

Malawi - a Call to Witness!

by Fr. Bill Turnbull W.F.

It is over five years since the Catholic Bishops of Malawi published their Pastoral Letter - 'Living Our Faith'. After so many years of apparent acceptance of the status quo this letter was the catalyst for a process of reform within the country. The other churches in the Malawi, especially the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP), and the Muslim community joined in and worked together to bring about a 'new Malawi'. With the support of many international organisations - church, Trades Union, NGO and political parties - they helped Malawi towards its first multi-party elections in 1994 (see issue no. 308, February-March, 1993, pages 4 to 15).

Since the elections, when the United Democratic Front (UDF) gained power from the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), Malawi has had a hard introduction to 'democracy' and 'freedom'. The economic situation, both world and national, has given rise to confusion amongst many ordinary Malawians who have begun to equate the cost of democracy in terms of rising prices.

NOT UNIQUE

Malawi's history and present situation is not unique, it is a story which is repeated in many countries all over the world. The role which the Church has taken is also not particular to Malawi. The Church, as a body, is often accused of 'silence' and 'complicity' with a ruling Government - this was the case under the former Malawi regime. What is forgotten in such situations are the many local and individual acts of standing up for justice which are veiled by this apparent 'silence'.

There is usually no publicity given to such activity as they are not sensational enough or

are not brought to the attention of the media or human rights organisations. Without publicity no one outside of a given country hears about them, nor is particularly concerned. In this way we are all involved, unwittingly, in the 'veil of silence' which covers many situations around the world - even in our own country.

In the past this was certainly the case in Malawi, Mozambique, Kenya, Sudan and South Africa where people did speak out with a quiet voice. Oppressive regimes can create a vacuum within which incidents are not heard of - even a few miles away from where they take place. Information is tightly controlled and the ruling powers are able to manipulate it with their security structure and spread rumours to control the population through fear. This is no longer the case in Malawi, the tide has turned and people speak out at long last.

CONTINUED COOPERATION

Ecumenical and inter-organisational cooperation continues today. The global concern for Malawi, and for other developing countries, can be seen in many areas of life. The following three articles give an idea of how the process has developed and the way in which the churches are still answering the 'call to witness' in different ways. This can vary from a local fight for justice - as with the Tobacco Tenant Farmers, to an international, detailed economic and social study of a country - 'When Maize and Tobacco Are Not Enough'.

THE ECONOMY AND AGRICULTURE *

Malawi's present population is estimated to be about eleven million and it is projected to increase to twelve million by the year 2000. In 1994 the GNP was \$170 per capita - while Rwanda's

was \$80, and Switzerland, the world's richest country, at \$37,930. Roughly translated from figures this means that more than half of the people live below the poverty level, without access to the basic needs such as food, water, shelter, education and health. The situation was made worse for much of the 1980s and early 90s by the presence of over a million refugees from Mozambique and recurrent drought.

Malawi does not have a wealth of natural resources except for the soil. As a result, for decades the economy has been built upon, and is mainly reliant on, agriculture which supports 80% of the population. The staple food is maize, a drought-sensitive crop, and 80% of the cultivated land is dedicated to its production.

Agriculture is basically divided into two sectors: estates, both large-scale and small, and smallholder subsistence farms. The estates are dealt with in the last two articles of this issue, especially the smaller ones, which show the injustices meted out to the labour force and how the majority of them live below the poverty level.

About 85% of the population live in rural areas and they make a living by subsistence farming on their smallholdings - from which they are supposed to gain both their food and a cash crop. This means that about 1.6 million families, averaging five people, are dependent on small plots. Just over half of these plots are less than one hectare (2.47 acres) and a quarter are under half a hectare (1.23 acres).

In such a situation people barely have enough to keep alive and it leads to low income and an annual food deficit and they form a group known as the 'core poor'. 42% of this section of Malawi society are female-headed households. This is mainly due to the fact that such households need a secondary income to keep going and so the man often moves to an estate or town in search of work. The situation is not set to improve and



the average size of a smallholding is expected to fall to 0.3 hectare (0.82 acre) by the year 2000.

