

CENTER FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

Presents

One Year After the Gleneagles Summit: Implementation, African Development and the African Monitor

The Most Reverend Njongonkulu Ndungane

Thursday, July 13, 2006

9:30 a.m.

Peter G. Peterson Conference Center Institute for International Economics 1750 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C.

[TRANSCRIPT PREPARED FROM AUDIO RECORDING]

Sarah Jane Hise: Good morning. My name is Sarah Jane Hise and I'd like to welcome you to this event from the Center for Global Development. We're extremely pleased to have Archbishop Ndungane here to speak on one year after the G8 Gleneagles Summit and looking at implementation, African development and to speak at length about the new African Monitor. At the Center for Global Development, as many of you know, we're very focused on looking at rich world country policies and the impact that they have on developing countries, but ultimately we recognize that as much work as we can try to do here in Washington, it comes back to the work that's taking place in the developing countries. And we're extremely pleased again to have the Archbishop here to let us in to some insight as to how that's been going so far.

I'd like to introduce first of all Canon John Peterson who is currently the Canon for Global Justice and Reconciliation at the Washington National Cathedral who has helped coordinate this event today. In his current role, Canon Peterson has been charged with organizing a program of education, alliance building, resource gathering and communication and all of that is designed to address the global issues of violence, poverty and disease. So we're very pleased to have him here and he served in many different regions throughout Africa as Canon, and we hope that he can elucidate some of the experiences there and introduce us to the Archbishop.

Canon John Peterson: Thank you, Sarah Jane. And at the outset I want to say how thrilled we all are that you have come today to hear the Archbishop of Cape Town and to participate in this marvelous adventure in which he is giving so much of his time and life at the present time. It is indeed a great pleasure for me to be able to introduce my good friend, Njongonkulu Ndungane, the Archbishop of Cape Town. We have known each other for many years, perhaps much longer than either of us would ever want to confess; going back to the days when I was the Dean of St. George's College in Jerusalem, when he served the then Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, as his Provincial Executive Officer. At Christmas, 1989, they came to Jerusalem to participate and to see what was happening as a result of the first Santa Fada and at that time I was introduced to the tremendous fervor that the Provincial Executive Officer had for justice issues.

A few years later, when I was the Secretary General of the Anglican Communion I had the privilege of attending his enthronement as the new Archbishop of Cape Town; an archbishop who has become well known globally for his passion for HIV, AIDS, trade, poverty, environmental issues, health and economic transparency. Without going into the issues facing our church today I will say that we here in North America have no better friend than the Archbishop, who his friends call Njongonkulu. In the past the majority of persons in South Africa suffered under the inhumane political system called apartheid. That system has now happily joined the ash heap of history, but South Africa like most parts of the world still suffers from economic and social ills that can only be addressed by people working and cooperating with each other more effectively than they are presently.

At the very core of Njongonkulu's being is the belief that there is enough in creation for the material well being of all people if only we have the collective wisdom to unlock it. The problem of developing that collective wisdom and putting it to work is what the archbishop is up to in the African Monitor. We can do better, Africa can do better.

Last September, at the suggestion of the archbishop, the Center for Global Justice and Reconciliation at the Washington National Cathedral convened a consultation of religious leaders on poverty that proposed closer cooperation between faith groups, governments, non-governmental organizations and the private sector in the working towards the alleviation of extreme poverty through the millennium development goals. One of the concrete proposals coming out of that consultation was the suggestion made by the archbishop, and that project was the Africa Monitor.

The African Monitor will call on the resources and wisdom from all of the above; faith groups, governments, NGOs, the private sector to try to make our collective efforts and development more effective. It is therefore a great honor for me to be able to present to you and introduce to you a dear friend who comes here today to share more about the African Monitor. It is my privilege to introduce to you the Archbishop of Cape Town.

Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane: Thank you John for those kind, kind words of welcome. God is great; He gives some of us a complexion that doesn't show when we're blushing. Honorable guests, friends, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to be here and I'm grateful to the Center for Global Justice and Reconciliation together with the Center for Global Development for today's seminar. I will make some remarks which I hope will be brief. I'm a preacher, and it's a dangerous thing; when a preacher says he's going to be brief, don't believe him. But I think, do believe me because I'd like to have an interactive session.

I want to share with you my vision for Africa and how I think we can fast track the implementation of development promises made in Gleneagles last year. As you know, 2005 was declared a year for Africa. A series of events happened which made that a possibility. First it was the challengeship of Tony Blair, challengeship of the G8 where he made a specific declaration that he wants to focus on Africa's development and set up the commission for Africa which made the report. He also was President of the EU and he had that same focus and now the Commission for Africa's report and then it was signed in September by world leaders and of course the round of trade talks.

And so a momentum built around focusing on Africa in 2005. And so some of us felt that it would be extremely important to maintain this momentum on development in Africa to ensure that promises on all sides would be implemented fast and effectively in ways that make a real difference to local communities on the ground. We saw that Africa's grass roots voices, currently marginalized and fragmented, could be harnessed to achieve these ends. And that faith communities, which are the most far-reaching, civil society bodies on the continent, could provide the backbone of networks to bring these voices into the public arena. Beneficial accounts of experiences of program delivery would help hold both donors and recipient governments to their word, and enable them to better change their objectives on the ground.

