the government, and particularly with the three-man Presidential Council set up to carry out the functions of the president after Dr Banda was flown to South Africa for brain surgery last month

The council, headed by MCP secretary-general Mr Gwanda Chakuamba, has rejected the opposition parties' demand for the appoint-

ment of an interim president rather than a Presidential Council

"It is unconstitutional to elect an interim president. The President's Council is there to rule now," MCP publicity secretary Mr Hetherwick Ntaba said

Ntaba also rejected opposition allegations that Banda had been removed as president, although he conceded that most of the many cabinet portfolios formerly held by Banda have been taken over by others. Only the defence portfolio was still held by Banda, he said, but indicated that this too might be taken over

Malawi's press relishes new freedoms

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WSM 12-18 11/93

Nick Young in Lilongwe

DAVID NTHENGWE was a top English student at Mzimba secondary school in northern Malawi. He wanted to make his living by writing, but opportunities were minimal in a country where the government monopolised the small, rigidly censored print media. So for years David worked as a customs officer instead.

Now he is realising his ambition as a staff writer on *The Independent*, one of no fewer than 21 newspapers circulating freely as Malawi finally emerges from one-party rule.

The regime of Life President Hastings Banda, in power since 1964, brought a measure of stability to Malawi, but the cost was ruthless suppression of dissent. Last year

Banda finally called a referendum on the country's constitutional future, and Malawians voted for multi-party government.

The proliferation of uncensored newspapers is the most visible sign of change so far. New titles began to appear when the referendum was announced, and now they speak with growing confidence and authority. Most are four to eight-page tabloids, operating on a shoestring. Few show a profit. Their viability is dependent on desk-top publishing and the enthusiasm of their untrained staff.

Some of the reporting is speculative or inaccurate, and much editorialising is pompous and given to unnecessary displays of learning. Yet, given the lack of a tradition of press freedom, it is remarkable how

responsible and restrained most papers are.

Sales are buoyant. The public relishes access to uncensored information and comment. Questions of house style themselves have symbolic weight. The government *Daily Times*, for instance, still accords Banda his full honorific title at each mention: "His Excellency, the Life President, Ngwasi (Lion) Dr Hastings Banda." But Malawians now delight in seeing him referred to only as "Dr Banda" or "the president".

What is new, too, is the issue of libel. *The Independent* is currently being sued for defamation by Aleke Banda (no relation), proprietor of a rival paper, *The Nation*, over an article linking him to atrocities committed by the Malawi Young Pioneers, a government quasi-military youth group.

Then there is editorial independence. *The Nation* and *The Malawi Democrat* are linked to the two main opposition groups, the United Democratic Front and the Alliance for Democracy respectively. Both editors claim editorial freedom to criticise the parties that spawned them, but when profitability is at best slender there is the danger of a paper playing the tune it is paid to play.

Mike Kamwendo, publisher of the conservative *The New Nation*, believes his rivals identify themselves too readily as "opposition" outlets. This, he argues, will make it harder for them to maintain a readership when the political process moves on, particularly if the economic expectations raised by a democratic government are disappointed.

The Malawian press bubble may

be about to burst. Editors agree that, out of the nine million population, not more than 60,000 Malawians are affluent and literate enough to buy a newspaper regularly. The small market and low potential for advertising mean that competition between papers is fierce. The temptation is to lead with sensational, and sometimes misleading, stories.

Yet the role of the newspapers will remain important for some time. With Banda convalescing from brain surgery and executive power in the hands of a triumvirate from Banda's Malawi Congress Party, there are fears that some may try to delay the May 1994 election target date.

A vociferous press, even if it is addressing only a minority, will be valuable in keeping the democratisation process on track. And a free press could press a new government to behave in a more transparent and accountable way. Much depends on the efforts of people like David Nthengwe — *German News Service*

Malawi to repeal 'undemocratic' laws before first multiparty poll

170 APR 17 11 93

ZOMBA (Malawi) — Deputies met here to repeal sections of the constitution incompatible with multiparty politics ahead of Malawi's first multiparty general election next year.

Laws due to be repealed or amended during the week-long session cover sectors like the Public Security Act, the Forfeiture Act and the Decency in Dress Act.

Justice Minister Lovemore Munlo, discussing the Public Security Bill, said that for se-

curity purposes the bill would not be scrapped entirely. However, the most unpopular section, on detention without trial, would be repealed.

The act was passed after a cabinet crisis in 1964 to enable President Kamuzu Banda to deal with the opposition.

The Forfeiture Act, which empowered Mr Banda to take property from businessmen who fell from favour with his ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP), was due to be repealed.

Some observers saw the repeal of this act as a move by the ruling MCP to protect some of its senior members from losing property they acquired through dubious means.

The Decency in Dress Act, much resented by young Malawians, was also to be repealed.

It bars women from wearing miniskirts, slacks or shorts, while men were not allowed to wear provocative garments like bell-bottom trousers — Sapa-AFP

Anger mounts in Malawi Over liftings of aid freeze

Sowetan

11/21/93

(170)

Sowetan Africa
News Service

DONOR COUNTRIES R119-m

support package by EC announced:

BLANTYRE — As opposition anger mounts over the decision by donor countries to lift the 18-month aid freeze on Malawi, the European Community has announced a R119,9 million balance of payments support package

At the same time, the Minister of Home Affairs and Presidential Council chairman, Gwanda Chikwamba, has also announced the start of work on a new hydro-electric scheme which will cost R79,9 million next January.