THE FUTURE

Malawi's problems are found in many other countries but at least now people are able to voice their opinion and concern over their plight and it is shared by people all over the world. Through continued cooperation may be a solution can be found. The economy in Sub-Saharan Africa is supposed to be improving. Let us hope that this is so and that those who need it most will get a share.

* Based on information found on pages 18 & 19 of 'When Maize and Tobacco Are Not Enough'.

'When Maize and Tobacco Are Not Enough' is a 63 page document, priced £4.50, and is available from: World Mission, Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh EH2 4YN. Tel. 0131-225 5722. Fax 0131-226 6121.



Malawi - a Partnership in Witness

by Rev. Jim Wilkie

This article is the 'Introduction' to the book 'When Maize and Tobacco Are Not Enough' and was written by the Rev. Jim Wilkie, the Secretary for sub-Saharan Africa, the Board of World Mission of the Church of Scotland.

In May 1996, the Rev. Dr. Overtoun Mazunda, General Secretary of the Synod of Livingstonia of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian, Malawi, visited Scotland and Ireland at the invitation of churches there and spoke to the Church of Scotland's General Assembly. He reminded the Assembly that the rural poor comprised 95% of his Synod's membership. These rural people fought hard to remove Dr. Banda from power, expecting that their lives would improve. The following is Dr. Mazunda's description of Malawi's economy two years into the new democracy.

"The cost of basic commodities such as maize, soap etc. has gone up by over 300%. These prices are out of reach of the rural people. For example, a 50 kg. bag of fertiliser costing K70 one year ago now costs K356 (an increase of five times). God blessed us with good rains this year following a few years of drought but the majority of the rural poor will still go hungry because they cannot afford fertilisers. When the people complained to the Government, they were told that the situation had been brought about as a result of Malawi accepting the Structural Adjustment Programme of the International Monetary Fund." [Under the programme Malawi was required to realign its economy to conform to certain norms of the free market system. The currency was devalued, trade was liberalised, the parastatals were privatised, and a few thousand civil servants were retrenched.]

"Our rural poor people will never understand all this. All we know is that our situation is

worse now than it was two or three years ago. Following retrenchment of some civil servants, especially those working at Chikangawa forest in the Northern Region, over a hundred acres of pine forest amounting in value to over K75 million (over £3 million) was destroyed by fire deliberately set by disgruntled retrenched workers.

... Let me repeat, the rural poor people of Malawi do not understand what the Structural Adjustment Programme is all about. ... All they know and experience is the hurt and the frustration."

It was concerns like these expressed by Dr. Mazunda that had earlier led the Church of Scotland to set up a small study project, comprised of a group of people in Britain who had links with Malawi. The project which got underway in January 1995 after an initial consultation in December 1994, had as its goals:

- to understand better the forces at work in macro-economics;
- to examine these forces in light of what actually happens to people known to us on the ground in Malawi;
- to reflect as the people of God on these things together, and with others both in Scotland and in Malawi;
- to use the insights gained in the study to shape the church's long-term policies of partnership with the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Malawi and with other churches in similar situations in sub-Saharan Africa;
- to develop such understanding into acts of political and economic solidarity with those in Malawi who cared about the country's development.

Guided by Dr. Mazunda and others, the study project turned its attention to issues which it perceived to be of great importance:

i) how the agricultural sector (which accounts for 80% of the Malawian workforce) has been dealt with under the Structural Adjustment Programme and

ii) how the economy of the country, particularly as it relates to agriculture, has been affected by Malawi's international debt. The summary which forms the main text of this publication ['When Maize and Tobacco Are Not Enough'] has been prepared from detailed work done on these two aspects, with major contributions from Malawian academics.

