



Annual Conference of the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB)

FORGING PARTNERSHIPS FOR DEVELOPMENT RESULTS
Cape Town, South Africa, March 15-17, 2007



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FOREWORD

The Seventh Annual Conference of the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB) was held in Cape Town, South Africa from March 15-18, 2007, hosted by the Parliament of South Africa with the generous support of the South African National Treasury. It was jointly organized by the PNoWB, the Parliament of South Africa, the World Bank and the African Development Bank. This was the first time the annual conference took place in Africa, reflecting Sub-Saharan Africa's prominence on the international development agenda.

The conference gave the participants—over 200 MPs from 100 countries— the opportunity to hear from and interact with a broad range of lead actors in the development community including the leaders of countries and major multilateral, regional and bilateral agencies such as the President of the World Bank, the President of the African Development Bank, and the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund.

The conference took place ahead of major international gatherings such as the G8 and G20 summits giving parliamentarians the opportunity to discuss the issues on the international agenda in Cape Town, and act on the same issues in their 100 home countries following the conference, as the elected representatives of the people.

The PNoWB Board of Directors and the World Bank would like to thank the South African Parliament, the South African National Treasury, and Minister of Finance Trevor Manuel for funding and hosting the 2007 PNoWB Annual Conference in Cape Town.



PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE

■ 16:00-17:30 PRE SESSION

PNoWB Activities and Organization

The World Bank's Interaction with Parliamentarians

During this session MPs will be given an in depth introduction about the PNoWB: How has PNoWB contributed to strengthening MPs voice? How has the network strengthened transparency and accountability in international financial institutions? How can PNoWB members respond to the global governance challenge? Discussions will also include an overview of the PNoWB governance structure.

Session was facilitated by:

- Janette Garin, MP, Philippines, PNoWB Board Member
- Santiago Castro, MP, Colombia, PNoWB Board Member
- Kimmo Kiljunen, MP, Finland, PNoWB Board Member
- Suresh Prabhu, MP, India, PNoWB Board Member
- Norbert Mao, Chair Gulu District, Uganda, outgoing PNoWB Board member
- Jean-Christophe Bas, Manager, Development Policy Dialogue, World Bank

■ THURSDAY, MARCH 15

■ 17:00-18:45 REGIONAL WORKING SESSIONS

Parliamentarians met separately in seven breakout groups by region for informal discussions on regional cooperation among MPs, interaction with the World Bank and other multilateral organizations, and development policies. The objectives were to present PNoWB's mission and activities to new participants as well as to prepare questions for Friday's meetings with Heads of the World Bank, the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) The discussions were facilitated by parliamentarians from the regions.

■ SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- Discussion Leaders:*
- Billow Kerrow, Member of Parliament, Kenya (Anglophone)
 - Khalifa Ababacar Sall, Member of Parliament, Senegal (Francophone)

World Bank/AfDB Facilitators:

- Marco Mantovanelli, Africa Region, World Bank
- Gabriel Negatu, Governance Dept, AfDB

■ MIDDLE EAST and NORTH AFRICA

- Discussion Leader:*
- Mohamed Oudor, Member of Parliament, Morocco
- World Bank Facilitator:*
- Nayé Bathily, Parliamentary Relations, World Bank

■ EUROPE and CENTRAL ASIA

- Discussion Leader:*
- Nikos Christodoulakis, Member of Parliament, Greece; Chair Southern Europe Chapter, PNoWB
- World Bank Facilitator:*
- Pierre Girardier, Parliamentary Relations, World Bank

■ SOUTH ASIA

- Discussion Leader:*
- Suresh Prabhu, Member of Parliament, India
- World Bank Facilitator:*
- Suresh Keswani, Coordinator, PNoWB, India

■ EAST ASIA

- Discussion Leader:*
- Janet Garin, Member of Parliament, Philippines
- World Bank Facilitator:*
- Vinay Barghava, External Affairs, World Bank

■ LATIN AMERICA and CARIBBEAN

- Discussion Leader:*
- Santiago Castro, Member of Parliament, Colombia
- World Bank Facilitator:*
- Cathy Russell, Latin America and Caribbean External Affairs, World Bank

■ DONOR COUNTRIES (DAC MEMBERS)

- Discussion Leader:*
- Hugh Bayley, Member of Parliament, United Kingdom
- World Bank Facilitator:*
- Jean-Christophe Bas, Manager, Development Policy Dialogue, World Bank.

■ 19:30-22:00 **OPENING COCKTAIL AND DINNER**

Host: National Treasury of South Africa

Welcome by Host: HE Trevor Manuel, Minister of Finance, South Africa

Guest Speaker: - Sir Nicholas Stern, Head of Government Economic Service, United Kingdom, *Economics of Climate Change: Policies and Prospects for Action*

■ **FRIDAY, MARCH 16**

■ 9:00-10:30 **FIRST SERIES OF PARALLEL WORKSHOPS - THE ROLE OF PARLIAMENTARIANS IN...**

■ **SESSION A**

...CREATING A BUSINESS CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO GROWTH: THE NEED FOR REFORM

Description: Studies confirm that the vast majority of people who escape from poverty do so by starting their own business or finding a job. Furthermore, easing the cost of doing business is associated with more jobs. The World Bank is supporting countries, especially in Africa, to grow faster by focusing greater attention on interventions that impact on private and financial sector development, export competitiveness, infrastructure development and regional integration. What role can parliamentarians play in mobilizing growth-generating reforms? Some countries' experiences show that a parliament's proactivity in suggesting regulatory change plays a big part in the effectiveness of reforms.

Chair: | Yeidckol Polevnsky, Senator, Mexico

Speakers: - Nigel Twose, Senior Manager, Investment Climate Team for Africa, World Bank
- Abri Meiring, Business Parliamentary Office, South African Chamber of Business
- Peydro-Aznar Jorge, Head of Economic Trade Info and Communication, EU Embassy South Africa
- Jerry Moloi, Soweto Business Council

■ **SESSION B**

...THE TRANSPARENT MANAGEMENT OF EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY REVENUES: MAKING THE DIVIDENDS WORK FOR POVERTY REDUCTION

Description: Governance of the Extractive Industries (EI) has in recent years become critical as many countries intensify their reliance on EI as a means for development financing. The historical record of EI in contributing to economic growth in developing countries has, however, been mixed with issues of transparency and accountability in exploitation, concession, revenue management and distribution.

actively implementing the EITI. Parliamentarians, with their legislative, regulatory, and oversight mandates, play an important role in EI. This session will discuss the role of parliamentarians in linking EI with development.

Organizer: | - African Development Bank

Co-Chair: | - Bernardo Montenegro, MP, Bolivia

Addressing these accountability and transparency issues is the objective of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)—a coalition of governments, companies, civil society groups, investors, and international organizations trying to reverse the “resource curse” by supporting improved governance of the sector. Some twenty developing countries have either endorsed or are

Speakers: - Paul Jourdan, CEO, Mintek, South Africa
- Antonio Pedro, Chief, Natural Resources and Infrastructure Section, UNECA
- Ritva Reinikka, Country Director, The World Bank



■ **SESSION C**
 ...PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTHENING: WHAT WORKS?

Description: Parliaments have an important role to play in delivering governance which is good for poverty reduction and democracy. In practice, many parliaments - in developing and developed countries - are ineffective. This session will explore the reasons for poor parliamentary performance, and the sorts of approaches which donors and others have taken to supporting parliaments in developing countries. The aim of the session - based on a report recently completed for DFID - is to arrive at a better understanding of parliamentary performance and the constraints that parliaments work within, and to examine what works and what doesn't in terms of donor support for parliamentary strengthening. Participants in the workshop should come prepared to make contributions based on their own experiences: are their parliaments effective or ineffective; what limits the effectiveness of their parliaments or makes them effective; what efforts are donors and

others making to support parliaments; is such support welcome; and, what has worked or not worked in terms of strengthening their own parliaments?

Organizer: | - Overseas Development Institute

Co-Chair: | - K.S. Rao, MP, India

Speakers: | - Alan Hudson, Overseas Development Institute, United Kingdom
 - Fred Matiangi, Chief-of-Party, State University of New York's Center for International Development-Kenya
 - Tetsundo Iwakuni, MP, Japan

■ **SESSION D**
 ...PARTNERSHIPS IN IMPROVING ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY: HOW TRADE UNIONS AND CIVIL SOCIETY CAN BEST SUPPORT LEGISLATORS IN THEIR ROLE OF OVERSIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Description: Five years since its creation, PNoWB has been welcomed by civil society and governments as an independent and effective forum for dialogue with the international financial institutions (IFIs). Through willingness on both sides to engage in dialogue, huge strides have been made in opening up some of these institutions, leading to greater transparency and accountability. Challenges remain however, to a systematic involvement and consultation of lawmakers in decisions related to the Institutions. A sustainable exit from poverty can only be achieved through effective engagement with parliamentarians— who approve budgets, ratify laws and are the influential and powerful allies in ensuring that the executive branch's economic policies in their countries work for development. Civil society has been instrumental in calling for a greater role for PNoWB and other legislators in the

oversight of IFIs. PNoWB will use this 5-year milestone to explore how best to improve this.

Chair: | - Ben Turok, MP, South Africa, Chair NEPAD Group

Speakers: | - Kumi Naidoo, Civicus
 - Hassen Lorgat, Manager of Media and Communication, South Africa National NGO Coalition (SANGOCO)
 - Judith February, Manager, The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)
 - Peter John Pearson, South African Council of Churches (SACC)

■ 10:45-12:45 **OPENING SESSION**

■ 10:45-11:00 **Welcome Address:** | - Kimmo Kiljunen, Member of Parliament, Finland, Member of PNoWB Board
 - Hon G L Mahlangu-Nkabinde, Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, South Africa

■ 11:00-11:30 **KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

Speaker: | - H.E. Trevor Manuel, Minister of Finance, South Africa
Chair: | - Kimmo Kiljunen, Member of Parliament, Finland, Member of PNoWB Board

■ 11:30-13:00 **PANEL DISCUSSION ON AFRICA**

| - H.E. Trevor Manuel, Minister of Finance, South Africa
 | - Donald Kaberuka, President, African Development Bank
 | - Paul D. Wolfowitz, President, World Bank
Moderated by: Mamphela Ramphele and Norbert Mao
 - Rodrigo De Rato, Managing Director, IMF

■ 13:00-14:30 LUNCH

DIALOGUE WITH THE HEADS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

- 14:45-15:45 - Paul Wolfowitz, President, World Bank **Chair:** | - Hugh Bayley, Member of Parliament, United Kingdom
- 15:45-16:45 - Rodrigo de Rato, Managing Director, International Monetary Fund **Chair:** | - Yunus Carrim, MP, South Africa
- 16:30-17:00 Coffee Break
- 17:00-18:00 - Donald Kaberuka, President, African Development Bank **Chair:** | - Tetsundo Iwakuni, MP, Japan

■ 18:00-18:30 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

- Speaker:** | - HE Bert Koenders, Minister of Development Cooperation, The Netherlands, Outgoing Chair PNoWB **Chair:** | - Monica Frassoni, MEP, Italy

■ 19:45-22:00 RECEPTION AND DINNER

■ SATURDAY, MARCH 17

■ 7:45-8:45 BREAKFAST MEETINGS - Parallel breakfast meetings (OPTIONAL)

- Session A *The International Development Association (IDA): A fund for the Poorest Countries?*
 - Michael F. W. Koch, Manager, Resource Mobilization Department, World Bank
- Session B *A decade of parliamentary strengthening by UNDP: Trends, Lessons Learned and Latest Initiatives by*
 - Thomas Huyghebaert, Program Manager, Global Program for Parliamentary Strengthening Democratic Governance Group
- Session C *World Bank Offices and Parliamentarians: How Do We Work Together?*
 - Naye Bathily, Parliamentary Relations, World Bank
 - Pierre Girardier, Parliamentary Relations, World Bank
- Session D *Towards a Citizens Basic Income Based on Natural Resources Revenues*
 - Eduardo Suplicy, MP Brazil



■ 9:15-10:45

SECOND SERIES OF PARALLEL WORKSHOPS - THE ROLE OF PARLIAMENTARIANS IN...

■ SESSION A

...THE NEW HEALTH PARADIGM: MAKING SENSE OF THE NEW RESOURCES LANDSCAPE AND CONTRIBUTING TO BETTER RESULTS

Description: Health occupies an ever growing place in debates on development priorities, with ill-health and disease widely recognized as barriers to economic growth, threatening human welfare, socio-economic advances, productivity, social cohesion, and even national security. The last ten years have seen a dramatic increase in the number of international partnerships in health (Global Fund, GAVI, etc.) and the arrival of new actors from the private sector—all of which differ in objective, scope and size. Some target a single disease such as AIDS, or tuberculosis. Others support interventions such as immunization, or components of the health system, such as monitoring.

The large influx of resources and actors is changing the way health is funded in many countries—a welcome demonstration of political

and financial commitment, but resulting in more complex health architecture, with new challenges for parliamentarians.

This session will i) take stock of what the various actors' involvement, approaches and impact, iii) discuss to what extent these actors are complementary or competing, and iv) explore how MPs can better contribute to this new health paradigm.

Chair: | - Michel Guerry, Senator, France

Speakers: | - Dianne Stewart, Head of Board and Donor Relations, Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria
- Wale Okediran, MP, Nigeria

■ SESSION B

...ACHIEVING GROWTH THROUGH AGRICULTURE

Description: Agriculture is a key sector in most developing countries employing up to 70% of people in Africa and represents 20 to 40% of GDP. Agriculture growth depends on a combination of factors including agricultural research, farm productivity, and access to markets, appropriate infrastructure, supportive policies, and the availability of new technologies. Research offers great potential for improvement in crop productivity, natural resource management, farming practices, and fish and livestock management. When combined with sound policies, these advances create wealth for farmers and, when applied in combination with other key factors, spur growth. Nonetheless, support for agriculture as a percentage of total overseas development assistance (ODA) has dropped from 7.8% in 1980 to 4% in 2004.

Organizer: | - Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR)

Chair: | - Sascha Raabe, MP, Chair Parliamentary Committee on Economic Cooperation, Germany

Speakers: | - Francisco Reifschneider, Director CGIAR
- Mark Cackler, Manager Agriculture & Rural Development, World Bank
- Lulama Xingwana, Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs, South Africa
- Monty P. Jones, First Executive Secretary, Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa

■ SESSION C

...PROMOTING RESPONSIBLE LENDING AND SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ILLEGITIMATE DEBT: REPLICATING NORWAY'S HISTORIC ILLEGITIMATE DEBT WRITE-OFF

Description: Last October, Norway cancelled \$80 million in debt owed by Ecuador, Egypt, Jamaica, Peru and Sierra Leone. In doing so, Norway admitted to a failure in its lending policy of the late seventies. Thus it claimed a shared responsibility in the unsustainable debt levels that ensued.

In addition to credit from lenders who aim to dictate economic policy, illegitimate debt also refers to the debt undertaken by corrupt or repressive regimes. In countries like Liberia, where rampant corruption and 14 years of civil war have left a debt level

of 3000% of exports, what role for lenders—countries and institutions alike—in breaking the cycle of debt, and freeing up resources for development.