Peter Christensen, head of the EC Commission in Malawi, said that the resumption of aid to Malawi was an indication that enough had changed in the country for the donors to reconsider their position

The aid freeze was ended in September by Britain and Japan, and by the EC last week. But opposition parties have slammed the move, arguing that until free and fair elections are held there was

no guarantee that the government would stick to its commitment to democratise the country. They also argue that human rights abuses still exist and that political prisoners are still being held in Malawi jails

The government-supporting *Malawi News* described the EC move as a rebuff for the opposition parties and Christensen told the opposition groups that they should "not underestimate the

more than 30 years of experience of committing, dispersing and accounting for European taxpayers money. We are not walking into this blindfolded," he said

He commended Malawi for the changes made so far and described the country as "one of the most liberal and human rights friendly countries in Africa." He warned, however, that the process leading up to the elections next May will determine the pace of aid resumption

At a campaign rally in Chikwamba, Chikwamba said that when the hydro-electric project was complete in 1982 most rural areas in the country would have access to electricity.

Malawians to be disarmed

Blantyre — The process of disarming the Malawi Young Pioneers, the youth wing of the ruling Malawi Congress Party, is going ahead as planned, the National Consultative Council was told this week. *Star*

Some of the 1500 members of the movement, notorious for attacking opponents of government policy, might be considered for service in the police. *3/12/93*

■ Members of the Young Pioneers killed two soldiers and injured two others in Mzuzu yesterday. — Star Africa Service, Sapa-AFP *170*

16 die in Malawi

Star 4/12/93

Banda loyalists and troops fight it out

(170)

BLANTYRE — Gunfire erupted in the Malawian capital Lilongwe yesterday as troops moved to disarm the Young Pioneers, the enforcement arm of President Kamuzu Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP). At least 16 Pioneers were reported killed.

The fighting broke out after troops attempted to carry out an order to disarm the Young Pioneers. The order was given by the Presidential Council, the three-man body set up to run Malawi after Banda was flown to South Africa for a brain operation in October.

The order came after two soldiers had been shot dead and two wounded by Young Pioneers in the northern town of Mzuzu on Wednesday. Trouble had broken out earlier when soldiers and Young Pioneers traded blows during a brawl in a Lilongwe club on Sunday.

There has long been ill-feeling between the army, which had remained largely aloof from politics while Banda maintained his one-party rule, and the Young Pioneers. The Pioneers were widely feared because of their harsh methods of extracting obedience to the dictates of the MCP.

Wooded away

The days of the Young Pioneers appeared to be numbered when the MCP was overwhelmingly beaten in a June referendum on multiparty democracy that Banda was forced to hold in response to pressure from Western countries unhappy with his regime's human rights abuses.

Diplomats said yesterday the fact that the army had moved against the Young Pioneers, and apparently remained loyal to the Presidential Council, augured well for the transition to multiparty democracy in Malawi. The first multiparty election in many years is due to be held in May.

Some analysts, however, saw yesterday's event as significant because

AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

the disarming of the Pioneers had been ordered by the Presidential Council, which is headed by Gwanda Chakuamba.

Chakuamba became chairman of the council by virtue of his position as MCP secretary-general, an appointment made by Banda after wooing Chakuamba away from the opposition United Democratic Front.

Chakuamba had joined the UDF when he was released from jail after serving most of a 22-year jail term ordered by Banda after Chakuamba had fallen out with him.

Before being jailed, Chakuamba had been leader of the Young Pioneers.

Neutralise

His appointment as chairman of the Presidential Council was seen by some analysts as a sign that he had wrested power from Minister of State John Tembo, who had long been regarded as the power behind Banda.

The order to disarm the Pioneers could mean that Chakuamba and Tembo had agreed on the need to neutralise them, to avoid their becoming an embarrassment in the election campaign. Or it could mean that Chakuamba was imposing his will on Tembo.

Banda has not resumed power since returning to Malawi after his operation and is widely regarded as a spent force, impotently watching the power struggle between Tembo and Chakuamba.

The opposition parties, who won overwhelming support in the referendum in June, have since lost much of their potential power by refusing to unite against the MCP.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday that the South African embassy in Lilongwe had reported by telephone that all was quiet again in the capital and the authorities appeared to have the situation under control. There was no threat to the safety of any foreign nationals.

gunbattie

SWISSC

16 die as Banda ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ troopers ^{CT 4/12/93} attacked

BLANTYRE — At least 16 people were killed in fighting between Malawian troops backed by helicopters and Young Pioneers in the capital, Lilongwe, after authorities ordered the army to disarm the paramilitary youths yesterday.

Witnesses said troops stormed buildings occupied by the Young Pioneers, a much-feared force traditionally used by ailing President Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) to spy on Malawians and enforce obedience to one-party rule.

Gutted

Fighting lasted just over two hours. Witnesses counted at least 16 bodies outside several buildings stormed by the soldiers.