Thus, the African Monitor was launched on the 3rd of May this year, after ten month consultation throughout the continent of Africa with various stakeholders, and also with the [inaudible]. It was launched as an independent body, acting as a catalyst within Africa's civil society to bring a strong African voice to the development agenda and to raise key questions from an African perspective. Are development promises being kept? What difference does all this make on the ground? To what extent do grassroots communities benefit from such development? What impact do these make on the lives of the poorest of the poor? And our logo is African Voices for Africa's Development.

Now looking at broad promises made so far, we know that world leaders in the developed countries committed to increasing aid to developing nations to \$50 billion per annum by 2010, half of which would go to Africa. Commitments were also made to ensure the universal access to primary education, access to primary health as well as universal treatment of HIV and AIDS. Moreover, that relief was promised to 35 of the poorest countries in the world. There was also renewed commitment to strive for international trade involvement that is equitable and beneficial to poor countries and economies in transition. A year later, notable achievements can be identified. Debt relief has been approved for 19 countries through the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Program of the IMF.

Initial studies indicate that countries that have benefited from this program are already starting to redirect their expenditure to development. For instance, DFID, the British development agency, reports that Uganda increased its spending on the poor from \$402 million per annum in 2000, to \$719 million by 2003. Zambia used its savings to abolish health fees to people living in rural populations. Aid has been increased to a reported \$21 billion per annum, and there has been concerted international attention on the plight of poor countries and detrimental international policies that perpetuate the status quo.

All of these efforts must be applauded. However, with 2015 fast approaching, we know that the global community is nowhere near achieving the Millennium Development Goals, unless of course we adopt the calendar, the Ethiopian calendar – in Ethiopia rough vicinity - Ethiopia still is in 1998 in this calendar; so if we adopt Ethiopia, we might reach the goals. We know that 11 million children per annum die of preventable diseases and poverty. We know that an unacceptable number of children are still out of school – girls more so than boys. And we know that in areas with a high prevalence of HIV and AIDS, there's an everincreasing lack of access to treatment, and children are more and more taking care of their dying parents.

On AIDS resources, the reported \$21 billion is still under the promised \$50 billion per annum. Secondly, \$15 billion of the \$21 billion is in the form of debt relief, mostly to Nigeria and Iraq. The African Monitor and its advocacy partners maintain that debt relief should not be considered as or calculated under AIDS assistance. The circumstances under which poor countries acquire debt are reason enough for such debt relief to be considered as a form of redress rather than aid.

Now the question is, what can the African Monitor do about this really? We think that through the independent civil society monitoring of development implementation, we can encourage speedy delivery of promises made to Africa by the donor community and African leaders, press for urgent and effective change, and increase accountability to Africa's poor. To start with, the African Monitor has a strong advocating strategy which would target leaders from developed nations, donor institutions and African governments, in order to persuade them about what forms of development assistance works based on evidence on the ground.

In order to do this, we are putting together a group of African and International eminent persons called the Togona, which will act as a high-level advocacy arm of the African Monitor. Togona is a word from Mali, which is wisdom. So, we have a house of wisdom within the Monitor, which will do the advocacy work. These leaders will harness both local and [inaudible] communities to enable change through advocacy both locally and

internationally. The advocacy will be supported by monitoring, both quantitatively and qualitative, which would work as a catalyst with existing research and networks where possible. In other words, the Togona will be the public face of the Monitor, and we're in the process of approaching some eminent persons to do that.

Then enters Tony Blair, with the African Progress Panel, which has just been launched, and I had a call from No. 10 just before it was launched to alert me about this, and subsequently, I have had conversations with the British Commissioner in South Africa, who conveys Tony Blair's views to me that he sees the African Progress Panel as a political initiative while the African Monitor is a civil society initiative. As such, they will play complementary roles. There is no way the African Progress Panel could exist without the African Monitor, because the African Monitor is an entity that is rooted in Africa, the first in its nation, because all the other monitoring agencies are actually based in the North, and this is an agency which has got the African voice at heart.

So, the two bodies are seen as complementary, and it is critical that we have this role, and to that extent, the British High Commissioner in South Africa is seeking an appointment for me to meet with Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the United Nations, which has been designated to chair this panel so that right from start, we can begin working out modalities on how we can play these complementary roles. We are also seeking to meet the person who is likely to head the secretariat so that the two secretariats can also work together in this. So, we see this as a kind of a complementary role in terms of the advocacy work that we are talking about.

The African Monitor has also joined hands in a partnership with the Global Coalition Against Poverty to call for urgent reform to enable the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. GCAP is an international coalition of civil society bodies fighting against poverty with a strong rooting in African civil society, and I was privileged to engage this grouping in Harare during our process of consultation, and they have given their backing to the African Monitor. By partnering with them, the African Monitor has gained immediate access to grassroots organizations in Africa who are aligned to the coalition.

We are also in partnership with various faith-based networks, including the Interfaith Action for Peace in Africa, which we recently inaugurated in Kigali. Just for information, for about four years, faith committees in Africa have been concerned about conflict and how we can have an effective role in peacemaking, and we came together on the 19th of June – all the faith communities from traditional African religions to Islam to Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhists, Christianity, B'hai's, all shapes and sizes and colors, different hearts and all those kind of things – were all there, and we pledged ourselves for unity, for development, for peace in Africa, and we gave an endorsement to the African Monitor, and it's very important – this is very important element in what we are doing in the development agenda, because faith communities, as President of the African Bank, Development Bank, said, we carry a moral authority, and therefore of all the institutions in Africa, we are the ones who can address directly issues of corruption and lack of delivery and issues of that nature.

