

Report of the



Scotland Malawi Partnership
Conference

**“Malawi After Gleneagles:
A Commission For Africa Case-Study”**

The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh
4–5 November 2005

Supported by



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Inside the Scottish Parliament's Debating Chamber during the Conference



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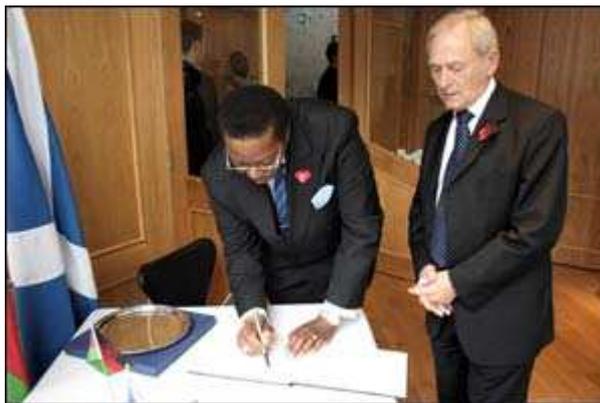
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Presiding Officer George Reid MSP greets President wa Mutharika on his arrival at the Parliament



President wa Mutharika signs the Parliament's Visitors Book



The Presiding Officer George Reid MSP, President wa Mutharika and First Minister Jack McConnell MSP share a joke with local schoolchildren in the Scottish Parliament's Debating Chamber



Co-operation Agreement between Scotland and Malawi

Scotland and Malawi have a long history of collaboration, particularly in health and education. Both countries share a wish to build upon this history by actively engaging through partnership. This is a reciprocal partnership based upon sharing experiences and skills. It is an opportunity to learn from each other and to recognise the needs of our two countries.

This document outlines an agreement to co-operate on a number of broad streams, namely, civic governance, sustainable economic development, health and education. The guiding principles underpinning this agreement are as follows:

- All engagement will be consistent with current government priorities and existing policies and activity
- Engagement will build upon the context of the long standing friendship between both countries, recognising the benefits of learning and sharing from one another

Scotland and Malawi will develop and increase collaboration across the following broad themes:

Civic governance and society, in particular:

- **To strengthen governance** by working with others to develop schemes for sharing government and parliamentary experience on both a local and central government level, and for sharing legal and financial expertise by engaging with national bodies and civil society
- **To share experiences of addressing inequality and the needs of vulnerable groups in society** by supporting mechanisms for exchanging expertise and mentoring initiatives
- **To develop mechanisms for strengthening the media** by facilitating links between key partners
- **To investigate innovative ways of developing and using technology**, with particular reference to remote and rural communities

Sustainable economic development, in particular:

- **To initiate discussion on how best to stimulate enterprise** by facilitating the exchange of skills and business expertise in relevant sectors
- **To explore opportunities to stimulate tourism**, including between the two countries, by encouraging links
- **To investigate potential collaboration between agricultural bodies**

Health, in particular:

- **To contribute to the improvement of maternal health** by supporting the increase in the number of trained midwives and facilitating the exchange of knowledge and skills required for dealing with obstetric and gynaecological emergencies
- **To increase the capacity of Health Colleges (Government and CHAM)** by developing in-country teaching support for trainee clinical officers, nurses, midwives, nurse technicians and allied health professionals
- **To support the College of Medicine in the development of specialist medical training** for health professionals and facilitate mechanisms for the exchange of medical and health management expertise
- **To support HIV/ AIDS prevention, treatment and care** by developing partnerships for sharing expertise (especially around health education) and assisting in addressing human resource capacity in services

- **To support communities to access and deliver health services at local and district level** through support of local community initiatives, especially those focussing on child health, disability and gender equality

Education, in particular:

- **To help build capacity in education** by further developing teacher exchange programmes and supporting the development of training of trainers for local delivery
- **To support the exchange of knowledge and skills** by facilitating academic links and twinning initiatives between local government, schools and higher education institutions
- **To explore how best to address access to and availability of quality education**, with particular attention to remote and rural communities
- **To initiate discussion on the provision of vocational education and training** by encouraging the sharing of best practice and expertise and the development of links with Further Education
- **To encourage equality in the participation of education** by supporting the development of initiatives to empower vulnerable groups

...and other areas of mutual interest that may emerge.

An action plan will be developed in discussion with key partners outlining specific actions and commitments for each theme for the next two and five years.

Signed in Edinburgh, November 2005



Rt. Hon Jack McConnell MSP
First Minister of Scotland



His Excellency Dr Bingu wa Mutharika
President of the Republic of Malawi

Visit by His Excellency Dr Bingu wa Mutharika, President of the Republic of Malawi, to The Scottish Parliament on 3 November 2005

Introduction by Rt Hon George Reid MSP, Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament

Your Excellency, fellow parliamentarians, ladies and gentlemen:

It is with great pleasure that we welcome you, Sir, as President of Malawi, into our Chamber. Welcome to Holyrood. Welcome to the new Scots Parliament. In Gaelic: *Fàilte gu Taigh an Ròid agus fàilte gu Pàrlamaid ùr na h-Alba*. And in Chichewa: *Takulandirani kuno ku Scottish Parliament*.



The people of Malawi and Scotland, Mr President, go back a very long time together. Over 150 years we have shared history, culture, education, and, of course, faith. We are both small countries trying to make our way in a great big world. When British Ministers considered subsuming Malawi into a larger political entity, Scots voices spoke strongly for the continuing independence of your country.

All those who have followed in the footsteps of David Livingstone – the Scots doctors, engineers, missionaries, teachers, nurses, politicians like myself and others in this Chamber – none of us can go there without retaining a bit of Malawi deep in our hearts. I certainly do, since I was engaged for a number of years with the International Red Cross in helping feed more than one million Mozambican refugees in the south of your country during the Renamo insurgency. People who had little or nothing freely took others in. The women of Malawi – and women are always the key to sustainable development in Africa – the women of Malawi were remarkable. We here in Scotland can certainly learn from that.

In February of this G8 Year and the Gleneagles summit, a year in which hundreds of thousands of Scots pledged to help end poverty in Africa, a cross party delegation of MSPs visited your country. They did not sit in Lilongwe in air-conditioned suites. They got out, up and down the country, through the dirt roads, meeting the people, listening to them, and bringing back to this Chamber a very vibrant testimony. In May our First Minister Jack McConnell did the same, meeting your people in one-to-one relationships, sharing their hopes and fears ... and expectations.

And since then Mr President, in this Parliament, in conjunction with the Commission for Africa, Members of the Scots and Malawian Parliaments, and representatives of civic society both here and in your country, since then we have all been engaged in a whole series of events designed to raise awareness and understanding of the challenges facing Africa. In this process of partnership, we must learn from, and respect, each other's cultures.

And now the partnership goes further. This morning, Mr President, you signed a co-operation agreement with our First Minister which builds on the historical links between our two countries, in areas such as health, education and economic development. We will hear more about that in the coming days when we meet here tomorrow and on Saturday to discuss themes set out in the Commission for Africa Report in regard to Malawi.

Finally Mr President, the first foreign Head of State ever to address a Meeting of Members of the Scottish Parliament was your predecessor, President Dr Bakili Muluzi, in May 2000. Today we have another first. You have the honour of being the first foreign Head of State to address Members here in the Chamber of our new Scottish Parliament building.

It therefore gives me great pleasure, Your Excellency, to invite you now to address the Scottish Parliament.

Address by His Excellency the President

Mr Chairman and Presiding Officer, the First Minister of Scotland, Members of Parliament.

It is with a deep sense of gratitude that I stand before you this afternoon to brief you on the political economic and social transformation of Malawi. This is an important chapter in the history of relations between Malawi and Scotland. I bring to this august house, to the Government and the people of Scotland, warm and fraternal greetings from the people of Malawi.

Allow me at the outset, Mr Chairman and Presiding Officer, sir, to express on behalf of the government and people of Malawi – and indeed on my own behalf – our deep gratitude for affording me this unique opportunity to address this august house.

May I also through you, Mr Presiding Officer, sir, thank the First Minister of Scotland, Mr Jack McConnell, for his historic visit to Malawi earlier this year and for the steps he is taking to assist the people of Malawi in our efforts to strengthen our emerging democracy and to fight poverty. That visit left an indelible impression in the minds of our people and gave us a new hope of renewed partnership in development.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, I have titled my address to this house this afternoon, “Working Hand In Hand against Poverty.” This is because Scotland shares with us our vision of seeing my country emerge from poverty to prosperity. This is also to recognise the special relations that exist between Malawi and Scotland that began way back in the nineteenth century. As this house is aware, our country became a Protectorate of the British Empire following the exploratory spirit of the Scottish people. Prominent Scottish missionaries such as Dr David Livingstone, Sir Robert Laws and others came to Malawi – which they then named Nyasaland – in order to abolish the slave trade in that part of Africa. The fight to abolish slavery was indeed successful and brought some liberation to the people of Nyasaland. As time went by, the people of Nyasaland were introduced to Christianity, commerce and education which have had tremendous and enduring benefits to our people. In that regard, notable names such as Edward Young and Robert Laws founded the Livingstonia mission in the northern part of Malawi; Henry Henderson, Duff McDonald, Clement Scott and others started the Church of Scotland in Southern Malawi.



Mr Presiding Officer, sir, I can say without hesitation that Scotland can justifiably claim that the seeds of the struggle for Malawi’s independence that took place in 1964 had some of its origins here in Scotland. This is because these first missionaries who started our education system in earnest also ushered in a new era of awareness. It is also significant that some of the great Malawi leaders benefited from the educational institutions established by the early Scottish missionaries in Malawi which was then Nyasaland, among them the first President of the Republic of

Malawi, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, pursued his education here in Scotland where he trained as a medical doctor. He also worked as a medical practitioner and became an Elder of the Guthrie Memorial Church and eventually started the fight for Malawi’s independence right here in Scotland, and in Edinburgh to be precise.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, let me now turn to political governance. Malawi is governed by a constitution which is the supreme law of the land. We have a presidential system of parliament where the president is the head of state and government and is elected by universal adult suffrage. The authority to govern the country is therefore directly derived from the people. The constitution of Malawi establishes a government with three inter-related branches. These are the executive, the legislature and the judicature. These three branches operate independently but with appropriate working relations to ensure checks and balances.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, it is also important for me to mention that in order to support government, several institutions have been created to help promote good governance. These include the office of the attorney general, the ombudsman, the anti-corruption bureau, the human rights commission, the director of public prosecutions, the electoral commission and the law commission.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, I now wish to turn to the mechanisms for transfer of power from one president to another. This has been the biggest threat to the consolidation of democracy in Malawi. Our constitution provides for a person to serve in the high office for a period of five years, after which one is eligible for re-election for another term of five years. It is understood that after serving two terms, one should retire. The political crisis in Malawi surfaced when my predecessor refused to step down from politics after retirement; hence the struggle for power surfaced and has been between the current and the retired president. Therefore, one can justifiably say that democracy in Malawi is being threatened by the refusal of political leaders to accept a change of power after general elections. Part of the problem is because some political leaders regard themselves as indispensable and are not ready to accept new political leadership that is democratically elected. That has been the situation in my country. I wish to assure this august house, Mr Presiding Officer, sir, that, despite these setbacks, Malawi has indeed made giant strides towards democracy especially in terms of political structures. However, the road to democracy has not been easy. It has been a slow and sometimes painful process due to a number of reasons, but here I will highlight only a few.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, I shall start with the issue of corruption. I wish to make the point that a big threat to sound political governance and democracy comes from rampant corruption. The origin of corruption in Malawi is the system of *laissez faire* that allowed powerful and corrupt political leaders to amass huge wealth and fortunes at the expense of the poor masses. No-one could challenge those leaders. During the previous administration, corruption had become entrenched and had permeated the entire system from top to bottom. So powerful were these politicians that they influenced decisions in all of the three branches of government I have mentioned. That is why upon my inauguration as Head of State and Government of the Republic of Malawi, I immediately declared a zero tolerance policy on corruption, in order to return to the people of Malawi what ultimately belonged to them. My government believes that corruption benefits only a few individuals who become very rich and powerful while robbing the poor who become even poorer. Corruption is evil and an enemy to humanity. Corruption does not only degenerate the moral fibre of society but also frustrates the democratisation process.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, my government has been investigating and prosecuting those involved in corrupt practices. I am also determined that transparency and accountability become an integral part of Malawi's culture. This august house might be interested to know that my government spares no-one. That is why some members of the opposition have turned against me. Their plan is to discredit me and remove me from office so that they should not be brought to book. The abortive attempts to impeach me are part of this drive towards their self-preservation. In other words, I am now being asked to pay for trying to clean up corruption in my country.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, I now wish to turn to the future of Malawi's economy. Malawi's economic policy aims to create new wealth through the production of goods and services for both domestic consumption and for export. The vision of my government is to obtain and sustain high levels of economic growth so as to have economic prosperity, reduce poverty and improve the quality of life for everyone. This is an area where I believe Scotland can play a role. To achieve this, we are reordering our economic and development objectives and priorities to respond to our needs. My government is also designing a sound economic planning system coupled with specific measures or reforms to stimulate sustainable production of goods and services by a broad-based economic structure. I am happy to say that my government has now provided a clear economic sense of direction that will enable the country to achieve high levels of sustained economic growth and development.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, members of the house, the development of food and agriculture is the backbone of our economic performance. The aim of my government is to make Malawi a hunger-free nation within the shortest possible time. However, this year Malawi is facing a very serious food shortage that resulted from inadequate rains during the 2004–2005 planting season. The crisis was also aggravated by cumulative bad agricultural policies adopted over the past five years or more by the previous government. Previous policies failed to take certain measures that were necessary to ensure food security, while at the same time they took decisions that aggravated food shortages. My government is now correcting this. In the new road map towards food security in Malawi, my government is implementing the following strategy programmes:

- First, a reduction in the price of fertilisers to make these affordable, especially to the poor rural farmers.
- Secondly, continuation of the targeted input programme that aims at providing agricultural inputs such as fertiliser and seeds to poor farmers who cannot afford to buy these commercially. This programme is co-financed by my government as well as our co-operating partners.
- Third, intensifying and expanding irrigation using our abundant water resources so as to reduce overdependence on rain-fed agriculture; and
- Fourth, promoting the production, consumption and utilisation of other food crops such as cassava, potatoes, rice, bananas, yams, sorghum and millet.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, another area of great concern to my government is child labour and child trafficking. Child labour is evil and detrimental to the health, safety and education of a child. This also causes harm to the morals of the child, which later affects the development of that child. Therefore, my government is fully committed to observe and implement the International Labour Convention on the Treatment of Workers, Women, Youth and Children. Mr Presiding Officer, sir, I wish to assure this august house that my government will not allow the degradation of its children through child labour and child trafficking or any other immoral conduct. We are implementing measures to identify families where this problem continues so that the root causes of the problem can be addressed and the children placed in schools or other inhabitation centres.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, let me now turn to public health, as an important factor in development. I am sure that no-one can deny that a healthy population is a necessary ingredient for the generation of wealth in a nation. I am mindful, Mr Presiding Officer, sir, of the fact that my country is overstretched with many readily preventable diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, HIV and AIDS. The challenge in meeting the healthcare needs of my people are clearly enormous. Consequently, I need substantial resources for our health services to turn the situation around. The health sector will need concrete programmes to provide inputs such as appropriate human resources, drugs, medical supplies, equipment as well as improved infrastructure.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, perhaps the greatest challenge that my country faces is the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Statistics show that 85,000 patients die every year of HIV/AIDS in my country alone, many of whom are in their youth. Furthermore, many thousands of children are orphaned and many bereaved families suffer unimaginable grief and pain. The effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic are already slowing down the growth process. And in response, my government is fighting gallantly to manage the HIV/AIDS scourge. We are working very closely with our development partners to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS. In fact, with assistance from the Global Fund, my government has already started seeing positive results in the form of increased awareness about the danger of the disease as well as the greatness in accepting voluntary counselling and ARV treatment by a growing number of people.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, let me now turn to Malawi's relations with the donors and other development partners. I am pleased to say that relations are at their best level now. We in Malawi now fully understand the donor perceptions while, at the same time, the donors appreciate and respect our policies. I believe this mutual understanding is a fundamental requirement for Malawi to restore a sound macroeconomic foundation for attaining high levels of

economic growth. Since my government came into power, Mr Presiding Officer, sir, Malawi has been working tirelessly, hand in hand with the IMF and other donors, to restore prudent macroeconomic management and sound fiscal discipline. First, we agreed with the IMF to implement what is called the Staff Monitored Programme under which Malawi's performance was rigorously monitored and frequently assessed as a precondition for the restoration of a formal economic programme with that institution. Mr Presiding Officer, sir, I am happy to report to this honourable house that our performance under the Staff Monitored Programme of the IMF has been very satisfactory. In fact, we passed with flying colours. During the 2004–2005 financial year, we have so far met all the quarterly quantitative targets under the Staff Monitored Programme and we now have a full programme with the IMF. The IMF and other donors have lauded my government for this turnaround in the management of our economy in such a short period of time. This is a very important achievement that should give Scotland the assurances that any assistance that your country can provide to Malawi will be properly and prudently utilised and accounted for transparently.