The Kamuzu Institute of Youth and Sport in the city centre was gutted by flames after troops raked it with bullets, witnesses said.

A Western diplomat said the Young Pioneers' headquarters had been "re-occupied" by the army — Sapa-Reuter

16 of Banda's Pioneers die in battle with troops

NR 4/12/93 G70

Malawi rulers want them disarmed

Argus Africa News Service

BLANTYRE — Gunfire erupted in the Malawian capital of Lilongwe yesterday as troops moved to disarm the Young Pioneers, the paramilitary arm of President Kamuzu Banda's ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP), and at least 16 Pioneers were reported killed.

The order was given by the Presidential Council, the three-man body set up to run Malawi after President Banda was flown to South Africa for brain surgery in October.

The order came after two soldiers had been shot dead and two wounded by Young Pioneers in the northern town of Mzuzu on Wednesday.

Trouble had broken out earlier when soldiers and Pioneers engaged in fist fights in a club in Lilongwe on Sunday.

There has long been ill-feeling between the army, which had remained largely aloof from politics while Dr Banda maintained his one-party rule, and the Young Pioneers.

The Pioneers were widely feared because of their harsh methods of extracting obedience to the dictates of the MCP.

Their days appeared to be numbered when the MCP was overwhelmingly defeated last June in a referendum on multi-party democracy that Dr Banda was forced to hold in response to pressure from Western countries unhappy



DR BANDA - widely regarded as a spent force, impotently watching the power struggle

with his regime's human rights abuses.

Diplomats said yesterday the fact that the army had moved against the Young Pioneers and apparently remained loyal to the Presidential Council augured well for the transition to multiparty democracy.

The first multiparty election in many years is due to be held in May.

Some analysts, however, saw other possible significance in the fact that the disarming of the Pioneers was ordered by the Presidential Council, which is headed by Gwanda Chakuamba.

Mr Chakuamba became chairman of the council by virtue of his position as MCP secretary-general, an appointment made by Dr Banda after wooing Mr Chakuamba away from the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF).

Mr Chakuamba had joined the UDF upon being released from jail after serving most of a 22-year term ordered by Dr Banda after Mr Chakuamba had fallen out with him.

Before being jailed Mr Chakuamba was the leader of the Young Pioneers.

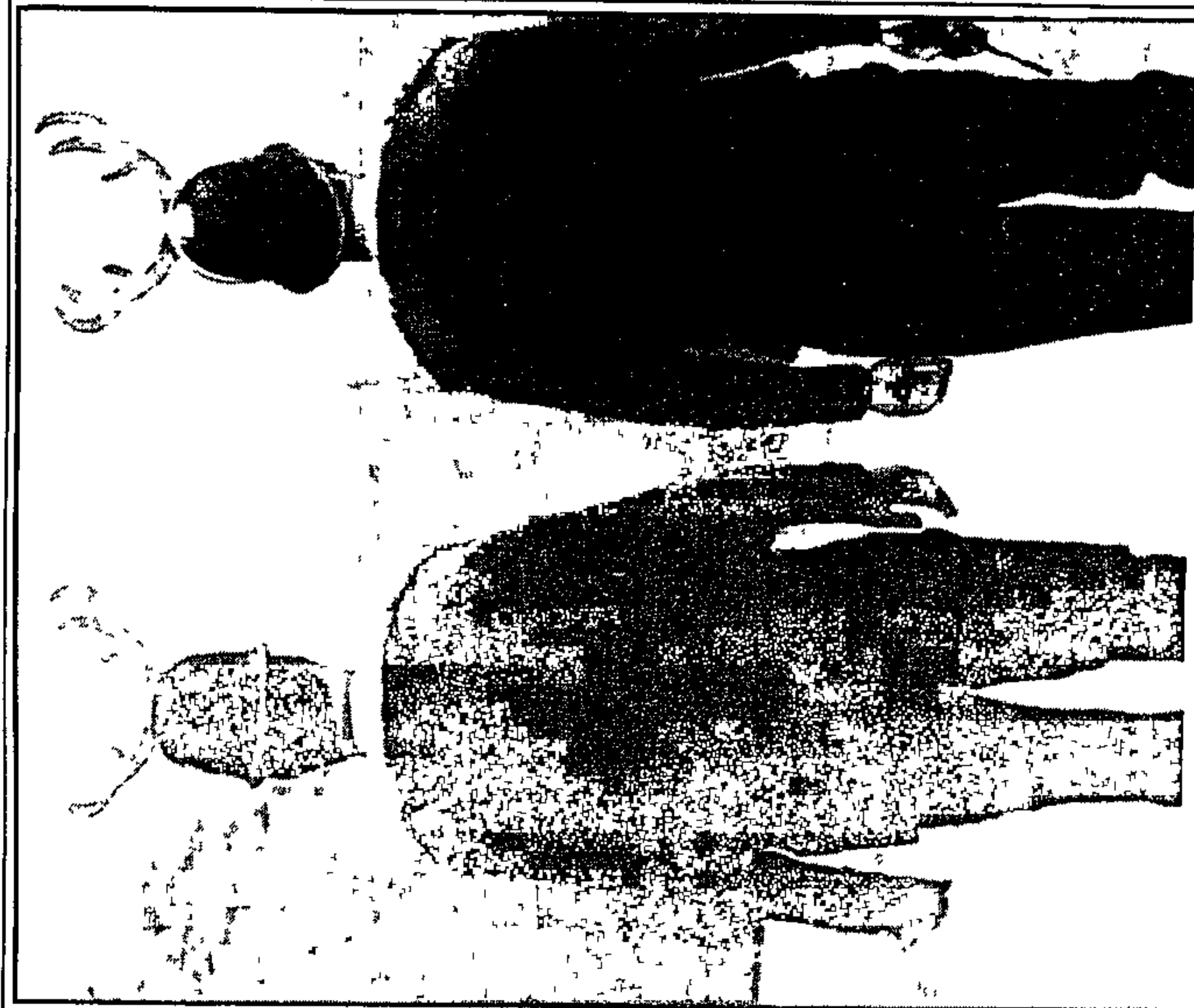
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The order to disarm the Pioneers could mean that Mr Chakuamba and Mr Tembo agreed on the need to neutralise them to avoid their becoming an embarrassment in the election campaign.