And also, we cover every square inch of the territory in Africa, and we are one institution that reaches its adherents at least once a week, and we have got a spread of networks worldwide which would also add on in the whole advocacy strategies. Supporting our advocacy strategies, a strong partnership strategy, we believe that African society is already doing a great deal, both in implementing development programs as well as advocating for policy

change, and what we're saying is that we want to partner with everybody, but the agent of none, carry our independent role. Our principal starting point is to capitalize on what is already happening and bring all these efforts together in a way that will have an impact on international donors, African governments and local communities. Therefore, our co-work in monitoring an advocacy will be true partners whose common mandate is to do similar work. We are also partnering with the Center for Global Development.

I recently co-hosted in Cape Town a meeting of the Center, whereby we're looking at impact evaluation, because so often money is given, and we hear all this – that billions and billions have been given to Africa, but there's no way of evaluating the impact of what actually these billions have been given to or for. We have decided to – we have endorsed the need to incorporate impact evaluation in our strategies for monitoring the effectiveness of aid to Africa. Of course, the African Monitor would never be able to achieve any of these objectives without the recognition that it has a significant role to play in monitoring development in all of the [inaudible].

In other words, if such recognition does not exist, none of the key players in the development would be willing to listen to what we have to say. Therefore, as I have indicated, we have consulted widely about the African Monitor in Africa and elsewhere. Not only have we consulted with various state cultures in the civil society domain, the academia, the private sector, fed committees, but we have also consulted with governing structures within Africa. We have talked to some heads of states, like the President of South Africa, [inaudible], the President of Nigeria, the President of Rwanda, the Prime Minister of Ethiopia – some of the governments that we have talked to – the government of Tanzania, the former President of Tanzania before he retired – and also we have, we have talked with the governing structures within Africa, the AU, NEPAD, and they're all with us in all of this.

In other words, we have done what [inaudible] a broad consultative process before we launched. Also, we are well placed to coordinate Africa civil society to interface with the G8 and NEPAD processes, and I will let Namhla, who is the Project Director, to say more about this because she has just come back from Saint Petersburg, where she was part of the broad church of civil society in this whole fashion of monitoring.

As such, before I leave – we are also exploring the possibilities of accreditation with the African union, and we have invitations to address the African parliament in terms of the structures of Africa. And so, there we are, as the Monitor, and you might ask, what are the challenges that we face? First of all, we need to put our ideas into practice. How are we translating this concept of monitoring into reality? Namhla will say a few words about a pilot project that we have in mind to enable us to determine how we will be doing this work. And of course, the greatest challenge for us at this stage is the institutional capacity of the Monitor in the short term and in the long term.

With this array of issues before out, there is only staff person, that's Ms. Namhla Mniki, who will be coming to talk to you, and she has just taken this position as of last month. She has only working with an Archbishop who still must baptize, must confirm, must ordain priests and consecrate Bishops, and entry into the fray of discussions in the Anglican communion, so we need institutional capacity both in the short term and in the long term, and if there are generous people with some checks that could write some figures with a lot of notes in it, so we hope for your continued support, and we look forward to strengthening our relationships with you as we march on to bring the life dreams of many Africans, both in the continent and

in the [inaudible], but I want to conclude with the words of someone, as I grow younger, I tend to forget people's names. This person addressed us in Kigali, and said two things. He said, Africa is a continent of opportunity, and he said, of all the peoples of the world, Africans are the most optimistic. In spite of the difficulties that they go through, people still have a hope for a better tomorrow. And so, in my words, don't write us off! There is a new age of hope, and there is a sea of change in our continent. We are seeing governing structures that embrace democracy and accountability. If there is a time to come closer to us and be supportive for our initiative, it is now. If there is a time where we can see the whole compass of faith communities ready to come to the development agenda, it is now.

I mean, just to finish off, I was humbled by the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church in Ethiopia, who welcomed this initiative and when I said, "Your Eminence, could you just tell me what your adherents are, the membership of your church?" He says "Archbishop, do you really want to know?" Because he knew that he was going to put me in to disgrace. He said, we have 40 million adherents in a country of 65 million. Thus Christians who are Orthodox in Ethiopia, and there are 500,000 pledges. And so as I mulled over these facts, and I said, "If we can utilize that resource that is there for development, for growth, what a future we have in Africa!" I thank you for listening to me, and I invite Namhla to say a couple of things about Saint Petersburg and about the pilot project before we can engage in intellective session. Thank you very much.

Namhla Mniki: Hello to you all. I hope you're doing well. I'm going to talk for just a couple of minutes, because I wouldn't want to dilute any of the very brilliant remarks that the Archbishop has made. I am wanting to talk to two issues. I mean, I know for some of you who are methodology people, who are academics, you are asking, well, it sounds great, but exactly who are you planning to do all of this work. So I'll speak to our research and monitoring program, and I'll speak to a little bit more about our advocacy program and how it links with the G8 processes.

In terms of our research and monitoring, as you imagine, we engage in [cell phone ringing in audience]— we forgive that — Africans are forgiving — we engage in a fairly intensive process of trying to figure out how do you put together a model that's going to enable us to actually monitor what's happening in Africa as far as developmental implementation is concerned, and firstly, we recognize that there was quite a bit already that was happening on a micro scale, so for instance, if you look at civil society organizations such as Action Aid, OXFAM and those kinds of organizations, they are already doing some work [inaudible]-based but basically attempts to track what a donor [inaudible] is doing in Africa to achieve development, and also what are African governments doing to achieve development.