Chair: | - Janette Garin, MP, Philippines, PNoWB Board Member

Speakers: | - Ågot Valle, MP, Norway
- Jostein Hole Kobbeltvedt, Norwegian Debt Coalition
- Lidy B. Nacpil, International Coordinator, Jubilee South

■ SESSION D

...CLIMATE CHANGE AND DEVELOPING NATIONS

Description: Two billion people do not have access to modern energy – not even a lightbulb in their homes. At the same time, the recent report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change concludes that it is more than 90 per cent certain that human activities since 1750 have warmed the planet. The Stern Review makes the case and that the cost of inaction will be greater than the cost of action. It is clear that climate change is a global issue. How can measures be taken to increase climate security while at the same time improving access to energy to reduce poverty? This workshop will focus on the likely impact of climate change on developing countries, and the opportunities offered by energy efficiency and renewables to promote access for all.

Organizer: | - The e-Parliament

Chair: | - Steen Gade, MP, Chair, Foreign Affairs Committee, Denmark

Speakers: | - Bruce Hewitson, University of Cape Town, Coordinating lead author of the Fourth UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Assessment Report
- Kwame Ampofo, MP, Ghana
- Suresh Prabhu, MP, Former Minister of Power, India

■ 10:45-11:00 COFFEE BREAK

■ 11:00-12:30 AID EFFECTIVENESS: WHAT ROLE FOR LEGISLATORS IN MONITORING RESULTS?

Description: In March 2005, over one hundred Ministers, Heads of Agencies and other Senior Officials endorsed the Paris Declaration, an international agreement to continue to increase efforts in harmonization and alignment of aid for results with a set of monitorable actions and indicators. What has happened since? Are we more effective at delivering aid?

Chair: | - Saumura Tioulong, MP, Cambodia

Speakers: | - HE Ali Mahamane Lamine Zeine, Minister of Economy and Finance, Niger
- Abdoulaye Bio-Tchane, Director, IMF, Africa Department
- Michael Koch, Director, The World Bank

■ 12:30-14:00 LUNCH

■ 14:15-15:00 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Speaker: Ahmad Kathrada, Chairperson, Robben Island Museum Council

■ 15:00-16:30 GOOD GOVERNANCE AND ANTI-CORRUPTION

Description: In September 2006 multilateral development banks agreed on a common framework to fight fraud and corruption in operations funded by their institutions. The African Union (AU) through its work on the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) lists good governance as one of its core principles and prerequisite for peace, security and sustainable political and socio-economic development. What role for these bodies in the fight against corruption in developing countries? What role for countries themselves?

Chair: | - Eduardo Suplicy, MP, Brazil

Speakers: | - Hugh Bayley, MP, United Kingdom
- Augustine Ruzindana, Chair African Parliamentary Network Against Corruption (APNAC), Uganda
- Akere Muna, Vice-Chair, Transparency International, Founder and President of TI Cameroon, and President of the Pan-African Lawyers' Union
- Vinay Bhargava, Director, External Affairs, World Bank

Organizer: | - African Development Bank

■ 16:30-17:00 CLOSING SESSION: THE WAY FORWARD

LIST OF PARLIAMENTARIANS

Country	Last Name	First Name	Organization	Title
Afghanistan	Koofi	Fawzia	Parliament of Afghanistan	Member of Parliament
Afghanistan	Saqib	Sabrina	Parliament of Afghanistan	Member of Parliament
Albania	Bufi	Ylli	Parliament of Albania	Member of Parliament
Albania	Spaho	Edmond Shyqyri	Parliament of Albania	MP, Chairman of Economy Committee
Algeria	Fellah	Mohammed	Senate of Algeria	Senator
Argentina	Perceval	Maria Cristina	Senate of Argentina	Senator
Belgium	Annemans	Gerolf	Parliament of Belgium	Member of Parliament
Belgium	Lano	Pierre	Parliament of Belgium	Member of Parliament
Belgium	Tant	Paul	Parliament of Belgium	Member of Parliament
Belgium	Destexhe	Alain	Senate of Belgium	Senator
Bolivia	Flores	Ximena	Parliament of Bolivia	Member of Parliament
Bolivia	Montenegro	Bernardo	Parliament of Bolivia	Member of Parliament
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Dokic	Branko	Parliament of Bosnia	MP, Minister of Communication and Transport
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Hadziahmetovic	Azra	Parliament of Bosnia	Member of Parliament
Botswana	Molefhabangwe	Robert K.	Parliament of Botswana	Member of Parliament
Botswana	Rakwadi	Modipane	Parliament of Botswana	Member of Parliament
Brazil	Suppicy	Eduardo	Senate of Brazil	Senator
Burkina Faso	Drabo	Joséphine	Parliament of Burkina Faso	Member of Parliament
Burkina Faso	Lompo	Abel T.	Parliament of Burkina Faso	Member of Parliament
Burundi	Ndikumana	Victoire	Parliament of Burundi	MP, Chair of Budget and Finance Committee
Burundi	Niyonkuru	Schadrack	Parliament of Burundi	Member of Parliament
Cambodia	Tioulong	Saumura	National Assembly of Cambodia	Member of Parliament, Spokesperson on Foreign Affairs, Former Governor, Cambodia Central Bank
Cameroon	Nguini Effa	Marie Rose	Parliament of Cameroon	Member of Parliament
Cameroon	Nyassa	Louis Claude	Parliament of Cameroon	MP, Chair of Budget and Finance Committee
Cameroon	William Mboe	Nkele Palmy	Parliament of Cameroon	Member of Parliament
Canada	Stollery	Peter	Senate of Canada	Senator, Chair Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade
Chad	Lamana	Abdoulaye	National Assembly of Chad	MP, Chair of the Oil Revenues Management, Former State Minister
Chad	Milengar	Ngarindo	National Assembly of Chad	MP, President of the CPGRP Committee
Colombia	Castro	Santiago	Parliament of Colombia	Member of Parliament
Colombia	Gaviria	Simon	Parliament of Colombia	Member of Parliament
Congo	Eleka	Marie	National Assembly of Congo	Member of Parliament
Congo	Kignoumbi Kia Mboungou	Joseph	National Assembly of Congo	Member of Parliament
Czech Republic	Stetina	Jaromir	Parliament of the Czech Republic	Senator

Denmark	Gade	Steen	Parliament of Denmark	MP, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee
Denmark	Jensen	Mogens	Parliament of Denmark	Member of Parliament
DRC Congo	to be announced			
DRC Congo	Luhaka	Thomas	Parliament of DRC	Member of Parliament
Ecuador	Alvarez	Lucia Burneo	Parliament of Ecuador	Member of Parliament
Egypt	El-Said	Mostafa	Parliament of Egypt	MP; Head of the Economic Department, Former Minister of Economy
Egypt	Greiss	Seyada	Parliament of Egypt	Member of Parliament
Ethiopia	Baikeda	Ato Godi	The House of People's Representatives	MP, Chief Chairman Rural Development Standing Committee
Ethiopia	Jarsso	Ato Shiferaw	The House of People's Representatives	MP; Chief of Government Whip (Minister Status)
Finland	Hellberg	Klaus	Parliament of Finland	Member of Parliament
Finland	Kiljunen	Kimmo	Parliament of Finland	Member of Parliament
Finland	Vilén	Jari Pekka Olavi	Parliament of Finland	MP, Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee
France	Guerry	Michel	French Senate	Senator, Vice Chair Foreign Affairs Committee
Gabon	Mamboundou	Pierre	Parliament of Gabon	Member of Parliament, Opposition Leader
Gabon	Oyoubi	Luc	Parliament of Gabon	Member of Parliament, President, Finance Committee
Gambia	Bidwell	Belinda	National Assembly of Gambia	MP, Speaker of the Parliament
Georgia	Inaishvili	Jemail	Parliament of Georgia	MP, Deputy Speaker of the Parliament
Germany	Raabe	Sascha	Parliament of Germany	MP, Chair Parliamentary Committee on Economic Cooperation and Development
Germany (MEP)	Markov	Helmuth	European Parliament	Member of the European Parliament, Chairman of the Committee on International Trade
Ghana	Ampofo	Kwame	Parliament of Ghana	MP, Chair Ghana Energy Committee
Ghana	Asaga	Moses	Parliament of Ghana	Member of Parliament
Ghana	Dzirasah	Ken	Parliament of Ghana	Member of Parliament
Ghana	Ofori	Appiah	Parliament of Ghana	Member of Parliament
Greece	Christodoulakis	Nikolaos	Parliament of Greece	MP, Former Minister of Economy and Finance, Chair PNoWB SEE
Greece	Xenofon	Vergenis	Parliament of Greece	Member of Parliament
Guinea	Baldé	Hadja Mariama	National Assembly of Guinea	Member of Parliament
Guinea	Barry	Yacine	National Assembly of Guinea	MP, Head of the Economic and Finance Committee
Guyana	Corbin	Robert H O	Parliament of Guyana	MP, Opposition Leader, Former Vice Prime Minister
Guyana	Trotman	Raphael	Parliament of Guyana	Member of Parliament
India	Thakkar	Jayaben	Parliament of India	Member of Parliament
India	Shaheen	Abdul Rashid	Parliament of India	Member of Parliament



India	Maheswari	Kiran	Parliament of India	Member of Parliament
India	Kharsheing	Robert	Parliament of India	Member of Parliament
India	Prabhu	Suresh	Parliament of India	MP, Former State Union Minister, PNoWB Board Member
India	Prasad	Mahendra	Parliament of India	MP, Standing Committee on External Affairs and Consultative Committee on Finance and Chemicals & Fertilizers
India	Rao	K.S.	Parliament of India	Member of Parliament
India	Trivedi	Dinesh	Parliament of India	Member of Parliament, Vice President PNoWB India
Indonesia	Ida	Laode	Parliament of Indonesia	Deputy Speaker of the House of Regional Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPD RI)
Indonesia	Sundari, MA, MDE	Dra. Eva K.	Parliament of Indonesia	MP, Deputy of Chairperson in Commission for HR, Law and Security
Iran	Ahmadi	Khas	Parliament of Iran	Member of Parliament
Iran	Sadehi	Shahin Mohamad	Parliament of Iran	Member of Parliament
Ireland	Woods	Michael	Parliament of Ireland	MP, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs
Italy	Borghesi	Antonio	Parliament of Italy	Member of Parliament
Italy	Picchi	Guglielmo	Parliament of Italy	Member of Parliament
Italy (MEP)	Frassoni	Monica	European Parliament	MEP, Co-President of the Green/EFA Group in the EP, PNoWB Board Member
Ivory Coast	Daleba Zozoro	Jules	National Assembly of Ivory Coast	MP, President PNoWB National Chapter
Ivory Coast	Dosso	Sita	National Assembly of Ivory Coast	Member of Parliament
Jamaica	Shaw	Aude	Parliament of Jamaica	Member of Parliament
Japan	Tetsundo	Iwakuni	Parliament of Japan	MP, Member of the House of Representatives' Standing Committee on Land, Infrastructure and Transport
Jordan	Faouri	Nawal	Parliament of Jordan	Member of Parliament
Jordan	Saoud	Adab	Parliament of Jordan	Member of Parliament
Kazakhstan	Kuanysh	Aytakhanov	Senate of Kazakstan	Senate Deputy
Kenya	Kerrow	Billow	Parliament of Kenya	MP, Chair PNoWB East Africa
Kenya	Mango	Christine	Parliament of Kenya	Member of Parliament
Kenya	Sungu	Gor	Parliament of Kenya	Member of Parliament
Kosovo	Surroi	Veton	Assembly of Kosovo	Member of Parliament
Kuwait	Al-Sane	Naser J.	Assembly of Kuwait	Member of Parliament
Lebanon	Moukheiber	Gassan	Parliament of Lebanon	Member of Parliament, Chair PNoWB MENA
Lebanon	Jaber	Yassin	Parliament of Lebanon	Member of Parliament
Lesotho	Moleleki	Monyane	Parliament of Lesotho	Member of Parliament
Liberia	Dorbor	Kuku Y.	National Assembly of Liberia	MP, Chair PNoWB Liberia
Liberia	Dunah	Worlea-Saywah	National Assembly of Liberia	Member of Parliament
Liberia	Hodges	Vinnie	National Assembly of Liberia	Member of Parliament

Luxemburg	Kemp-Arendt	Nancy	Parliament of Luxemburg	MP, Vice Chair, Foreign Affairs Committee
Madagascar	Razoarimihaja	Solofontanaina	National Assembly of Madagascar	MP, Deputy Speaker of the Parliament
Madagascar	Ratiarinaivo	Jeanson	Senate of Madagascar	Senator
Malawi	Shawa	Abbi	Parliament of Malawi	Member of Parliament
Mali	dit Sadio Traoré	Moussa	Parliament of Mali	Member of Parliament
Mali	Mantchiny Diarra	Fanta	Parliament of Mali	Member of Parliament
Mauritania	Sy	Adama	Parliament of Mauritania	Member of Parliament
Mexico	Calzada	Francisco Javier	Parliament of Mexico	Member of Parliament
Mexico	Duarte	Cesar	Parliament of Mexico	Member of Parliament
Mexico	Maawad	Luis Xavier	Parliament of Mexico	Member of Parliament
Mexico	Polevnsky Gurwitz	Yeidckol	Senate of Mexico	Senator
Moldova	Vlah	Irina	Parliament of Moldova	Member of Parliament
Morocco	Belmouddene	Fatema	Parliament of Morocco	Member of Parliament
Morocco	Oudor	Mohamed	Parliament of Morocco	Member of Parliament
Mozambique	Bras Muchanga	Francisco	Parliament of Mozambique	Member of Parliament
Mozambique	Mabunda	Abel	Parliament of Mozambique	Member of Parliament
Mozambique	Simango	Lutero	Parliament of Mozambique	Member of Parliament
Namibia	Basson	Julia	Parliament of Namibia	Member of Parliament
Namibia	McHenry	Vegnani	Parliament of Namibia	Member of Parliament
Namibia	Schimming-Chase	Nora	Parliament of Namibia	Member of Parliament
Netherlands	Gillard	Chantal	Parliament of The Netherlands	Member of Parliament
New Zealand	Gallagher	Martin	Parliament of New Zealand	Member of Parliament
Niger	Bazoum	Mohamed	National Assembly of Niger	MP, Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chair PNoWB Niger
Niger	Mounkaila	Aissata	National Assembly of Niger	Member of Parliament
Nigeria	Okediran	Wale	Assembly of Nigeria	Member of Parliament (HIV/Aids Advocate)
Nigeria	Fasinro	Habeeb	Parliament of Nigeria	Member of Parliament
Norway	Valle	Ågot	Parliament of Norway	MP, Foreign Affairs Committee (Gender and Development)
Pakistan	Kahlon	Riffat	National Assembly of Pakistan	MP, Federal Parliamentary Secretary Ministry of Information Technology & Telecommunication
Paraguay	Acha Mendoza	Sebastian	Parliament of Paraguay	Member of Parliament
Peru	Perez Monteverde	Martin	Parliament of Peru	Member of Parliament
Peru	Zeballos Gámez	Washington	Parliament of Peru	Member of Parliament
Philippines	Garin	Janette	Congress of Philippines	Member of Parliament, PNoWB Board Member
Poland	Krzysztof	Lisek	Parliament of Poland	Member of Parliament
Poland (MEP)	Bielan	Adam	European Parliament	Member of European Parliament
Poland (MEP)	Czarnecki	Ryszard	European Parliament	MEP, Former Minister, Vice-chairman to Parliamentary Committee of Culture and Mass Media. Chairman of Parliamentary Subcommittee for Copyright