Or it could mean that Mr Chakuamba was imposing his will on Mr Tembo.

Dr Banda has not resumed power since returning to Malawi after his operation and is widely regarded as a spent force impotently watching the power struggle between Mr Tembo and Mr Chakuamba.

The opposition parties who won overwhelming support in the referendum in June have since lost much of their potential power by refusing to unite against the MCP.



Nuclear arms: Ukraine warns

BRUSSELS — Nato allies, Russia and Eastern European states have pressed Ukraine to get rid of nuclear weapons on its soil, but Kiev has insisted on security guarantees.

Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko said it would be "very dangerous" to ignore his country's request.

Corruption war

LAGOS — Nigeria's new military rulers have declared war on corruption.

Most people in the oil-rich country live in poverty.

Peacenik Boris

MOSCOW — Russian President Boris Yeltsin will next week visit the southern regions of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, embroiled in a bloody land dispute.

PLO man freed

GAZA — Israel has freed a long-held PLO activist.

Hisham Abd al-Razek, 40, served 19 years and eight months of his 20-year sentence.

Tobacco blaze

KIEV — A \$6.7 million tobacco cargo has gone up in flames.

Army commander pledges loyalty to Banda

22 killed in Malawi as army, militia clash

Star 6/12/93

170

Blantyre — The death toll in two days of clashes between Malawi's army and the ruling Malawi Congress Party's militia last week has risen to 22, External Affairs Minister Hetherwick Ntaba said yesterday.

He told a news conference that most of the dead — who included four soldiers, six Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP) militia members and 12 civilians — were from the capital Lilongwe, scene of a mini-war on Friday.

The Kamuzu central hospital has treated 109 casualties, 41 of whom are still in hospital.

Fighting between the army and the MYP militia, loyal to President Kamuzu Banda, was sparked off by the army, which raided MYP establishments on Friday in retaliation for the kill-

AS PRESIDENT Banda's control slips away, the army attempts to clip his youth league's wings

ing of two colleagues in the northern town of Mzuzu on Wednesday. The army then decided to carry out an unofficial disarmament of the MYP

Meanwhile, following the clashes, army commander Isaac Yohane yesterday pledged his loyalty to Banda and said he was still in control of his forces

The latest clashes in the country, currently undergoing transition to political pluralism after

nearly three decades of authoritarian rule, sharply define the power struggle in Malawi.

The country is currently being ruled by a presidential council as Banda, believed to be in his 90s, is ill after recent brain surgery and preparations are under way for the country's first multiparty parliamentary and presidential elections

Banda created the MYP in 1964. It became widely feared, acting as Banda's personal security guard and informers, and terrorised political dissenters

But the ailing and ageing Banda has seen his grip on the country loosen dramatically since Western donor nations cut off aid last year to force him to introduce political and human rights reforms — Sapa-AFP

LILONGWE — Gunfire crackled through Malawi's capital yesterday as soldiers fired warning shots to scare off looters after clashes killed 17 people and wounded 78, residents and diplomats said.

Soldiers continued their crackdown on the ruling party's paramilitary youth group, the Young Pioneers, sealing off a base outside the southern city of Blantyre, military officials said.

Fighting erupted in Lilongwe on Friday when government soldiers stormed the headquarters of the Young Pioneers, long hated for their role as brutal secret police and government vigilantes.

Earlier, Malawi's ruling presidential council ordered that the group be disarmed because of the killing of two government soldiers by Young Pioneer

Malawi seals off paramilitary base

members on Wednesday

Hospital authorities said at least 15 people, most of them Young Pioneers, died and 78 people, mostly civilians, were wounded when Friday's attempt to seize the youth group's headquarters led to battles.

On Saturday, the all-party National Consultative Council, a body overseeing political reforms, called on the government to hand power to an independent interim president ahead of multiparty elections scheduled next May.

No new casualties were reported yesterday — Sapa-AP

Banda's party claims it still controls Malawi

ARG 6/12/93 (170)
Argus Africa News Service

BLANTYRE. — President Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party government says it remains in full control of the country.

Its claims come after its armed wing, the Malawi Young Pioneers, was routed in bloody clashes with the army over the weekend in which at least 22 died and more than 100 were wounded.