So where does the African Monitor fit in, and what is our mission to achieve that? What we think we are going to be brilliant at doing is actually developing and putting together a community-based monitoring tool that can actually talk to communities on the ground to assist them, capacitate them, to evaluate the benefits of development programs and to evaluate the impact of development programs.

And so, we are in a process of putting together a four pilot study – a four country pilot study, basically where we are going to be is Chad, Mozambique, Ghana and Rwanda, and what we'll do there is basically use this community-based monitoring tool that was developed to test whether or not, actually in effect, we can capacitate communities to evaluate if they have

been involved in a treatment program in health, or in an access to all program for education, what was the benefit? What have they gained after this? What have been the problems?

And the idea is to take those voices, those opinions and those case studies from the ground, and channel them through to African government and to donor communities and institutions, and say, these are the things that seem to be working, and these are the things that seem not to be working. And essentially, our monitoring strategy is based on what we say are African voices for African development, where the people themselves will be talking to what works and what doesn't work. And because we are now in the process of trying to recruit people that can actually carry out this program. Once the program is finished in the next 18 months, what we will have is an African Monitor monitoring strategy that will enable us to do work further in the future. That's the first thing.

The second thing is the exciting conversations of course that are happening in Saint Petersburg currently. About ten days ago, between the 3rd and the 4th, what happened is that civil society organizations met in Russia to basically prepare for the conversations that are happening between the G8 leaders currently. When President Putin took the leadership of the G8 countries, he assisted civil society to coordinate a [inaudible] civil G8, and what civil G8 is the coming together, which is quite historic actually – the coming together of coordinated civil society organizations that come together and talk to each other about what is important for civil society internationally and then they take those messages and they present them to their leaders at G8, and so what happened at the end of that meeting is that President Putin came to us to listen to what were the key messages, what were the eight points that we thought were crucial and important for civil society.

Within this conversation, there was recognition that Africa's civil society in particular needed to come together and talk about what is affecting Africa currently, and we were particularly concerned of course by the fact that last year, there was a lot of focus on Africa, and this year it's climate change and other things, and the question is, how to we continue the momentum? How do we keep Africa on the agenda of developing nations? And of course we know that climate change and education and energy issues affect Africa deeply, and so in those conversations, what we are saying in Africa civil society is that we want Africa to be taken care of there, but broader than that, we would like, for instance, the promises that have been made to Africa to be implemented and fulfilled. We wanted to put together monitoring strategies that are going to ensure that actually those promises are being fulfilled.

But one of the strongest things that was coming out of this meeting as well is that we would like a coordinated permanent process or system where civil society can continue to interface with the G8 leaders in talking about what affects Africa's development. Now how does this relate to the African Monitor? The civil society organizations that are African, that we have in this conversation, have come to us as the African Monitor and said, we are the legitimate body that can actually coordinate the conversations that will happen within African civil society, both to interface with G8 leaders in the civil G8 process, but also to interface with the African Partnership Forum, and as you know, the African Partnership Forum is the coming together of G8 leaders and African leaders to talk about how the two can work together to achieve development in the world.

So, basically then, the African Monitor has currently taken up the function of coordinating Africa's civil society, to both talk to G8 leaders, but also to talk to leaders in Africa, to [inaudible] and to African Union through the APF forum, and so in October, for instance, we

are coming together in Moscow again to prepare for an APF forum meeting where we will talk about what is Africa's civil society concerned with. And so basically what we're saying, as the Arch Bishop has said, that we are well underway in achieving some of the goals and some of the dreams we have about what the African Monitor is going to do in terms of bringing together the voices of different players within the African civil society, and what we do need and what we are thinking about, is how to make all of those systems sustainable, and [inaudible] enough resources and enough technical support to enable us to do what we need to do. Thank you very much.

Ruth Levine: Hi, I'm Ruth Levine from the Center for Global Development, and have really been privileged over the past few months to get to know the Archbishop and Namhla Mniki, and have learned that people of faith actually don't have faith in everything – they don't take everything on faith, and I've been really interested to see how the research and monitoring agenda is moving forward. May I invite the Archbishop and Namhla and Katherine Marshall to come up to the, come up to the stage, and I'd like to introduce Katherine Marshall.

We're delighted to have you here. Director of the Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics at the World Bank, where she's – she's called that institution home for more than 30 years. Until now she's responsible for a whole set of issues around ethics, values, interactions with the faith community, and was counselor to the president of the World Bank until September 2000. Katherine was Director for Social Policy and Governance in the East Asia Region during a very difficult period for East Asia and the Pacific, and she helped coordinate the Bank's work in the social sectors during the East Asian Crisis. Prior to that, she served as Country Director in the Africa Region, and focused on the Sahara region and the South Africa, so she has much to contribute in this conversation. So welcome Katherine. Can I ask you to make a few remarks, and then we'll start a more open conversation.

Katherine Marshall: Good. I thought I would focus on three aspects of this very important initiative. The first is how this fits, I think, into the general global effort to keep the momentum and the excitement and the focus on the Millennium Development Goals, Africa, and the Africa challenge. Secondly, on some of the qualities of the African Monitor that I think represents the most important lessons that have come out of development experience, and third to comment briefly on the faith dimension, which I think is an important element woven through this initiative.