Mr Presiding Officer, sir, the First Minister, honourable Members of the house, before concluding my address to this august house, allow me to assure the people of Scotland that my government has made significant achievements in political and economic governance. My government is improving our economy and living conditions in the country through sound economic policy reforms. We are successfully adapting our economic structures to effectively manage change. We have also intensified the war against corruption, theft and mismanagement of public funds. These policies are yielding positive results. In other words, by supporting Malawi, Scotland will be betting on a winning horse. Through you Mr Presiding Officer, sir, I appeal to the Scottish Parliament and the people of Scotland to assess carefully the smear campaigns mounted by the opposition in Malawi. These falsehoods regularly appear in some of the Scottish media. The opposition's grand intention is to dissuade Scotland from supporting my country. I hope this august house can see through these political machinations and support my government's development policy because concrete policies have been adopted by which Malawi can free itself from the poverty trap.

Finally, allow me through you, Mr Presiding Officer, sir, once again to thank the members of this august house for the opportunity given to me and my government to address you. I appeal to the honourable members of this house to continue to support me and my government in the coming years so that together we can work hand in hand against poverty.

God bless Scotland, God bless Malawi.

Response by Rt Hon Jack McConnell MSP, First Minister of Scotland

Your Excellency, thank you very much for your address and your presence today in our Parliament. We welcome your statements against corruption, we welcome your statements against poverty and your commitment to do the very best that you can for the children and the young people of Malawi.

Today is an important day for Scotland. Today is a recognition of a shared history that we have with your country over one hundred and fifty years. But today, more importantly, intertwines our small countries to a shared future together.

The primary duty of this Parliament and our devolved government is to use our powers for the betterment of the people of Scotland. But we have another duty too, as elected politicians and as citizens of the world: a duty to be good neighbours and to play our part in global challenges.

Today the devolved government of Scotland signed a co-operation agreement with the democratic government of Malawi. That agreement covers education, health, improved governance, and in the long term an improved economy for Malawi. It is a friendship and a partnership that is unique and historic but it is a friendship and a partnership for the long term. It is signed in a spirit of tolerance, solidarity and respect, rooted in the principle of mutuality, because it is simply intolerable that when we in the developed world have so much, so many in your world have so little.

We know that today there is real poverty, hunger and disease in Malawi, made worse, this year, by nine months without rain. We know your government faces monumental challenges but we and others in Scotland want to support your government in their efforts. We know there is an immediate need this winter to help with food shortages; we know the international community is responding. But we also know and we call on Scots to help Malawians work towards the more prosperous future that you have outlined for us here today.

We believe that this co-operation, this sense of togetherness that we have between our two countries should be a partnership between the peoples of both countries. Between our schools and our churches, our businesses and our health services, to our communities and, yes, between our media and our governments as well. That will not just help Malawi to get through its current challenges and to build a prosperous future; it will make Scotland a better place too.

When all those talented, bright, energetic Malawian children with so much potential have the same opportunity to realise their potential as our children here in Scotland have, then we will be a better country too. And then I hope Scots and Malawians and others throughout the world will have genuinely in the long term done something to make poverty history.

Thank you.

Conference Programme

Malawi after Gleneagles: A Commission for Africa Case-Study

4–5 November 2005, The Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh

Organised by
Scotland Malawi Partnership

With the support of
Scottish Executive
The Scottish Parliament
Centre of African Studies, The University of Edinburgh

FRIDAY 4 NOVEMBER

Session One

09:00 Introduction and Welcome by the Chairman
Rt Hon George Reid MSP, Presiding Officer, The Scottish Parliament

The Presiding Officer will be assisted throughout the Conference by his two Deputy Presiding Officers, Trish Godman MSP and Murray Tosh MSP

09:05 Opening Speech
Her Royal Highness The Princess Royal, Co-Patron, Scotland Malawi Partnership

09:10 Address
His Excellency Dr Bingu wa Mutharika, President of the Republic of Malawi

09:35 Address
Rt Hon Jack McConnell MSP, First Minister of Scotland

10:00 Refreshments

Session Two

10:45 The Commission for Africa
Mr Rob Rozenburg, Directorate General for Development, European Commission

11:15 Address
Thandika Mkandawire, Director, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

11:45 Lunch

Session Three

13:00 Plenary Session – *Investing in People: Health*

Panel members:

- Hon Dr Hetherwick Ntaba, Minister of Health
- Rt Hon Justin Malewezi MP, Independent
- Rob Rozenburg, Directorate General for Development, European Commission
- Dr Victor Mwapasa, Department of Community Health, College of Medicine
- Tim Martineau, Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine

14:30 Refreshments

Session Four

15:00 Plenary Session – *Investing in People: Education for All, Professional Skills and Leadership*

Panel members:

- Hon Kate Kainja MP, Minister of Education, Malawi
- Hon Berson Lijenda MP, United Democratic Front
- Limbani Nsapato, Coalition for Quality Basic Education
- Esme Kadzamira, Centre for Educational Research and Training
- Prof Kenneth King, Professor of International & Comparative Education, University of Edinburgh

17:00 End of session

SATURDAY 5 NOVEMBER

Session Five

09.15 Plenary Session – *Infrastructure, Growth and Poverty Reduction*

Panel members:

- Hon Goodall Gondwe, Minister of Finance
- Hon Aleke Banda MP, President, Peoples' Progressive Movement
- Dr Matthews Chikaonda, Group CEO, Press Corporation
- Austin Ngwira, Chairman, Civil Society Agricultural Network
- Dr Jane Harrigan, Head of Economics Department, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

11.15 Refreshments

Session Six

11.45 Plenary Session – *Aid, Trade, Debt and Investment*

Panel members:

- Hon Goodall Gondwe, Minister of Finance (*who was replaced during the session by Dr Matthews Chikaonda, Group CEO, Press Corporation*)
- Hon Respicius Dzanjalimodzi MP, Shadow Minister of Finance, Malawi Congress Party
- Colleen Zamba, Consultant
- Collins Magalasi, Head of Policy, Action Aid International Malawi

13:15 Lunch

Session Seven

14:30 Plenary Session – *Getting Systems Right: Accountability, Media and Civil Society*

Panel members:

- Hon Dr Hetherwick Ntaba OBE, Minister for Health
- Ted Nandolo, Executive Director, Council of Non-Government Organisations of Malawi
- Seodi White, National Co-ordinator, Women and Law in Southern Africa Research and Educational Trust
- Father Boniface Tamani, Chairman, Public Affairs Committee
- Brian Taylor, Political Editor, BBC Scotland

16:30 Refreshments

Session Eight

17:00 Closing Session

Feedback on Health Workshop

Hon Dr Hetherwick Ntaba

Conclusions and Recommendations

Rt Hon Sir David Steel

17:45 Close of conference

Followed by Chairman's Reception for Delegates

*(from left to right) Presiding Officer The Rt Hon George Reid MSP;
Her Royal Highness The Princess Royal; His Excellency President Bingu wa Mutharika;
and First Minister The Rt Hon Jack McConnell MSP*





Keynote speeches

Introduction by Rt Hon George Reid MSP, Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament



Your Excellency; Your Royal Highness; fellow parliamentarians; ladies and gentlemen.

Welcome to Holyrood, welcome to the new Scottish Parliament. In Gaelic: *Fàilte gu Taigh an Ròid agus fàilte gu Pàrlamaid ùr na h-Alba*. And in Chichewa: *Takulandirani kuno ku Scottish Parliament*.

Ladies and gentlemen, this Parliament is founded on four fundamental principles:

- accessibility – to invite the people in, and to share decisions with them;
- accountability – to subject all the business we do in this chamber to stringent scrutiny and to audit;
- equal opportunities – to ensure that all in this place are treated the same, regardless of gender, of belief, of colour, or of origins; and
- the sharing of power between people, parliament and the government – we recognise that these days politics is simply too important to be left just to the politicians; that the people must give voice to their views and that we must listen to them.

Before the G8 summit in Gleneagles, the people did speak out strongly in Scotland. Some 250,000 people marched peacefully through the streets of this capital city claiming that poverty in Africa must end. The strains of the Scottish bagpipes blended with the drums of Africa and all sang *Nkosi Sikele i Africa: God Bless Africa*.

Since then, in this chamber, we have had a whole series of events: in partnership with the Commission for Africa, with voluntary organisations from both North and South; partnership agreements on how we engage together meaningfully and help the process of sustainable development. We have concentrated on Malawi: another small country in a great big world with whom we share 150 years of history, of culture, of language and of faith.

Members of this Parliament have been up and down the dirt roads of Malawi by jeep, engaging with the people, and so too has our First Minister, Jack McConnell. Yesterday in Edinburgh, Mr McConnell signed a concordat with you, sir, pledging to work in partnership in a programme of training and of development. And today and tomorrow in this chamber, across the political spectrum, we shall take that process further. Because we do want to collect the different voices. We want to hear not just from the politicians here, but from the people. We want to learn from each other in the spirit of mutual respect. We want to be clear that we shall work in a spirit of transparency and that we're in for the long haul: this is not the work of months or years but is the work of decades. It now gives me great pleasure to open this event and to call Her Royal Highness, the Princess Royal to address you as one of the co-Patrons of the Scotland Malawi Partnership.

Her Royal Highness The Princess Royal, Co-Patron of the Scotland Malawi Partnership

Presiding Officer, Your Excellency, distinguished delegates. Firstly, I am delighted to be here and to have been asked to help open this conference. The Scotland-Malawi Partnership is to be congratulated for their initiative in marking the year of Africa with such a timely and ambitious event. It is a particular pleasure to see that so many Malawians have also made the long journey to Edinburgh.

Malawi is important to Scotland. This long history behind the relationship is one that is as relevant today as it ever was. From the volunteer teachers, nurses, doctors, engineers and many other people who give so freely of their time to work with their counterparts in Malawi, to the new government and government links that are in the process of being set up; all of these are expressions of the high regard in which Malawians and Scots hold each other.

Over the next two days, the conference will be concerned primarily with Malawi's development as viewed from the perspective of the wider international community. But most importantly, this conference gives the opportunity to both donors and recipients to air their concerns and produce a better co-ordinated response that pleases more people, more of the time.

I hesitate to suggest that I know Malawi well but I have had the opportunity to visit on a number of occasions. I went for the first time in 1982 but I last visited in 1999, and I saw for myself some of the challenges that the Malawians have to contend with. This is very much reflected in your agenda.

Two of your sessions will deal exclusively with health and education. That is a crucial part of the debate. My first visit to Malawi was around the Save the Children's "Stop Polio" campaign and the health service in Malawi was critical to the success of that campaign. I have to say that their success in their percentage of "Stop Polio" coverage was rather better than it was in Britain at the same time.

And since then, there has also been the added impact of dealing with a large number of Mozambiquan refugees, to whom the Malawians offered shelter and protection at a crucial time. That placed, as it turned out, too great a strain on their infrastructure and their ability to manage but they were good neighbours at a very critical time for them.

Now the situation requires many more medical personnel to be trained and to stay in Malawi. Since then the impact of HIV and AIDS has become much more obvious and much greater. It is a subject which cannot be hidden away, it needs to be discussed. The only real form of prevention of HIV and AIDS is for people to understand what it is, and how it works, and how it impacts on every level of society, and the handicap that creates in itself.

And investing in people at all levels is also important. To do that you have to have an education system which functions. I know that is one of the top priorities in Malawi, where there is a great thirst for education. I tend to remind some of our own schoolchildren that in places like Malawi, particularly so in my experience, families and children would go to any lengths in order to be able to take advantage of the schooling that is available. That hunger is still there and it needs to be supported. We all have lessons to learn from each other; that is still true.

Malawi has also been plagued by similar situations to your neighbours in terms of drought, in some areas very poor soil facility, limited crop diversification, inadequate and expensive agricultural inputs. These things can be identified but are not always easy to overcome, but we know where we should aim some of our efforts.

The Government of Malawi and its donor partners are agreed on many of the issues that they need to tackle. There is technology, there is know-how which exists, but there are much more problems in agreeing how best to use the experts to respond to the government's appeal for workable strategies.



Food security, I have no doubt, will dominate the discussion, and that is equally appropriate. It is an issue of critical importance, in terms of both the current humanitarian crisis on the ground, but more importantly for the long-term welfare of some of the most marginalised and vulnerable people in Malawi.

The ordinary men and women of Malawi have what it takes to bring about positive change. They are a resilient and an ingenious people, and that is evident from the energy and entrepreneurial talent of particularly the market women and traders all over the country. With the necessary support and leadership from government and their international partners, they really should be able to fulfil their potential.

It makes sense that one of the overarching tasks of this conference is to take a close look at these major international initiatives and discuss what they mean for Malawi in practical, not just theoretical terms.

Your Excellency is to be commended for acknowledging the significance of this event by participating in it himself and for fielding a high quality team of key ministers and advisers. But I am delighted to see that there are also Malawian NGOs, universities, faith organisations, the media, business, and opposition political parties here. This promises to make this a very remarkable occasion and a conference which has a real opportunity to have a very constructive conclusion.

In the end it is people who will be the answer: trained and confident that they will be justly and appropriately recompensed. I mentioned my first visit in 1982 with Save the Children's "Stop Polio" campaign. They chose Malawi for one of their three pilot programmes because of the country's self-sufficiency with food, good education and health service, and excellent under-five clinics. It was the envy of many African countries. Malawi knows it can be a country that is proud of itself and its people and it can still be by supporting its population.

May I wish you and your deliberations every success, the success they deserve to be.

Thank you.

His Excellency Dr Bingu wa Mutharika, President of the Republic of Malawi

Your Royal Highness; The Right Honourable Jack McConnell, First Minister of Scotland; The Right Honourable George Reid, Chairman and Presiding Officer of The Scottish Parliament; The Lord Provost of Edinburgh; Honourable Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers both from Malawi and Scotland; Honourable Members of Parliament; Professor Thandika Mkandawire; Honourable leaders of non-governmental organisations, political parties and religious organisations; Representatives of youth organisations; Captains of business and industry; Distinguished Guests; Ladies and Gentlemen.

I wish to thank you, Right Honourable First Minister, the Scottish Executive and the people of Scotland for inviting me to attend this very important conference on the Scotland Malawi Partnership. Today we are making history in the relationship between Malawi and Scotland.

I and my delegation want to express our heartfelt appreciation and profound gratitude for the warm reception that you, the people of Scotland, have given us since our arrival in this beautiful city of Edinburgh.

My special thanks go to Your Royal Highness, The Princess Royal for gracing this occasion. May I humbly request Your Royal Highness to carry our message of deep gratitude to Her Majesty the Queen for the support that the United Kingdom has been giving to my country? Britain has always been our greatest supporter and the people of Malawi are truly grateful. This support has strengthened the bonds of friendship between Britain and Malawi.