But military sources said there was a possibility of the army seizing power in what would be this country's first coup since independence in 1964.

The sources said elements in the army were unhappy that the MCP had remained in power after being overwhelmingly defeated last June in a referendum on whether the country should switch from one-party rule to multiparty democracy.

The dissident elements were also said to be dissatisfied with the army commander, General Isaac Yohane.

A list of grievances is reported to have been handed by dissident soldiers to the government.

General Yohane yesterday reiterated his loyalty to the government,

which claimed still to have the backing of most of the armed forces.

The government rejected demands by opposition party members in the National Consultative Council (NCC) that it resign and that General Yohane be dismissed for failing to control his troops in the weekend violence.

The NCC was set up to give the opposition a role in government after the June referendum but the real power is in the hands of the three-man Presidential Council that was set up by the ruling party to take over President Banda's functions after he went to South Africa for brain surgery in October.

President Banda is believed to have been sidelined. The two most powerful figures in the country now are Presidential Council chairman Gwanda Chakuamba and Minister of State John Tembo, who is also a member of the council. It is not clear which of them wields more power.

After riding high immediately after the October referendum, the opposition parties have lost the initiative through squabbling and disunity.

Zimbabwe, SA friends again

ARG 6/12/93 (171)
ROBIN DREW

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE — While formal diplomatic relations have yet to be restored, the meeting between the South African and Zimbabwean foreign ministers means that Pretoria and Harare are friends again.

Pik Botha and Nathan Shamuyarira are pictured on the front page of the main newspaper, The Herald, with headlines proclaiming a new chapter in relations between the two countries

The editor, Tommy Sithole, went to Messina to cover the meeting

Diplomatic ties were broken by Zimbabwe soon after independence in 1980 and in the decade that followed there were no harsher critics of South Africa than President Robert Mugabe and Mr Shamuyarira.

Mr Shamuyarira said yesterday that Zimbabwe was vigorously pursuing a policy of good neighbourliness.

Mr Botha said he was glad the bitterness was over and he hoped the meeting would lead to greater unity in the whole of Southern Africa.

Edited by James Mitchell

No agreement to share power in Malawi

Star
6/12/93
170

I refer to the article "Malawi "boss" but for how long?" (The Star, November 5)

I would like, in the first instance, to inform your readers that the Malawi government did not agree to share power with the opposition as a result of the national referendum held on June 14

Your readers should know that the purpose of the referendum was to enable the people of Malawi to decide on the political system they wanted to follow; whether to continue with the one-party system under the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) or to opt for political pluralism. The referendum had nothing whatsoever to do with the changing of government. The need for government to share power with the opposition did not and does not arise.

The members of the Presidential Council were appointed in accordance with the provision of the Malawi constitution, to serve during His Excellency the Life President's hospitalisation and convalescence. His Excellency the Life President has made a good recovery



Mama C Tamanda Kadzamira . . . "respected throughout Malawi for her loyalty and dedication in executing her responsibilities as Official Government Hostess", says a Malawi spokesman.

ery

The MCP has fulfilled all the promises that it has made to the people of Malawi since it came to power. The opposition groups rode on the crest of falsified and unfulfilled promises. They have, therefore, not been able to erode the popularity that the MCP enjoys throughout the country.

The outcome of the general elections to be held under political pluralism will therefore be decided by the Malawians themselves. Your newspaper's opinions have no bearing on the election results. It is therefore premature to predict the outcome of the elections.

The decision to appoint

the Hon Gwanda Cha-kuamba as Secretary-General of the Malawi Congress Party was taken by His Excellency the Life President in his capacity as Life President of the Malawi Congress Party. To insinuate that Hon John Tembo, Minister of State in the President's Office and Treasurer-General of the Malawi Congress Party, had a role in the appointment is not only wrong but misleading as well.

I also wish to inform your readers that Mama C Tamanda Kadzamira is not a politician. She is a civil servant, as the Official Government Hostess, and cherishes no political ambitions. It is, therefore, wrong and impudent for your feature writer to ascribe a political role for Mama C Tamanda Kadzamira. Mama C Tamanda Kadzamira is respected throughout Malawi for her loyalty and dedication in executing her responsibilities as Official Government Hostess.

W S Khoza
Embassy of Malawi
Brooklyn,
Pretoria

Banda fit, set to return to rule in Malawi

Blantyre — President Kamuzu Banda is now fit to resume his duties and the presidential council which has ruled Malawi since early October has been dissolved, the state-

controlled radio announced early today. (170)

Banda, who is in his nineties and who has ruled Malawi since independence from Britain in 1964, underwent neuro-

surgery on October 3 in a Johannesburg clinic.