First, just I think the Archbishop has highlighted this, but it's worth highlighting again and again, that 2005 was the year of development, was the year of Africa, an extraordinary effort went in to trying to have what people in advance, Gordon Brown, Tony Blair, Bono, other heroes of our time, wanted to be the most significant mobilization in post-war history, and there was an extraordinary achievement, but it is now 2006, and it is very clear that we are not talking about a year of development, but a decade of development, perhaps a century of development, so that the launch of the African Monitor and a number of related initiatives has a very important role in what is a marathon, not a sprint.

So, the role that this can play in keeping the ideas and the initiatives alive I think have tremendous importance. The Archbishop has been a key player. He is unfortunately one of the two rare global religious leaders who will spontaneously speak about the MDGs. We were part of a meeting a year ago, and I still have a picture, it pops up periodically, of the Archbishop with huge shears, cutting a sign of poverty, make poverty history or cut poverty

in half. So I think that the symbolism as well as his personal commitment to each one of the Millennium Development Goals I think is an inspiration, hopefully will be an inspiration, to many of your colleagues.

The second point is that those of us who worked in development for a long time have learned many things, including hopefully humility. But some of the more important lessons are reflected in the design of the African Monitor. Clearly one is that unless people involved take the lead and believe deeply in the kinds of changes that take place, that they cannot succeed. The word ownership, country ownership, etc., has become a bit hackneyed, but it nonetheless reflects a very fundamental reality and a fundamental lesson, so the fact that the Monitor is clearly driven, inspired from Africa, that its structure and its fabric, its ethos, is very much geared to communities as you were saying, as well as to the country, is important, is vitally important.

Second, we know very well that governments are essential; governments in rich countries and governments in poor countries, but they are never sufficient, and finding ways to translate this balance between the civil society, private sector and governments into greater reality is tremendously important.

The third is that we have all, I think, been very good at launching initiatives over the years – project launch, project designs - it's fun, it's interesting to do, but implementation has all too often been the drawback, so putting a clear focus on implementation over a sustained period is critically important. We have focused much too little on the discipline that goes with looking at results and evaluation, and that's the way in life, whether it's in our own lives or in any other pursuit, that we need to have benchmarks, we need to have a clear sense of not only the direction, but of how we're doing.

And we also need the flexibility to modify our plan – that's another element which I think is built into the sophisticated concept of the Monitor, and finally I think the Monitor idea is very much inspired by something that those of us who have worked on and love Africa feel very deeply, which is the tremendous sense of hope. Not only the sense of need, but the sense of conviction that we have seen it happen, and it can happen again. The Afro-pessimism, the series of books that keep coming out saying things don't work, our own personal disappointments, the tragedy of HIV/AIDS, all of those are important, but they are dwarfed by the sense of hope that the Archbishop presents.

Finally, from a very secular institution I have worked for, longer than I care to admit, for the World Bank, and the – we are an example of what has really been a characteristic of most of the development institutions, of being quite aggressively faith-blind. The 2000-page history of the World Bank's first 50 years has one reference to religion in the index, which was a 1962 Catholic Church meeting. And yet, in Africa, people say that one of the major transformations socially of the 20th Century in the world is the extraordinary transformation of the religious picture in Africa. And in value surveys in Africa, people trust the churches more than other institutions. The churches, or the mosques, or the traditional faith leaders, are present everywhere. They are enormously important in the daily life of virtually every country in the continent.

And yet we know far too little about it, and what we're talking about today, the voices of the faith traditions, whether it's the 500,000 people who work for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church or what must be millions of people whose professions are in the churches, we talk vaguely

that somewhere between 40 and 60 percent of health care is provided by churches, but there is not a single country yet where we have a clear map of how that works. So, in civil society, there is a tendency to say, well, religious groups are part of civil society, but it's not good enough, because as many religious leaders say, you know, faith is not just another NGO. We're talking about something that dwarfs civil society in its size and scope, and the development community needs to have a clear and professional understanding, a much better faith literacy and a much better faith dialogue, and the Monitor, with its leadership coming from faith traditions, is an excellent example.

Just as one illustration, the Archbishop mentioned the moral authority of religious leaders, but it is a fact, I think, that the voices of many faith traditions have been much too little heard on the nagging and important issue which is part of the Monitor, which is governance, the quality of governance, and dealing with corruption, and finding much better ways to engage both the wisdom and the practical hands of faith traditions in looking at this problem, which is really an impediment to the mobilization as well as to the implementation and results, I think is a very – deserves a very high priority.

Ruth Levine: Many thanks. Well, let me invite folks from the audience to ask questions of any of our panel members, the Archbishop, Namhla, Katherine; and maybe as you get your thoughts together, I'll perhaps ask a question of either the Archbishop or Namhla. Maybe you can share in the response, and that is there are--you know, when I think about the tasks that you have set up for yourselves with the African Monitor, there are many, many things to monitor. And so, I'm wondering if you could say a few words about the process you'll go through, at least in the initial stages, to set your priorities; whether you're focused on particular sectors, particular countries. When you say that you're trying to get an understanding of the effects, the development impact, at the--at the community level, are you focusing that in any way and what's the process to determine that priority? But please, I invite you to get your questions in mind.