I also take this opportunity to commend the Right Honourable Tony Blair, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, for his initiative in establishing the Commission for Africa and for his personal commitment in ensuring that its aims and objectives are achieved. This commitment has also been demonstrated through the G8 Summit that gave prominence to problems affecting Africa and the search for lasting solutions to these problems.

Your Royal Highness, Right Honourable First Minister, Mr. Chairman, it is against this background of such cordial relations that the Scotland-Malawi Partnership has been established. The Co-operation Agreement that we have signed opens up yet another new chapter in our relations.

I am confident that the historic ties that have existed for a long time between Scotland and Malawi will facilitate the implementation of resolutions of both the Africa Commission and the G8 Gleneagles Summit.



This, to me, is an indication that Scotland has fully recognised that Malawi can only come out of poverty and, therefore, achieve the Millennium Development Goals, if there is a deliberate commitment on the part of the developed countries to help my country.

Your Royal Highness, Mr. Chairman, I am also pleased to note that this conference will sensitise the people of Scotland to support Malawi in its efforts to consolidate democracy as a means to ensure economic prosperity.

Your Royal Highness, Mr. Chairman, Malawi is facing many critical challenges. These include extreme poverty, food insecurity, malnutrition, HIV/AIDS, other readily preventable diseases, unsustainable domestic and external debt burdens, low education levels, growing unemployment and low investment in agriculture, food production and manufacturing.

My Government is fully committed to address these problems through promoting good governance, human rights, the rule of law and justice with equity. I am happy to say that within a short period of time, my Government has managed to put the economy back on the rails by strengthening fiscal discipline and sound public expenditure management. We now have a programme with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This has, in turn, resulted in the resumption of donor aid to my country.

The economy is, however, still experiencing some problems due to external factors, especially the poor weather that has affected agricultural production and food security. Malawi's extreme dependence on rain-fed agriculture is responsible for the food insecurity, thereby inhibiting economic and social development.

Your Royal Highness, Mr. Chairman, we in Malawi have realised that in order to deal with these problems, we need to implement a sound policy in public sector management. This is the *sine qua non* for economic growth and development. In that regard, since I assumed the leadership of my country, my vision has been to kick-start macroeconomic growth, leading the country out of poverty into prosperity.

To realise this vision, my Government is implementing macroeconomic policy reforms in the public and private sectors. These include, *inter alia*, adoption of sound fiscal policies, control of public expenditure, effective systems of accountability, monitoring evaluation and transparency. We have also intensified our stance on "zero tolerance" to corruption.

Your Royal Highness, Mr. Chairman, in order to create the necessary framework for sustainable growth and development, and bearing in mind limitation of resources, my Government has decided to focus on a few sectors we believe can pull our economy out of the poverty trap. These include: (i) agriculture and food security; (ii) infrastructure; (iii) energy; (iv) tourism; (v) mining; and (vi) manufacturing.

Your Royal Highness, I also believe that the private sector has a big role to play in manufacturing and trade. Hence, my Government is creating a conducive environment for private sector development through public sector dialogue and partnership. For instance, my Government is encouraging private sector participation in the development of infrastructure in multilateral trade systems and in meeting the Millennium Development Goals.

We have also recognised that the private sector can play an important role in the ongoing World Trade Organisation negotiations under the Doha Development Agenda. For instance, we need the private sector to produce high quality goods that can effectively compete in the world markets. This will determine how much the business community and indeed Malawi will benefit from the global trading system.

Your Royal Highness, I will now turn to the subject of investing in people. I believe that a good grounding in education eventually determines an individual's success in career and business later in life. This is why my Government continues to provide free primary education to enable many children to obtain a good education. We have also embarked on construction of girls' hostels in

secondary schools throughout the country, to encourage girls to complete their education so as to promote development of the nation.

In order to link science and technology with development, I have decided to establish a University of Science and Technology in Lilongwe, the capital of Malawi. Its mission will be to enhance the application of science and technology as a prerequisite to the country's industrial development and manufacturing. There is a wide consensus among our people in Malawi that tertiary education and vocational training are equally important to provide a wider employment opportunity base, especially in regards to self-employment.

Furthermore, the school curriculum is being redesigned to shift the emphasis from training students for white-collar jobs to training for business entrepreneurship. The teaching of business studies alongside vocational training will enable many boys and girls to become business oriented and self-employed and, hence, will eventually reduce unemployment in my country.

Your Royal Highness, First Minister, Mr. Chairman, let me now turn to public health as a precondition for macroeconomic growth. I believe that one of the overarching and most critical challenges facing Malawi is to provide primary healthcare. The existing facilities cannot cope with demands. Hospitals are few, congested and far apart, forcing sick people to travel long distances to find medical support.

The shortage of trained doctors and nurses is also another serious challenge Malawi is facing. This is affecting each and every aspect of the healthcare delivery system. The problem is further compounded by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The human resources crisis in the health sector is among the worst in Southern Africa. Other constraints facing the health sector include inadequate physical infrastructure and weak management systems.

In order to address these problems, my Government has, with the support of a number of donors, adopted the Sector Wide Approach (SWAP) for the management of the health sector. We have put in place a six-year programme of work that addresses five main areas in the health sector. These areas are: (1) Training and human resources development; (2) Support of basic drugs and other medical requirements; (3) Medical equipment; (4) Provision of basic infrastructure in hospitals and clinics such as water, electricity and communication; and also (5) Strengthening hospital management at central and district hospitals.

Your Royal Highness, with regard to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, Malawi has a serious and growing problem. We are losing people each day. However, I must say that my country is one of the success stories in managing this pandemic. The entire media has been mobilised to focus on this pandemic. As a result, more and more people are becoming fully aware of the dangers of HIV/AIDS. The people in Malawi have welcomed the provision of voluntary testing and counselling as well as free anti-retroviral (ARV) drugs supply.

It is also important for me to say that since the free treatment programme started earlier this year, over 30 anti-retroviral clinics have been established throughout the country. As a Government, we are pleased about this success. Our plan is to rapidly expand this programme so that we adopt a holistic approach to take into account the medical, economic, political and social dimensions of HIV/AIDS on the country's development process.

Your Royal Highness, Mr. Chairman, before concluding my statement this morning, I would like to emphasise that the Malawi Government will continue to fight corruption. Our intention is to ensure that resources are used for the purposes originally intended. This is why my Government declared "zero tolerance" on corruption. I am pleased to say that the people of Malawi are concerned that corruption benefits only a few individuals by making them enormously rich and powerful while the poor become poorer. There is overwhelming consensus in Malawi that corruption is evil and an enemy to humanity, and that it must be stamped out from our society.

In response to this, my Government is determined to fight such corruption and to ensure transparency and accountability as an integral part of Malawi's political and economic

governance. I see no other way forward for Malawi. Therefore, my Government will continue to intensify this fight and to utilise resources expeditiously.

Your Royal Highness, Mr. Chairman, The First Minister, Invited Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, in conclusion, I wish to congratulate the organisers of this conference for creating this unique opportunity to discuss economic and social crisis now facing Malawi. We are indeed building upon the past. I hope that these issues will be fully discussed during the Conference and that through the co-operation agreement between Scotland and Malawi, a new path will emerge where collaboration and co-operation between the two countries will be strengthened.

Let me, once again, thank Your Royal Highness for sparing your precious time to be with us this morning. My delegation cherishes this moment and your presence.

I also wish to thank you, Mr. Chairman, the First Minister and all the people of this beautiful Scotland for inviting me and my delegation from Malawi to participate in this important conference. I look forward to its positive outcome.

God Bless Scotland, God Bless Malawi

Rt Hon Jack McConnell MSP, First Minister of Scotland

Your Royal Highness, Your Excellency, Presiding Officer, distinguished Ministers from both Scotland and Malawi, and distinguished guests from the many organisations that are represented from both countries, we in Scotland are very proud to play host to this event and we are very grateful to have this opportunity to strengthen the bond between Scotland and Malawi.



As the Princess Royal has said, it is particularly good that so many representatives of Malawi's civil society have been able to attend. That can only be a good thing for our debates and discussions over these few days. I would like to thank and pay tribute to the Scotland Malawi Partnership for today's conference and for all the work that the Partnership has been doing. They have been the catalyst for the efforts of our Scottish government. And the Partnership will have a central role in delivering the commitment that Scotland gives to Malawi this week.

President wa Mutharika, I know that this has been the first time for you, and most of your colleagues, in Scotland. We have been very pleased to welcome you here, and I know the warmth of your reception is an indication that the Scots want to take this partnership forward. Six months on from my visit to your country, I welcome this chance to repay some of the kind hospitality that I received then.

I also know this conference taking place at end of 2005 marks the end of a year when, across Scotland and Malawi, old friendships have been renewed, new contacts have been made and new initiatives have been launched that will have a lasting impression. It has been a good year for our partnership. I hope that today sends us into 2006 and beyond in an even more constructive and positive spirit.

There is no doubt, Your Excellency, that this is a great time for you to be visiting Scotland. This is a time of great achievement in our country: a time of change and of real economic, social and cultural renewal.

Six years ago, after almost three centuries, our new Scottish Parliament was established. And Scotland has been transforming as a result. Our new devolved parliament has renewed our democracy and our civic life. It was a big step for an old, centralised state like the UK to devolve power in this way and to give Scotland responsibility for her own affairs. Devolution has improved the way decisions are made and, we believe, we have made better decisions as a result.

In education, in enterprise, in public health and in promoting tolerance and respect, we are making decisions that we hope will have a profound impact on our country and our people for years to come. But devolution has also given us a platform from which to raise our international profile. Our government has been working hard to promote modern Scotland across the world – and we continue to work hard to promote business links in North America, Europe and the Far East; to increase tourism; and attract fresh talent to come here to work, and to study, and to live.

But, we know that there is more for us to achieve than merely establishing business and economic links with other rich countries. Scots already contribute millions of pounds of development aid through the UK government's Department for International Development and DFID's commitment to Malawi – as you have stated – is substantial.

But in addition to that, I believe every one of us bears a responsibility. Our devolved government and our Parliament believe we should work with DFID to support their objectives. Some have questioned this, but it would be entirely wrong if developing nations were able, for example, to

work with those in the health service in England but not Scotland simply because the former was a responsibility reserved to the UK Government and we in Scotland had a new political structure.

In July, G8 Scotland focused our minds on the action that more prosperous countries in the world must take to help those who don't have so much. We were very proud that the G8 leaders came to Scotland to discuss the challenges Africa faces. That summit certainly strengthened our own resolve to do our bit to make poverty history. The decisions taken at G8 Scotland will help provide better aid, reduce debt and deliver better and fairer trade. Scotland endorses those decisions, and we will give our full support to the developed world's broader efforts to provide help in developing countries.

Across the developed and developing worlds we all have a job to do in achieving the Millennium Development Goals. And the Commission for Africa Report provides a stark clarity in what needs to be done to end extreme poverty. It is indeed time for one great push right across the developed and developing worlds and we in Scotland want to play our part, because today, it is clear that if we aren't part of the solution in Africa, then we exacerbate the problem.

As a small devolved country, we know that our efforts will have little impact on Africa as a whole but, we also know that, by targeting those efforts, we can make a difference. That's why, in February this year, our devolved government published a strategy on international development and it's why we have sought to partner with Malawi in particular.

As you know, Mr President, Scotland has long – and, largely, proud – historical connections with Malawi. Those connections date back to the missionary work of Dr David Livingstone and, for 150 years, Scots have been working with the people of Malawi in important areas like health and education. The Church of Scotland has long-standing links with Malawi's national church and our NGOs have well-developed links with many Malawian institutions. Throughout the 20th century, when ordinary Malawians were being oppressed, Scots spoke out for them. In the 1950s, when there were proposals to amalgamate Nyasaland with the Rhodesias, Scots spoke against it. Now, as millions of Malawians face up to the prospect of an immediate food shortage, we Scots are here to do what we can to help.

Mr President, we in Scotland do not underestimate the challenges you face in developing your country. Malawi is home to some of the poorest people in the world. As you said to me last night, Malawi is not a poor country. It has many resources, but it has many, many poor people. The impact of that poverty is multiplied by disease and ill health. Scotland is a country of only 5 million people. We know that our contribution will be modest, yet we also know that it can and it will help Malawians find sustainable solutions to the problems they face. Malawian development must be led by Malawians, but the approach we have agreed will allow Scotland to support Malawi in areas that matter most.

The Co-operation Agreement that we signed yesterday represents a further commitment to the spirit of collaboration between our countries. This is a new kind of partnership. It is signed in a spirit of mutuality. It is about sharing problems and working together to find solutions. Scotland and Malawi may have a shared history but now we will have a shared future too. I firmly believe that we are building with Malawi a potential model for 21st century development. It could be a model for other small countries will follow elsewhere.

This is a long-term framework: a framework that will help us build capacity in Malawi over the next 5 years and beyond. It is about sharing experiences and skills across four important areas: civic governance; sustainable economic development; health; and education. These are areas of priority to Malawi, areas where we in Scotland have got something to offer.

This isn't about just providing aid and it certainly isn't about short-term fixes. It is about building up capacity for the long term and about establishing partnerships at every level between the people of Scotland and the people of Malawi.

This partnership will be based on the enduring values of tolerance, solidarity and respect, rooted in the principle of mutuality. This is about strengthening our old alliance, and working together to help Malawi overcome poverty, hunger and disease and, ultimately, meet those Millennium Development Goals.

I know from my own visit to Malawi in May that improvements in basic health are an absolute priority if Malawi is to prosper. No country can prosper if so many mothers die in childbirth, and so many young people are struck down by treatable diseases. I saw at first hand the enormity of the challenges facing one of Malawi's main maternity services at Bottom Hospital in Lilongwe. There, I met the two doctors who help 10,000 women give birth each year and there I heard about the maternal death rate, one of the highest in the world. But, this is only part of the story. The life chances for everyone in Malawi are poor: five years ago, life expectancy was 42 in Malawi, now it is 37. More than one million of the population suffers from HIV/AIDS, and around half a million young people are AIDS orphans. Children under five are 27 more times likely to die than those in Scotland. NGOs and health professionals, including Scots, are already doing brilliant work in Malawi, but it is clear that much more needs to be done to build capacity over the longer term. Through our Co-operation Agreement, we will work together to increase and improve training, and target support from Scotland for better access and better facilities.

We are supporting a three-year programme to train 300 Malawian nurses and we will also support teaching for trainee clinical officers, midwives and other medical specialists. We will provide support to build up capacity in the specialised treatment of HIV and AIDS, including backing VSO volunteers. We can and we will help dedicated Malawians deliver better health and a better health service.

The Co-operation Agreement will support other action too. Sustainable economic growth is essential for the future of Malawi. We will use our experience in enterprise, education and business support and in particular, we can help those in Malawi who are seeking to promote the country as a tourist destination; and we can support improved agricultural activity with advice and expertise. For better governance our Scottish Parliament, our Scottish media organisations and our public authorities can all help build a stronger civic infrastructure in Malawi which improves further transparency, accountability and decision making.

But in Malawi, the government's focus is on young Malawians, just as our focus here is on providing more opportunities for young Scots. There is no tool more powerful than knowledge and learning in the battle to alleviate poverty and disease, and I know from my own visit there that Malawi really needs increased investment in education at all levels. At Henry Henderson School, built by Scots so many years ago, I saw 1,200 pupils taught by just 26 teachers in a school with only the most basic of facilities. At Minga Community Day School, I spoke to pupils who walk up to 10 km each day to attend lessons. I saw teenagers, sitting on the floor, learning complex maths in large groups. They did not even have pencils. As a former mathematics teacher in the constituency of the Presiding Officer, I know how difficult that challenge must be for those who work in those classrooms. These are obstacles to learning that most Scottish school children could barely comprehend. But, what struck me most was the tremendous enthusiasm for knowledge and learning among ordinary Malawian children. Malawian children want to learn and they are prepared to make tremendous sacrifices to be able to do so.

We in Scotland have an opportunity and a responsibility to help those children learn. There should be no reason why an accident of birth should mean that the children of Malawi must have fewer chances than the children of Scotland. As a start, we will fund more teacher exchange programmes between Scotland and Malawi, and support more twinning initiatives between our universities and colleges. Scottish schools and education institutions are already benefiting from those exchanges – and I know that the benefits are being felt in Malawi too.