The task that the group set itself is part of a concern for Malawi which goes back for more than a hundred years; what is not so well-known is that from the beginning this concern has had an economic dimension. Missionaries from Scotland went to Malawi in response to David Livingstone's challenge to the University of Cambridge in 1857 (Macnair, 1942: 206). In his address he said:

"I direct your attention to Africa. I know in a few years I shall be cut off in that country which is now open. I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work I have begun? I leave it to you."

The first missionaries fully believed that the Gospel message which they carried had economic dimensions - commerce and Christianity. Alongside the mission and in close co-operation with it was founded in 1878

the Livingstonia Central Africa Company whose joint managers came from Glasgow. The company's task was to superintend the route between Quelimane at the coast, via Blantyre and Lake Nyasa, to Karonga in the north, and onward to Lake Tanganyika. They operated steamers, built and equipped stations, provided trade goods, and kept open regular mail services over a distance equal to that between Glasgow and Marseilles. Scots' concern for Malawi involved commerce from the beginning.

In addition, the kind of education that Livingstonia Mission offered to Africans turned out clerks, bookkeepers and carpenters as well as teachers and ministers of religion, and they found employment in commerce and industry all over Southern Africa. The Gospel preached in Malawi was nothing if not practical. Livingstonia produced these trained young

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The scenic beauty of Malawi, near Dedza



people in the north of the country and in the south the mission was located in the midst of the bustling commercial centre of Blantyre. Attention to economics as part of the Church of Scotland's mission concern has a long history.

The Scots' missionary ideal for a country and church such as Malawi's was expressed as 'three-self'. The church should be self-governing, self-propagating (doing its own missionary work), and self-financing, and the same ideals were expected to be worked out in the nation - self-governing (independence), self-propagation (charting its own growing and expanding future), and self-financing (from its own GNP meeting the costs of its education and health care services, and providing all the other necessities for a nation's life). In the end if all this had worked out there would have been a church set in a nation very much like our own ideal has been for Scotland.

Yet all over Africa this missionary dream has become a nightmare. The apportioning of blame for the present state of affairs is not an easy exercise but the distress of the people on the ground at all levels of society is palpable and for those in Scotland who have committed much of their lives to the service of African people it is almost unbearable, compounded as it is by feelings of guilt and shame, whether justified or not.

The shape of Malawi society today owes a great deal to the missionaries, since they were there before the politicians and before the traders (except for those engaged in the slave trade!). The missionaries set the pattern for the political development of the country and at two stages in Malawi's history the intervention of the Church of Scotland has been important: at the time when the Malawian people sought freedom from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the 1960s; and secondly, when the burden

of the Banda administration became too great to bear and the churches facilitated the change of government.

There was one difference in the recent efforts to co-operate with our partner church in Malawi. This time we have found that all kinds of co-operative links were possible and fruitful - with other churches in Britain and Malawi, especially Anglicans and Roman Catholics; with other churches world-wide especially through the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the World Council of Churches (WCC); and (through links with the Roman Catholic Church in England) with Conferences of Catholic Bishops in other parts of the continent. We also had useful contacts with Human Rights Groups, with the United Nations and the European Community, together with major aid donors especially DanChurchAid. We had contact with those who administered the aid programmes of the British, Malawi, United States and other governments, and were also helped by having access, particularly through the Internet, to academics who had made excellent studies of the economic situation in Malawi. Because of access to all these resources, we believed in 1995 that it might be possible for us on the one hand to think in a careful and informed way about macro economic policies for the country, as these were being developed and applied to Malawi by the World Bank and IMF, and, on the other hand, through the church in Malawi, to know what was actually happening to individual children of God on the ground, where these policies were taking effect.