Poland (MEP)	Kuc	Wieslaw Stefan	European Parliament	Member of European Parliament
Romania	Ponta	Victor	Parliament of Romania	Member of Parliament
Romania	Zgonea	Valeriu Stefan	Parliament of Romania	Member of Parliament
Romania	Neagu	Nicolae	Senate of Romania	Senator
Romania	Popa	Ioan Aron	Senate of Romania	Senator, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Budget, Finances, Banking and Capital Market
Romania (MEP)	Cretu	Corina	European Parliament	Member of the European Parliament
Rwanda	Mukazibera	Agnès	Parliament of Rwanda	Member of Parliament
Rwanda	Mukezamfura	Alfred	Parliament of Rwanda	MP, Speaker of the House of Representatives
Rwanda	Kantengwa	Anne-Marie	Parliament of Rwanda	Member of Parliament
Rwanda	Kubwimana	Chrysologue	Senate of Rwanda	Senator
Senegal	Diop	Mamadou	National Assembly of Senegal	Member of Parliament
Senegal	Sall	Abakabar	National Assembly of Senegal	MP, Chair PNoWB West Africa, Former Minister of Trade
Serbia	Obradovic	Radojko	Parliament of Serbia	Member of Parliament
Sierra Leone	Lahai	Bernadette	National Assembly of Sierra Leone	Member of Parliament
Sierra Leone	Sorie	Ibrahim	National Assembly of Sierra Leone	Member of Parliament, Chair PNoWB Sierra Leone
South Africa	Carrim	Yunus	Parliament of South Africa	Member of Parliament, Chair Economic Cluster
South Africa	Mbete	Baleka	Parliament of South Africa	Speaker of the Parliament
South Africa	Turok	Ben	Parliament of South Africa	Member of Parliament, Chair of the NEPAD Parliamentary Group
South Korea	Ahn	Hoong Jun	National Assembly of South Korea	Member of Parliament
South Korea	Kim	Choon Jin	National Assembly of South Korea	MP, Vice Chairman, Korean Public Health Committee
South Korea	Lee	Sang Kyung	National Assembly of South Korea	Member of Parliament
South Korea	Shin	Sang Jin	National Assembly of South Korea	Member of Parliament
Spain	Martin Soledad	Miguel Angel	Parliament of Spain	Member of Parliament
Swaziland	Dlamini	Mphiwa	Parliament of Swaziland	MP, Chairman of the Portfolio Committee, Ministry of Planning
Swaziland	Shabangu	Isaac	Senate of Swaziland	Senator
Sweden	Lilliehöök	Anna	Parliament of Sweden	Member of Parliament (Member Finance Committee and Foreign Policy Committee)
Sweden	Nylander	Christer	Parliament of Sweden	Member of Parliament, member of the Finance Committee
Sweden	Thorell	Olle	Parliament of Sweden	Member of Parliament (Foreign Policy Committee, assigned Development/WB responsibility in Parliament)
Switzerland	Müller	Geri	Parliament of Switzerland	Member of Parliament
Tanzania	Chegeni	Raphael	Parliament of Tanzania	MP, Deputy Chair Finance and Economic Committee, Chair PNoWB Tanzania

Tanzania	Makinda	Anne	Parliament of Tanzania	MP, Deputy Speaker of the House, Chairperson of the Standing Committee of Parliament dealing with Poverty reduction and Environmental issues
Tanzania	Mhagama	Jenista Joakim	Parliament of Tanzania	Member of Parliament
Togo	Yambandjoi	Kansongue	National Assembly of Togo	MP, Deputy Speaker of the House
Tunisia	Ben Marzouk	Elyes	Parliament of Tunisia	Member of Parliament
Uganda	Banyenzaki	Henry	Parliament of Uganda	MP, Vice Chair Economic and Finance Committee
Uganda	Nandala Mafabi	Nathan	Parliament of Uganda	MP, Chairman, Public Accounts Committee
United Kingdom	Bayley	Hugh	House of Commons	MP, Member Select Committee on International Development; Chair, Labour Party Departmental Committee for International Development
United Kingdom	Brown	Lyn	House of Commons	Member of Parliament, Member Africa Africa All Party Parliamentary Group
United Kingdom	Davies	Quentin	House of Commons	Member of Parliament
United Kingdom	Liddle Granger	Ian	House of Commons	Member of Parliament, Member Africa Africa All Party Parliamentary Group
United Kingdom	McFall	John	House of Commons	Member of Parliament, Treasury Committee
Uruguay	Alvarez Lopez	Pablo	Parliament of Uruguay	Member of Parliament
West Bank & Gaza	Shuaibi	Azmi	Parliament of Gaza	Member of Parliament
Yemen	Al-Emrani	Ali Ahmed	Parliament of Yemen	Member of Parliament, Vice Chair Finance Committee
Yemen	Al-Tayeb	Mohamed	Parliament of Yemen	Member of Parliament, Head of Public Freedoms & Human Rights Committee
Zambia	Lubinda	Given	Parliament of Zambia	Member of Parliament
Zambia	Mathongo	David	Parliament of Zambia	Member of Parliament
Zimbabwe	Misihairabwi	Priscilla	Parliament of Zimbabwe	Member of Parliament, Spokesperson on Foreign Affairs

(*) Participants confirmed as of March 9, 2007



SUMMARY REPORT

The seventh annual conference of the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB) was held in Cape Town, South Africa on 15-17 March 2007. It was hosted by the Parliament of South Africa and organized by PNoWB, the Parliament of South Africa, the World Bank and the African Development Bank (AfDB). This was the first time the conference was held in Africa, reflecting the global focus on the region's development. The annual conference is a unique space for dialogue and debate on development and poverty issues between parliamentarians and a variety of actors including international financial institutions (IFIs), civil society organizations (CSOs), bilateral agencies, and the private sector. This year's conference brought together over 200 parliamentarians from more than 100 countries with the President of the World Bank, the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the President of the AfDB, the Minister of Finance of South Africa, and the Minister of Development Cooperation of the Netherlands.

Before the conference, a session was organized by PNoWB board members to introduce the organization and its activities. In addition, regional working groups (Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, Europe and Central Asia, South Asia, East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Donor Countries) met separately to prepare questions for a Q&A session with the heads of the IFI's.

The conference opened with a dinner hosted by the National Treasury of South Africa where Nicholas Stern (Head, Government Economic Service, United Kingdom) presented his paper "Economics of Climate Change: Policies and Prospects for Action". Climate change presents the "greatest market failure" and requires a global response. It will hit the poorest countries earlier and harder.

A number of tools are available to mitigate its impacts:

- better climate forecasting, disaster management and emergency response;
- establishing a price for carbon emissions through taxation or trading;

- creating incentives for firms to invest in low-carbon technologies; and
- tackling deforestation, a more significant cause of emissions than the transport sector.

An equitable distribution of costs would require the developed countries to reduce their emissions by 60-80% by 2050 from 1990 levels and the developing countries by 20-50%. In addition, the developed world needs to honor its commitment (in Monterey and Gleneagles) to double aid by 2010. Mr. Stern ended his presentation by asking parliamentarians to raise awareness of climate challenges and advocate for equitable, efficient and effective global action.

The next day began with a series of parallel workshops on the role of parliamentarians in i) creating a business climate conducive to growth, ii) the transparent management of extractive industry revenues, iii) parliamentary strengthening, and iv) and improving accountability and transparency.

The workshop on parliamentary strengthening was organized by the Overseas Development Institute. The first speaker, Alan Hudson (Overseas Development Institute), drew on the findings of a review of parliamentary strengthening activities commissioned by the UK' Department for International Development (DfID). There are a number of factors that influence parliamentary performance: i) the ability and experience of the parliamentarians, ii) the capacity of and resources available to the parliament, iii) the political system, including the constitution, number of political parties, and degree of executive dominance, iv) the social and cultural environment, including the relationship between members of parliament (MPs) and their electorate, and v) the external environment, i.e. the degree to which the parliament is marginalized by donors.



There are also some lessons that can be learned from the parliamentary strengthening activities undertaken by DfID and others:

1. provide sustainable support;
2. respond to demand;
3. address the causes as well as the symptoms;
4. coordinate and harmonize donors;
5. take account of the political context; and
6. cover issues as well as procedures.

The next speaker, [Fred Matiangi \(Center for International Development, State University of New York\)](#), discussed his experience with a legislative strengthening program for Kenya. All program activities are demand driven. The parliament identifies its own needs. It has developed a strategic plan for its modernization which includes staff development, institutional reforms and a library. Most activities are also implemented by local actors. The program has set up a coalition of local actors interested in supporting the parliament. Specific activities include support to parliamentary committees (with work plans,

legislative reviews, research requests and budget workshops) and staff (with training and an internship program). One of the major lessons learned from this program is that reform is a slow process which involves resistance from the losers.

[Tetsundo Iwakuni \(MP, Japan\)](#), the last speaker, outlined some of the weakness and strengths of the Japanese parliamentary model. Weaknesses include i) an annual budgeting process that is not compatible with long-term programming, ii) single-seat constituencies that are focused on local rather than national or international issues, and iii) frequent elections in the lower house that result in one-dimensional and short-sighted policies. On the other hand, the same single-seat constituency and frequent election system also allows for political parties to come together and pass policies on certain issues such as the environment. In addition, the domination of the political process by one party has enabled the government to promote a number of development policies. Mr. Iwakuni concluded by urging the World Bank and other agencies to seek the “most effective and efficient way to achieve its goals without losing substance or compromising the comprehensive approach”.

Then, a number of issues were raised by the audience.

- Most capacity-building initiatives focus on national rather than regional parliaments.
- It is important to bring MPs on different sides of the political and ethnic spectrum on board.
- Parliamentary oversight is about the allocation of resources—the budget process.
- The Kenyan parliament has set up a coalition to work on social issues including gender.



The workshop on **improving accountability and transparency** began with **Kumi Naidoo (Civicus)** arguing that parliamentarians and civil society need to work at three levels to hold IFIs more accountable: at the macro level, IFIs need to change their governance structure to ensure equal and democratic representation among countries; at the micro level, MPs and CSOs need to play a larger role in shaping IFI policies; and, at the meso level, there needs to be more scrutiny with respect to the implementation of those policies in the field. In addition, CSOs need to strengthen accountability measures within their own organizations.

The next speaker, **Hassen Lorgat (South Africa National NGO Coalition)**, drew attention to a growing credibility crisis with respect to the World Bank and IMF. This is especially true in countries where there is lending to corrupt regimes. Perhaps the World Bank needs to focus on becoming a “knowledge bank” and leave policy making to parliaments. **Richard Calland (Institute for Democracy in South Africa)** agreed with Mr. Lorgat’s comments and emphasized the need to establish sound oversight mechanisms such as parliamentary standing committees.

Then, **Reverend Peter John Pearson (South African Council of Churches)** urged IFIs to draw on community-based knowledge to shape their policies. The last speaker, **Neil Coleman (Cosatu)**, questioned the effectiveness of the dialogue between parliamentarians and the World Bank. He warned against “window dressing”. He also added that MPs need to assert their legislative, representative and oversight functions at the domestic level before they can hold international institutions accountable. The session closed with the audience asking parliamentarians to strengthen their collaboration with CSOs and an MP from Senegal suggesting that trade unions work with MPs to advocate for debt cancellation.

After the parallel workshops, a keynote address was given by **Trevor Manuel (Minister of Finance, South Africa)** on **governance and economic development in Africa**.

With a GDP of just over \$2 trillion, the region is the poorest in the world. During the last two decades of the 20th century, GDP per capita remained largely flat. However, Africa has experienced sustained and rapid growth (on average 4.8%) since the turn of the century. This is largely due to macroeconomic reforms and outcomes: stable inflation, manageable debt, and sound fiscal policies. Strong commodity prices, particularly oil, have also contributed to economic growth.

While this is encouraging, the continent needs two or three decades of rapid growth to reduce poverty and inequality. Toward this end, it needs to i) enlarge the “fiscal space for development”, ii) increase trade and regional integration, and iii) improve global governance.

Sound fiscal decisions (reducing debt, increasing revenue and decreasing expenditure) enable governments to respond to social and economic needs. Over the last few years, a number of African countries have experienced budget surpluses. Increased aid and high commodity prices have also provided additional resources. However, these revenue streams can be unpredictable and cyclical. So, governments must move their economies towards independence by investing in human and physical capital.

Multilateral trade and regional integration can be a source of growth for both the developed and the developing world. For Africa, trade can create employment and reduces poverty. It can also introduce new technologies and enable the region to contend with crime, terrorism, HIV/AIDS and environmental degradation. This is why the collapse of the “development round” at Doha is so disappointing. “Agricultural subsidies, phytosanitary rules, and other non-tariff barriers remain significant obstacles to increased trade between Africa and the developed world. They distort trade and impoverish millions.” Nonetheless, the continent has been able to break into certain niche markets.



A global structure that can “resolve disputes, identify common interests and help countries achieve mutually beneficial solutions” is critical. It can also provide public goods such as “high quality and dispassionate macroeconomic and microeconomic advice”. While the World Bank and IMF have come a long way in this respect, they must avoid a one-size-fits-all approach to policy making. The scars of the structural adjustment program are still fresh for many African countries.

Before lunch, a panel that included [Trevor Manuel \(Minister of Finance, South Africa\)](#), [Donald Kaberuka \(President, AfDB\)](#), [Rodrigo de Rato \(Managing Director, IMF\)](#) and [Paul D. Wolfowitz \(President, World Bank\)](#) held a discussion on Africa. The discussion focused on three broad issues: i) growth and governance, ii) aid and trade, and iii) what does the emergence of China and India mean for Africa.

The first question put to the panel concerned the one-size-fits-all or “Africa is one country” approach taken by many policy-makers. Mr. de Rato responded that while Africa is many different countries, certain generalizations can be made about the continent. For example, rapid growth is largely due to better macroeconomic frameworks, no inflation, and sustainable debt and deficit levels. But, as Mr. Manuel indicated, reducing poverty requires more growth for many years. This means i) integrating

into the global economy, ii) developing the private and financial sectors, and iii) managing the public sector.

Mr. Wolfowitz agreed that it is impossible to have poverty reduction without growth. One of the missing Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is job creation. However, “each country is at a different point on the path” to growth. This means that the World Bank’s role is different in each country. Then, Mr. Kaberuka paraphrased Chairman Mao: for an egg to hatch a chicken, the internal and external conditions have to be right. Africa has to work on the internal conditions, especially governance, peace and democracy; and the international community has to work on the external conditions, e.g. honoring commitments to increase aid. With respect to the latter, parliamentarians in donor countries can put pressure on their governments to deliver on these commitments.

The next question put to the panel concerned regional organizations and cross-border infrastructure development. Mr. Manuel answered that the number of regional organizations needs to be reduced so that those that exist can be more effective. He added that the infrastructure grid has not changed very much since the 60’s and “does not compel us to trade with each other”.

Then, a set of issues were raised by the audience.

- A Kenyan MP indicated that Africa does not receive sufficient attention, especially during natural disasters. Mr de Rato responded that the Fund tries to develop the capacity of in-country institutions to respond to emergencies. Mr. Wolfowitz added that he believes Africa is receiving more attention. He drew attention to the campaigns associated with Bono and Bob Geldorf. He also emphasized the need to tell the world about Africa’s success stories.
- A Zambian MP asked about the role of IFIs and parliamentarians with respect to responsible lending

practices. Mr. Wolfowitz replied that parliamentarians can publicize excessive, unproductive and irresponsible borrowing and lending.