His illness led to the appointment of a three-man presidential council to rule on his behalf. — Sapa-AFP.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS President lo

Banda in move to stop clashes

Sowetan 9/12/93

BLANTYRE — Malawian President Kamuzu Banda, who resumed office on Tuesday after recovering from brain surgery, said he would appoint a defence minister following clashes between the army and Young Pioneers of the ruling party

"I intend to appoint a minister of defence very soon. This is to make sure that the needs and the requirements of the army are looked after at cabinet level," said Banda, who has held the defence portfolio for nearly three decades (170)

Banda, speaking on state radio on Tuesday night in his first address to Malawians since 22 people were killed in clashes between the army and his paramilitary youth wing, said he deeply regretted the loss of life as a "national tragedy"

Banda, believed to be in his 90s, dissolved the three-man presidential council set up to rule Malawi in October while he had an operation to have excess fluid removed from his brain

He has ruled Malawi with an iron fist since independence from Britain in 1964

But his grip on power has been slipping since June, when an overwhelming majority of Malawi's 9.7 million people voted to end his autocratic one-party rule.

The multiparty National Consultative Council, which is charting a transition to democracy after nearly 30 years of one-party rule, called at the weekend for the dismissal of the ruling council and the appointment of an interim president

The NCC said the presidential council had lost control of the army after ordering it to disarm the Malawi Young Pioneers, the 7 000-strong youth wing of Banda's Malawi Congress Party

Troops were ordered on Friday to disarm the pioneers after two soldiers were killed by the paramilitaries in the town of Mzuzu last Wednesday

At least 22 people were killed and more than 100 wounded in subsequent clashes between the army and the pioneers in the capital Lilongwe and Blantyre, 250km to the southeast — Sapa-Reuter.

The power structure in Lilongwe has been changed by the bloody confrontation between President Banda's Young Pioneers and the army, reports Joe Latakomo of Star Africa Service

Banda finds Malawi's not like it was

Star 10/12/73

A soldier, triumphantly thrusting his rifle into the air, struts about in front of the bullet-pocked, burnt-out shell of the headquarters of the Malawi Congress Party.

A hundred metres down the road, civilians are looting the blackened remains of the headquarters of the Malawi Young Pioneers, the MCP's para-military enforcement arm.

These two tableaux demonstrate the new reality that came to Malawi with the bloody showdown last week between the army and the MYP.

It was demonstrated in other scenes, too. Downtown, three shops were attacked and looted, apparently because they were thought to be owned by Cecilia Kadzamura, President Kamuzu Banda's Official Hostess.

As such, "Mama" Kadzamura is apparently a target for people relishing an opportunity to display their resentment of Banda's autocratic rule.

Outside the capital, what remains of the Kamuzu Institute for Youth presents further evidence of public anger being directed at symbols of the ruling party. People have helped themselves to anything useful from the building — chairs, benches, corrugated iron roofing sheets, tables.

Ignoring occasional bursts of gunfire in the vicinity, people load the loot into pick-up vans for delivery to "the village" — the township outside Lilongwe where the capital's

lesser mortals live.

In the village, houses of MYP members and officials were attacked and some torched.

Casualties in the confrontation were given as 22 dead, most thought to be MYP members, but also some women and a 10-year-old child, and 109 wounded.

What caused a normally peaceful nation to be thrown into such turmoil? Local political observers believe that there had been simmering discontent within the South African and Israeli-trained army for some time and it needed only a spark to ignite it into violence.

Soldiers are said to have resented being paid low wages while the MYP, used by the Banda regime to enforce government policy and ruthlessly put down opposition, was given more favoured treatment, including more advanced weaponry. MYP members boasted openly about having more firepower than the army.

The MYP's days were almost certainly numbered when the MCP's one-party rule was overwhelmingly rejected in a referendum last June on multiparty democracy. The National Consultative Council, which was formed to oversee the resultant transition to democracy, announced at the end of November that the MYP would be disarmed and its members integrated into the police and other bodies.

The spark that set off the confrontation

came with the shooting of two soldiers by members of the MYP in a brawl on December 1, a Wednesday.

When the government had not reacted by Thursday, junior officers reportedly decided to go ahead with the disarmament and, at the same time, avenge their dead colleagues.

By Saturday afternoon it was all over. The MYP had been smashed and the soldiers had submitted a list of grievances to Gwanda Chakumbwa, chairman of the Presidential Council set up to take over President Banda's functions while he was undergoing brain surgery in South Africa.

The soldiers also said they would take orders only from the NCC and not from the government or from the army commander, General Isaac Yohane, who, on the other hand, pledged loyalty to the president and the government of the day. (170)

The NCC then presented 19 proposals to the government in what it said was an attempt to end the unrest. Among these was that the MYP should be detached from the MCP and banned from wearing uniforms. Also, that an interim president be appointed to run the country rather than the Presidential Council.

The government said the disarming of the MYP would continue and the army's grievances be attended to, but it refused to appoint an interim president.

The issue became academic, anyway,

when the government announced on the Tuesday that Banda had resumed office and the Presidential Council had been dissolved. This move was seen as a means of deflecting the pressure for the appointment of an interim president.

In his first address to the nation on radio, Banda undertook to appoint a Minister of Defence (a post previously held by himself) who would be charged with specifically investigating the grievances of the soldiers.