We have a great opportunity for our young people to learn from each other. Young Scots are already learning about Malawi. Twelve Scottish schools have links with schools in Malawi, but another seventy in those short six months have contacted us with an interest in developing

links. Those links will provide help for Malawian schools but they will also crucially broaden minds and horizons here in Scotland.

I believe this renewed relationship between our two small countries has the potential to be very special. Our agreement goes beyond a relationship between two sets of politicians. Our vision is for a living, breathing national effort that reaches all parts of our two countries. This partnership is one of mutual benefit. It is not just about what the rich world can do for the developing world, although that is important. This is about the kind of country Scotland is; and the kind of people Scots are. Scots have an international reputation: we have made our mark over the years as people with integrity and honesty. We will refresh and renew that reputation if we refresh and renew our partnership with Malawi.

Malawi is a beautiful country with an overwhelming sense of optimism. Despite the extreme poverty, despite the hunger and the very real threat of the killer diseases like HIV, TB and malaria, the people of Malawi are warm, very generous and optimistic. I always thought that David Steel had rose-tinted spectacles when he described the country to me, and I wasn't prepared for what I saw but I will not forget it.

In common with other countries in the developed world, Scotland has made some striking advances over the last few decades. But, with that, has come waste, and at times greed, as a feature of the developed world in which we live. So I hope that through our partnership, we in Scotland might learn to be less materialistic, to value what we have, and to share some of the spirit and optimism that is evident in Malawi today.

In conclusion, we in Scotland were honoured to play host to the G8 Summit this summer and to support the calls to make poverty history. We are honoured to sign this formal Co-operation Agreement with our old friends in Malawi. Over the coming months and years we will stand shoulder to shoulder with Malawians. We will do all that we can to help Malawi with their immediate problems and we will continue to work hard to help Malawi build up its capacity in the long term.

I genuinely believe we could be together setting an example for other small nations to follow. Through our Co-operation Agreement and the work of this Partnership, and through the combined efforts of our governments, our public services and our private individuals, I believe we can do something special together.

I wish the Scotland Malawi Partnership well. And I hope that this conference can be another catalyst in the development of our national effort to make this friendship real: amongst people of all ages, throughout urban and rural communities, from all walks of life. Such a national effort here in Scotland would make a real difference in Malawi.

We do not want to raise expectations beyond a level that they cannot be met: we want this Partnership to be grounded in reality. But we know that the rewards are very special indeed. Earlier this year we ran a national competition for schools in Scotland and offered the opportunity to Scottish schoolchildren to come with me to meet the children of Minga Community Day School. The children from Minga came back to Scotland in September and went all the way to Orkney – in fact to Sanday, one of the smallest Orkney Islands – an experience both groups of schoolchildren will never forget. I received a card from them afterwards which uses words like “eye-opener”, “inspiring” and “life-changing” to describe their experience. I think that is an experience which we want not only the children of today to have, but also the generations of tomorrow, and if we work together, we can secure that.

Thank you.

Mr Rob Rozenburg, Directorate General for Development, European Commission

Mr Presiding Officer, honourable Members of Government and Parliament, ladies and gentlemen, the Commission for Africa no longer exists. It finished its work in July 2005, with an excellent report and an ambitious agenda. The Commission for Africa did a great job: it was instrumental in preparing the UK and other countries for the 2005 UN Summit on the Millennium Development Goals. It provided the analytical justification for the bold political commitments made at the G8 meeting at Gleneagles. The Commission for Africa did not pass unnoticed but it is no longer with us.

On the other side of the North Sea, down in Brussels, there is another Commission that is still around, the European Commission, which has existed since 1958. The European Commission is obviously not the Commission for Africa – it is a Commission for Europe – it prepares, designs and implements policies for the European Union, including in the area of external relations with the rest of the world. One of these policies is the EU Development policy, and the relevant Commissioner is the former Belgian Foreign Minister, Louis Michel, who is responsible for development policy. He is sometimes dubbed the “Commissioner for Africa”.

This closes the circle, and explains why I am here, because Louis Michel, the Commissioner for Africa, was invited to this conference: he would have loved to be here but unfortunately other commitments have not permitted him to be so. He asked me, first of all, to convey his very best regards and wishes to all of you, and he also instructed me to explain to you the European Commission’s reading of the state of play on co-operation between rich and poor countries after the launch of the Commission for Africa report in March 2005. In doing so, I will not talk about Malawi, even less about Scotland, what I will try to do is give a little bit of context, focusing on three key moments: the first one is in May 2005, with the EU MDG package which we see as the prelude to Gleneagles, the second moment is July 2005 at Gleneagles, the G8 summit under the presidency of the United Kingdom, thirdly the September 2005 UN MDG summit.



Six weeks before the Gleneagles Summit, on 24 May this year, the EU took some very firm decisions on development cooperation. Many EU watchers talked about a ‘historical’ step forward, because for the first time EU Member States (including the 10 new ones), accepted a timetable towards effectively committing 0.7% of their national income to development cooperation.

On the basis of Commission proposals, the EU as a whole and the 25 Member States individually committed themselves to taking ambitious measures in order to accelerate progress towards the Millennium Development Goals. These measures focus on three issues:

- (1) the quantity and quality of development aid,
- (2) policy coherence for development, or – in other words – associating non-aid policies to the MDG agenda, and,
- (3) extra efforts in support of Africa.

I will start with the aid issue. As you all know, the EU is the world’s leading donor. Collectively the EU today provides 55% of worldwide official development assistance. This amounted to €35 billion in 2004. The collective EU aid effort, expressed as a proportion of the combined EU national income, reached 0.36% in 2004.

In May 2005 the EU committed itself to further increasing its aid volumes to 0.56% of its national income by 2010, with a view to reaching 0.7% by 2015, thus making this long-standing

UN target a reality. These commitments will bring the EU assistance to an estimated €66 billion a year by 2010 (which is almost double the current levels) and an estimated €84 billion a year by 2015. It was agreed that at least half of the increase in aid will be for sub-Saharan Africa.

On top of this, several EU Member States also declared their commitment to making use of innovative sources for financing development aid (for example by introducing an air ticket solidarity levy, and by 'frontloading' aid through the IFF).

On aid effectiveness the EU also made progress towards better harmonisation of procedures, coordination of policies and ensuring complementarity between donors. The so-called Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness was signed by all EU Member States, and complemented by additional EU commitments.

The second element of the May 2005 EU package is policy coherence. The EU acknowledged that finance alone is not enough to reach the MDGs, and that non-aid EU policies have a very important contribution to make in this respect.

Developing countries and the development community in the EU have been talking for many years about the need to enhance policy coherence. The obligation to take development objectives into account while designing and implementing EU policies is enshrined in the EC Treaty. And yet, so far concrete progress has been very limited.

In May 2005, the EU Foreign Ministers explicitly stated that promoting development is not just a concern and a responsibility for development practitioners, but for all policy makers. They emphasised that non-development policies have an essential role to play in assisting developing countries in attaining the Millennium Development Goals. This fundamental message was reconfirmed at the level of Heads of State at the European Council in June.

The EU has agreed to associate other policies to the MDG agenda. It has identified 12 policy areas – trade, environment, agriculture, fisheries, security, climate change, migration, the social dimension of globalisation, research, transport, energy, and the information society. All of these policies have great potential to contribute to the MDG objectives. And for each one the EU has therefore taken a so-called 'Policy Coherence for Development' commitment.

For example, on trade, the EU is strongly committed to ensuring a development-friendly and sustainable outcome to the Doha Development Agenda. On agriculture, the EU will continue its efforts to minimise the level of trade distortion related to its support measures to the agricultural sector. On environment, the EU will lead global efforts to curb unsustainable consumption and production patterns. On migration, the EU will promote synergies between migration and development, to make migration a positive factor for development. And so on, and so forth ...

In order to deliver on these commitments, the EU announced that it will review its decision making procedures, mechanisms and instruments at the level of Member States, Council and Commission.

The third cluster of the May 2005 package looks at Africa. EU Foreign Ministers encouraged African partners to pursue the path of the reforms, and reconfirmed their readiness to continue, increase and improve EU support for this process. To help Africa reach the Millennium Development Goals, the EU will substantially increase its development assistance. All measures announced in the area of policy coherence and quality of aid will be applicable to Sub-Saharan Africa as a priority. African-owned programmes and strategies will be supported as a priority, looking also – in particular – at the important role of the African Union.

When the leaders of the four EU Members of the G8 (UK, France, Germany and Italy) travelled to Gleneagles in July this year, they not only had the intellectual backing of the Commission for Africa Report, and the public support generated through the 'Make Poverty History' campaign. They could also base themselves on the political and financial package agreed in Brussels the previous month, together with the 21 other EU Member States.

The Gleneagles G8 Summit was historic for very unfortunate reasons, which to some extent overshadowed its achievements, but in terms of results the Summit was judged by the European Commission as having been extremely successful. After the Summit, the President of the Commission Mr. Barosso (who participated as ‘the ninth man in the room’) expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of the three main points of discussion: Africa, Climate Change and Trade.

On Africa, the G8 agreed to write-off the debts of 18 of the world’s poorest countries, for an amount of \$40 billion. It renewed commitments to support the fight against HIV/AIDS, malaria and polio. It promised more support to peacekeeping troops, to better respond to security challenges such as the situation in Darfur.

But of course the most important agreement was on resources, with the G8 leaders agreeing a doubling of aid for Africa by \$25 billion a year by 2010, as part of an overall increase of \$50 billion for all developing countries. This was achieved at the last moment following strong pressure particularly from the UK presidency and France, despite serious resistance from other members who did not wish to mention these figures, or indeed any figures at all. One argument that may have done the trick was that – if one calculates the financial implications of the EU package of May 2005 – it turns out that the EU will contribute around 80% of the \$25 billion agreed at Gleneagles.

Also, it turns out that a very substantial part of this 80% will actually be paid by the 21 EU Member States who are not members of the G8, many of which are nevertheless important development co-operation donors. (Which makes this – just as an aside – a good example of the democratic shortcomings of the G8 process. It may be difficult to imagine for UK citizens, but what we see in Brussels is that those countries which are in the G8 have an entirely different perspective on its importance than those who are not members. The fact that the European Commission is now also participating in the G8 is to be judged against this background).

The pledge made at Gleneagles is to be seen, as Tony Blair has put it, as “an act of partnership and not of charity” as none of it can be implemented without significant improvements in standards of governance, transparency and accountability.

Based on the May 2005 package, and further strengthened by this success at Gleneagles, the EU was well equipped to go to the Summit on the Millennium Development Goals in New York in September.

An overarching objective of the summit was to review the progress made by UN Members in the implementation of the Millennium Declaration, and the progress towards the Millennium Development Goals. The development section of the UN Summit outcome document addresses a very broad range of issues, including ODA volumes and targets, innovative sources of financing, domestic resource mobilisation, debt, trade, sustainable development and environmental issues, the special needs of Africa, governance, education, HIV/AIDS and health issues, gender equality, rural and agricultural development, science and technology for development, migration and development. The list is long, but on many issues it is short on substance. From an EU point of view, given the ambitious commitments in the lead-up to the Summit, we could have hoped for a better outcome.

On the positive side, the following was agreed:

- The document reaffirms the global commitment to the MDGs – which are at the core of EU development policies.
- A good balance between the respective commitments of developing and developed countries is reflected.
- There is a strong focus on good governance.
- The need for supporting national development policies and strategies oriented towards the MDGs is stressed.

- The importance of achieving and maintaining macro-economic stability and effective management of public finances is underlined.
- Increased ODA is called for.
- Finally, the value of innovative sources of financing is acknowledged, by mentioning all the options currently under consideration.

On the negative side however, we have to note that:

- Despite the positive example provided by the EU, no general timetable has been agreed for reaching increased ODA targets.
- In general, the importance of strengthening policy coherence for development is not reflected in the document, which we see as a very serious omission.
- On trade, despite the positive impulse given by the EU side, the agreed text does not meet our expectations. The text does contain a proposal to ensure duty free and quota free market access for all LDC products to the market of developed countries, which is good. But the document could have done justice to the EU by mentioning that such a system already exists in the Union – under the name of Everything But Arms – and that other major importers from developing countries should follow suit.
- A more ambitious text would also have underlined the importance of achieving the MDGs in each and every country, and not just – which is the US position – on a global level, thereby speculating that good progress in some big countries such as India and China would be enough to reach the global targets and would allow us to close the MDG book, without looking at countries that have not yet made it.

Looking at some of the specific conclusions, the European Commission welcomes the call on developing countries to “adopt, by 2006, comprehensive national development strategies to achieve the internationally agreed development goals, including the MDGs.”

We were also happy with the consensual language on debt relief, where the UN basically welcomes the G8 initiative and pleads for additional measures on a case-by-case basis, while underlining that debt relief should not detract from ODA resources.

As for the migration issue, the document is in line with our own approach. The commitment to reducing the costs of transfer of migrant remittances is also one of the concrete actions proposed by the European Commission.

On transport, the text is again very weak. Transport – and its importance to growth and poverty reduction – is not mentioned.

On infrastructure, the text is below expectations. The key role of infrastructure in economic development and poverty reduction, which is well documented, for instance in the Sachs report, is not mentioned anywhere in the document.

Concerning the specific references to human and social development, the document is more extensive and ambitious than the Millennium Declaration. Looking in particular at health and education – two issues which will be discussed in depth this afternoon – we see some positive elements.

On education, the scope is extended beyond primary education, recognising that attaining the MDG 2 also requires investment in basic education in the framework of a balanced expansion of all levels of education. This is a positive move towards a sustainable approach to education, respecting the importance of the Education For All and the Fast Track Initiative.

On health, we welcome the strong commitments to fight communicable diseases. We also welcome the reference made to health systems and basic health service delivery. Achieving the MDGs in health requires universal access to basic health services through sufficient health workers, infrastructure, management systems and supplies. The Objective on Maternal health is extended to the broader objective of Reproductive health, which we welcome (although it is still

not enough, and we would prefer a full reference to “sexual” and reproductive health and “rights”).

More could be said about the outcome document. But the more important question is what will happen with all this after the MDG conference? In the six months following the presentation of the Commission for Africa report, a lot of talking has been done and a lot of promises have been made. The time to actually start working and delivering has come.

As the Commission for Africa rightly underlined, the responsibility for making progress towards the MDGs lies first and foremost with the African countries and their leaders. But the developed world – and here I quote the report – “has a moral duty, as well as a powerful motive of self-interest, to assist Africa. It must increase its aid, and stop doing things which hinder Africa’s progress.”

For us in the European Commission the key challenge is to make sure that the EU and its Member States will deliver on their promises made in May 2005. As I argued before, we believe that this package provided the material basis for the Gleneagles conclusions, and actually goes beyond the text agreed at the UN MDG summit.

On its first element – finance – the European Commission will mobilise the peer pressure that is needed to ensure that each and every one of the 25 Member States will do what has been promised. Since 2003 the Commission has been producing a report each year on progress made by Member States towards reaching the 0.7% target, and we will continue to monitor this process in the coming years. Currently only four Member States have reached the 0.7% target: Denmark, Netherlands, Sweden and Luxembourg. Outside the EU only Norway has reached similar levels. At the bottom end we find Italy (at 0.17%, which is even less than the already low figures of the US and Japan). The last few years some good progress has been made by France, Belgium and – to a lesser extent – the UK. The performance of the new EU member states is rather impressive, and many of them have made a swift transition from an aid-recipient into an aid-donor. Currently things are moving in the right direction. But we shall not forget what happened in the early 1990s, when budgetary constraints and domestic priority setting by some of the bigger donor countries (including Germany and France) led to a rapid decline in EU aid levels. Today, we are still recovering from this episode.

Looking again at the second element of our package – policy coherence – the EU should proceed on each of the 12 identified policy coherence for development commitments.