Archbishop Ndungane: Right, and so, maybe this is to expand a little bit on the pilot project I was talking about. Our initial intention in the next 18 months to two years is to focus both sectorally and in particular countries. And so, the four countries we've chosen for instance that I've named already. And then we're looking at education, health and debt relief and ODA. And the idea is--and it's important to say this very clearly— is not that we think those are the only places to look, but that we are in this initial stage of developing a model for ourselves needing to focus on particular things so that we can have a sense of how we can work doing this.

Now, how we are going to zoom that down to the level of communities is that we are developing this tool, which we're calling a community-based monitoring tool. And it's partly based on action research and partly based on appreciative inquiry. And in a sense what we're wanting to do is to capacitate communities on the ground through our faith-based networks and through the networks from [inaudible]. Specifically, identify projects that are happening on a community level and then assess the impact of that. And so, basically, we're going to be looking at five or six key questions that we'll be asking in these communities.

At this stage, what we will be doing at the level is not impact evaluation. We're evaluating the benefits of programs, or the difficulties with programs. But the idea is to develop this and deepen this, so that we can test at some point where we can evaluate impact and to what extent can we expand this community monitoring tool. But this is where we're at, at the

moment, and in the next 18 months we'll be able to more concretely tell you that this is what the model looks like. These are the methodologies we've used that have worked and these have been the results.

Ruth Levine: Yes? There's a microphone coming.

Next Speaker: I thank you. I'm very interested in the African Monitor and how you've described it. I think it's a very needed organization and needed function. I'm somewhat distraught by the optimism that you bring to the table about Saint Petersburg. Most people that I have met don't feel that very much is going to come out of that meeting, especially in terms of Africa. And that we, as civil society and other organizations, should really be looking toward the German meeting rather than Saint Petersburg in terms of making sure that the agenda is much more developed than what's going to take place in Saint Petersburg.

The second question that I have, it's very interesting. I was recently in Cape Town at the World Economic Forum and to me it was sort of interesting to see most of businesses interested in Africa's development and there was a great deal of optimism coming out of this conference. Also, there were very few civil society organizations represented at that meeting. So, it would seem to point out that there's more of a need to put dialogue not in terms of only faith-based organizations among themselves, but faith-based organizations reaching out to the business community, as well as international organizations and other organizations to have a more concerted effort. So the question comes back, what is the relationship of the African Monitor to the one campaign and how is that relationship being developed?

Archbishop Ndungane: We'll take one question at a time. All right. I think Namhla was at Saint Petersburg. She might say only things about that, but you're partly right that what we should be doing is aiming into the future. I mean in Old Germany is the – is shouting G8 next year and go beyond that in terms of Japan. And I think the mandate that we have been given by G8 civil society and by GCAP and other African civil society formations for—for the African Monitor to coordinate the civil society voice, I think it gives us to an opportunity, a window of opportunity to begin that kind of advocacy work in terms of civil society.

And I think if Tony Blair's initiative also takes on through that body, we can also have some voices in the decision making bodies and have a voice in those corridors. I think about the World Economy Forum, it was in my city. I was not even invited. Well, I used to go to Switzerland and I had to weigh the cost of my time. There's a saying that there's none so deaf as those who can't hear. Maybe I thought I'd better sort of stay back. But I think now where this muscle of the Monitor being given authority, we're going to be very much upfront and engaging those particular entities.

And I need to say that in my conservative process over the ten-month period, which actually has engaged the private sector business action for Africa and the [inaudible] business forum, in terms of enlightened self-interest they see value in this. Because it will give a climate of investment in Africa if or when the Monitor does its work well. So I think that we need to strengthen our spine in terms of reaching out to those sectors.

Namhla Mniki: Well, in terms of the Saint Petersburg meetings, I hope we haven't overstated our optimism. I think it's important though, if you're using appreciate

inquiry, to appreciate the fact that never in the history of the G8 countries has there ever been a move towards actually funding and having conversations and a dialogue with civil society period. As in the civil G8 movement, it is an incredibly important step towards opening that road between the dialogue, between the leaders and civil society. And we think that it's actually quite incredible the voices of African civil society even they have been important.

In the March meeting that was held of civil G8, there were two representatives from African civil society. In this meeting, there were more than 20. And so, that's a thing that we're excited about and that's a thing that we all want to capitalize on. At the same time, it's fair to say that when we did meet with civil society on the 3rd and the 4th, the communiqué was already returned and we know this. But the question is if we—the point is if we start these conversations now, that if we add one more sentence in that communiqué by the time it comes out, that's progress. But also that we are paving a way to the Germans. The Germans cannot come to civil society now because Russia came to civil society, and that we think that by starting somewhere we're creating a precedence for what we want to happen in the future and that we have legs to stand on in terms of this has happened and we would like this to be happening more often and to be more affirmed and to be better funded.

Ruth Levine: Yes, and could you introduce yourself?

Walter Fauntroy: My name is Walter Fauntroy, a former member of Congress and one who launched the pre-South African movement by the arrest of the Massachusetts [inaudible] back in 1984. My question is of—is of Marshall, and I ask the question because the African Monitor is for me a dream come true. My question is how do U.S. citizens generate and members of Congress in particular, address the need that you've identified to deal with the faith blindness of our multilateral development agencies?