The current economic desolation of a country like Malawi we believe is an affront before God. Economic justice for all is part of God's mission. God's loving care for every one of God's creatures demands this and nothing less. Yet this message preached for many years has made so little headway. There are many individual acts of generosity by people

and by congregations but the proceeds of all these acts are only a drop in the ocean of need. We believe there have to be changes in the system if a significant impact on poverty is to follow, and we are concerned that part of our Christian obedience is to find ways to enable this to happen. Because all human beings are created and beloved by God, Christians are called to treat every person as of infinite value. The current economic system as applied to Malawi does not do this. Because Christ died to reconcile all to God, Christians are called to work for true reconciliation which includes justice among those alienated from one another. Christians in Scotland and Christians in Malawi are separated by an immense economic gulf which frustrates true reconciliation. Because we are "members one of another" being built up by the Spirit into one body, Christians are called to responsible life together in community. The present economic relation between Malawi and Britain makes it impossible for us to live in responsible community with one another.

It is vital that, within the solidarity of the world Christian family, Christians at every point in the long chain which links economic decision to social well-being, develop the confidence to ask the questions we have been asking. We need to bring our theological understanding of the will of God for His people - all His people - to bear on every individual decision that is part of the chain. Given modern technology enabling us to communicate with one another, this is not a hopeless enterprise. By taking part in this study, a group of concerned people have begun to understand the whole chain of events that begins when a decision is taken in an office in the United States and ends when a mother watches her malnourished child breathe its last in a village in Malawi. We offer what we have done as an encouragement to others to do this better. Dr. Mazunda's plea can be answered and working together to provide the answer is part of what it means to be responsible Christians in today's global village.

Tobacco being air/sun cured in sheds made beside the fields each season



Slavery in the Malawi Tobacco Industry

by Patrick Mawaya

The Tenancy System as practised in Malawi today, is a worse form of 'Thangata' which the government vowed to abolish.

'Thangata' is a system whereby workers work more hours for less pay and sometimes for no pay at all. According to a report compiled by the Malawi Congress of Trade Unions (MCTU), 'Thangata' still exists. MCTU says: "The government's negligence to deal with the problem, reflects its lack of concern for the country's workers. We feel that the government should deal with the Tenancy System problem as a matter of urgency".

A FORM OF SLAVERY

Malawi, previously called Nyasaland, was seventy years under colonial rule. It has now completed almost thirty-three years of Independence. However, the country continues to experience the same form of slavery which was prevalent during the time of the Jumbes and Mlozis, who were involved in the slave trade. According to MCTU, "It is disappointing to note that the Tobacco Industry in Malawi is perpetuating slavery, in the form of a tenancy system. This has been observed in Nkhokota district, about 200 km North East of the capital, Lilongwe".

Tobacco is Malawi's largest export crop. Then comes tea and sugar. Other tobacco estates are found in the Central Region.

LAND

MCTU visited tobacco estates in Nkhokota from 13 to 15 January this year, and observed that there were tenants in dire situations. This has to be brought to the attention of the whole nation. Tenants are denied certain basic rights including freedom of movement, of association

and of expression. Harassment, exploitation and oppression of the so-called 'tenants', is the order of the day. Landlords actually own human beings but call them 'tenants'. The truth is that these same tenants are neither tenants nor labourers, but people denied their basic rights - in sharp contradiction to Malawi's Constitution which guarantees the individual's fundamental human rights. (Chapter IV in the new Constitution).

NO COLLECTIVE VOICE

The MCTU says the tenants have no collective voice to face up either to their landlords or to the Tobacco Association of Malawi (TAMA), under which the landlords are organised. If the tenants try to organise themselves to claim their rights, they are badly treated by their landlords. The landlords cheat in tobacco-sale prices and refuse to listen to their tenants' complaints. The power to negotiate prices and to set prices, lies in the landlords' hands. The tenants produce the tobacco but cannot decide the selling prices.

HEALTH, MALNUTRITION, LACK OF EDUCATION

The tenants have no protection or social facilities. The estate owners do not provide clinics, and when the tenants get sick, they are not taken to the hospital but left to fend for themselves. Food insecurity in Malawi is a major problem and malnutrition is felt especially by the under-fives, by pregnant and nursing mothers. Tenants are not given enough food, and when they are provided with food, the frequency is at the landlord's discretion. There is massive child abuse on these tobacco estates. Children between the ages of five and sixteen have to weed and harvest the tobacco crop. Therefore, they can't always get to school.