One immediate challenge is to conclude by 2006 the negotiations on the Doha Development Agenda, on terms which are favourable to developing countries. The forthcoming Hong Kong Ministerial in December will be decisive. The EU has made a substantial concession to getting the negotiations back on track by committing to phasing out its export subsidies (provided that all forms of export subsidisation are eliminated). The EU upholds the position that the Doha end-result should provide for improved market access for agricultural and industrial goods, as well as services, from developing countries. The EU believes that new commitments and rules should provide the necessary flexibility for developing countries (through so-called Special and Differential Treatment (SDT)), notably the LDCs and the small and vulnerable economies.

In the area of industrial tariffs, the EU commits itself to full elimination of all remaining tariff escalation, high tariffs and tariff peaks, as well as a sectoral liberalisation by all WTO members on products of interest for developing countries, bringing duties on textiles, clothing and footwear very close to zero.

The EU will work for an outcome in the services (GATS) negotiations that provide meaningful new market access opportunities in sectors and modes of supply important for developing countries, including GATS Mode 4 (dealing with foreign service supply through the temporary movement of natural persons). The outcome of the negotiations should respect the right of developing countries to safeguard public services, and should promote access to technology and

opportunities for investments in key infrastructure services such as telecommunications, transport, energy and water-related services, as well as in financial services.

The EU supports developing countries in the TRIPs implementation, as part of the strategy to facilitate access to affordable medicines. The EU is ready to support the introduction of a system that would oblige patent applicants to disclose the source of genetic resources and associated traditional knowledge. Whether these pro-development positions – and others that I cannot mention, due to time constraints – are sufficient to successfully conclude the negotiations on the Doha Development Agenda remains to be seen. But in any case, the EU's commitment is real.

The Doha process is only part of our trade and development agenda, which also includes important issues such as the negotiations on Economic Partnership Agreements with ACP countries, the new GSP system, the review of rules of origin, and more.

And the trade and development agenda is only part of our overall Policy Coherence for Development approach, which includes – as I explained before – commitments in 12 different EU policy areas, all of which are relevant for developing countries. Making progress in all these sectors and raising the 'development awareness' of policy makers on these subjects is a major priority for Commissioner Louis Michel.

Finally, on Africa – the third element of the EU package – the Commission has just presented proposals for a new strategy to EU Member States. The strategy provides a common, comprehensive, and coherent framework for action for all EU Member States and the European Commission to support Africa's efforts to reach the MDGs. The Strategy was developed on the basis of consultations with African regional economic communities and the African Union, to ensure that our policies and actions are in line with African needs and priorities.

The strategy offers a common EU approach for the entire African continent – including North Africa – and builds on agreements and principles already in place, including the Cotonou Agreement, the EUROMED Partnership and the TDCA with South Africa.

Under the Strategy, the EU will reinforce action in a number of key policy areas deemed essential for Africa's efforts in attaining the MDGs. These key areas are:

- firstly, central prerequisites for sustainable development, primarily peace and security and good and effective governance;
- secondly, measures that create the economic environment for sustainable development, including trade, regional integration and interconnectivity;
- finally, measures that have a direct impact on the achievement of the MDGs, including improved access to social services (health, education) and environmental sustainability.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me finish with another quote from the Commission for Africa Report. The report concludes that 'we need a new kind of development, based on mutual respect and partnership, and rooted in a sound analysis of what actually works. This can speed up progress, building on recent positive developments in Africa, towards a just world of which Africa is an integral part'.

The European Commission and the European Union follow this recommendation. We try to do exactly this. We trust that when a new Commission for Africa meets, somewhere in the future, the analysis shall be different, and spectacular success shall be reported.

Thank you.

Professor Thandika Mkandawire, Director, UN Research Institute for Social Development

Your Royal Highness; Your Excellency, President of Malawi; The Right Honourable First Minister; The Right Honourable Presiding Officer; Honourable Members of Parliament; Distinguished Guests; Ladies and Gentlemen; and Colleagues, I am greatly honoured by the invitation to address this meeting.

I understand that this conference seeks to relate the wider debates on development to the special case of Malawi. I also understand that Malawi's Scottish friends would like to benefit from some of the lessons from recent aid-donor relationships. When one talks about Africa's experience, one is often accused of being mired in the past. Africans are exhorted to look to the future. While I fully understand the urgency of moving forward, I remain persuaded by the insistence of many of my history teachers—one of them from Scotland, Dr. Andrew Ross—that we can learn from the past. In addition, economists talk about hysteresis, so that the effects of some past actions may only be appearing now and unless we know their roots and dynamics we are likely to suggest the wrong solutions. My speech will therefore focus on highlighting some of the unfortunate lessons from Africa's recent policy experience. Unfortunately, Malawi did not escape this. Indeed, Malawi stands out as a serious indictment of the aid-donor relationship of the last two decades.

A few hours after the G8 summit at Gleneagles I was interviewed by a Danish journalist who asked me: "Why are you unhappy that more money will be going to Africa?" I was rather taken aback by the question. It later occurred to me that he had been given my name because of my supposed contrarian views. So please allow me to begin by disabusing any of you who may have similar expectations, or impressions. I believe that both our common humanity and moral decency demand that where possible those with more resources should come to the assistance of those with fewer. I also believe that additional resources make a significant difference if they are properly channelled and accompanied by the right policies and institutions, and if aid is built on a genuine sense of solidarity and mutual trust. I believe these basic propositions are widely accepted. Indeed current initiatives to increase aid to Africa are premised on a quid pro quo and the proviso that Africans adopt "good policies" and adhere to "good governance". This would be a fair bargain, except that the facts do not bear out the assumption that we know what good policies and good institutions are. And worse, what if those policies and institutions being promoted as "good" are in fact the wrong ones, or simply not feasible at the current levels of development?

In many aid circles, "good policies" are those of the Washington consensus or refinements to it. "Good institutions" are, similarly, those that facilitate the workings of the market and, more specifically, those that ensure property rights and the enforcement of contracts.

A. Wrong Ideas

Ideas have played an inordinate role in the development saga. Aid came to Africa not only in the form of material resources, but with a whole paraphernalia of institutions and a toolbox on how to fix underdevelopment. And it is perhaps here more than elsewhere has the current aid regime has done Africa the most harm. To paraphrase Mark Twain, it isn't what donors know that has hurt us. It's what they know that just ain't so. For years the understanding was that the Washington consensus espoused the right approach, and opposition to it was attributed to the nefarious machinations of interest groups and politicians or simply dismissed as "Bank bashing" (Bates & Krueger, 1993). The lack of self-doubt and the Spartan certainty with which these views were pushed made it impossible to believe that the other side might actually have reservations based on something more than bad faith and greed.

We should recall how we came to be where we are now. During the last two to three decades, African economies have been subjected to a set of policies that have maladjusted them. In the 1980s, in response to a request by African governors at the World Bank for advice on how they could raise their rates of economic growth to Asian levels, the World Bank responded with Berg report whose central message was "get your prices right". Malawi has for many years a good

pupil. Between 1979 and 1999 the country earned a place among what the IMF characterised as “very prolonged users” of its facilities. Malawi had six programmes with the IMF. In 17 years out of this 20-year period, Malawi was under one IMF programme or another. In the IMF/World Bank documents evaluating the policy performance of African economies between 1981-98, Malawi tops the list with 7 appearances among “Good adjusters” followed by Uganda and Kenya with five each.

The Berg report had argued that if nothing was done per capita incomes in 1990 would be lower than they were in 1980. Well, something was done and per capita incomes in Africa fell from USD578 in 1980 to USD 512 in 1990. Malawi’s per capita income fell from US\$156 in 1980 to 143 by 1990 in constant US Dollars terms. Even by 2003, Malawi had yet to reach the peak of 1979. These by the way are World Bank figures. The combination of bad policies advice and authoritarian rule produced two “lost decades”.

The “good policy” regime imposed on Africa was largely designed for stabilization and debt management. No country seeking to catch up economically with more developed countries has ever pursued such laissez-faire policies. Indeed, the policies were the polar opposite of those known to be associated with historical “success stories”. Similarly, the institutions imposed on Africa are totally alien to such “success stories”. In the early 1990s, this led the Japanese government to insist that the World Bank revisit the Asian experience, which had been wrongly portrayed as market-driven. The contemporary experience of China stands as an indictment to the policy regime imposed on Africa today, and Japanese officials have been saying this for more than a decade.

The major funders now admit to a whole range of errors they have made. They now talk of Comprehensive Policy Frameworks, PRSPs, Post-Washington Consensus, Institutional reforms etc. What they do not seem to recognise is that the accretion of errors has produced economies that are maladjusted and caught in a “low growth equilibrium” trap. What may be required is massive aid to correct some of the huge mistakes visited on the continent. Quite remarkably, there was no such reflection in the final documents of the G8 meeting. What seems likely is that the same folks who brought maladjustment to Africa may emerge strengthened from all of this. If the additional funding serves to strengthen the hand of the Washington institutions and to re-enforce their grip on African economies, then aid will be doing more harm than good. If, on the other, aid is given to correct some of the gross maladjustment caused by the policies of the 1990s—if it is aimed at allowing Africans more room for manoeuvre by relaxing both financial and geographical constraints, and if it is built on a genuine sense of solidarity and mutual trust—then aid will contribute to placing Africa economies on durable developmental paths that goes beyond ending hunger.

B. Lost Sovereignty

Accompanying this advice was a political economy analysis which suggested that local elites would never adopt these policies willingly; as such policies would go against their economic interests by undermining their sources of rents. In addition, reliance on markets would undermine their political positions by destroying the underpinnings of their clientelism. In the context where local technocrats were viewed as having no moral commitment to the task of economic development, there were two logical ways of proceeding. One was to attempt to circumvent or undermine institutions dominated by local elites and which were deemed as irretrievably infested by rent-seeking and clientelistic relationships. In many cases, new institutions were created. The other was conditionalities. And so the 1980s and 1990s was the era of untrammelled impositions of externally concocted policies.

One of the things that happened in the 1980s was the fall from grace of African ruling elites in the eyes of the donors. Aid is characterised by a deep mistrust of native elites. This may be a natural reaction to the disappointments that followed the euphoria of the 1960s, but it is not a basis for sound partnership. Donors freely admit to this but then often continue with business as usual. Part of the problem is that, all too often, we have accepted crazy ideas against our better judgement. As has been observed: “When donors take the driver’s seat, Africans move to the

back seat. When donors try to do the same thing in Vietnam, Vietnamese get out of the car". Donors have now discovered that one important aspect of governance relates to "ownership" of policies. In current policy discourse, African governments are berated for not owning their policies by precisely the same institutions that insisted on ownership for themselves.

However, donors now realise the importance of national policy ownership. Furthermore, they admit, there can be no eradication of poverty without national governments. There are simply no other institutions with the mandate and administrative reach to address poverty at the national level. Unfortunately, there is still a problem with this approach, because what they now wish for Africans to own is not what Africans themselves have come up with, but rather something that has been rammed down their throats.

C. Collapse of Public Investment in Physical and Human Capital

In the 1980s it became fashionable to argue that public investment "crowded out" the private sector. It was also assumed that the market could identify economically viable and socially beneficial projects on its own. When private investment failed to respond to the retreat of the public sector, the World Bank argued that (a) there had been overinvestment in Africa and that what mattered was efficient use of existing capacity; and (b) new theories suggested that the focus on physical investment amounted to "capital fundamentalism". What mattered for growth were good policies and human capital. This was said when the lessons from Asia as well as Africa's own experience in the 1960s and 1970s clearly pointed to the importance of higher levels of investment.

This anti-investment argument was extended to such things as infrastructure. Malawi was told point blank that it had over-invested in roads! As a consequence, public investment in roads and transport networks collapsed in Africa. Tony Blair's Commission for Africa report describes what happened:

Despite its clear benefits, African governments and development partners sharply reduced, over the 1990s, the share of resources allocated to infrastructure—reflecting its lower priority in policy discussions. In retrospect, this was a serious policy mistake, driven by the international community, that undermined growth prospects and generated a substantial backlog of investment—a backlog that will take strong action, over an extended period, to overcome.

Something similar happened to higher education. In 1986, the World Bank came up with an analysis that suggested that (a) the rate of return of investment in primary education was higher than in tertiary education; and (b) governments should cut expenditure on higher education. Many donors, including private foundations that had supported higher education, were brought into this argument. The consequences for higher education were devastating. Ten years later, the World Bank began calling for "revitalizing universities" (World Bank, 1997) this apparently because the World Bank realised that "education for all" would require teachers, and that its new focus on "good governance" demanded an educated local elite. Part of the much-bemoaned "brain-drain" can be squarely blamed on this wanton destruction of institutions of higher learning and the acquiescence by African governments to a voodoo calculus about rates of return. To the chagrin of Africans, "lack of capacity" to absorb aid has also been raised as an argument against increased assistance.

D. Erosion of Capacity

The proclamation of "lack of capacity" has in most cases been self-serving—it is precisely those who would benefit from consultancies who have pronounced upon the capacity of their local counterparts. The local counterparts have also found out that feigning ignorance could be lucrative, since it meant trips abroad and endless seminars at expensive resort areas for "capacity building".

Elliot Berg cites this kind of dialogue as one of the "learning blockages":

“...there is a lack of autonomous intermediaries in heavily-aided countries. Donors spend much of their dialogue in discussion with captured institutions and officials who are direct beneficiaries ... What is most pertinent from the learning perspective is that genuinely critical dialogue, the best source of feedback, is rare, narrowing the information flow to donors about what is really happening” (Berg, 2000: 32)

All this is now common knowledge among donors and is publicly recognised. Thus the World Bank stated in 1996:

“... the World Bank and other donors may actually have made matters worse on the capacity building front because they have tended to ‘exacerbate Africa’s capacity problems through approaches that have been supply driven and geared to satisfying internal institutional demands rather than the capacity building needs of the countries’.” (World Bank, 1996)

“Despite their stated intentions to promote sustainable development and local capacity, donors have often behaved in a way that has either had no impact on local capacity or, worse, has eroded it. Donors have been too quick to seize the initiative for policymaking and project and programme preparation from local agencies. This has often been met by complacency on the country side; the result has been to reduce demand for local capacity development and an atrophying of existing capacity. A closely related point is that national authorities have rarely been strongly ‘committed to’ or had ‘ownership of’ capacity building efforts. Most, instead, have been driven by external donors.”

E. Uncreative Destruction

The 1980s also marked the triumph of neo-liberalism in three of the major Western economies and this had an immediate impact on aid policies. Informed by a simplistic view of markets, the international financial institutions embarked on a systematic destruction of public institutions through retrenchment and the starving the state of necessary funds. The state has been reduced to the colonial “*mise en valeur*” proportions to maintain law and order and to ensure export of primary commodities. The systematic tearing down of government structures has left Africa as the least governed place on earth—with fewer civil servants per 100 citizens than anywhere else. In a country like Malawi there is less than one civil servant for 100 citizens. Compare this with three to five for other developing countries The World Bank gave to this apparently unintended outcome a characteristically self-exculpating interpretation. It blamed the African countries, claiming that in efforts to create the recommended minimalist state they “sometimes tended to overshoot the mark” (Aron et al., 1997). Without the slightest hint of self-irony, the Bank says that its own ideological conditionalities pushed these countries over the limit.

F. Institutional Monocropping and Monotasking

By the 1990s it became clear that the adoption of good policies had not produced the accelerated developments that the Berg report promised. Economic growth remained anaemic despite the far-reaching policy changes of the 1980s and 1990s. Not surprisingly, the question arose: “Why is it that even when countries adopt good policies, economic performance remains poor and in many cases worse than it was in the bad interventionist days?”

The answer was the lack of “good institutions”. It now became clear to donors that the market required institutions. Such institutions would solve a fundamental failure of the Washington consensus—namely, failure to stimulate private investment even when the state could no longer be accused of crowding out private investment. In many cases the state was in tatters, and thus wholly incapable of crowding out anybody.