I know a little bit about it because at the time I launched the pre-South African movement, I was Chairman of the Subcomittee on International Development, Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy of the banking committee, the House, and had responsibility for my colleagues of monitoring our participation. And one of the glaring shortcomings was this blindness to the central role of the faith community, particularly in the developing world.

I'm a pastor here and have been a pastor in Washington, D.C. for 47 years. The first decade was spent as Dr. King's personal representative to the members of the House and Senate and President-Elect and I spent 20 years in the Congress. And I know that in the North religion is taken sort of peripherally. But in African it is central. People who are moral leaders enjoy the trust of those who distrust one another, as the Archbishop has seen and as this whole movement will confirm. So I wonder what can I suggest to my colleagues on the International Affairs Committee of the House and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate that needs to be said when the multilateral agencies come to our Treasury, I mean come to our country, and ask us to support their initiatives? Can you help me and give me little speech that I can give to the members of the committees?

Ruth Levine: Katherine?

Next Speaker: Today?

Katherine Marshall: I was going to say that. I do have actually several presentations on exactly that subject and I don't want to upstage the Archbishop today. But let me briefly

say first, as far as I know there's been no formal approaches from the U.S. Congress seeking, asking about even what the World Bank and the other development banks and so forth are doing, how they're approaching issues of faith. I was invited by the Council on Foreign Relations and Pew to give a presentation to Congressional staff about the issues recently. There was a lot of interest. So I think it might be a good topic for a separate discussion.

Just very briefly, in the six to seven years that I've been working on the relations between development and faith, it's been one of the more controversial issues in the World Bank's history. It's been very difficult, and to put it mildly, it's a very fragile plant at this stage. The difficulty of bringing what seems to you and to me an obvious reality into the thinking of development people has been far greater than frankly it should. I compare it sometimes to the difficulty in the early discussions on gender where almost everyone brought to discussions of gender their personal agenda. You know, how's this going to affect my wife or my daughter or society and, therefore, there was—it took many years to get the facts and the evidence into the discussion.

And the same is very much true of religion. I see that people have 3-Ds. They view religion as divisive and political; they view religion as counter-modernization, as dangerous; and they view it as essentially low priority defunct. Those are my three Ds. And clear the reality of the extraordinary importance of—for good and for negative, of faith in people's lives, but of the organizations of the services they provide, is something that deserves a much more thoughtful and professional engagement than it has had to date. So I have a couple of books I'll give you.

Ruth Levine: Do we have another question here? Yes? Please introduce yourself.

Deborah Linde: My name is Deborah Linde. I am the Deputy Director of the office in the State Department that handles the UN Economic and Development agencies, and also handles the economic and social council. I have a suggestion and I have a question. The suggestion is that one of the things we are most happy about in the World Summit outcome document is that we were able to more clearly focus the economic and social council on development. And there are some changes that will be implemented in the way that the Economic and Social Council functions, which will put more emphasis on best practices, lessons learned, annual ministerial reviews, and a development cooperation forum.

And my suggestion is, and I think we would be happy to work with you to involve civil society more in that lessons learned, how do things actually work on the ground? What are the benefits? What works on a country-specific and on a sectoral basis? And I think that would be a good thing to aim for the first meeting where that would be possible is next summer, which will be in Geneva.

My question is and this is an issue of concern for us, is on debt relief. The focus has been and it has been justified on debt relief from the G8, from the OECD countries. What we're seeing now is that at the same time as the developed countries are converting their assistance into grants rather than loans and are providing significant debt relief, that many of the developing countries are now borrowing money from China and from the Gulf countries, from what are, in fact, other developing countries. And these loans do not have any of the same, as we would term them maybe, perhaps undiplomatically, the safeguards that the loans that have been provided from the G8 and OECD. And I was just wondering, what

suggestions you might have for ensuring that this money is spent well and that money that was intended for development assistance doesn't end up being converted into interest payments on these kinds of loans. Thank you.

Ruth Levine: Thank you for a very interesting question.

Archbishop Ndungane: A very interesting question that I think that it's exactly what the Monitor will be seeking to do in terms of determining what the recipient governments are doing in terms of the monies that have been granted in terms of debt relief. And also, by creating this community-based monitoring system, we will be creating awareness amongst communities and creating sort of – well I mean America anyway. Americans are very good of making verbs, and nouns out of verbs, so I can use that. I'm not in England where people are very particular about the Queen's English. Conscience-ation of people, because in a sense this will be very explosive if people become aware of what is doing. They'll be able to ask questions, what are you doing in our name? Why are you borrowing this money from China and what are you going to do about that?

And more and more people are beginning to say that philanthropists' money is not there to take the place of government's budgets for development. It's there to kick-start. So, it's a process which we hope will address those issues when we actually get our hands dirty in the actual process of monitoring. Because I'm very much concerned in terms of those particular areas as we go ahead. And we believe that helping the Togona and having the confidence that is being shown in terms of those ministries that are dealing with development.

For instance, I was in [inaudible] in a conference for development where finance ministers in some cases, development ministers were there, who embraced the notion of the Monitor. And so we will be in a position to journey with them in terms of the issues that you raise. I'm afraid I can't answer, give you an answer right now, but it's part of the projected tasks of the Monitor.