- A Ghanaian MP wondered if the AfDB would consider setting up an African Development Corporation. Mr. Kaberuka responded that private sector development in Africa requires an investment climate characterized by good, predictable, and sustainable policies as well as capable and collaborative state institutions.



The last question put to the panel concerned donor commitments to double aid and the collapse of the Doha Round. Mr. Wolfowitz answered that over the last two years, there has been a significant increase in international assistance. However, most of that assistance has gone to debt relief for Iraq, Afghanistan and Nigeria. While debt relief is important, donors also need to honor commitments made to IFIs like the World Bank and the AfDB.

Good policies are essential but so are investments in physical and human capital. China and Korea had good policies but they also borrowed \$65 billion from the World Bank. In addition, donors need to allow countries to decide how they will use the funds so that we have schools and vaccinations but also roads and electricity.

Then, a second set of issues were raised by the audience.

- A Danish MP asked about the IFI's approach to "donor orphans". Mr. Wolfowitz responded that the World Bank treats all countries fairly. The Danish MP also wondered if the World Bank would be willing to raise awareness about the benefits of reducing agricultural subsidies for American and European consumers. Mr. Wolfowitz indicated that "\$260 billion is coming out of the pockets of American, European and Japanese tax payers and consumers". He added that anything that can support effective trade negotiations is valuable. Mr. de Rato agreed that "we can not be asking for poverty reduction with one hand and closing the door on trade with the other".
- A Canadian senator expressed concern about corruption in the petroleum industry. Mr. Wolfowitz pointed out that by definition countries with large oil revenues do not need to borrow from the World Bank. Hence, the organization has little leverage with them. He added: "We are not as powerful as our friends hope and our enemies fear". Nonetheless, the World Bank supports the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and encourages parliamentarians from donor countries to tough up bribery laws. "More often than not, the briber comes from the United States, Europe or Japan."
- A MP from Lesotho indicated that international competitive bidding requirements often mean that the capacity of the local private sector does not develop. Mr. Kaberuka responded that Africans deserve to have the best and the local companies must strive to deliver goods and services that can compete internationally.

The Story of Africa by Norbert Mao

Africa is a story. The question is will it be a story with a happy ending. Let me leave you with a story. A pastor went to visit his very sick friend who was full of tubes in a hospital. He knelt down to pray for him. The friend gestured to him desperately. Because he could not talk, he wrote a note and gave it to the pastor. The pastor put the note in his pocket without reading it and knelt down again to continue praying. When he finished his prayers, he found that his friend had died. Then, arrangements were made for a funeral and this pastor was invited to make a speech. He said, "Well, I have the last note he wrote to anyone alive". He pulled out the note and began sobbing because the note said, "Pastor, you are kneeling on my oxygen tube". Sometimes those who wish us well are kneeling on our oxygen tubes. Let's give a big round of applause to the IFIs.



After lunch, three question and answer sessions were organized with the heads of the IFIs. The first session was with Paul Wolfowitz (President, World Bank). Mr. Wolfowitz began his presentation with a quote from Nelson Mandela:

“I’ve discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can only rest for a moment for with freedom comes responsibilities and I dare not linger, for my long walk has not ended.”

The Commission for Africa concluded that governance is the most significant developmental issue facing the continent. Governance is a necessary and important part of the development agenda everywhere. The World Bank has spent about a year preparing a Governance and Anti-corruption Strategy. This has included extensive consultations with governments, civil society, parliaments, and the private sector. A number of recommendations have come out of these consultations.

1. Stay engaged, even in poorly governed countries. “Don’t make the poor pay twice.” The question is not whether but how to engage.
2. Continue to work with governments but also engage with parliamentarians, the media, civil society, and the private sector. The private sector believes that “integrity is good for business”.
3. Strengthen country systems, not bypass them. In the long-run, this is the only way to reduce fraud and corruption.
4. Monitoring is a key part of promoting governance reforms. Clear and transparent standards are needed to define and measure performance.
5. Coordination and harmonization between the World Bank and other development partners is essential.

At Gleneagles, it was agreed that the developing countries would improve their performance and the developed countries would increase their assistance. The challenge is not only to scale up aid but to do it in a way that is most effective. This includes the proliferation and complexity of aid channels. The average number of donors per country has increased from 12 in 1960 to over 30 in 2005. As the president of Botswana has pointed out, “The wonderful thing about development is that so many people want to be generous, and the difficult thing about development is that so many people want to be generous”. This means that an inordinate amount of scarce human resources must contend with the many different requirements of the many different donors.

In addition, there is a tendency to earmark aid for special purposes, including global programs such as HIV/AIDS. This means that the donor rather than the government sets the priorities. Finally, the International Development Organization (IDA), the concessional finance window of the World Bank, is the “foundation on which other donors build their programs”. Without its analysis and assistance, other aid programs are less effective. IDA also fills the gaps (e.g. infrastructure in Africa) that are left by the earmarking of funds. But IDA can not do its work without the contribution of donors. Hence, the 13th tri-annual replenishment of IDA which ends this year is very important.



Then, the regional working groups put a number of questions to Mr. Wolfowitz.

- The Sub-Saharan Africa group asked if the IMF and the World Bank would be open to oversight by PNoWB. Mr. Wolfowitz answered that the two institutions already had legal mechanisms for oversight, namely the Governors and the Board of Directors who are responsible to governments.
- The South Asia group wondered if the World Bank would be willing to modify its policies to meet the needs of the people and government of Afghanistan. Mr. Wolfowitz replied that the World Bank recognizes that it is important to work with people and through governments. He also asked the MP to send a letter outlining her specific concerns to the World Bank Country Director for Afghanistan.
- The Europe and Central Asia group was concerned about immigration. Mr. Wolfowitz responded that the best way to manage uncontrolled immigration is to “give people a chance to prosper at home”. Immigration is one reason why everyone, particularly Europeans, should be concerned about Africa’s development.
- The Latin American and Caribbean group raised two issues: i) debt for environmental services swaps, and ii) citizen’s basic income programs. Mr. Wolfowitz believes that credit/resources to protect the forest might be available given the current discussions on climate change and deforestation. With respect to basic income programs, he said that each country has to decide on the type of cash transfer program it wants to adopt. The World Bank could, however, help countries learn from the experience of other countries.
- The donor countries group asked if climate change is a priority for the World Bank. Mr. Wolfowitz answered that the World Bank is preparing a Clean Energy Investment Framework to help developing countries invest in cleaner sources of energy.
- The South Asia group wanted the World Bank to pay more attention to women and children. Mr. Wolfowitz believes that empowering women is not a gender issue. It is a development issue. He also believes that a good place to begin this process is education. A number of studies have shown that children with educated mothers are more likely to live until the age of five and go to school.
- The Latin America and Caribbean group requested that the World Bank help parliaments create a committee to monitor loans/projects. Mr. Wolfowitz indicated that governments are responsible for implementing and monitoring World Bank loans. Nonetheless, he would ask his new Vice-President for External Affairs to gather examples of successful parliamentary participation. He would also ask his other vice presidents to meet with parliaments when visiting developing countries when their schedules permit.
- The Sub-Saharan Africa group was concerned about the quality of education across the continent. Mr. Wolfowitz replied that education is the most effective investment that can be made for development. He agreed that there is a difference between increasing enrollment and improving the quality of education. While the World Bank has an important role, ultimately, the country must ensure quality.
- The donor countries group wanted to know if the World Bank’s current environmental and social safeguards are sufficient. Mr. Wolfowitz responded that the World Bank does not need additional safeguards. He also added that some useful and large developments have not been undertaken because they have been considered complicated and difficult, shortchanging the poor.



The next question and answer session was with [Donald Kaberuka \(President, AfDB\)](#). Mr. Kaberuka believes that, for the first time, there is policy ownership in Africa. Africans understand that there are things (governance, political stability and macroeconomic management) that only they can and must do now. Development can not be imposed or imported. He also pointed out that Africa is one big economy. Hence, regional integration is critical.

In addition, the second generation of resource-rich countries must avoid the mistakes of the first generation by ensuring that the additional resources are used to build capacity and integrate into the global economy. Finally, revitalizing the private sector requires i) a durable business climate, ii) a capable state that

provides the level playing field, and iii) opening up the economy.

Mr. Kaberuka concluded with:

“There are two ways of looking at Africa today. One of them is to say that we have a window of opportunity generated by internal factors and the external environment. But this window of opportunity is very narrow and will not be with us for too long. We can seize it and do something. I believe many of us belong to this school of thought. Now, we also have the cynics. I hope they are very few.”

Then, the audience put a number of questions to the speaker.

- A MP from Luxembourg asked how Africa is doing with respect to infant and maternal mortality. Mr. Kaberuka answered that the situation is “very bleak”. Few African countries are likely to attain these two MDG. The AfDB is addressing this issue directly through education programs and indirectly through water programs.
- A Ghanaian MP raised the issue of infrastructure and regional integration. Mr. Kaberuka replied that the AfDB has increased its lending for infrastructure from 40% to 60%. He also added that the organization is coordinating a consortium of donors involved with infrastructure and has a new vice president for infrastructure and regional integration.
- A MP from Morocco wondered what the AfDB is doing to empower parliaments. Mr. Kaberuka responded that the organization is building the capacity of finance committees to fulfill their parliamentary oversight role.
- A Ugandan MP pointed out that the biggest problem in Africa is income inequality. Mr. Kaberuka disagreed. For him, the biggest problem in the continent is governance. If

the issue of governance could be addressed, then instruments would exist to redistribute income.

- A MP from Switzerland asked how parliamentarians in Europe can help African farmers receive a fair price for their goods. Mr. Kaberuka answered that parliamentarians should try to make the development round at Doha a success. Then, it would be possible for “African tomato farmers to sell their tomatoes and add value to their tomatoes in Africa”.
- An Egyptian MP raised the issue gender and development. Mr. Kaberuka indicated that even though the AfDB and other institutions have mainstreamed gender in their operations, more needs to be done.
- A MP from the United Kingdom wondered where the AfDB stands on the various development paradigm shifts. Mr Kaberuka responded that in the 1960’s, the state was good; in the 1980’s, the market was good; and now, both the state and the market can be good and bad. Beyond a few issues related to governance, every country must choose its own path to development. This is the lesson of India and China.



The last keynote address of the day was given by [Bert Koenders](#) (Minister of Development Cooperation, the Netherlands, and former Chairperson of the Board, PNoWB). Reaching the MDGs requires political leadership. Some countries may not be able to reach them by 2015 and some MDGs may be more difficult to attain than others. For example, maternal health, childcare, and reproductive rights may need more attention and funding. It is also important to ensure that funds are used appropriately. This includes harmonizing aid. Parliamentarians and the PNoWB have an important role to play here.

PNoWB brings together parliamentarians from around the world to discuss and learn what works and what does not work at the global, regional and country levels. It also allows them to discuss the same issues with the leadership of the World Bank and the IMF. Perhaps PNoWB should also be able to observe the Spring Meetings of the World Bank and IMF.

Then, a number of comments were made by the audience. A MP from Latin America wondered about citizen's basic income. Mr. Koenders replied that a new type of cooperation between employers, employees and governments or an insurance system may also be able to redistribute income. Then, an Indonesian MP asked if the World Bank and IMF could involve parliamentarians more directly in the policy-making process. Mr. Koenders answered that parliamentarians should work through their governments and the World Bank to ensure that they are involved in Country Assistance Strategies (CAS) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP).

The next day began with breakfast meetings and a second series of parallel workshops on the role of parliamentarians in i) the new health paradigm, ii) achieving growth through agriculture, iii) promoting responsible lending, and iv) climate change.

Before lunch, a very important session was held on [aid effectiveness](#). The first speaker, [Abdoulaye Bio-Tchane](#) (IMF), pointed out that most developing countries are off track with respect to the MDGs. This means that aid must increase and become more effective. At Gleneagles, the G8 promised to increase aid. Then, in Paris developed and developing countries

“committed themselves to harmonizing and aligning aid delivery”. Donors promised to make aid “less difficult to use, more predictable, and better aligned with recipient priorities”. Unfortunately, the increase in aid has not yet materialized. This means that what is arriving (9% of GDP and 36% of government expenditures for Africa) must be used effectively.

And effective use of aid often involves the recipient country having a clear vision of what it wants. This includes a strategy that i) reflects the recipient's rather than the donor's priorities, ii) is effectively prioritized, and iii) has political support. Beyond the strategy, the country must also have strong policies, solid institutions and private sector participation.

The IMF is helping countries become more aid effective by:

1. Preparing realistic medium-term profiles of aid flows;
2. Identifying what it will take to reach the MDGs;
3. Developing public sector management tools;
4. Supporting mechanisms under the Paris Declaration that make donor and recipient countries accountable to each other; and
5. Participating in donor coordination efforts.

Mr. Bio-Tchane concluded that parliamentarians also have a role to play with respect to monitoring aid. This includes i) debating development priorities, ii) ensuring that these priorities are reflected in the budget, iii) monitoring the budget, and iv) insisting on proper reporting and auditing.

The next speaker, [Ali Mahamane Lamine Zeine](#) (Minister of Economy and Finance, Niger), discussed aid effectiveness in Niger. Niger is a large but climatically fragile country. Free and fair elections and committees to address identity issues have contributed to social and political stability. The country adopted a PRSP in 2002. Donor objectives are aligned to this strategy. Niger has focused on growth rather than poverty. Poverty eradication can not happen without growth. It has also developed 60 indicators of poverty. The data needed to monitor these indicators is gathered by a newly created National Statistical Institute. In addition, the country has undertaken reforms with



respect to mobilizing revenue, managing expenditure, and decentralization.

Michael Koch (World Bank), the last speaker, made a presentation about the structure of development assistance. Overall trends include:

- Official development assistance (ODA) is .33% of Gross National Income (GNI). This has not changed over the last 15 years.
- ODA has increased in recent years but 70% of that increase has been for debt relief, particularly for Nigeria and Iraq. There has also been an increase in emergency assistance in response to the Pakistani earthquake and tsunami and in the cost of delivering aid.
- About 30% of the assistance is multilateral, the rest is bilateral. The European Commission is the largest provider of multilateral aid.
- About 67% of the assistance is going to the poorest countries. Africa receives 38% of ODA.
- About 60% of the assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa is going to the social sectors, primarily for health and education. Only 19% is going for infrastructure (roads, energy and communication) and 12% for production (agriculture and industry).

Then, a number of issues were raised by the audience.

- A South African MP believed it is more important to use aid effectively than to increase it. Mr. Koch and Mr. Bio-Tchane agreed and added that less earmarking and more harmonization would be beneficial. Mr. Bio-Tchane also urged donors to consider more budget support.
- An Indian MP wondered if the type of political system a country has affects aid effectiveness. Mr. Bio-Tchane responded that good governance improves aid effectiveness.
- A MP from Lesotho asked about state sovereignty and the proliferation of donors. Mr. Koch suggested the following measures: i) a requirement that donors must inform the government before they implement a new activity, ii) round tables where donors report on their activities and

- There are 56 bilateral and 230 multilateral agencies. There are also a number of funds or programs for specific sectors or themes. This is especially true for the health sector where you have over 100 major organizations.
- The average number of donors per country has tripled over the last 50 years.
- About 36% of the assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa's health sector is going to programs for infectious diseases.
- The number of donor-funded ODA activities has increased from 20,000 to 60,000 over the last 10 years but the average amount of this assistance has fallen from \$2.5 million to \$1.5 million. This has led to fragmentation—more donors without an increase in the volume of aid.
- About one-third of all aid comes in the form of technical assistance which is free-standing and not well-coordinated.