Once again a whole set of institutions were set up—independent central banks, stock markets, legislation to secure private property, public-private partnerships, New Public Management, etc. Not only were institutions set right, but politics also had to be set right through democratization. And so by the mid-1990s, “institutional reforms”—or “good governance”, as this was popularly

known in donor circles—became the new mantra in the policy world. A wave of institutional reforms swept across the African continent. Already by the beginning of the millennium, there were increasing doubts about the “institutional fix” and the institutionalists began to lose ground. While many countries had, under the aegis of the international financial institutions, introduced major institutional reforms, the economic recovery remained elusive. This prompted the new question, “Why is it that even when countries adopt the recommended policies and the right institutions, economic growth does not take place?” One response to this new question is that “institutions do rule”, but the institutions peddled by the international financial institutions were the wrong ones, partly because of “monocropping” through the one-size-fits-all institutional design, and “monotasking” that insisted that all institutions should be harnessed to the protection of property rights.

These institutions differed radically from not only those behind the East Asia miracle and China but also from those of any successful case of development in modern times. Indeed, in the successful “late industrialisers” many of the institutions being pushed as prerequisites for development never served the functions attributed to them and they were assiduously avoided in all strategies of “catching up”. No wonder the insistence on these institutions today is thus considered tantamount to “pulling the ladder”, to quote the title of Ha Joon Chang’s eye-opening book.

G. The Dual Transition and accountability

Like many other countries in the 1990s, Malawi went through a dual transition in the political and economic sphere. On the one hand the clamour for political democracy had forced the Banda regime to accept holding a referendum and free elections, while on the other hand there was “deepening” of the economic reform process as donors insisted on institutional reforms.

In this double transition this meant that democratisation went along with the hollowing of the state as a whole series of independent authorities were set up and increasing amount of funds were channelled through non-state actors. It was also during this time that the notion of “accountability” came to the forefront.

I will also suggest that the notion of accountability in developing countries, especially the aid-dependent ones, is best understood not only in the context of democratisation but also in the context of the much more fraught aid/donor relationship. In such a context, preoccupation with accountability is driven at least as much by ideas about the relationship between certain economic policies and institutions as by the inherent meaning of democracy. These preoccupations do not necessarily drive accountability in the same direction. Although the expression “good governance” is assumed to reconcile the two preoccupations, at the heart of the current debates on accountability is the unresolved tension between the exigencies of a technocratic view of accountability, which stresses performance and proper accounting for public resources, and the exigencies of democracy, which stresses processes and political accountability. In the context of democracy, accountability follows from the very notion of representation and electoral politics. Parliamentary democracy implies delegation and a corresponding need for accountability, along with all the principal-agency problems that it entails. At the core of democracy is the idea that governments must be systematically responsive to the desires and interests of citizens as expressed through the electoral process, the latter being the principal mechanism of democratic accountability (it is through this process that politicians are called to account by a sovereign electorate with powers to sanction them). The effectiveness of the process depends on the viability of democratic institutions and the citizens’ political sophistication and access to information, which in turn impacts on political contestability and transparency. This, in turn, depends on the nature of institutions, the quality of information and the type of assets that are to be taxed.

However, in the context of aid, accountability takes on a more ambiguous character and tends to lean towards a more technocratic interpretation. It is also strongly circumscribed by the prior terms of engagement between aid and recipient. Although the moral imperatives of solidarity and common humanity suggest that aid should be based on trust, dialogue and partnership, the

necessity for continued support for aid by voters in the donor countries calls for greater focus on financial probity and efficient allocation—which, in the receiving country, often translates into greater conditionality and the substitution of accounting for accountability. It is perhaps better to begin by recognizing such ambiguities and tensions as given, as being in the nature of the beast, and to seek to manoeuvre around them in order to minimise the negative and maximise the positive.

Accountability in the context of aid dependence is problematic because it straddles two different constituencies—those of the donor country and those of the recipient country. Pressure for accountability must ultimately come from the citizens of the recipient country. Donors can help by making their aid flows transparent and channelling them through institutions in which elected bodies have oversight. Eventually this requires that officials of both donor and recipient countries are aware of each other's constituencies and the exigencies of accountability for each of them. There have always been debates within recipient countries about the readiness or capacity of national institutions to receive aid, about the moral justification of providing aid to “kleptocrats” or authoritarian regimes, about the “dependence syndrome” that aid induces and the need for “self-reliance” as a guiding principal. These criticisms do not justify attempts to circumvent the democratic process or limit the policy options available to elected bodies. There is a morally persuasive case that elected bodies must be engaged and form the basis for democratic anchoring of aid in recipient countries. And these governments can claim, more legitimately than non-governmental organizations, that they represent the people.

II. The Case against More Aid

Quite a number of arguments have been raised against increasing aid to Africa. One frequently heard argument is “absorptive capacity”. Given the shredding of state institutions in the 1990s, this may be plausible. But anyone who knows Africa knows that the major problem is not only “capacity building” but also “capacity utilization”. There are large numbers of dedicated and competent Africans who are frustrated because they lack the means to exercise their professions, and well-funded projects on which to exert their efforts. In many ways, the donors' attitudes and practices have made them blind to the dreams and capacities of their “counterparts”. Africa is a continent of excess capacity. We even export some of it.

The other argument closely related to this one is that diminishing returns will eventually set in. But this law is not a council for inaction. What human beings have done in other endeavours is to build in “innovation” so that the recipient and donor would both get increasing returns. I suspect the “diminishing returns” usually sets in much earlier on the donor side. An aid built on mistrust and paternalism demands a hands-on approach and, eventually, this runs into the law diminishing returns. The diminishing returns may also be the reflection that aid is being poured into maladjusting economies. Aid poured into such a mould is likely to reinforce and reproduce the “low growth equilibrium”.

A popular objection has been the “lack of good governance”. In most cases “Bad Governance” is a euphemism for corruption. I think this is something we must discuss candidly. On the political front, Malawi emerged from the dark days of Banda but was still saddled by elements of a political class that had basically been nourished by the Banda regime. Their instinct was fundamentally anathema to democracy and their perception of political office was unscrupulous and avaricious. We never had a “Truth Commission” to exorcise the bad spirits of the past. However, in many ways we have come a long way, especially in terms of respect for human rights and the public debate of public affairs.

Corruption remains a major concern in Malawi. In a short span of time, Malawi moved down the internationally constructed corruption indices. Self-aggrandisement had led to amassing of wealth by a political class that was now unrestrained by Banda's centralised state theft. It is as if the advent of democracy had freed corruption.

Corruption will not end overnight in Malawi. There are just too many forces driving it—greed, complicity of international actors through offshore banking and secret banking accounts, the

weaknesses of state supervisory institutions, inertia of past practices, etc. However, it has become clear to all Malawians that the scourge of corruption must be brought to a halt. People now clamour for “zero tolerance” of corruption, to borrow a phrase from President wa Mutharika. What is important is that there now seems to be serious intention to begin addressing the problem.

The other aspect of “Governance” has to do with certain aggregated indicators of accountability, voice, and state capacity. Many poor countries score poorly on this index. There are two things cal to expect a country like Malawi to have the same score as say Denmark or Scotland on the highly subjective standard measures of good governance. Second, when one takes the country’s levels of development, many Africans have levels of governance that exceed those expected of them. The point then is not simply a whether a country has attained some threshold but whether given its history and level of development it is genuinely making efforts to perform better.

Ours is a new democracy. The Malawi political class has yet to establish rules of engagement among themselves. Many of our institutions have yet to find their footing and many of our key public officials are prone to the abuse of the authority placed in their hands.. Our constitution has many loopholes etc. We have had some hair-raising moments during the last two decades including a referendum on democracy under one party rule, attempts to change the constitution the debate on the so-called “Third term” Bill , the loss of a Speaker during a heated political debate and now the impeachment debate.

It is tempting in situations where the recipient countries are going through such changes, for donors to short-circuit the process and take unilateral action so as to get things done. This would be doing our democracy great harm. The solution and norms that will endure will be ones and agreed upon and internalised by Malawians themselves.

We are learning a lot from all this. What is remarkable is that everyone is trying their best to use existing institutions and there is a general respect of the institutions of governance. Malawi has quite an unusual legacy inadvertently bequeathed to it by Dr. Banda. Banda never used the judiciary for political repression. Instead he relied on what was referred to as “traditional courts”. He never used the army for internal repression, preferring instead to rely on paramilitary “Youth Leaguers” and “Young Pioneers”. Both these facts have led to a trust in the judiciary that is quite unusual in the new African democracies where the judiciary was heavily compromised by the *anciennes regimes*. And by standards of contemporary political science analysis we have passed the “three elections” threshold from democratic transition to democratic consolidation.

In light of our recent history and the fraught relationship the continent has maintained with the West, I would advise African leaders to err on the side of caution, and avoid too much hope that there will be an increase in foreign aid and that such aid will come along with developmental institutions and policies. Self-reliance is still the safest bet. Only three months after the Gleneagles summit we already hear that the promises may not hold after all, due to unforeseen natural disasters and changes in governments in Europe, etc. And so should any aid come along, it should be welcome as only additional to our own efforts and should not be allowed to derail our efforts at development.

Development, Amartya Sen (1999) has suggested, means the expansion of choice for individuals and societies. It would be the height of irony if aid, which has been used to push for democratic reforms in many countries, were to produce “choiceless democracies”. To support accountability in the new democracies, there is a pressing need to rethink the institutions that underpin the current management of aid. The message of my remarks is that aid belongs to that category of economic activities in which it is important to proceed by trial and error. This, in turn, requires dialogue and a more deliberative partnership. African politics is changing rapidly. The era of the Mobutus, Idi Amins, Abachas is over—although sometimes the media seem not to have noticed. I must I have been quite taken aback by some of the local media’s portrayal of Malawi. All is not rosy in Malawi and this you will here from the humblest of our citizens to the President himself

but the situation there is definitely not one that would render a proper reception of the country's president a morally dubious undertaking.

There is a new generation of African leaders that take the development of their countries seriously, if only because this wins votes. Most of these are elected and as such their positions have a measure of moral backing. I believe in light of the genuine attempts by Malawians to create a viable democracy in one of the world's poorest countries, Malawi is a worthy partner for Scotland. I also believe that Malawians will have no problems listening to Scottish queries about the use of their funds. In any case, there is a lot of soul searching and lively debates in Malawi on how public funds are used. Only a few days ago, a Malawi columnist (Phiri, 2005) had this to ask: "We have been independent for more than 40 years. All this period we have been receiving foreign financial and technical assistance. What is it in our national character that has prevented us from making fruitful use of the aid we have been receiving?" Such is the self-interrogation in Malawi. What would be unfortunate would be for donors to turn such debates and self-exposure against Malawi and to adopt a paternalistic and imperial stance towards the country.

We know what can go wrong with aid: proliferation of goals and actors and the policy incoherence following in its wake, micro-management, short-sightedness, unwieldy conditionalities, instability and unpredictability, ignorance about development in both home and recipient country, conflicting objectives and time perspectives. I believe Scotland can avoid much of this since it enters the arena unburdened by past practices, attitudes and institutions. And I believe this conference signals an auspicious beginning and I hope we will speak candidly with each other.

If the Western media continue to paint Africa in dark "Afropessimistic" colours, Africans now talk of an African renaissance and consider the new democratic dispensation as the "Second Independence". Scotland's own contributions to the Enlightenment and its own struggles for greater autonomy in the management of its affairs should facilitate its understanding of both rebirth in Malawi and the country's aspirations for more policy space.

I thank for your attention.

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Discussion Papers

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HUMAN RESOURCE CHALLENGES IN THE MALAWI HEALTH SECTOR

Introduction: Malawi's poor health indicators

Malawi's health indicators are among the poorest in the world. Life expectancy at birth is currently estimated at 36.3 years. For every 100,000 live births that occur in Malawi, 1120 mothers die due to the complications of pregnancy and delivery. For every 1000 infants that are born 104 die before the age of 1 and 189 die before the age of 5. The major direct causes of death in children are infectious disease such as malaria, pneumonia and diarrhoea. In pregnant women, the major causes of death are bleeding before or soon after delivery (*antepartum and postpartum haemorrhage*) and infections originating from the reproductive system which develop after delivery (*puerperal sepsis*). Some of the underlying causes of these poor health indicators include widespread poverty, chronic malnutrition, low education status, poor sanitation and poor access to safe water, high HIV prevalence and inadequate capacity of the health care system to deliver of quality and accessible health services.

Human resources: major problem in the health sector

In recognition of the critical importance of the health sector in national development, the Government of Malawi (GoM) has been increasing the percentage allocation of its national budget on health since 1999. In addition, the GoM has successfully mobilised funds from bilateral and multilateral donors to support the delivery of health services. Despite the substantial increase in the availability of financial resources, delivery of health services is hampered by the lack of skilled health workers, mainly in peripheral health facilities which provide basic health services to rural populations. A health facility survey conducted in 2002 showed that of the 26 districts in Malawi, 15 (~60%) had less than 1.5 nurses per health centre, while 5 (~20%) had less 1 nurse per health centre. Furthermore, the survey showed that of the 26 districts, 10 had no doctor in the government district hospitals and 4 had no doctor at all. On average, Malawi had a population-to-nurse ratio of 3500:1 and population-to-doctor ratio of 64,000:1. These statistics were far worse than those from Malawi's neighbouring countries. Table 1, below illustrates the human resource gaps for selected health professionals in the public health sector in Malawi.

Table 1: Shortages of selected health professionals in Malawi

Health Professional Type	Available posts	Number employed	Number (%) of unfilled posts
Doctors	433	139	294 (68%)
Nurses	8440	4717	3723 (44%)
Clinical Officers	1405	942	463 (33%)
Laboratory Technicians	507	251	256 (50%)

In addition to the above-mentioned shortages, the vacancy rates for specialist doctors (surgeons, obstetricians/gynaecologists, physicians, paediatricians, pathologists etc) in the public health sector range from 71-100%. These shortages severely impact the training of new doctors and the supervision and continuing education of district-level health personnel.

The major causes of the human resources crisis in Malawi include:

- Resignation of skilled medical personnel from the public health sector due to poor salaries and working conditions. These individuals seek better jobs within Malawi (in Non Governmental Organizations and private hospitals) and outside Malawi or simply change careers. For example, the Nurses and Midwives Council of Malawi estimate that since 2000, 103–230 nurses have been resigning from the public health sector, annually, to seek better paying jobs outside Malawi.
- Inadequate output of health care workers from training institutions to meet the staff requirements of the public health sector. For example, the MoH estimates that 294 additional doctors are needed in the public health sectors but the College of Medicine has the capacity to graduate 20–31 doctors per year in the next 3–4 years. Most training institutions can not increase output of health workers mainly due to lack of tutors and lecturers and the lack of physical infrastructure to accommodate an expanded intake of trainees.
- Poor “return” rate of health personnel who undergo their postgraduate training in western countries. Of the 70 Malawian-trained medical doctors who went for postgraduate training abroad only 34 have returned after completion of their studies.
- High death rates (up to 2.0 percent per annum) among health workers, with clinical officers and laboratory technicians most severely affected.

Impediments to solutions

In 2004, the Ministry of Health (MoH) estimated that about US\$272 million will be required over 6 years to support human resource development in the health sector which included the expansion the training capacity of training institutions and the retention of health workers in the public sector through improvements in their remuneration package. Out of this amount, bilateral donors and the Global Fund have so far committed US\$236 million. Using these funds, the MoH has recently increased support to health worker training institutions to enable them increase their outputs. In addition, the government has recently implemented a 52% salary increase for workers in the public health sector. However, there are indications that a substantial proportion health workers continues to emigrate to developed countries within a few years of their graduation. In addition, it has become apparent that the recent salary increase has had a minimal impact at improving the job satisfaction of health workers. This is mainly because the newly adjusted salaries are still far short from those offered in the private sector or outside Malawi and the general working environment of health workers has not improved.