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THE CHURCH INTERVENES

The tenants' situation has attracted the attention from various parties. The Catholic Diocese of Lilongwe through Nkhokota parish has attempted to organise the tenants into an association. Yet this move was looked on as 'sinister' by the landlords, as well as by the government. The Malawi Congress of Trade Unions say it has information that "government has purposely and deliberately instructed all concerned, to keep a tight lip on the tenants' issue. Moreover, it is clear that nothing has been done to carry out the terms of the 1995 Tenant Labour Protection Act.

RECOMMENDATIONS

After a visit to the Nkhokota-Kota estates, the Malawi Congress of Trade Unions, made the following recommendations:

1. The MCTU will go ahead and organise the tenants into a union with immediate effect
2. That there be a tripartite meeting between TAMA, the government and the MCTU to come up with a policy regarding the tenant system in Malawi
3. The Tenant Labour Protection Act must be put into practice as soon as possible

4. The government must determine appropriate prices to be paid by the landlords, for the tobacco sold to them by their tenants. It is recognised that this might be contrary to the market liberalisation policy which Malawi is following at the moment.
5. The incidence of child labour on the estates must be properly researched, so as to come up with appropriate remedies.
6. The whole question of Malawi's Tenancy System, must be looked into.

Foreign Trade	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1994
Exports	446.2	433.5	445.9	602.5	750.1	743.2	1,097.9	1,299.3	3,098
Tobacco	229.9	185.5	244.4	373.7	482.9	458.3	769.6	982.1	2,184
Tea	113.1	97.1	68.4	70.0	79.6	101.2	127.4	103.8	232
Imports	381.5	486.5	478.0	653.9	1,035.3	1,398.8	1,572.5	1,975.8	3,500
Trade Balance	+64.7	-53.0	-32.1	-51.4	-285.2	-655.6	-474.6	-676.5	-402

Sources: 'New African YearBook' 1993/94, page 216; 1995/96, page 251; 1997/98, page 276. (IMF - in millions of Malawi kwacha)

Weeding the tobacco crop



Tobacco Tenants - Justice and Peace

by Fr. James Greene W.F.

In Nkhotakota Parish, we have been involved in various aspects of Justice and Peace for over the past five years. We have not done this in a systematic way, but have tried to reflect and respond to the injustices that we see around us, wondering how we can integrate this concern for justice with the pastoral life of the Parish. What we have done has been very much on a local level, starting within our Parish and working with our local Christian Communities. One of the areas that we have concentrated on has been the plight of tobacco tenants and workers, living on small to medium scale farms in the district.

This work started in 1992, after the Bishops of Malawi published their pastoral letter on social justice. Despite the attempts of the then Government to intimidate and silence the Church, this letter provided a challenge to all of us in Malawi, "What is the Good News that we are preaching and whom are we preaching it to?"

According to recent surveys, tobacco tenants and farm workers along with their dependents, number over 1.2 million people in Malawi, that is about 12% of the population. The only public recognition that they receive is when they are asked to work harder and be more honest. Even though tobacco is the largest export industry in the country, accounting for over 75% of exports, the contribution of tenants and workers is never recognised. There was, and still is, no legislation to protect these people nor was there any attempt by the Government to see how these people were really living. In Parishes and communities, the voice of tenants and workers is also absent since they are, by and large, migrant labour, live in remote places, are illiterate and often are denied time off from their farms to attend church or community activities.

Under the direction of Fr. Clyde Marklew, the first step we took in Nkhotakota was to hold meetings with the tenants, asking them to list their grievances. This was the first time that anyone asked them about their own problems and ways that they saw of overcoming them. Despite the real fear they had or reprisals from landlords and the local [then ruling Malawi Congress] Party, they organised a petition themselves which was signed by over 10,000 people in the district and was handed in to the Government.