Next Speaker: Thank you. Thank you, Your Grace, and for bringing that brilliant message of hope in terms of the work, the initiate of the African Monitor. I wanted to ask, however, given Secretary-General Kofi Annan's pronouncement that there's no tool for development more effective than the empowerment of women and the fact that over 70 percent of the poor are indeed women. And in spite of your own brilliant representation here this morning, what is—what are some of the specific projects that are dealing with women? How whether or not women's voices are indeed going to be included in terms of their representation, their issues, their perspectives and their issues? How that is being integrated into the African Monitor?

And on the question of faith, I wanted to also make that link between the modernization of women and the modernization of women operating on the periphery, which is why we see the—the failure of development processes so far. And in terms of the impact assessment, I want to see that – I'm sorry, I didn't introduce myself. I'm Mary Jane Siebert, First Words International, and also a consultant for Interaction. And in 2004, Interaction did an impact study on development, effective development in four African countries looking at 16 communities, and I think that that work might be very helpful. And looking at doing—I'm looking again at gender mainstreaming in the projects and in the community-based projects, so I think that that—those strategies would be very helpful. But I think that the link between faith and gender and development, some things you know have been really missing and we

need to really look at it again. I was very happy to hear Dr. Marshall your comments in that regard. Thank you very much.

Archbishop Ndungane: Well, I think, the Monitor will cover this. In the first place, I'm a minority on this stage, but our Monitor is driven by a women who is young. We're all young by definition of age, but some of us have been young a longer time than others. And I think and Namhla will say something about that because we're connected up with gender-based NGOs in Africa who are doing some stunning work. I think some are based in Nigeria and some are based in Zambia, others in Nairobi. I think that there is a connection.

I think you partly right in terms of faith communities. It's a major task we've got in terms of this gender-based balance and [inaudible] our cultures, and especially for instance this has become very clear in dealing with issues like AIDS. Because the prevalence in Africa is young women in majority of cases they're faithful to their partners, and so it's that issue and I think it's being addressed and it's going to take—it's taken a lot of energy on us because we've got some aspect of the fundamental in terms of the teachings of our faiths.

I mean it's our human nature to talk in another agenda. We're talking about violence and crime and abuse of women in my country and the Premier of the Western Cape was very much Muslim. Said in the documents, faith documents, "man is a provider." But what is actually happening nowadays in our society, women are providers, and so men have got to accept themselves in their homes by abusing women. And in the Christian faith we've got our documents which tend to endorse patriarchy and endorse the culture that talks about man being the head of the household, that kind of thing.

I was reading somewhere as I was coming here, those books that I usually pick up because it's a long flight, whereby this particular faith leader was talking about women being secondary. Men were created first and man came from the rape of a man, something like that, and people are writing about those things. And so, it's us to try to refute those things. For instance, in the Western Cape where I come from, right now we're producing a document which we're calling [inaudible] document; [inaudible] II, which addresses those issues and we don't know how it's going to come out.

We've given it to one of our leaders to look at it, which will be something that we want to enable young people in our churches, in our mosques, in our temples to be educated about the value of humanity and the dignity of women and the respect that we need to give to one another. And so, we are entering another level of Catechism of saying to our pastors and to our sheiks that this should be part of our teaching. It should come into our sermons in addressing these issues. So it's an issue that is in hand.

Namhla Mniki: I mean I think it's an important—it's an important issue you're raising. And the African Monitor plans to deal with gender balance in three ways. And the first of those is in the way we work in our partnership strategy. One of the core things that we're wanting to do is to strategically have partnerships going, strong partnerships going enabling us to do our work. And in that we have a strong recognition and we're very conscious about gender issues and so far we are already in partnerships with organizations like FemNet, whose work it is to work with women in development.

But actually, also in terms of how our [inaudible] monitoring, particularly community-based. If you've worked in African societies generally and you're doing a case study, or any kind of

research project in an African village, what you will find in your sampling methodology is that actually you do end up attracting more women. Because the very issues that we're dealing with in this project, development issues, that tend to in one way or another affect more women. So for instance, we're talking about getting girls to school. If you're talking about treatment of HIV and AIDS. If you're talking about care issues. It doesn't matter what it is, but that your sampling would require you because of the nature of the work to actually be talking to men. And by virtue of that and as taking those opinions through the [inaudible] and through government and through the international agenda, basically the voices of African women will be heard and we take that quite seriously.

But also something that is legislated for and our policies as well, is our operational strategy. And so, for instance, the people we are employing within the African Monitor in South African, that's something that's a requirement but also within the African Monitor we think that it's very important to have the right incredibly sharp and incredibly qualified people, but also that reflect the scope of the area in which we work. And so, gender representation and balance as well will be important there. In fact, I daresay that in the issues that we'll be dealing with, we'll have to have a more concerted effort to getting men onboard than to getting women onboard; particularly because development issues in African tend to be assumed to be women's issues.

Ruth Levine: Well, I think that we're coming to the end of our sort of formal time together. I know that there are some remaining questions, perhaps the Archbishop; I know he has another engagement immediately after this. Maybe he can talk to a couple of people for a moment or two. It's really wonderful to hear about the launch of a new initiative and I hope that this is the first of several conversations here, so that you'll be able to return and tell us not only how the initiative is going, but what you're finding in the—in the research and the implementation work that you're undertaking.

So I'd like to thank you for spending time with us this morning. It's a great turnout, a terrific signal of interest in this project and in the issues of how the G8 is living up to its commitments to Africa. I'd like to thank our speakers and panelists; Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane and Namhla Mniki and Katherine Marshall. Thank you very much for coming.