All this leads to a complex environment with high transaction costs for donors and recipients and, ultimately, less aid effectiveness. This environment or “aid architecture” has no architect. Hence, we have no choice but to work with the Paris Declaration and its principles, namely ownership, alignment and harmonization.

coordinate among themselves, and iii) a requirement that donors must use local implementation agencies.

- A MP from Senegal insisted that we must not choose between education and infrastructure. Aid should be increased so that we can have both. Mr. Koch agreed.
- A British MP suggested that the states that are a member of the European Union and have substantial development programs should coordinate among themselves and then have one conversation with the recipient country. He also added that he was surprised that there have been no complaints about excessive conditionalities. Mr. Bio-Tchane commented that perhaps there is a “balance between conditionality and ownership”.



After lunch, a keynote address was given by Ahmad Kathrada (Robben Island Museum Council). Mr. Kathrada began by pointing out that Apartheid did not begin in 1948. It began in 1652 when the Dutch colonized Cape Town and ended in 1994 when a democratic government came to power.

The African National Congress (ANC) was founded in 1912 by local academics and chiefs. In 1948, a pro-Nazi party came to power. They passed a number of laws, including the Bantu Education Act. This law prevented Africans from learning mathematics and sciences. In 1949, after many years of petitions and resolutions, younger and more radical leaders such as Walter Sisulu took over the ANC.

With them, the ANC began a program of passive resistance and civil disobedience. In 1950, a general strike was called in Transvaal where 18 people were killed. Then, in 1952, volunteers were asked to defy six Apartheid laws. During this defiance campaign, about 10,000 people were imprisoned for a short period of time. Finally, in 1955, the people of South Africa were called up to develop a new constitution which came to be called the Freedom Charter and is now part of the country's constitution. The authorities responded with more arrests.

In 1960, during a peaceful demonstration, police fired and killed 69 people. Immediately after this massacre, the ANC was banned. A number of its senior leaders were sent abroad to organize. Others like Nelson Mandela set up the armed wing of the organization. Recruits for this wing learned how to make and place bombs. These bombs were placed in Apartheid buildings when there was no danger of human injury.

In 1963 at a farm called Rivonia, eight people, including Mr. Kathrada and Nelson Mandela, were arrested. They were held in solitary confinement for three months. Then, they were tried and sentenced to life in prison.

Apartheid meant there was a separation from cradle to grave. So, the only white person among the eight was sent to a prison for white people in Pretoria. The other seven were flown to Robben Island, a prison for non-whites. The separation continued at the prison where Mr. Kathrada, who was Indian, wore long trousers and socks while the black prisoners wore short trousers with no socks. They ate the same foods for breakfast, coffee and porridge, but the blacks got less sugar. Nelson Mandela and some of the other senior ANC leaders were offered better food and clothing but they refused special treatment.

During this period, the communist governments (Soviet Union, Cuba and China) supported the ANC with weapons and military training. India and the Scandinavian countries provided humanitarian assistance. And, African countries like Uganda and Tanzania assisted the ANC with military bases.

Western governments refused assistance, with a few of them labeling the ANC a terrorist organization.

"So we are very careful with the word terrorist, because one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."

After 18 years, Nelson Mandela began the negotiation process when it became clear that a military victory was not immediately possible. The aim became a negotiated settlement and a non-racial democratic South Africa. "We had three and half million whites. You can not drown three and half million whites in the sea."

Mr. Kathrada concluded his presentation with:

"What have we achieved? We have achieved dignity. Dignity for millions of oppressed people, suffering the worst type of humiliation. We have won liberty. Liberty for our white compatriots. They were insecure people. They were living in fear."



Then, the audience made the following comments.

- A member of the audience asked about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Mr. Kathrada answered that it is important not to forget the atrocities of Apartheid. Yet, it is equally important to look to the future. When Nelson Mandela became president, he invited the wives of Apartheid era leaders to tea. The widow of the architect of Apartheid was ill and could not come. So, Mr. Mandela got in his helicopter and went to her house.
- A MP from Guyana wondered about post-Apartheid expectations. Mr. Kathrada replied that houses have been built and water has been provided but more needs to be done.
- A Kenyan MP commented that a number of African countries have turned into dictatorships after independence. Could this happen to South Africa? Mr. Kathrada responded that he was confident that the checks and balances would not allow it.

The last session of the conference focused on good governance and anti-corruption. Hugh Bayley (MP, United Kingdom) presented the findings of a paper prepared by the Africa All Party Parliamentary Group. According to the World Bank, \$1 trillion are paid in bribes each year. "Corruption is the enemy of development."

- It hurts the poor the most.
- Corruption obstructs business growth.
- It deters investment.
- Corruption accelerates capital flight.
- It is a tax on trade.
- Corruption undermines good governance.

In Nigeria, about \$450 billion was stolen or misused between 1960 and 2000. This explains why per capita income in 2002 was lower than it was at independence. Corruption is not a Nigerian problem. It is a global problem. This is why DfID launched the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). The initiative will not end corruption but it will reduce it. The UK government also introduced a bill to make bribery by a British citizen or company abroad a criminal offense.

Mr. Bayley concluded by pointing out that support for increasing aid to developing countries could come to an end if citizens of donor countries understand the scale of corruption in recipient countries. The African Union estimates that one-quarter of Africa's GDP leaves the continent because of corruption.

The next speaker, Augustine Ruzindana (African Parliamentary Network Against Corruption) believes that the various anti-corruption codes of conduct, laws, campaigns, commissions, and institutions have had little or no impact because they have focused on the executive branch. Parliaments and parliamentarians have been not been involved. MPs can play an important role in the fight against corruption by exercising their oversight, legislative and representative roles.

The African Parliamentary Network Against Corruption was set up in 1999 to help parliamentarians exercise their oversight role. Its members are M Ps not parliaments. They do not investigate specific acts of corruption and are non-partisan. The organization advocates for international instruments to combat corruption, access to information and anti-corruption legislation and corporate social responsibility initiatives such as the EITI.



Akere Muna (Transparency International), insisted that “it is impossible for a corrupt system to put up a credible fight against poverty”. The first step against corruption is a system-wide audit. Another important step would be to somehow involve the banks who keep “the stolen goods”. Parliamentarians in developing and developed countries have an important role to play.

The last speaker, Vinay Bhargava (World Bank) began by pointing out that the World Bank wants to help countries that want to help themselves. Over the last ten years, the

organization has worked with a number of countries to control corruption and improve governance. Four lessons have emerged from this experience:

1. country ownership and leadership is essential;
2. the executive branch should not be the only entry point;
3. work in partnership with the media, NGOs and transparency initiatives; and
4. the results are less than satisfactory, so more needs to be done.

Then, Mr. Bhargava outlined the key findings of the consultations on the World Bank’s Governance and Anti-corruption Strategy that were presented by Mr. Wolfowitz the day before. He ended by presenting the key elements of the revised strategy:

- At the global level, support international instruments and initiatives such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption and the EITI.
- At the country level, help governments manage corruption and improve governance. This includes working with the executive branch on public sector management, with the legislative branch on auditing and with civil society on independent monitoring.
- At the project level, improve auditing, transparency, accountability and monitoring.

Then, a vigorous discussion occurred between the audience and the speakers.

- An MP from Jamaica asked if the World Bank needs the government’s permission to investigate an alleged case of corruption. Mr. Bhargava answered that if the government obstructs an investigation, the World Bank can ask for a refund.
- A Greek MP wondered why IFIs have not been tough on corruption. Mr. Bhargava replied that a few initiatives have begun including one where the IFIs agree to share information on corrupt companies and ban them from future procurement. Mr. Bayley added that “none of us is justified in going slow on dealing with corruption in our countries because of corruption elsewhere.
- A MP from Italy suggested the formation of an international body that tackles corruption. Mr. Bhargava agreed that the existing mechanisms could not tackle the problem. “I don’t visualize a period when there will be no corruption, but just like crime, there needs to be a much more rigorous effort to control.”
- Mr. Muna pointed out that unlike people working for the environment or human rights, those working on corruption are not committed. He also added that while the World Bank assesses the impact of its projects on the environment, it does not consider the impact of its policies on corruption. There is no corruption impact assessment.

ANNEX I

GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

ADDRESS FROM TREVOR MANUEL, MP MINISTER OF FINANCE, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction

Africa, with a GDP of just over \$2 trillion¹ in 2006, is regarded as the poorest region in the world. On a per capita basis, Africa's GDP based on purchasing-power-parity ranges from a low of US \$645 in Malawi to a high of US\$ 17 426 in Equatorial Guinea². This view is quite different to that held of the continent at the beginning of the 19th century. It was during this time that Africa's income amounted to roughly one-third of that of Europe and recorded growth that was more rapid than in Asia. However, in the twenty years of the last century, GDP per capita on the African continent remained remarkably flat while most other emerging regions enjoyed substantial increases in prosperity and welfare.

Africa is, however, catching up. Economic growth has been sustained and is more rapid than in decades. Since the turn of the century, growth has averaged 4.8 per cent, reaching 5.2 per cent in 2006. Macroeconomic policy reforms and outcomes in terms of stability underlie the improving performance. Lower and more stable inflation, manageable debt levels, sound fiscal policies and improved public financial management providing a firm foundation for this accelerating economic growth.

Strong commodity prices, in particular oil, have also supported growth in recent years and this combined with sound macroeconomic performance has provided a framework for resilient growth in most African countries.

While this trend is encouraging, it does not yet provide a sustainable platform for the reduction of poverty and inequality. Africa needs two to three decades of rapid growth to make a substantial dent in the level of poverty. Half of Africa is today regarded as poor, while in regions such as Asia, the number of people living in poverty has halved in the past three decades. Thus, a challenge on the continent is to sustain this rapid economic growth through further acceleration of investment in physical and human capital.

And central to that effort are three important areas of work. First, African governments need to continue to increase fiscal space for development via a range of reforms, prudent fiscal decisions and the development of government institutions affecting revenue collection and administration and effective government expenditure.

Second, the continent's capacity to trade must be enhanced through a pragmatic approach to regional economic integration.

And third, the efforts of recent decades to improve governance needs to be strengthened, accelerated, and made irrevocable, in large part be ensuring that we make major strides forward to improve global governance. As economic integration proceeds and deepens and the issues associated with globalisation reach further into our social, political, and economic lives, we need a system of global governance that is representative and effective.

¹ Gross domestic product based on purchasing-power-parity (PPP) valuation. This compared to the World GDP (\$65 trillion), US (\$13 trillion), China (\$10 trillion) and India (\$4 trillion). Source: IMF WEO and CIA Fact book.

² Gross domestic product based on purchasing-power-parity (PPP) per capita GDP (Unit: Current international dollar Units). Source: IMF WEO



Expanding fiscal space

Fiscal space is the room that governments build, through sound fiscal decisions, to respond to economic and social needs. Reducing debt service costs through lower debt releases resources that can be spent on social services. Improving the efficiency of the revenue authority provides additional income to invest in government spending on human and physical capital. Managing and mitigating risks on the spending side provides governments with the policy room to be able to respond to increased demand for public services or to adverse shocks.

African governments have done well to create fiscal space in recent years. In 2006, despite rising public expenditure, many African countries recorded surpluses or moderate deficits, reflecting improved domestic revenue collection and significant current grants. Debt relief efforts are helping and progress is being made to reduce the burden of interest costs.

Increased aid is also providing additional resources. However, the volatility and unpredictability of aid flows presents a significant obstacle to proper budgeting and quality spending. For example, aid to Africa began rising after the early 1970s, growing steadily from 16 per cent of global aid in 1974 to 28 per cent in 1992. Thereafter, the continent experienced a sharp downturn lasting until 2000, followed by a recovery in 2002 which surpassed earlier peaks.

In recent years, aid levels have been affected by geopolitical issues, and in particular the demands placed on donors to help sustain and redevelop Iraq, Afghanistan, and other countries experiencing conflict. According to the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC), despite a significant increase in overall aid during 2005, the share going to sub-Saharan Africa has declined from 35 per cent in 2003 to 30 per cent in 2005³.

As an international community, we have developed a common language and set of understandings and agreements on raising the level of aid and how it will be used. Reciprocal commitments have been made covering donor and recipient behaviour. Because those agreements are so important, the difficulty currently being experienced in ensuring a fully-funded IDA is especially disconcerting.

For those reasons, and others, reliance on aid flows is risky and governments need to design and implement the institutional and other reforms required to develop other forms of revenue. They also need to ensure that the fiscal space created is sustainable and that expenditure that follows from it provides a human or capital return to support more rapid economic growth and/or higher productivity. Our multilateral institutions have tended to dissuade us from focusing too much on fiscal space issues, but I think it is critical to moving African economies and governments from a condition of dependence to one of independence.

Some of the increased revenue accruing to African countries arises from high commodity prices, and there will be structural and cyclical elements to it. Sound fiscal management suggests that once-off revenue be spent on items that provide a sustainable boost to economic development and well being. This implies that a substantial portion of the increased revenue should be spent on infrastructure and capacity so that development can continue when commodity prices abate.

Later this year, African policy makers will have an opportunity to engage Finance Ministers' and Central Bank Governors' Group of Twenty (G-20) countries on the issues of fiscal space and integrate the lessons and best practice coming out of these discussions into their fiscal management processes. South Africa will be hosting the 9th annual meeting of the G 20 Finance Ministers' and Central Bank Governors' in November.

³ Real total aid flows increased from US\$72.4 billion in 2002 to US\$104.8 billion in 2005. Only nominal data available for Iraq and Afghanistan, for which flows increased from US\$1.4 billion in 2002 to US\$24.4 billion in 2005. Real flows to sub-Saharan Africa increased from US\$23.6 billion in 2002 to US\$31.4 billion in 2005. Source: DAC Development Co-operation Report 2006.



Increasing trade with the rest of the world

Turning to increasing trade with the rest of the world, it is quite evident that multilateral trade reform and regional integration holds the promise of economic growth for both developed and developing countries. A strong external sector would help integrate African countries into the global economy and ensure that it is not left behind as the global marketplace expands.

Increased trade is beneficial to Africa in that it supports poverty alleviation and is able to create new employment opportunities on the continent. It promotes regional integration and helps expand intra-regional trade, while infusing new capital and technology into the continent. Finally, by promoting strength, stability and prosperity, trade enhances Africa's ability to contend with the problems of crime, drug trafficking, terrorism, corruption, HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases and environmental degradation.

It is precisely for these reasons that the collapse of the Doha round, originally termed a 'development round', is a serious indictment on the intention of developed countries to increase market access to the developing world. Agricultural subsidies, phytosanitary rules and other non-tariff barriers remain significant obstacles to increased trade between Africa and the developed world. They distort markets and impoverish millions, thereby reducing the incentives for African countries to invest in improving their supply-side infrastructure. This is especially true for least developed countries, and is exactly why trade and aid must go hand-in-hand for these countries. Aid for trade needs to be addressed as a critical step in the Doha round.

LDCs require more than just lower tariffs and improved market-entry conditions to benefit from the global economy. Enhanced supply-side capacities are of utmost importance in enabling developing countries to strengthen their export performance. Thus, these countries often need financial resources to remove supply-side constraints through investments in trade infrastructure, technology, production capacity, human resources and institutions. At the UN World Summit in September 2005, our

leaders pledged their support to increase aid for building the productive and trade capacities of developing countries. It is important that Africa derives maximum benefit from this initiative and that it results in an increase in the level of both inter- and intra-regional trade.