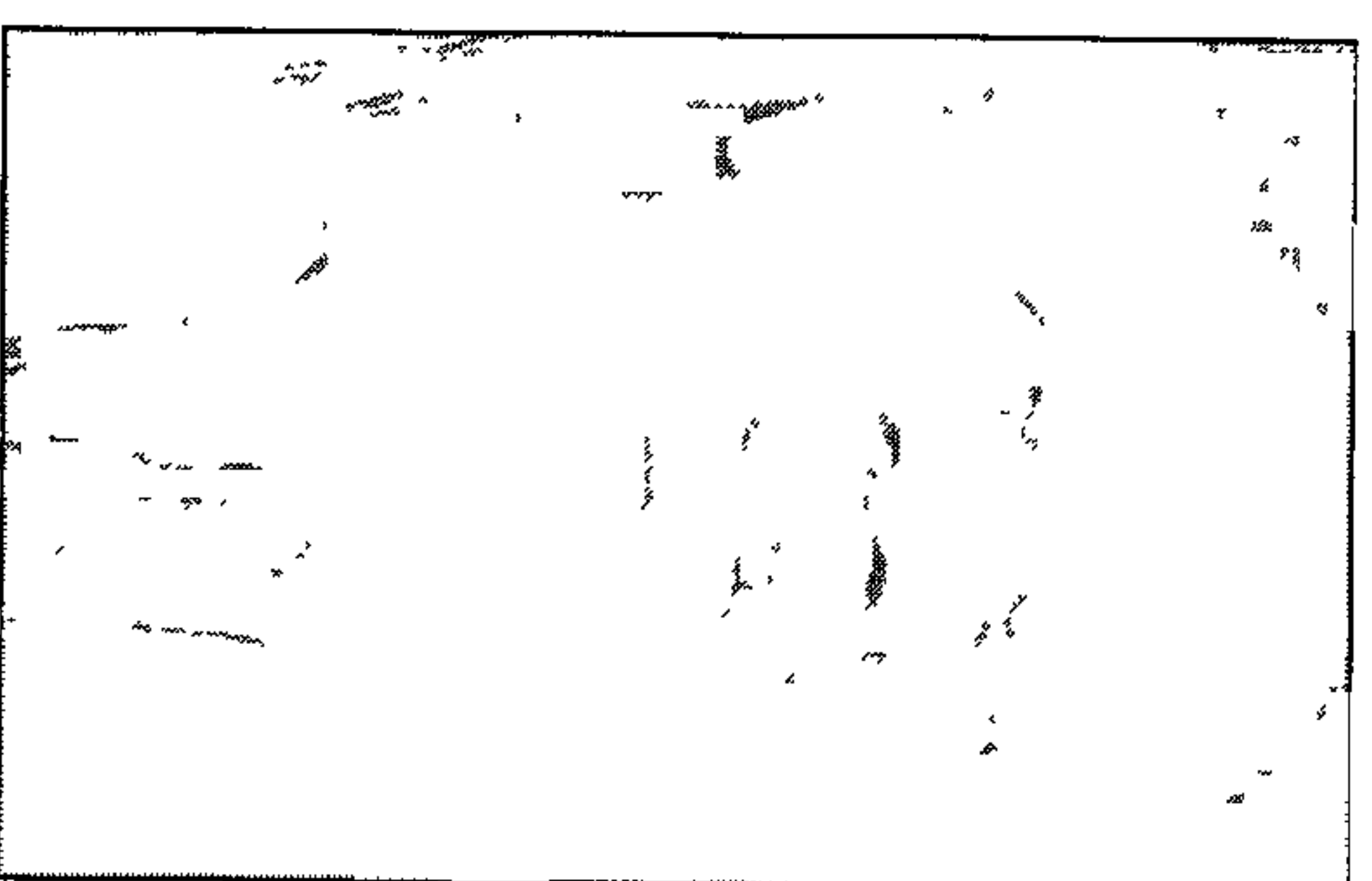
While these moves may have taken the initiative away from the opposition parties, they led to Chakutwa Chinana, leader of the Alliance For Democracy (Aford), reversing his stand against a united opposition front to the government in the election next May. At the same time he called for full civilian control of all the security forces, and the immediate convening of a conference of political parties and other interested groups to draw up a new constitution.

For the moment, however, it looks as though the MCP's hold on power has not been fatally weakened despite the loss of the MYP, which might in any case have been a liability in the election.

The rebellious army officers seem not to have been able to muster enough support to push through a revolt. But the government clearly must now take their grievances seriously as it prepares to seek a democratic mandate from the people in the election.



Cecilia Kadzamura . . . target for people resentful of Banda.



Kamuzu Banda . . . to appoint defence minister.

Star 12/12/93

Banda fires army chief and key deputies

Lilongwe — Malawian President Kamuzu Banda has sacked his army commander and two key deputies in an apparent attempt to defuse political tensions in the country

General Isaac Yohane and two deputies were said at the weekend to have been "retired on health grounds"

Last week, the National Con-

sultative Council, a body set up to oversee the transition process, called for the removal of Yohane

Meanwhile, there is growing concern over the whereabouts of about 7 000 Young Pioneers, militiamen from the ruling Malawi Congress Party, who fled into the bush when soldiers began disarming them more than a

week ago

And Malawi's opposition claimed victory yesterday in a dispute with the government over who would succeed Banda.

The government agreed to reconvene parliament as soon as possible to abolish constitutional provisions for a three-man caretaker presidency drawn from the ruling party, said opposition

spokesman Aleke Banda.