Presently, the GoM is caught up in a quagmire to solve the human resource problems in the health sector. On the one hand, it can not increase the salaries of health workers to levels that can favourably compete with those offered in developed countries or the private sector without severely compromising its expenditure in sectors which directly impact health (*such as Agriculture, Water Development and Education*) or stimulate economic growth (*Trade & Industry, Tourism*). On the other hand, Malawi’s developmental partners are unlikely to adequately support remuneration package of health workers since they generally view this as a primary responsibility of Malawi and are worried of the sustainability of such a program. Sadly, a vicious cycle has ensued. Without achieving substantial economic growth, the GoM can not fulfil its responsibility of adequately remunerating and improving the working conditions of health workers. Conversely, without skilled health workers it cannot guarantee improved health status of its population which is key factor to achieving economic growth.

To break this vicious cycle, the following policy options need to be considered:

- Malawi’s developmental partners should substantially increase their commitment of funds to support the remuneration package of health workers and improve the working conditions in public health facilities. However, the problem with this option is that Malawi’s economy may not sustain this increased expenditure on human resources in the medium-long term.

- Malawi government should sign agreements with other countries to bar Malawian health workers from seeking employment in those countries. However, this option infringes on the rights of individuals to improve their livelihood and is at odds with the philosophy of a free market economy.
- Malawi government should institute contractual agreements with health workers trained by public funds which require them to work in the public health sector over a specific number of years before they seek alternative employment. However, experience has shown that enforcing these contractual agreements is problematic.
- Foreign countries who employ Malawian health workers should reimburse expenses incurred by the GoM in training such individuals. However, this option is unlikely to solve human resource crisis in the health sector because the GoM urgently needs the health workers more than the money it invested in training the health workers.
- Malawi should institute and strengthen in-country postgraduate training programs. The problem with this option is that Malawi needs a huge investment to successfully implement these training programs. In addition, there's no guarantee that locally-trained specialists will not migrate to developed countries.

Whatever option/s the GOM chooses to alleviate the current Human Resource problems, there is no doubt that a substantial amount of assistance will be required from Malawi's developmental partners.

Investing in People for better health in Malawi¹

What is the current situation?

The majority of people in Malawi do not have access to adequate health care. A major contributing factor is the lack of appropriate health care staff in the right places. For example, maternal health is a major problem. The maternal mortality rate is increasing, yet one study showed that only 13% of health facilities have 24 hour coverage by qualified midwife. A major factor in attracting and retaining health professionals is pay. Until recently salaries have been paltry. Until recently a senior specialist was earning less than £200 per month and a junior nurse about £40 – and that's with all the allowances included.

The most hard-hit areas for maternal health and other health conditions are the remote and generally poorest areas of the country. Again, this is largely related to staff shortages. Eighty percent of Malawians live in rural areas, yet 97% of the clinical officers (who do much of the work of doctors) and over 80% of registered nurses work in urban or peri-urban areas. Even where there are health care workers, the quality of service will often be inadequate. But it is easy to use the health workers as scapegoats. Many of them do not wish to work where they have been posted – and it is not surprising given the living and working conditions some of them endure.

The problem is not just at the front line. Managers at district or hospital level are usually clinicians who have not been prepared for this role. Many of them feel unsupported by their superiors. And at the highest level in the Ministry some departments are seriously under-resourced and understaffed.

There is no denying the difficulties that Malawi is facing in the health sector. But the way to move forward is to build on the positive steps that have already been taken. For example, in spite of the challenging staffing situation, Malawi still manages to achieve surprisingly good results in some areas of health care. For example 100% coverage of TB Direct Observed Therapy (DOTS) in all 27 districts was recently reported. Morale amongst many health workers is low, yet it is possible to find very dedicated health workers working on the front line. And people continue to use opportunities to address the problems at all levels of the system. For example:

- Innovative ways of involving the community in health care are being developed. One initiative is working with shopkeepers to improve early treatment of malaria and TB.
- In 2001 I met new district manager who was appalled by the late arrival at work of many of his staff. Not having real power to discipline them, he simply stood at the main door at the start of each day. As people realised he noticed who was late and who was not, there was a dramatic increase in the number of people who arrived on time!
- The Medical College could not get enough sufficiently qualified entrants to study medicine, so it set up a “pre-med” course to bring school leavers up to standard.
- Since the “staffing crisis” was properly acknowledged in 1999, as part of an emergency training programme, training schools have been reopened, more tutors trained and now more qualified staff are being produced. More recently, the issue of poor salaries has been tackled with a noticeable reduction of the number of staff leaving.

What are the causes of the staffing problems?

Most of the causes of the problems are unsurprising. Since Malawi's independence opportunities in the labour market have expanded rapidly – both locally and globally. At the same time the value of government salaries has fallen dramatically. HIV/AIDS is also seriously reducing the number of staff available. Lack of investment in the health sector had seriously damaged the infrastructure and left health facilities with a shortage of medicines and supplies, reducing the attractiveness of work in the health sector.

¹ This short paper is largely based on a dozen visits to Malawi between 1999 and 2004 to assist the Ministry of Health with a variety of human resource issues.

Whilst such challenges are faced by many employers in southern Africa, the government machinery is, in general, insufficiently responsive. Despite the staffing crisis, it is a slow and complex process to fill a vacant post even if someone is available. Getting the new recruit on the payroll may then take months. As elsewhere bureaucracies are designed to follow rules rather than be risk takers and creative in problem solving. So the successes listed above have mainly been achieved in spite of the bureaucratic machinery.

Whilst people tend to think that human resources is everybody's business, there are specific skills related to strategic human resource planning and management that tend not to be present in traditional bureaucracies, but can be learnt. In the last 10 years two government staff have received HR training overseas at Masters level, but as the Ministry of Health was unable to retain either, there was no return on this investment.

What is the way forward?

I believe two parallel and linked ways of investing in health personnel are required in Malawi – and, incidentally, many other countries in a similar situation. The first is to make incremental improvements. Inefficient recruitment and posting processes need to be improved to make the best of staff who are already available. Ways of improving working and living conditions of staff should be found – at least to make the job just a bit more attractive. New ways of getting more staff should be explored. Better information is needed on the types of staff who are most at risk of leaving – and methods of attracting them to stay need to be tested². Trying out new ideas and seeing what works will help the Ministry of Health and its partners become better employers, which in turn will make them more attractive to work for.

Work can start on the incremental approach immediately. But if there really is a crisis, then relying on the “business as usual approach” is not an option³. Now is the time for more radical thinking to establish a health workforce fit for the future. At the time of independence in many African countries lacked the doctors they needed. So, and many would say this has proved a wise investment, they took the radical step to develop new cadres like the Clinical Officer to fill the gap. Since that time there has been a drive towards upgrading the professions, using the argument that that would push up standards of care. Whilst improving standards will always be desirable, this argument ignored the evidence of what was happening in the labour market. This is why, despite increasing production of better qualified staff, there are severe shortages of staff particularly in underserved areas.

So, prior to making long-term investments in the health workforce of the future, another radical step is needed. I believe that Malawians should use the current opportunity created by the staffing crisis to take a step back and think about health care for the next 20 or 30 years. This thinking should, as far as is possible, be unencumbered by thoughts about winning the next election, or about fitting in with current professional paradigms. The main focus should be on what kind of health care services Malawians in all parts of the country should realistically have access to? What kind of people – not necessarily all professionals – should be providing these services? And where will they come from? This will require the establishment of a “think tank” that is representative of all stakeholders, not just the government or the professions. When there is a reasonably clear consensus of what Malawi is aiming for, then it should be possible to work backwards to see how to get from the current staffing situation to a workforce for the future. This is surely the most appropriate investment in people for achieving better health in Malawi. Furthermore, other countries currently in a similar predicament to that of Malawi could benefit, too.

² These ideas and more are discussed in World Bank (2005) Human resources and financing for health in Malawi: issues and options (draft). Africa Human Development. Africa Region

³ World Bank (2005). Global Monitoring Report 2005. Millennium Development Goals: From Consensus to Momentum. Washington DC, World Bank.

BASIC EDUCATION IN MALAWI: A Discussion on Progress and Challenges

1. INTRODUCTION

Education is said to be a fundamental human right that is considered to be the backbone of sustainable development and poverty reduction because it is a vehicle for economic growth, employment, civic participation, tolerance, peace, unity and dialogue. This was affirmed in international and national forums such as the 2000 Dakar Declaration on Education for All (EFA) and the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Declaration and the more recent 2005 July G8 Summit and August UN Summit. The Malawi's Vision 2020, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2002) and the 2005 National Conference on Education Conference also takes into account the crucial role of education in human development. That is perhaps why Malawi joined the international community in reaffirming collective commitment to promote education as essential condition for social and economic development in Paris on 8 October 2005 at the conclusion of the Ministerial Round Table on EFA organised by UNESCO.

The education system in Malawi is made up of three education levels and these are primary, secondary and tertiary or higher education and these are further sub divided into basic education and higher education.

While all the levels of education are crucial for development, provision of basic education is prioritised as a foundation for all forms of education and central to human development. Basic education is commonly defined to encompass the education one must receive for them to be able to live a reasonably useful and beneficial life. It covers the period from pre-school through years of primary school to secondary education. This includes all those that may have dropped out of primary school and are pursuing vocational or skills training, and those who enter education at an advanced stage.

This paper briefly discusses the progress towards achieving a quality basic education in Malawi. Quality basic education entails better learning outcomes and achievements and is key towards bringing about productive, responsible and responsive citizens. In the discussion the paper gives a situation analysis of basic education in the country, outlines major challenges faced and proposes a way forward for improving basic education quality and access to all citizens.

2. MALAWI BASIC EDUCATION SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

The Malawi government is implementing a number of programmes and policies to accelerate basic education for its citizens. These programmes and policies hinge on improving the access, equity, quality and relevance of education which are in line with the international commitments on education particularly the Education for all (EFA) Goals and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The most popular programme is the free primary education programme that was introduced in 1994. Besides this there are a number of programmes in adult literacy, life skills for out of school youth, and technical and vocational education. These programmes have enhanced the access of basic education to many people. These programmes are articulated in government's policy and investment framework (PIF), the Vision 2020, the Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (MPRSP) and MEFA.

Through implementation of these programmes and policies the country has registered a number of achievements as much as there are failures. Here are a number of indicators to substantiate this point.

1. **Access indicators:** FPE led to increased enrolment – from 1.8 million in 1992/3 to 3.2 in 2004. NER is about 80% (2004). GER is 132% (2004), over 100% due to problem of overage pupils.

2. **Equity Indicators:** More equal in lower grades (1 to 3 almost 50:50). But from Grade 4 to 8 to higher education (Secondary & Tertiary), fewer girls participate to as low as between 15 and 30%.
3. **Survival & completion indicators:** in general low survival & completion rates from grade 1 to 8. Over 20% drop out after Grade 1, 50 % survive to grade 5 and 20% or less reach the last grade. Females and children from poorer households drop out more. Absenteeism rate is high: CSCQBE pilot project in 6 Districts found out that the rate is as high as 40-70%.
4. **Quality Indicators:** Generally govt, civil society and other stakeholders agree that quality of education has gone down particularly after introduction of FPE in 1994.
 - a) Few teacher training colleges.
 - b) Too many unqualified teachers in the system
 - c) Inadequate teaching and learning materials.
 - d) Poor and inadequate infrastructure: classrooms and teachers houses.
 - e) Curriculum regarded as not relevant: Undergoing review now.
 - f) Decreasing pass rates in Primary (PSLCE) and Secondary Examinations (JCE and MSCE). Over 80% for PSLCE and Over 60% for JCE and MSCE in early 1990s to less than 80% (PSLCE) and less than 42% for JCE and MSCE in 2004. Lower pass rate for girls.
 - g) Poor performance of pupils in SACMEQ.

In the final analysis, much as Malawi has tried to promote basic education against EFA and MDG targets indicators show little progress and there is need for quick and collective effort to meet the EFA/MDG targets by 2015.

3. KEY FACTORS NEGATIVELY AFFECTING BASIC EDUCATION

In Malawi there are a number of factors that are negatively affecting the full stretch of basic education.

One of the factors is lack of adequate teaching and learning materials in schools. In most of the primary schools, for instance, you will find that instead of every pupil having his or her own Chichewa or English textbook, on average 27 pupils share 10 textbooks.

Apart from lack of teaching and learning materials you will find that most schools and colleges do not have adequate infrastructure and sanitary facilities.

Moreover, most of the schools do not have sufficient qualified and well motivated teachers. The primary schools are suffering a teacher: pupil ratio of 1:118 instead of the recommended 1:60. This is even compounded by the poor salaries that teachers are getting. As a result some teachers either do small businesses or engage in research and consultancy work instead of teaching in order to top up their meagre salaries.

The education system is also affected by under financing of basic education: the education sector has suffered many years of under funding and many schools have lacked even the basic teaching and learning outputs especially prior to 1994. Since 1990s when education funding has seen yearly increments most of the recurrent expenditure, 72–80% goes to personal emoluments. Moreover, the annual increases have been more on nominal terms because in real terms funding has decreased from around 28% of the total budget in 1990s to 12% of the total budget in 2004/5.

Bad financial management practices such as theft, corruption and fraud cripple the situation further as finances and resources meant for schools get diverted for personal gains. A number of reports from government, donors and civil society have shown that thousands of teaching and learning materials are diverted from schools and millions of Kwachas meant for teachers are lost due salary leakages from divisions to schools.

Another management problem is inadequate supervision of schools by primary education advisors and district education managers. Most schools are never supervised and this makes it easy for teachers and pupils to behave in the way they want.

Socio-economic factors are also contributing to poor quality of education in Malawi. One of these factors is high illiteracy and lack of knowledge and interest about policies and education by *communities*. Some parents openly discourage their children from attending school regularly because they do not see any value for education.

Poverty is another socio-economic factor that is a source of absenteeism, dropouts, repetition and early marriages in many rural schools. Poor households lack proper food, clothes and other necessities and in such circumstances parents force children not to go to school to do domestic chores and fend for the families by going to markets or estates. The culture of laziness among pupils and parents is making matters even worse. When pupils don't work hard this leads to poor acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills. Another factor is long illnesses such as TB, AIDS disrupt learner time as pupils and teachers spend time providing care and support to the sick and dying.

4. PROPOSED INTERVENTIONS

To sort out these problems there is need for a multi-sectoral and multifaceted and stakeholder approach.

To begin with government needs to do something about the legal and policy framework. Government needs to quickly review education policies and legal provisions in order to put in measures that will ensure quality at all levels. Secondly, government, donors, private sector, civil society and parents need to provide adequate resources to education institutions at all levels to ameliorate the teaching and learning environment through intensified teacher training, provision of teaching and learning materials especially for children with special needs, adequate infrastructure, increased recruitment of teachers and better salaries for teachers. In this regard there is need for government to increase the allocation to the education sector to go beyond 12.63% (2004/5 budget) and be closer to 26% of the national budget in order to cater for all the resources required in schools and universities.

In addition government and stakeholders need to provide, institute and enhance proper management and governance structures from the headquarters to divisions, districts and schools. There is need to address all issues of attitude, mindset and capacity within these governance structures to ensure participatory and efficient planning, implementation, supervision, inspection and monitoring of policies and strategies within the system. Moreover there is need for the country to embrace an appropriate curriculum. Excellent cognitive skills and development of good cultural-social values amongst those undergoing the education system are largely dependent on the appropriateness and relevance of the contents of curriculum. Schools, colleges and universities require a curriculum that will produce human resources for both white collar and blue-collar jobs while at the same time producing self-employers/entrepreneurs.

Last but not least the country needs to address cultural and social issues: a number of barriers to education are attributed to cultural and social norms and beliefs which discourage enrolment of children especially girls, encourage early marriages, and interrupt constant learning resulting in absenteeism and drop outs. These and other misconceptions about gender, human rights and other practices such as laziness and indiscipline need to be addressed through community sensitization and social mobilisation programmes. Government needs to work with civil society organizations to sensitise communities about need for quality education and clear all misconceptions that are affecting the commitment of parents and pupils to education and are leading to poor performance of pupils and students.