In spite of this disadvantage, African countries are breaking into certain niche markets in the developing world, and are benefiting greatly from the commodity riches they can export. Nonetheless, African economies face a challenge of attempting to diversify their exports within an environment where access to markets is concentrated in a limited number of products.

Much of the African economic policy renaissance has been home-grown – African societies choosing policies and policy reforms to improve economic outcomes. And that important step of setting out alternatives and making choices is an outcome in some important senses of the paucity of effective global governance of our international economic system.

A much stronger approach to African and regional economic integration would also help to improve the balance of trade with the rest of the world by creating new economic links between national economies and deepening those that currently exist. Economic diversification remains critical to long-term economic development and growth. It is difficult to underestimate the importance of such efforts, even though the short-term benefits of some of the policies that need to be adjusted to get there are not always obvious.

But a new and robust approach linking African efforts to free fiscal space to the need for cross-border infrastructure could use greater coordination. And it is especially important that the Bank's work on infrastructure and its financing in Africa be given fresh impetus and urgency. For Africa, economic integration depends on infrastructure development in a way the continent has never before witnessed.



Global governance

A key concept in the international development debate and policy discourse has been that of good governance. Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan encapsulates the importance of good governance when he says “good governance and sustainable development are indivisible...without good governance – without the rule of law, predictable administration, legitimate power and responsive regulation – no amount of funding, no amount of charity will set us on the path to prosperity.”⁴

Improving Africa’s governance environment has been an essential element of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) – an initiative by African leaders to place the continent on a path of sustainable development encompassing good political, economic and corporate governance and prosperity.

But governance at national and regional levels is only one part of the economic trajectory that developing and poor countries need to follow. Global governance – the roles and accountability of our multilateral institutions – must play a key role in achieving the economic and social outcomes associated with sustained economic growth and good policies. The public good qualities of these institutions must play themselves out and provide key benefits in different ways and at different levels.

Ever more integrated economies need a global governance structure to help resolve disputes, identify common interests and help countries achieve mutually beneficial solutions. They may in some cases even provide direct public goods, and one of the more important of these it seems to me is high quality and dispassionate macroeconomic and microeconomic advice. I mean dispassionate not in the sense of not caring about the outcomes, but in the sense of being alive to the interplay of national interests, ideas and influence that can bias advice away from the best interests of the country’s receiving advice. The Bank and Fund have come far, but we need to be mindful of the risks involved with applying templates across economies that are idiosyncratic and diverse. The repercussions of the approach

taken in the past to structural adjustment still bear scars on the political consciousness of many African societies, and undermine the voices of our multilateral institutions.

How do we address these sorts of problems? Let me suggest a few ideas.

First of all, we need to ensure good policy advice calibrated appropriately to our economies, our economic challenges, and our social and political norms. This is less straightforward than it sounds and critically important to get right. It also entails ensuring that the broad ideas and approaches that sometimes inspire us in international forums are set off against solid core programmes of policy analysis and advice.

One example of this is the Millennium Development Goals, which tend to dominate our thinking about development in recent years. Laudable certainly, useful definitely, comprehensive? Perhaps not. The MDGs have swung our thinking too far away from the productive sides of our economy – it is important to keep a sense of perspective. For most developing countries, achieving the MDGs is as much about more rapid economic growth as it is about shifting around government spending.

Unlocking constraints to economic growth has to remain a central role of developing country governments. And for most of them, the activity is neither clear cut nor simple. What to do with land, the use of natural resources like water, and how these link to thornier problems around property rights remain key to the question of sustainable economic growth. Despite what we sometimes hear, the oldest profession on earth may in fact be agricultural economics.

Trying to address local economic problems, whether they centre on land reform, irrigation or how to develop a sustainable revenue base, require capacity building, knowledge and global

⁴ Economic Commission for Africa. 2005. *Striving for Good Governance in Africa: Synopsis of the 2005 African Governance Report Prepared for the African Development Forum IV*



systems for making sure that knowledge is available and usable. As part of the global governance system, the Bank and Fund will not be able to create positives out of a quest to rid the world of negatives, important as it is in its own right to tackle corruption. Capacity building, institution building, knowledge building have to be the core of our development equation.

Our multilaterals also need to think more broadly about their role in the provision of other types of public goods, in particular

environmental ones. In coming decades, global and regional environmental issues will need clear economic and policy thinking backed up by institutions and regulatory frameworks capable of handling the intersection of national governments and economies, cross-border environmental concerns and frameworks for addressing externalities that are today in their infancy.

Conclusion

The solid growth seen in Africa at this time is greatly encouraging, but will only be sustained if states develop the capacity to use additional resources for the benefit of all. Investment in infrastructure and building solid economic and social institutions will affect our ability to turn the current commodity cycle into a sustained improvement in living standards for the broadest possible range of people.

We continue to make progress in building our institutions, improving governance, supporting macroeconomic stability and investing in long term development. In large part, these efforts are independent of the current economic trajectory, but it is also true that difficult policy reforms can sometimes have a better chance of succeeding when economic times are good. African governments should use revenue gains and improved fiscal positions to make clear progress on policies that hold back economic growth, especially those with vested interests or which relate to regional economic integration, and to build institutions.

But they need to be able to do these things within a system of global governance that supports these efforts, truly and free of cynicism. Bank and Fund intentions, policies and systems must place economic development and the interest of African and other peoples at the centre of their approach.

The role of the parliamentary network is critical to resolving many of the issues that I raised today. Global governance can only be effective when it is owned by those countries willingly participating in the governance arrangement. As parliaments, founded as representative institutions, you need to probe and inquire, hold our multilaterals to an ever higher standard of accountability and effectiveness. It is only in this way that the societies that you represent as parliaments will benefit fully from multilateral institutions that truly work in harmony with you to achieve our common human goals.

I trust that your review of the role of the Bank and Fund in Africa helps to generate further steps on the road to prosperity for all.

Thank you.



ANNEX II

REMARKS BY AHMAD KATHRADA, ROBBERN ISLAND MUSEUM COUNCIL

Zita Langa (MP, South Africa): Good Afternoon. As just announced by the powers that we should proceed. My name is Zita Langa. I'm a Member of Parliament from here in South Africa. I chair the Environment and Tourism community. I'm also the convener of the economy class for the ruling party in the Parliament, the ANC. What I've been asked to do is a privilege for me. I've been asked to introduce to you the speaker who's about to address us now.

The speaker who is about to address us is Ahmed Kathrada. In America, they have got Abraham Lincoln, they've got George Washington, they've got Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. In South Africa, we have amongst others, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela. These are what you call the founding fathers of our country.

Ahmed Kathrada, who is about to address us, is one of those people, whom the writer, Nikolai Ostrovsky once referred to as those who fought for freedom. He said, man's dearest life -- man's greatest position is his life. He was in the news, but once. My soul is to have no searing regrets of a cowardly past and my soul is to stay dying. I gave my life to the greatest cause of all, the cause of freedom. Ahmed Kathrada, who is about to address us, is one of such people. He joined the liberation movement at an early age, at the age of 15, and he joined the young communist leagues in the late 40s. He went to work as an activist in the Indian Congress, as well as in the broad democratic movement. He was arrested together with Mandela in the 60s and served together with Mandela, 27 years in prison.

So, we felt as the South African Government Parliament that, we should invite him to share his own perspectives. He is what we call, a Titan, in our revolution. So, without further ado, I'll hand over to Ahmed Kathrada, Thank you.

Ahmed Kathrada: Thank you very much Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman. Thank you very much for giving some of your time to listen to me. But I'm sure for most of you, it would be a

light relief from the very busy, very, very hectic schedule that you've had. Just one correction Mr. Chairman, I didn't serve 27 years, I served 26. Mr. Mandela served 27.

I'm going to try to speak a little about the struggle against Apartheid, the transition in South Africa today, but I've been told that I should speak a little about our prison experience. Now, first of all people have got a wrong impression that Apartheid started in 1948. In fact, apartheid started in 1652 when the Dutch colonized the Cape Town. If any of you have been to Kirstenbosch Gardens here in Cape Town, you will still see the remainder of the hedge that Van Riebeeck had planted to keep the indigenous people out. That's where Apartheid started and successive governments of course, have carried on the policy of Apartheid. They didn't call it Apartheid, but they carried on the policy of Apartheid right up to 1994, when the democratic government came into power.

Now, I belong to the African National Congress, of course like the chairperson here. The African National Congress was founded in the 1912, under the leadership of academics who were trained abroad, lawyers mainly and paramount chiefs and so forth. So, for the first 37 years of ANC's existence, they carried out a policy of resolutions, petitions, delegations and the response of the authorities was one of greater reprisals. 1948 was a watershed moment in our history when the nationalist party came into power. Naturally, it was all whiter, as you all know, we, who are not white, never enjoyed the vote. We voted for the first time in 1994, but this party that came into power in 1948 was a Pro-Nazi party. In fact, the minister of justice at the time that we were sentenced imprisonment, had been in a concentration camp in South Africa for supporting the Nazis. So that all their laws that they had passed since 1948 they have petitionalized, the laws that they copied from Nazi Germany.

I won't go into all the laws, but I'll mention one of the pernicious laws, called the Bantu Education Act. Now, perhaps I should tell you at this stage that Apartheid applied differently to the whites on the one side, they didn't apply to them at all, and to those who are not white. Among those who are not white, we had Indians like myself of course, born in South Africa, colored people, and of



course the majority of people, the African people. All of us suffered from racial discrimination of one form or another, but applied differently. So, if you can imagine a ladder, on top of the ladder were the whites, with the vote and all the privileges that were denied to the rest of all people. Immediately under them were Indians and colored people, who enjoyed a few more rights than the African people, but of course less than the whites, and at the bottom of the ladder were the majority African people.

So, there's just one law that I want to talk about, it's called the Bantu Education Act, which applied only to the African people. Now, the minister in charge of that law had made it very clear that there is no place in white South Africa for the black people above the status of laborers. Now, you may know that white South Africa had divided the country into white and black. The majority of black, rather the whites owned 87% of the land, and they only constituted less than 15% of the population, and they regarded the rest of South Africa as 'White South Africa'.

So, the minister had said that the African people were in South Africa as laborers. Laborers don't need mathematics, they don't need the sciences. For labor purposes, you don't need them. So that we had generations of African people growing up, going to school without mathematics, without the sciences, and you may have heard the conference what a tremendous shortage we have of scientists, of mathematicians. Because even our teachers, black teachers were not equipped. They have to learn mathematics, because they were deprived, they would have to learn the sciences, because they were deprived of that education.

So that's just one of many laws and I won't go into that. So, they came into power and as I said, they brought in laws that were copied from Nazi Germany. Now, after 47 years of the African National Congress attempts at negotiations through petitions, resolutions and so forth, all that failed. In 1949, there came a radical change in the leadership of the African National Congress, the conservative leadership, who believed in the politics of petitions and resolutions, was out-voted and a younger radical leadership took over and the secretary general in 1949, who was

appointed was Walter Sisulu. His name has just been mentioned by the Chairperson. He was one of the senior leaders of the African National Congress, who was with us in prison; he died a few years ago. So, he was appointed secretary, and the whole movement took a turn towards a more radical opposition to Apartheid.

So the [...] passed a program of action, which allowed for civil disobedience, passive resistance, boycott and so forth, which was not on the agenda of the African National Congress before then. In pursuance of this policy of passive resistance, the first action took place in a province called the Transvaal in 1950, when the people were called upon to strike and it was a peaceful strike. The police killed 18 people, innocent people, who had just gathered at meeting. So, the strike was a tremendous success. The next major campaign was the defiance campaign of 1952. Now, I should just pause here, just to clarify something. I had said that Apartheid applied differently to the different groups, but because it applied differently, we had different congresses. We had the African National Congress, we had the Indian Congress, we had the Colored Congress, because each congress faced law that applied to those particular people, but they worked in alliance.

So, the defiance campaign of 1952 was jointly run by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. Volunteers were called upon to defie six laws, Apartheid laws and by defying those laws, they were imprisoned.

So, during that period of that campaign, about 9,000-10,000 volunteers went to prison for short periods - a month, two months, three months etc. but, instead of meeting the demands of the people, the government responded by even stricter laws, harsher laws and 20 leaders of the campaign were arrested including Mr. Mandela, Mr. Sisulu and others and they were given a suspended sentence fortunately.

In 1955, the Congresses organized a Congress of the people. The idea was to call upon all the people of South Africa to come together to have a new constitution, which will apply for a non-racial South Africa for all the people of the country. The Congresses invited even the ruling Nationalist Party to come to



the conference, of course they did not come and that conference passed what was called the Freedom Charter, which is the historic document. The principles of Freedom Charter are now part of our Constitution, which you may have had a chance to look at. Again, instead of exceeding to the demands of the people, the government arrested a 156 people and trialed them for high treason. At the end, only 30 of the 156 were charged, and that case went on for four and a half years, and even the Apartheid court found the 30 not guilty and among them was Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others.

Those people were acquitted in 1961, but in 1960 came the Sharpeville Massacre. Now, most of you may have heard of the Sharpeville Massacre. It was a peaceful demonstration led by a sister organization of the African National Congress called the Pan Africanist Congress, whose leader was a man by the name of Robert Sobukwe. It was a peaceful demonstration against a certain law, Apartheid law, in a place called Sharpeville. The people demonstrated outside the police station and again the police opened fire and killed 69 innocent people and subsequent to that, they banned the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, so they became illegal organizations.

At that stage, The African National Congress decided to go underground and some of its most senior leaders, Oliver Tambo, J. B. Marx, Yusuf Dalu, Moses Kotane, Joe Slovo and others were sent out of the country to organize from abroad. Some of the senior leaders like Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, they stayed in the country and Mandela, of course, stayed in the country. But because now the African National Congress being banned and declared illegal, the remaining avenues of peaceful protest no longer existed. It is then that the African National Congress, under the initiative of Nelson Mandela, decided that there should be an armed wing of the ANC. The ANC leadership gave permission to Mr. Mandela to set up this armed wing called the [...] wing.

Recruits had to undergo training in the manufacture and planting of bombs. But they had to take an oath to stick strictly to the discipline of the African National Congress. Bombs had to be

placed in Apartheid buildings all over South Africa. Post Offices, Railways, parks, everywhere you had Europeans only, Europeans only and the volunteers, the recruits had to bomb those places. But the fundamental requirement of all recruits was that those bombs had to be placed when there is no danger of injury to human beings. So, those bombs were placed at night when there were no people around.

So, at that stage Mr. Mandela had gone underground, left his home, he's a lawyer, he left his legal practice and functioned underground in South Africa. When arrest took place in 1963 in a farm called Rivonia, it was a secret farm where illegal activities were carried on and we were arrested. We don't know how the police found out but we were arrested. Mr. Mandela had been arrested before and he was sentenced to five years but he was brought back from Robben Island and joined in with us and we were charged for high treason and sabotage. Precisely because among the eight of us were four of the top leaders of the African National Congress, Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlaba. We, those of us who were also underground at that time as activists, we were all arrested together.

Now, at that time there was a law which entitled the police to detain political suspects for three months at a time and during those three months you're kept in complete isolation, not even allowed to talk to the people with whom you're arrested. The whole idea was that you were not allowed visitors, no lawyers allowed, no newspapers, no books. Just in solitary confinement for three months and during that period the whole idea was to break your spirit, so that you can give information to the police. Information about yourself, about your colleagues, about your activities.