Such a group had ruled Malawi until last week, while the president was recovering from brain surgery

Opposition groups want a single, independent interim leader to take over the country if Banda is incapacitated or dies — Sapa-AFP.

170

Strike called off in Malawi

Blantyre — Malawi's opposition, conceding to a court injunction, yesterday called off a three-day general strike planned to begin today and designed to force President Kamuzu Banda's government to accept its tough conditions on the powers of an acting president. (170)

Fred Nseula, current chairman of the opposition-dominated National Consultative Council (NCC) which is overseeing the transition to democracy, said four of the five opposition parties had asked him to call off the strike "just to show the government that, unlike them, we do respect court orders"

He said the opposition had also taken into consideration the country's fragile security situation.

"We don't want to derail the democratisation

process," he said.

Malawi's High Court made an order on Saturday preventing the opposition from declaring the strike and from encouraging or directing any person to strike

Justice Duncan Tambala, who granted the order, said he was satisfied the intended mass action would cause hardship in industry and commerce, with essential services being disrupted.

Nseula said the opposition in the NCC would continue to press the government to accept its conditions that the acting president would not have powers to declare war or a state of emergency, and would not stand for the May 17 election.

Talks between the government and the opposition on these conditions broke down on Saturday.

— Sapa-AFP.

Malawi gets warning on foreign aid

Sowetan
4/12/93
BLANTYRE — Donors and diplomats in Malawi have expressed concern over the political impasse in the country — and have warned that if there is a breakdown in dialogue between the government and the opposition, assistance programmes will be stopped (170)

According to Mr Fred Nseula, chairman of the National Consultative Council, a body set up to oversee the transition process, this warning was issued at a meeting last week.

He said the donors' meeting in Paris later this month would review progress made in the transition towards democracy, and would almost definitely stop any assistance programmes if dialogue was stopped.

Donors resumed aid to Malawi in September after having suspended all but humanitarian assistance because of the country's human rights violations — *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

Concern at political impasse in Malawi

Argus Africa
News Service

BLANTYRE — Donors and diplomats in Malawi have expressed concern over the political impasse in the country — and have warned that if there is a breakdown in dialogue between government and the opposition, assistance programmes would be stopped.

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He said the Consultative Group of donors meeting in Paris later this month would review progress made in the

transition towards democracy

Donors resumed aid to Malawi in September after having suspended all, but humanitarian assistance because of human rights violations.

But, since the referendum in June, in which the majority of the country rejected President Kamuzu Banda's one-party rule, Malawi has made slow progress towards democracy and elections to be held in May next year.

Several laws have been repealed to improve the environment for democracy, and Amnesty International has declared that Malawi was now more human rights friendly than most African countries.

Shareholders' returns outstripped

Big pay hikes for directors of SA firms

BIDAY 30/12/93

SA companies are still awarding their top management salary increases that far outstrip the fortunes of their shareholders

Figures drawn from the 1993 annual reports for 20 of SA's largest groups showed 15 companies awarded their boards salary increases exceeding growth in shareholders' earnings or dividends

Six companies' directors bagged increases of more than 20%, four received more than 30%, and two — including Barlow Rand, formerly SA's largest group — awarded rises of more than 40%. Engen's board was given a 50% rise last year.

Fourteen companies awarded pay rises to boards above last year's inflation rate. None cut board salaries

In contrast to European and US reporting practice, few companies break down individual salary raises. There is also limited distinction between basic salary and extras, such as bonuses, pensions or payoffs to departing board members

Several large increases are also due to board changes, with companies such as Iscor undergoing a major shake-up

But the figures nevertheless show there is little clear link between a company's performance and money spent in the boardroom. Many directors also received large salary rises while their companies were battling to bring down costs, and shedding thousands of jobs in the process.

The salary rise at Engen, which took combined executive pay from R4m to R6m, accompanied a 12% rise in dividends and earnings for 1993. The energy company's board netted a 33% salary increase in the previous year.

ANDY DUFFY

Barlow Rand lifted total board pay from R15m to R21m. Two executives joined the board during the year, in which earnings a share dropped 15% and the dividend — which has risen just 3c since 1989 — was held.

Absa lifted board pay 38% to R5,4m — outstripping more than threefold the rise in earnings and dividends. Two directors left the board and nearly 5 000 staff members were retrenched.

Malbak lifted boardroom pay 33% to R8m, while earnings a share grew 7,8% and the dividend 4,5%. The Iscor board netted a 29% rise to R2,2m, despite a sharp fall in earnings and dividends. The raises at both companies were due in part to board changes, though both also awarded their boards large increases for the 1992 financial year.

Sasol's boardroom pay jumped 28% to R3,2m, double the rise in earnings a share. The increase came as the company retrenched 4 400 staff members.

Murray & Roberts, SA Breweries, Kersaf, Safren, Rembrandt Group and Hunt Leuchars & Hepburn also gave their boards raises above the companies' gains in earnings and dividends, and the inflation rate.

The OK Bazaars board netted a rise of 8% to R5,3m, while earnings plummeted 580% and the dividend dropped nearly three quarters.

Sentrachem, Anglovaal Industries, Nampak and Premier Group gave their boards raises below the inflation rate and the gains in earnings or dividends