The Diocese of Lilongwe endorsed these grievances by publishing a booklet outlining the many pitfalls to the tenancy system in Malawi. This is a system whereby tenants are taken hundreds of miles from their home villages, are given a small plot of land to grow tobacco, must buy all inputs from the landlord, at prices and terms of credit determined by him, and at the end of the season must sell their tobacco only to him, at a price set by the landlord. The possibilities for cheating and exploitation are many. On investigation we found that the average tenant in Nkhotakota was lucky to get \$45.00 at the end of a year's work. Many are told at the end of the season that their tobacco was no good and that the landlord is unable to give them money for that year's work. They had nowhere to go with their complaints since they lacked written evidence or independent witnesses.

The Government has promised legislation in the area, which would incorporate some aspects favourable to tenants. However the draft bill as published is more favourable to landlords, and makes no mention of the tenants' freedom to associate, freedom of movement or freedom of speech. One obstacle to the

enacting of any legislation is that many Members of Parliament, along with higher ranking civil servants and members of the church, are also owners of farms and benefit from the current unregulated system of farm management.

Speaking recently on the condition of tobacco tenants in Malawi, Mr. Ken Williams Muhango, President of the Malawi Congress of Trade Unions, had the following to say:

"There are some serious obstacles to the organising of tenants and also certain people are resolutely opposed to the prospect of tenants and farm workers having any independent

voice in their own affairs. Some landlords think that they are absolute rulers, even dictators on their own farms. Nobody, but nobody, can tell them what they can or cannot do to tenants. This may seem harsh language, even exaggerated, but unfortunately it is true."

"They have the power to give or withhold food to whatever tenants they want, whenever they want. They have the power to dismiss a tenant at a moment's notice and to decide by themselves whether or not they compensate the evicted tenant. They have the power to buy tobacco from the tenants on their own terms, grading it as only they see fit. They can charge as little or as much as they like for the inputs they give to tenants, without ever revealing to them the prices that they will have to pay at the end of the year. Then they have the power to pay as quickly or as slowly as they like. They are free to do what they like on their land and

are unanswerable to no one. This is something bordering on absolute power, and is the reason why so many tenants are very timid about opposing or disputing openly with their landlords."

Over the years, the spring-board for meeting the tobacco tenants and farm workers has been the local Christian Communities. In the areas where tobacco tenants are not yet organised, local Church leaders along with catechists and priests have organised meetings with them, and helped raise awareness of their human rights, until such time as the tenants elect their own leaders. A central tenet of all this has been the assisting of tenants and others to become more aware of their rights and to help them act on their own behalf, regardless of the faith of any individual.

Since the beginning of last year, under the direction of Lilongwe Diocese, the Parish has set up an office for tenants and employed a full



Trade Unions', (MCTU), and in this regard have changed their name to 'The Tobacco Tenants and Allied Workers Union'. During their recent A.G.M. they have submitted their proposals on draft legislation being considered by the Government in this area. It is hoped that the Government will include the tobacco tenants themselves in their consultations before enacting any 'tobacco tenant social protection Act.'

The office has also been directly involved in the arbitration of numerous disputes between tenants and their landlords. Even though there is no accessible legal framework for the resolution of these disputes, many tenants and land-

time Justice and Peace worker. In the last fifteen months, about twenty new branches of the tenants organisation have been opened, bringing the total to fifty. While this may seem a large number, the organisation is still in its infancy stages and many more branches are needed before all tobacco farms in the district are adequately covered.

After the electing of new leaders by the tenants themselves, a series of leadership training courses have been held at branch, area and district levels. A major component of this training has been the informing of tenants of their legal and human rights. Other meetings have been held with some village headmen, chiefs and landlords, raising their awareness of the tenant issue. Within the Parish, consciousness of each Christian's social responsibility is increasing, thanks in part to the Diocesan Justice and Peace training programme, and also past efforts in the Parish itself.

Under the supervision of this office, the tenants have started the process [of] affiliating themselves with the 'Malawi Congress of

lords have accepted the impartial help of the Catholic Church and its Justice and Peace office in Nkhotakota.