Now, under that law, they used various tactics to get information. Ranging from psychological torture to physical torture and we reckon that between 1963 and the 80s when it was discontinued, about 100 odd people were tortured to death. The most well known one, you may have all heard of was Steve Biko, tortured to death. Some were electrocuted, some were thrown over buildings, some were bludgeoned to death, and those who survived were charged and sent to prison. So, many of the people who landed on Robben Island and other prisons were people who went through that three month period.



So, when we finished our three month period after that interrogation, I must make it clear that we were not tortured, not physically, I was not tortured physically. I was asked questions naturally, which I refused to answer but I was not tortured, fortunately for me. After three months, we saw our lawyers for the first time. The lawyers, our own lawyers had prepared for the worst. They told us that they had enough evidence to hang us, our own lawyers told us that. So, that when we went on trial, right from the beginning, Mr. Mandela and others made it clear to us that this is a political trial, we must not apologize for our activities. We must admit our political belief, regardless of the consequences. That's what some of you may have seen the speech that Mr. Mandela made in court.

Now, when that speech was shown to some of the lawyers, one of the lawyers said, I don't want to take the case because you are asking for the death sentence, and of course in the end we managed to convince the lawyers that the only way to fight that case was as a political case, regardless of consequences. So, right up to the last day, when the judge said stand up for your sentence, the expectation among us and among our lawyers was a death sentence. There has been a recent book published about Mr. Mandela, which showed that on the night when the judge said that you're found guilty, and we all expected the death sentence, on that night, Mr. Mandela scribbled a message which he was going to read to court in case the death sentence was passed. What he was going to tell the court was that I was very proud of what I did, and given the opportunity I would do it again. Fortunately, we were sentenced to life imprisonment and none of us got the death sentence. So, there was a collective sigh of relief.

Now, there were eight of us on trial and who were sentenced. Our eighth colleague was white and in apartheid South Africa, literally from the cradle to the grave, that separation. You're born separately, you grow separately, you go to separate schools, you play separately. If you're sick, you go to hospitals or clinic separately, if clinics existed that is, and when you die, you are buried separately. So, that when we were sent to Robben Island, it was only seven of us who were sent.

Our eighth colleague, Dennis Goldberg, because he was white, could not be sent to Robben Island, only prisoners who were not

white were in Robben Island. He was kept with other white political prisoners in Pretoria Prison.

Now, on the night of our sentence, it was bitterly cold, we were fast asleep and we were suddenly woken up and chained and laid irons and we were put on a military plane, seven of us, and flown to Robben Island. We were the only group of prisoners who were taken to Robben Island by plane. Now, among the seven of us, I was the youngest, not the youngest on Robben Island, because we had young kids of 16 and 15, but I was the youngest of the seven, and I'm deliberately saying this, you will see why, and I was the only Indian. The reason why I'm saying so, Govan Mbeki, the late Govan Mbeki, the father of our President, was 20 years my senior, Mandela is 11 years my senior.

The first thing we had to do in prison, on a very cold winter's day, rainy, is to change into prison clothes. All my colleagues, because they were black, had to wear short trousers, right through the winter, no socks. I was given long trousers, socks, because as I said earlier, Indians and colors were treated better than the blacks, but worse than the whites.

Food, in the morning we had the same food; porridge, soup, coffee. My colleagues, because they were black were given less sugar than we were, but our sugar was less than the whites but the whites were not on Robben Island. The meat, the fish, was less than ours and ours was less than the whites. So, Robben Island was a microcosm of how apartheid applied in the rest of South Africa.

So, from the word go it was a struggle against this inequality, struggle for equality and so forth. How do you struggle in prison? You make your demands, you make your representations and eventually you have your hunger strike. So, the first hunger strike took place about two years after we came to prison. It was a combination of pressures; the pressure of the prisoners, the struggle outside, and since you are from foreign countries, I must point out, it was the solidarity and support of civil society, from throughout the world, that helped us, not governments, I must make that clear.



Unfortunately, I have to mention something that's not fashionable these days but it's part of our history. The only governments that supported us were the communist countries; Soviet Union, China, Cuba, East Germany, they trained our soldiers, they supplied arms to our soldiers. India and the Scandinavian countries provided humanitarian aid, because we had camps, training camps in Africa. Our soldiers and [...] in schools, so all kids and our soldiers had to be fit, they had to get uniform, clothing, et cetera, and that is where the Scandinavian countries and India provided humanitarian aid.

African countries, they were just starting to get their independence, but they were a tremendous help, as poor as they were. They gave us as much assistance as possible, and some of the African countries like Uganda, Tanzania, etc, we had military camps as well. So, that was how we spent our years in prison, I won't go into detail. We worked with pick and shovels, all of you know what pick and shovels are, but what I want to say at this stage is soon after we arrived on Robben Island, Mr. Mandela was called by the authorities and he was told we are prepared to exempt you from work, we're also prepared to give you clothes like the rest, and we're prepared to give you food like the rest, he refused. All the leaders of the ANC who were with us refused special treatment, they said, we want equality for all our people, we don't want to be singled out. So, even when we had hunger strikes, our leaders refused to be exempted, they joined the hunger strike, and that was a great inspiration to the rest of us.

After 18 years on Robben Island, all of us were transferred to a prison in Cape Town and that is where Mr. Mandela started the negotiation process with the other side, because right from the start we knew that our struggle, even our arm struggle, is not going to end in a military victory, the South African army was too strong for that. Even though we had thousands of trained soldiers we could not beat the enemy. The whole aim of our struggle was to get a negotiated settlement, because first of all, we believed right from the start in a non-racial democratic South Africa. So, we had three million whites at that time, three-and-a-half million whites, you can't drown three-and-a-half million whites into the sea. After we have won the struggle, they are going to stay in South Africa.

So, ours was a non-racial struggle and that is why we opted for a negotiated settlement. It was not a military victory, it was a negotiated victory. We would have won the struggle in any case but it would have taken a lot of bloodshed, it would have taken many more years, but because our leadership, the African National Congress, decided that we must have a negotiated settlement, which would guarantee rights for the first Interim Constitution for five years, guarantee that jobs that people had and so forth, which is a detail we won't go into now. The retrospect, of course that worked, but Mr. Mandela started the negotiation process from prison. He first met the civil servants, then met the Ministers of the cabinet, eventually he met the two Presidents and persuaded them. His point was, we are prisoners, prisoners don't negotiate. You must negotiate with the African National Congress in exile. Allow the exiles to come back. Unbend the African National Congress and other organizations. Free, release all political prisoners and let us talk.

Eventually the government accepted that, released political prisoners, and of course the negotiation started. Many people ask now, ask Mr. Mandela particularly, how come you spent 27 years in prison, you're not bitter, you're not full of revenge or hatred? The reply was very simple, we stand for a non-racial, gender equal, South Africa. After the dust of struggle is settled, we are still going to live with our compatriots. So, you can't have an anti-white struggle, we are believing in a non-racial struggle, and that is part of our constitution, that was agreed upon. It's a constitution which stands for a non-racial, gender equal, democratic South Africa.

I want to end by, what have we achieved? I'm not going to go into details of water and lights and the houses and all that we have built, there are lot of statistics, but what I want to say, that we went to the Western Countries for assistance. They refused, the governments refused, civil society supported us. Two of the leaders of the Western Country said Mandela is a terrorist, the ANC is a terrorist organization, they refused to help us. That is why we had to turn to the Communist Countries for help. So, when we talk about terrorism, we have to be very careful, we were called terrorists. Many of our people suffered greatly, death and torture and all that because they were called terrorists.



So, we are very careful in using the word terrorist, because one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. So, we're always conscious of that.

What have we achieved? We have achieved dignity. Dignity for the millions of oppressed people, for 350 years, deprived of the dignity as human beings, suffering the worse type of humiliation. We have given dignity to our people. We have won liberty, liberty for our white compatriots, because they too, although they were ruling the country, they had rights but they were insecure people. They were living in fear all the time. They were ashamed to go with a South African passport to other countries because civil society looked down upon them. We have given them liberty. We have got gender equality like never before.

If you go to our parliament, you see our cabinet, you see our ambassadors, large number of females, it was just not there before. When we came to Parliament in 1994, in the previous parliament there were only I think six or less female. So, the washing -- toilet facilities were on the fourth floor, when we came to Parliament with many, many more female, they had to make all those adjustments. So, we have provided gender equality.

We have provided freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, which wasn't there before. We have provided freedom of religion, because even under the laws, there was no religious freedom, there was apartheid even in the churches, different buildings and so forth, you couldn't join any church that you liked, you had to join a black church, an Indian church, a colored church. We have provided and protected religious freedom. So, when you look at the constitution of South Africa and look back to 1994, April, we can look back with great pride at what we have achieved over the years, and these are some of the things that I have just outlined. I want to stop Mr. Chairman and see if there are any questions about any? Well, thank you very much.

Moderator: Thank you very much. I'm not so sure, are there any more minutes to give to the session, ten minutes for questions maybe. Okay, you can ask questions here. Yes sir.

Audience: Thank you for these very inspiring words. I'm interested in an experience which is almost unique in its success in South Africa, that's a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Can we have some of your assessment of its successes or failures, would you do it differently if it were to be done all over again, and tell us a little more about the work that you're doing for the memory? How can you -- how are you managing the memory of the times of apartheid through the museum that apparently you're chairing, how does that work?

Ahmed Kathrada: Well, let's answer the first question first. We have said that while we will never forget the atrocities of apartheid that is part of our history. We must remember that so that future generations will not make the same mistake, but we may have to look forward. We can't build a country on the foundations of continuously looking back and blaming our past. We know we have inherited a legacy of massive hunger, unemployment, homelessness, millions of children without school, we have had that, and we know apartheid was responsible for that but we have to look forward. While we remember and while we will not forget apartheid and its atrocities, we will have to look forward. We have to have a policy of reconciliation.

As you may know, when Mr. Mandela became President of South Africa, on the basis of reconciliation, one of the first things he did, he invited the widows and wives of former apartheid leaders to tea. The widow of Dr. Verwoerd, who was the architect of apartheid, she was ill, she couldn't come. So, Mr. Mandela got into his helicopter, went to her house, as in the spirit of reconciliation.

So, I can go on, but when you come to the Truth Commission, The Truth Commission had a policy of reconciliation. We invited victims to come forward. We invited both the traitors to come forward. The Truth Commission provided that if local traitors can prove to the Commission that what they did was in perseverance of a political objective by the government and that they satisfy the criteria, they be given amnesty. Those who refused to come, who didn't -- some of them were tried, some of them are in prison. What we did not want to do is a repetition of the Nuremberg trials, we didn't want that, because if we had arrested and charged and jailed with perpetrators of apartheid, it would



meant perpetuation of hatred, of revenge, and we don't want that. Truth Commission, historians will be able to assess whether it's successful or not, we think it has made a great contribution towards reconciliation, but it's a bit too early, history will tell. I am confident that history will vindicate the Truth Commission, but it will be sometime before that happens.

Moderator: Yes sir.

Robert Corbin: Thank you very much, I'm Robert Corbin from Guyana. First of all, I'd like to again commend the leadership of the ANC and all the fighters who brought liberation to South Africa. Indeed, I, as a young man felt very emotionally attached to this struggle all the way in Guyana, South America. I recall us writing and asking whether we could actually come and physically fight. We got a very interesting message that we have all the manpower, we needed just material support. My question now is, having come true with this struggle to this point, as many societies have faced, you may have the problem of rising expectation, because people who have been suffering on apartheid might have felt that once the ANC is in government, then all the problems will be solved; housing, rising, the standard of living and a number of other social amenities. How are you dealing with the problem of high expectations and a gap between those high expectations and what the economy can now afford?

Ahmed Kathrada: This is a very good question. We know of course that in every struggle, the people, the victims have high expectations. The day after the elections in 1994, people were saying, where are our houses, where is electricity, where is water? If you go into statistics, we built three million houses, we have provided electricity, running water, sanitation, to millions of people, but we have a long way to go, we have a long way to go still.

So, materially and from the point of view of attitudes, changes are taking place. The miracle is not so much April 1994, the miracle is the patience of our people. Expectations are there, as fast as we build houses, as fast as we provide electricity, the demands increase, because one of the -- and as you all know, one of our major problems is illegal immigration. We've got a 3,000

kilometer borders. During the apartheid days there were men by the army to keep out freedom fighters coming in with guns, now we don't have that border control anymore, not strict. So, tens of thousands of illegal people are coming to South Africa, we don't know the numbers. So, we have to provide, we have to provide employment, houses, et cetera, for our own people, and now we don't even know who is an illegal immigrant anymore.

So, our problems are increasing as far as provision to the most needy is concerned, but as I say, and we have to repeat that, we have gone somewhat, we have gone quite a way towards providing the neediest of the needy, but I must emphasize that we have a long way to go still. We are confident that with the policy of the organization, with this leadership, we will succeed.

Moderator: I'll take the last three hands; one, two, three, four.

Audience: Senator Supplicity from Brazil, I would like to congratulate, and thank you so much for such an inspiring conference, Mr. Ahmed Kathrada. Consistent with all the steps that you have mentioned in the history of the end of the apartheid struggle and the struggle to have Africa equal for everyone, no matter; origin, age, race, color, or socio-economic condition. It's common sense that in Africa, in South Africa there is a very strong movement, the coalition for a basic movement with the same organizations behind that were in favor of the end of the apartheid, such as the Black Sash, the Congress of Idren's entitlement of social security, the gender advocacy program, the Southern African Catholics Bishops and 32 organizations.

Well, in Brazil, we are struggling for a citizen's basic income, the lack of everyone to participate in the wealth of the Nation. A law was already approved in this direction. Since it would be difficult to introduce it from day to night, the law says that it will go step by step, starting with those most in need until -- while in South Africa you already have a universalization of the right to be old, to get a dividend or an income. To what extent will you consider consistent with the objectives of the ANC, of President Nelson Mandela and yourself, that in South Africa you also in a certain



time, you prepare all the steps to have the right of anyone to have basic income, as the right to everyone to participate in the wealth of the nation, unconditionally, in my view consistent with all the struggle that you've mentioned? Thank you very much, congratulations.

Audience: Member of Parliament from India's upper house. I will sacrifice my question for somebody else, I just want to salute you for whatever you did, and to ask you remember Aung San Suu Kyi who is in jail for 17 years in Burma.

Lucia Burneo: My name is Lucia Burneo, Member of Parliament from the Republic of Ecuador. I am very thankful for your speech and also for having the opportunity to be invited here, because I am fairly convinced that democracy and development go hand in hand. Therefore, I want to express here to all of you my concern about the current situation in Ecuador. Also, in the globalized world, I think we should be watching for democracy because democracy is something we should really keep for the peace of the world. I am worried for the situation in Ecuador where 57 members of parliament including myself have been legally dismissed from tribunal elections, with support of the government and the Ministry of Interior Security for having voted, supposedly voted, in parliament for something that we did not vote. So, this is an illegal act and I am mainly at concern for my personal integrity, not only as a woman but as human rights are really in danger. So, I really ask for the support to see that democracy in a region like South America must be maintained, and hopefully to have your support to get security of members of parliament that belong to the Network, thank you. I am looking for your support, thank you.