Other groups of people have also come to this office, seeking help. These include road workers who have not been paid, widows looking for advice on inheritance rights and company workers who have been sacked. The help given to such people has been mainly the giving of advice, helping them to articulate their own complaints to the relevant authorities or Government bodies, and where possible, physically accompanying them and lending support when they lodge their complaints. The number of these types of complaints has been small, but we have received them because they have nowhere to go, and are of the opinion that there is a great need for an advice or legal rights bureau in the district.

The experience of the office to date has been one of growing awareness of the number and extent of the injustices suffered by tenants, farm workers and others in the district, the fear that prevents these people from speaking out,

and the courage of the few who are prepared to speak out and ask that their rights be respected. Unfortunately these people may have justice on their side, but they do not have much protection under the law or even easy access to it. The office has not been able to follow all the cases presented to it, nor has it been able to guarantee the righting of those injustices which it has tried to highlight. In many instances, it is powerless against the lack of any effective

legislation in the area of tenant protection, the unwillingness of landlords and employers to agree to any form of outside arbitration, and the indifference of bureaucracy. This sense of impotence and powerlessness is, regrettably, the daily experience of the vast majority of downtrodden in our country. Just as the poor need faith to sustain any hope in their lives, so do we all need faith to sustain our work in this area.

Balance of Payments	1985	1986	1987	1988	1993	1994	Trading Partners
Goods & Services balance	-92.9	-56.7	-37.9	-148.6	-253	-488	South Africa, the
Private transfers	11.1	10.0	14.7	15.1	-5	-85	United Kingdom,
Current Account	-57.3	-17.8	+6.8	-53.1	-102	-274	Germany, Japan,
Capital (net)	-6.4	+45.2	66.9	131.4	189	122	Netherlands and
Overall balance	-28.1	-4.1	+41.7	+105.0	-24	-35	the United
							States.

Source: IMF in millions of US\$, 'New African YearBook 1997/98' page 276.

Gross Domestic Product	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1994
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	308	310	320	319	327	327	373	273	298
Manufacturing	101	101	101	111	120	134	138	140	131
Construction	37	50	33	39	42	44	44	45	41
Electricity and water	17	17	19	19	21	23	25	25	30
Distribution	105	na	na	106	110	121	na	118	113
Transport and Communications	50	52	49	52	54	58	60	61	53
Financial, professional services	53	56	53	56	60	67	72	71	62
Total (incl. others)	841	865	866	898	935	979	1,056	972	952

Sources: 'New African YearBook' 1991/92, page 199; 1993/94, page 216; 1997/98, page 276.

(National Statistical Office - at 1978 factor cost, in millions of Malawi kwacha)

Key Indicators	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Population (millions)	7.8	8.02	8.29	8.56	8.82	9.13	9.46
Gross Domestic Product (US\$m)	1,314	1,567	1,952	2,191	1,811	-	-
Gross National Product (US\$bn)	-	-	1.76	1.85	1.76	2.00	1.70
GNP per capita (US\$)	170	185	212	216	200	190	180
GNP real growth (%)	-	-	4.8	7.8	-7.7	9.4	-7.9
Inflation (%)	33.9	12.5	11.6	8.3	36.1	19.7	66.0
Agricultural production *	113	111.49	109.81	120.40	96.40	126.07	107.31
Exports (US\$m)	289.11	269.32	411.70	475.5	399.9	317.5	362.6
Imports (US\$m)	415.42	503.78	576.24	415.8	415.0	340.2	639.0
Current account (US\$m)	-53.1	-116	-47	-209.1	-267.8	-102.0	-274.1
Total External Debt (US\$m)	1,190	1,394	1,544	1,860	1,886	1,820	2,015
Debt Service Ratio (%)	45.3	29.2	27.3	27.0	-	-	-
Exchange rate (Kwacha per US\$)	2.60	2.76	2.73	2.80	3.60	4.40	8.74

* 1979-81 = 100. Sources: 'The Africa Review' 1995, page 109; 1996, page 116; 1997, page 122.