Audience: Thank you. I am a Member of Parliament from Kenya. I want to say, we as Kenyans are very proud of South Africans, we share their struggle, we felt the suffering of the people of this country. Now, South Africa is now considered an economic power house in this part of the world, in Africa. Are you satisfied of the aspirations, the objectives, the mission of the ANC, been achieved so far? Noting that there is ever increasing gap between the rich

and the poor, is there any affirmative action that you, as one of the founding fathers, will take to ensure that poor people in this country, I mean actually other parts of Africa are taken care of? Finally, is there chance because Africans have been very disappointed, their regional vision of fighting for independence was betrayed by the original founding fathers of various nations from the word go in the 60s, and a lot of these African governments turn to dictatorship, are you satisfied that South Africa would not follow that path? Thank you.

Ahmed Kathrada: Well, thank you very much. I don't think there were any questions that were asked really except for the Kenya question, but thank you very much for the comments that I have heard and I'm glad that I've been able to convey some of our experiences to this, and thank you for spending your time to listen to me here.

Now, as for the question that what guarantee have we got that South Africa will not go the same way as some of the countries that Africa have gone. I don't want to comment, it's not my preference really to comment about what happens in other countries, but I am very confident that South Africa is on the right road, that is we have got enough checks and balances, we've got a very strong constitution which is hailed throughout the world. We've got the constitutional court which is often found against our government, and our government has accepted the findings of the constitutional court. We've got various institutions within government to ensure that our country does not deviate from the path that we have set upon. So, I'm quite confident -- and also to point out that in the African National Congress there is not one leader who decides things, it is a collective leadership that decides on policy and that ensures that policy is carried out, so there is no danger of a dictatorship in South Africa at all. We've got enough checks and balances against that, that's what I tried to say.



ANNEX III

STRENGTHENING ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY IN INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND ADVOCATING FOR DEVELOPMENT

The **Parliamentary Network on the World Bank**, founded by a group of parliamentarians and the World Bank in 2000, has strengthened transparency and accountability in international financial institutions. PNoWB has introduced new checks and balances by involving parliamentarians across the world. Additionally, PNoWB members are leading advocates for development who have strengthened the voice of the poor in the debate. PNoWB is now an independent association of over 1000 parliamentarians from 110 countries, and has as of January 2006, functioned completely independently from the World Bank.

Thus far the network has made considerable progress most notably with regard to mobilizing parliamentarians. In particular

at the 2007 PNoWB Annual Conference which was addressed by World Bank President Paul Wolfowitz, IMF Managing Director, Rodrigo De Rato, the President of the African Development Bank, Donald Kaberuka, the Minister of Finance of South Africa, Trevor A. Manuel, as well as other high level representatives from multilaterals, civil society and governments. Most importantly, the conference brought together over 200 parliamentarians from both developed and developing countries, to discuss development priorities and what they as PNoWB members could do to ensure delivery on development results ahead of the G8, the G20 and the World Bank's IDA 15th Replenishment Round.

Strengthening Accountability and Transparency

From its inception, PNoWB's elected officials sought to regain parliamentary authority over development and global matters. An effective way to do so, they calculated, was to engage the World Bank, the world's single largest external funder of development programs as well as an important source of knowledge and advice on how to tackle global issues such as international trade, HIV/AIDS and climate change. The parliamentarians also shared one common goal with the World Bank: to strengthen the accountability and transparency of the Bank.

PNoWB's mission follows five guiding principles:

1. **Accountability:** to facilitate and encourage direct dialogue between parliamentarians and multilateral development institutions in order to promote greater transparency of the policies and practices in particular of the World Bank;

2. **Advocacy:** to provide PNoWB members with a platform for coordinated parliamentary advocacy on international development issues;
3. **Networking:** to encourage concerted action, early debate and exchange of information among parliamentarians on international development and global issues;
4. **Partnerships:** to take initiatives to further cooperate and encourage partnerships among parliamentarians and policy makers, the academic community, the business sector and non-governmental organizations on development issues;
5. **Progress Review:** to promote the development of parliamentary mechanisms and practices for the effective democratic control of development assistance in all its phases.

In the last seven years, PNoWB has managed to establish a respected track-record for being an effective global network at the vanguard of parliamentary engagement and development advocacy.



Improving accountability in international financial institutions

PNoWB is a unique parliamentary platform for policy dialogue on development issues. It engages not only the World Bank but also other multilateral and bilateral donor organizations. The IMF Managing Director, the WTO Director General, and several EU Commissioners have participated in PNoWB's annual conferences and have established working relationships with PNoWB. The Network has formed effective partnerships with other parliamentary organizations and with civil society groups.

Working with PNoWB, the Bank has taken steps to become more open to parliamentarians through a [Question and Answer system for parliamentarians](#) where they can ask questions directly to the World Bank; through a [field visit program](#) coordinated by an independent rapporteur, parliamentarians visit Bank projects,

meet with local Bank staff, civil society representatives and government officials, and review the PRSP process; through a [policy dialogue program](#) jointly run by PNoWB and the World Bank, using video links to connect parliamentarians from around the world to exchange views on relevant development issues; as well as the [Parliamentarian's Guide](#) to the World Bank, to make it easier for MPs to access information about projects and policies, also through the PNoWB website, www.pnowb.org; and a World Bank website for parliamentarians: www.worldbank.org/parliamentarians. Additionally a delegation of PNoWB members attends the IMF/World Bank Spring and Annual Meetings.

Parliamentary engagement and country ownership

If parliamentarians are going to have an impact on development policies and projects, it is essential that they see results on the ground. The field visit program, "Parliamentarians in the Field", is co-organized by PNoWB and the World Bank and supported by a grant from the Government of Finland. To date, successful field visits have taken place to Kenya, Albania, Uganda, Burundi, Serbia and Montenegro, Ethiopia, Yemen, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Ghana, Rwanda, Lao PDR, Kenya, Mozambique, Haiti, Cambodia and Niger.

As one legislator once observed, "all politics is local." The most concrete interaction between parliamentarians and representatives from the World Bank and other donor organizations takes place in countries with Bank lending or advisory programs.

Since 2000, PNoWB has expanded through the creation of a [national chapters in India Japan](#), and most recently [France](#) (December 2007), a chapter in [East Africa](#), a chapter in a chapter in the [Middle East and North Africa](#), a chapter in [West Africa](#), launched in June 2006 and an [ECA \(Eastern Europe and Central Asia Chapter](#) launched in September 2006, as well as a [Southern Africa](#) chapter for which preliminary steps were taken at the Cape Town Annual Conference in March 2007. Uganda PNoWB Chapter is the most recent national Chapter to be formed (January 2008). Also an informal group of donor country parliamentarians was established in Naples, Italy in February 2005. The national and regional chapters facilitate regular interaction between local parliamentarians and staff in World Bank country offices, including consultations on Country Assistance Strategies, Public Expenditure Reviews, and on World Bank policies and individual projects. In developing countries, this level of engagement, as well as the field visits program, has proved invaluable in improving country ownership and involvement in the poverty reduction process.



Advocating for Development

PNoWB recognizes that parliamentarians play a vital role in making sure countries meet the obligations agreed to in international fora. Parliamentarians approve budgets; they hold the final power of ratification and are the final arbiters of economic policies in their countries. As democratically elected representatives, they have tremendous potential in the oversight of progress on ODA commitments. The executive branch has the power to make promises, but parliamentarians have the power to ensure those promises are kept.

The network continues to encourage members to keep governments and multilateral organizations to account on development pledges made at Gleneagles, including through annual 'G8 Implementation Watch Sessions' in individual parliaments. For example, on May 25, 2005, PNoWB Board member US Representative Betty McCollum, member of the PNoWB Board, introduced a non-binding resolution (H.Con.Res 172) articulating Congress support for the MDGs.

The resolution calls for increased US leadership in aiding the international community to achieve these goals.

The network has also set up a pioneering Parliamentarians' Implementation Watch (PIW) to keep governments and multilateral organizations to account on their development-related pledges. Implementation Watch seeks to achieve four tasks:

- 1) produce and disseminate regular updates for parliamentarians on selected issues;
- 2) connect parliamentarians with other parliamentary networks, civil society organizations, multilateral organizations, the private sector and the media;
- 3) identify appropriate parliamentary action to support the MDGs;
- 4) build a knowledge base and boost parliamentary capacity.

PNoWB Communication Tools

- PNoWB's Website: www.pnowb.org
- PNoWB members receive regular e-mail updates about the activities of the Network and the World Bank.

- PNoWB activities have been covered by international media, including the London Observer, Le Monde, Le Figaro, Liberation, Deutsche Welle radio and in the local press and television in Yemen, Serbia and Montenegro, India, Bangladesh, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia Rwanda and Lao PDR.

Judging by testimonials from parliamentary bodies, media, civil society and academia, PNoWB has become a respected player in the international community. Some examples:

- Said the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in a June 2005 report and resolution on the World Bank and the IMF: *"The role of the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank, a discussion forum for parliamentary groups worldwide in which the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe actively participates, deserves further strengthening and is fully in line with the Parliamentary Assembly's quest for increased parliamentary involvement in international institutions."* PNoWB was seen as *"a vital and innovative tool to realize the Millennium Development Goals."*
- The Observer reported on the fourth annual PNoWB conference in March 2003. *"Hopes of a genuine democratization of global governance were beginning to emerge here,"* said the London newspaper, adding that PNoWB might just be *"the green shoots of global democracy."*
- In its September 2003 report 'Struggling to be heard: Democratizing the World Bank and the IMF', British NGO Christian Aid observed: *"Together with the Inspection Panel, PNoWB is a major effort to improve transparency and accountability in the World Bank."*
- Academics Devesh Kapur (Harvard University) and Moises Naim (Foreign Policy magazine) in a January 2005 Journal of Democracy article on the 'The IMF and Democratic Governance' suggest that *"one option [to improve the IMF's democratic governance] might be to involve the Fund more with PNoWB, a group whose goal is to bring legislators into more contact with officials of the Bretton Woods institutions."*



Looking Ahead

A new era of PNoWB parliamentarians in championing development

The following strategic priorities have been identified by the PNoWB Board to consolidate and expand PNoWB's activities over the next three years:

- Ensure the systematic early involvement of parliaments in Country Assistance Strategies (CAS) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP);
- Ensure that the PNoWB has early input into World Bank policy;
- Secure an observer position on the World Bank/IMF Development Committee, with speaking rights for the PNoWB's chairperson;

- Develop a resource guide on best practices for parliamentary involvement in World Bank activities;
- Increase the number of fully functional PNoWB regional and national chapters.

The achievement of these goals is expected to reinforce the capacity of parliamentarians to fulfill their oversight, legislative and representative functions related to development and global issues, ultimately on the one hand making multilateral institutions and governance mechanisms more accountable and transparent, and on the other ensuring that there is enough political and public will to support commitments to allow poor countries to reach the Millennium Development Goals.

The PNoWB Board and Governance Structure

The PNoWB is governed by a Board of Directors, composed of nine members. The Association's by-laws require a yearly partial renewal of the Board members.

The current members of the Board are:

- Mr. Hugh Bayley, Chair, United Kingdom
- Ms. Monica Frassoni, Vice Chair, Italy (Member of European Parliament)
- Mr. Yunus Carrim, Vice Chair, South Africa
- Ms. Betty McCollum, United States
- Mr. Kimmo Kiljunen, Finland
- Mr. Suresh Prabhu, India
- Mr. Santiago Castro, Colombia
- Ms. Janette Garin, Philippines
- Mr Hideki Wakabayashi, Japan



ANNEX IV

THE WORLD BANK AND PARLIAMENTARIANS

Parliamentarians can be powerful advocates for development programs in general and World Bank programs in particular. They can build public awareness and raise development issues that are important for the people that have elected them. In donor countries, they debate and approve foreign aid budgets and shape and review development policies. In developing countries they can influence their governments and hold them accountable for World Bank financed programs, among other things through debating and approving national budgets and development plans. This constituency gets all the more influential because of the increasing number of democracies, from 66 in 1987 to 121¹ in 2003.

The World Bank is an important focus of parliamentary interest as it is the world's single largest external funder of development programs as well as an important source of knowledge and

advice on how to tackle global issues related to poverty reduction such as climate change, fragile states, international trade, HIV/AIDS and governance.

While the representatives of the World Bank's founding countries specified in 1944 that the organization was to deal with its member states through Executive Directors, parliamentarians remain an influential constituency that the World Bank engages with on critical development issues. Among other things, the Bank supports parliamentary development through a number of capacity-building initiatives and partners with parliamentary groups to raise awareness about development. Interlocutors within the World Bank include a Parliamentary team, the World Bank Institute and field officers.

The Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB)

The Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB), an independent association of some 1,000 members of parliament, is a key parliamentary interlocutor for the World Bank Group. Established in 2000, governed by a nine-member board of parliamentarians representing different regions and political affiliations, PNoWB mobilizes parliamentarians in the fight against poverty, promotes transparency and accountability in international development and offers a platform for policy dialogue between the Bank and parliamentarians. PNoWB's activities are supported by donor governments and international institutions.

PNoWB seeks to be an action-oriented network of parliamentarians and organizes events through its secretariat in Paris, or through its chapters around the world. Its flagship event, the PNoWB Annual Conference, has brought

parliamentarians together with the leaders of the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO and the African Development Bank as well as with Heads of State. The next annual meeting will be held in Paris in November 2008. PNoWB and the World Bank also organize field visits to developing countries for parliamentarians to inspect World Bank field programs and to consult with a range of stakeholders, from Bank staff to civil society representatives to ministers and Heads of State. The latest countries visited are Mozambique, Haiti, Cambodia and Niger. For details about these and other PNoWB activities, including videoconferences and working groups, see <http://www.pnowb.org/>

Besides PNoWB, the World Bank also reaches out to other parliamentary networks, like for example GLOBE on climate issues.

¹ According to Freedom house

Strengthening the Way Parliaments Work

The World Bank Institute (WBI), the Bank's knowledge-sharing arm, works in partnership with parliamentary organizations to develop the capacity of parliaments in developing countries around the globe. WBI undertakes multi-year programs to enhance the capacity of parliaments as an institution of governance. These include action-oriented research, providing support to parliamentary networks such as PNoWB and the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC), learning programs for Members of Parliament, and parliamentary staff training. Over the past ten years, WBI has delivered learning programs to more than 6,000 parliamentarians and parliamentary staff to enhance parliaments' capacity to deliver on their responsibilities, particularly on oversight of the budget, and implementation and performance of government policies and programs.

WBI also promotes applied research in this area, and publishes books and working papers, all of which available through the WBI Parliamentary Strengthening Program's website.

In some cases governments themselves seek and get the World Bank's financial support to strengthen their parliaments. Examples include Institutional Development Fund grants to Chad, El Salvador and Guatemala to facilitate among other things technical assistance, study tours and the installation of knowledge systems.

In addition, in for example Indonesia and Sri Lanka, the World Bank invests in better parliamentary libraries and better communication networks (computers, software, databases).

For more information:

- The World Bank's website for parliamentarians: www.worldbank.org/parliamentarians, which includes an online Question-and-Answer system.
 - WBI Parliamentary Strengthening Program's website: www.worldbank.org/wbi
 - A Parliamentarian's Guide to the World Bank: PNoWB and the World Bank have jointly developed a handbook to provide an overview of the Bank's governance structure, policies, evaluation and review mechanisms. The guide is available on request or for download on the World Bank Parliamentary website in 4 languages (English, French, Spanish and Arabic).
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Visit the website of the World Bank and Parliamentarians at:
<http://www.worldbank.org/parliamentarians>

Visit the website of the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB) at:
<http://www.pnowb.org>



Parliamentary Network
on the World Bank



South African
Parliament



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The
World Bank