5. CONCLUSION

In summary the situation of basic education is not as desirable as the country would require. There is need to build on the momentum for partnership, collaboration and dialogue between government and other stakeholders to promote basic education. In a special way governments needs to create and promote an enabling environment for different actors: donors, government, civil society, private sector, business communities and grassroots to work towards promoting Education for all. Moreover there is need for government to enhance its own capacity for policy implementation, monitoring, research and data analysis. Above all, resource mobilisation must be increased to fund basic education activities for government and civil society.

Higher Education and Professional Leadership: The Commission for Africa Challenge to Malawi

What is refreshing about the positioning of higher education within the framework of the Commission for Africa's analysis is that, unlike so many development reports where universities might be included in a small section in a separate chapter on human development or education, the recommendations on universities and institutes of technology in the Commission Report are actually in a chapter whose central focus is Governance and Capacity Building. 'Capacity to deliver' is included in this particular chapter along with accountability, transparency, and corruption. Higher education is deliberately situated within the section on 'capacity to deliver'. In other words, higher education and the production of university graduates are not seen to have an independent, stand-alone effect. Rather, they are in a two-way relationship with greater accountability and transparency. And again, intriguingly, within this section's sub-titles on capacity, there is no explicit mention of universities. Instead, there are the following sub-sections: professional skills and leadership; incentives; equipment and infrastructure, including ICT; and monitoring of capacity building.

In other words, 'higher education' is not evident by name in the list of contents of the Commission at all; rather it is seen as part of the larger issue of capacity development not as an independent sub-sector. It is worth underlining this concern with capacity, since the role of higher education is inseparable from it. The Commission comments:

Weak capacity is a major problem in most African countries. All tiers of government are affected, and the problem is growing in urban areas, whose populations are already doubling, and will continue to double every ten to twenty years (Commission for Africa 2005: 137-8).

The Commission see capacity strengthening as central to everything else.

Tackling the huge need for capacity strengthening will have major knock-on effects for all the other areas of our report, whether by increasing security and the rule of law, reducing corruption, improving service delivery and the operating environment for business, or reducing the constraints which have limited government's ability to absorb higher levels of development assistance. (Commission for Africa 2005: 136)

The detailed evidence for the alleged crisis of states' institutional capacity is not immediately clear in the Commission Report. But the Commission's conviction about the absolutely crucial nature of states' effectiveness and ability to deliver is so central to everything else that, in effect, **capacity development is one of the fundamental recommendations of the entire report:**

Strengthening states so they are effective and able to deliver is, therefore, the foundation of our report. Unless Africa makes a concerted effort to do so, we believe that all other reforms, in international trade, debt, and aid – essential as these reforms are – will only have limited impact ...

Improving the capacity of the state to design and deliver good policies and to manage its development partners, along with better accountability for how the state answers to its entire people for its policies and actions, are central. (Commission for Africa 2005: 134)

Indeed, in the March 2005 report of the Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest*, one of the most frequently used terms is 'capacity'. It appears on almost every page, and even justifies a definition in the text:

The ability of individuals, organisations and societies to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve their own objectives. In a development context, 'capacity development'

refers to investment in people, institutions and practices that will, together, enable that country to achieve its development objectives. (Commission for Africa 2005: 389)

In fact, it is noteworthy that in the Commission for Africa, the terms that are most commonly used to discuss skill are 'professional skills' and 'skilled professionals'. It is argued strongly that 'qualified professional staff are essential to all forms of development' (Commission for Africa 2005: 137). What is obvious from the use of the term here is that it has a much broader reach than the traditional notion of technical and vocational education and training (TVET); indeed there is even an explicit link made between the skills needed for Africa and the higher education sector, 'which ought to be the breeding ground for the skilled individuals whom the continent needs' (Commission for Africa 2005: 137).

It is worth underlining, first of all, this emphasis on professional skills and leadership, since it seems clear that what is being talked of is very close to the 'high level manpower' that was on every planner's lips at independence in Malawi and elsewhere. In this analysis of capacity, it is evident that the skills that are missing are not those associated with primary education, or even TVET, but rather with higher education. Indeed, a powerful case is made that qualified professional staff are critical to the very delivery of the MDGs and other investments. But the case is not made by arguing for the value of universities in themselves; rather, the actual skills and capacities that are needed and that are missing are first sketched out in a purple passage that is worth quoting at some length. It is noteworthy that these skills are also emphasised for their relevance to innovative and productive capacity in the private sector:

Qualified professional staff are essential to all forms of development. The delivery of health, education and other services depends on them. They are crucial for collecting and managing data, and debating and developing good policies, based on the evidence of what works and what does not. They are essential to implementing those policies and to monitoring how they are put into effect. Scientifically and technically proficient staff are needed to identify opportunities arising from innovation and scientific discoveries and to develop effective policy in areas such as science, trade and resource management. Especially in the private sector, these particular skills are key to performance and innovation. Africa has been lacking skilled men and women in all these spheres. (Commission for Africa 2005: 137)

Only after laying out the demand for such skills is it argued that the shortage of these can be traced to deficits in higher education, which, we mentioned above, is seen to be the main breeding ground for these deficits of skill. It is worth noting that these higher education capacities are felt to be related to accountability and good governance because the generation of independent research and debate can improve the effectiveness of government.

Implications for Malawi: the state of higher education

When the crucial role of professional skills is laid out so sharply, with these very key links to 'capacity to deliver', what is the actual situation of tertiary education in Malawi? Here the answer has to be very bleak.⁴ Despite the extraordinarily small size of the university sector, it would appear to have very major problems of totally inadequate funding. It would also appear that there are major deficits in quality, and that, in the eyes of many of its staff, the university has lost its way as a development project. There is a distinct sense of unease about what may have happened to core meritocratic values, about the absence of rigorous appraisal mechanisms, about the criteria for promotion, and about institutional management. Even more seriously, the massive deteriorations in quality by the unplanned expansions of primary and secondary mean that the university sector is increasingly sitting on a very fragile educational base. Malawi is reported, for example, as having some of the lowest scores of any central and southern African country in its basic education system. The pitiful state of the university library and of its internet access means that styles of teaching and learning have moved away from that encouragement of critical thinking mentioned in the Commission for Africa, and towards lower order skills. Most worrying of all for the notion of a 'development university' has been the recourse to short-term

⁴ For a detailed account of the conditions, salaries and morale of the university sector, see further King 2005

consultancies rather than long term, policy-relevant research. Data from the World Bank (2004: 49) suggests that average emoluments in tertiary education have fallen in real terms by 50% over the 1990s, but of course the averages are complicated by much larger numbers of staff associates being included in the more recent calculations. Be that as it may, academic 'research' has turned into doing evaluations, mid-term reviews and other routine requirements for the growing number of aid agencies and NGOs that are to be found in Malawi.

The results of this parlous situation – both salaries and poor conditions – is that many staff have taken leave of absence or have secured study leave abroad, through their own efforts. Their posts are held up to four years, and they are replaced with 'staff associates'. For reasons connected to the brain drain, death by HIV/AIDS, or non-replacement of more senior staff, these young and inexperienced staff associates have found themselves taking on core teaching and marking duties. In the event that staff on leave don't eventually return from what are widely described as 'greener pastures', it may be necessary to continue with staff associates rather than recruiting staff with higher degrees. The result can be departments with a very uneven balance of senior and junior staff. Indeed, there are examples of very junior staff, with little experience, actually heading departments.

There is also a serious internal brain drain whereby significant numbers of staff recognise that working for an international NGO, a donor agency or the private sector, within Malawi, can offer substantially more funding than a university position.

The Commission for Africa Proposals for the Tertiary Sector – including Malawi

The situation described above for Malawi is precisely the reason why the Commission proposed two major initiatives: first the revitalisation of all the Association of African University (AAU) member institutions through a ten year period of support; and second the building up of Africa's capacity in science and technology through centres of excellence. Embedded in the AAU's nine point programme are proposals for substantial salary enhancement for the best 100 lecturers in all the AAU member universities,⁵ and a great deal of other donor-supported improvement of conditions of service. However, it is known that the G8 summit in Gleneagles in July 2005 did not come out with a powerful reinforcement of these ambitious proposals. Instead, its final communiqué made some weak comments about the encouragement of North-South university networking.

The Challenge to this Conference

Given the very high expectations for the utilisation of professional skills in the Commission for Africa, the current depressing reality of tertiary education in Malawi, and the uncertainty about the status of the tertiary education agenda as a result of the G8 process, these are some of the challenges facing this Conference:

1. What are the realistic local options for turning round the conditions of service for this relatively small segment of highly trained workers, at a time when there are literally millions of Malawians currently facing acute shortages of the very essentials of life?
2. Is it reasonable to expect that a system of extensive salary enhancements, supported by foreign donors, can be sustainable over the long term, whether in the current sector wide approach in health, or in the AAU proposal for selected university staff? This new proposal for aid dependency would be added to the existing dependence of Malawi on external support for almost 50% of its entire recurrent budget.
3. If, following the thinking of the Commission for Africa and the UN Millennium Report, development cannot realistically be entertained within individual silos such as higher education, but needs to be part of a large and coordinated programme of investment across all the major sectors, how does that crucial cross-sectoral investment get kick-started, and

⁵ this proposal was roundly criticised by university staff development fellows in a pre-G8 conference organised by CAS, CSC and the ESRC.

is there a role for the critical professional skills from tertiary level to catalyse such an initiative?

4. Is the origin of the very long-standing concern about the brain drain in Malawi inescapably linked to some 40 years of massive under-investment in higher education, and equally low investment in secondary education? In essence these were political decisions – to avoid precisely an abundance of those independent critical faculties that the Commission for Africa celebrates as necessary to development and good governance. The alternative Indian model has been the dramatic expansion of all types of higher education for the last 50 and more years – a model which allows Indians to contribute to silicon valleys and glens, without this affecting the running of institutions at home.
5. This speaks to the importance of rethinking the educational pyramid in Malawi, and welcoming the emergence of alternative models and alternative financing of higher education. These new initiatives – and not least the Livingstonia University developments – pose a direct challenge to the country which is responsible for name of Livingstone and Livingstonia being so well-known in Central Africa.
6. The Malawi diaspora in Europe, North America and Southern Africa may well need to be considered seriously as one component in this essential expansion of higher education. For reasons that are hopefully obvious, the diaspora does not expect to be paid the expatriate salaries that currently dwarf the regular local salaries of historians, medics, nurses and political scientists.⁶

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⁶ It would be invaluable to have up to date information on the distribution of the Malawi diaspora.

Getting Out of the Spiralling Food Security Trap in Malawi

1. The Problem and Contextual Environment

Severity of poverty

- About 65.3 per cent of the population is below the poverty line.
 - Thus the vast majority of the Malawi population is often in danger of not meeting their food requirements as well as basic non-food needs all year round.
- About 28.7 per cent are living in dire poverty.
 - They cannot meet even their basic food requirements all year round.

Food Production Failure

- Government investment in agricultural development, supported by its cooperating partners, has failed to make significant and sustained inroads in reducing poverty and food insecurity.
- Malawi has continuously been plagued by erratic rainfall since the 2001/02 drought yet its irrigation potential is far from being fully exploited (less than 20% irrigation utilisation capacity).
- Declining soil fertility, ever increasing cost of chemical fertiliser, low usage of high yielding crop varieties, aggravate the situation.

Politics of Food

- Ambivalence in thinking among international aid community on what to and what not to support on food security matters (thereby eroding potentially effective Government strategies), under the guise of domestic (home office) policies.
- Significant time lags in international aid community response to Government signals on worsening food security situations. The current food crisis is a typical case in point.
- Tendency for international aid community to use food distribution options with higher overheads (e.g. through WFP) when cheaper effective options are available minimises impact.
- Inadequate and sometimes inaccurate local media coverage of development issues (including food security), focusing on local political issues, with downstream effects of misinforming the international media and community as well as glossing over significant positive local development initiatives.
- Narrow diet diversification. Maize is widely perceived as food in Malawi. This has turned maize into local political capital.
- Too much focus of Government and international aid community on “crop and maize production”.
 - Little attention to other food and cash crops
 - Trace attention to livestock production

NB: A lot of agricultural business opportunities are wasted e.g. unmet local demand for all livestock and livestock products in Malawi. In addition, expanding livestock

sector will increase market demand for cereal, oil seed and forage crops (finding good markets for most crops is an issue in Malawi's agriculture).

- While recent Sector Wide Approaches e.g. one being applied to the health sector in Malawi, are supporting salaries of health cadres, no international aid community is committed to supporting statutory minimum wage rate pegged to cost of living.
 - Public works programmes (cash for work; food for work; inputs/assets for work) suffered from poor and unsystematic design and have failed to generate the desired impact of enabling households buy adequate food and buy adequate inputs (high yielding seed and fertiliser) to increase food and cash crop production. Thus these initiatives have simply been exploitative in nature.

2. Getting out of the trap: Effective Strategies and Actions

- (a) Create a food economy with low political capital but high economic capital (*Get politics out of food*).
 - Support a Universal Fertiliser and High Yielding Seed Subsidy programme for at least 5 years on the basis of the severity of poverty. Review and adjust on basis of lessons, experiences and progress.
 - Support immediate implementation of “Food Contract” farming of major staples on basis of negotiated producer price administered through a special and protected fund to ensure timely payments to growers until adequate local food production is restored.
 - Support feasible irrigation development (small, medium and large) and water harvesting initiatives to combat erratic rainfall regime and enable multiple cropping seasons (reduce the long Malawi farmer holiday – June to October). Support to increased irrigation development capacity a pre-requisite (especially design technicians and other field level staff).
- (b) Support development and proliferation of Farmer Organisations (*currently, there is trace support from Government and its cooperating partners and the vast majority of farmers remain unorganised*)
 - Support provision of technical assistance on: (i) change of mind set (agriculture as a business; self-reliance as opposed to hand-out reliance); (ii) organisation and business development
 - Cost-sharing on support of farmer organisation secretariats to ensure professional leadership and management
 - Support capitalisation of best practice revolving funds run by farmer organisations

NB: Support to prioritise farmer organisations involved in production of profitable livestock, cash and food crops with known local and external markets
- (c) Support Expansion of Public Works Programmes customised to the Malawi situation (severe poverty and food insecurity) in rural and urban areas on food focused infrastructural projects (roads and bridges; small earth dams; river diversion canals; etc.), with wage rates reflecting cost of living and ability to buy minimum food production inputs (seed and fertiliser). This should be the basis for revising statutory minimum wage rate.
 - The Commission for Africa Report and Malawi Government embrace public works programmes for employment creation, BUT do not go into detailed analysis, design and support mechanisms

- The World Bank Africa Action Plan (September 2005) embraces development of rural infrastructure, including feeder roads and irrigation infrastructure but silent on linking these to public works programmes
 - Public Works Programme wage rate that is slightly above cost-of-living bolsters household capacity to buy food and food production inputs (high yielding seed and fertiliser).
- (d) Continue supporting well-targeting safety net programmes amongst the vulnerable groups (those who cannot be captured by initiatives in (a) to (c) – the aged; HIV/AIDS victims; the disabled; etc).

3. Concluding Remarks

- The food security problem in Malawi has been spiralling for over two decades now.
- Taming the situation demands radical changes to the contextual environment such as:
 - ✓ International community's timely & unified response to signals of impending food crisis.
 - ✓ The local and international press to publish accurate reports on food security situation.
 - ✓ Malawi Government should invest in getting politics out of food.
 - ✓ Malawi Government and international community should increase support to development and proliferation of farmer organisations.

Livelihood Diversification in Malawi

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Livelihood diversification is critical for Malawi

Almost everyone who is from Malawi, who has lived there or who has worked on the country acknowledges the desirability of promoting livelihood diversification, especially amongst the 85% of the population reliant on agriculture for their livelihoods. Indeed, the rural livelihood diversification model has dominated the discourse on development, not just in Malawi, but throughout much of sub-Saharan Africa. Many people articulate a vision of Malawi in twenty years time where rural families have diverse and multiple income sources and smallholders have moved away from what USAID has referred to as “the maize poverty trap” (Rubey 2003). Food crop production will have diversified into drought resistant crops, agriculture will have become increasingly commercialised producing a wide range of food and non-food cash crops for both the domestic and foreign market, and on the back of agricultural development will come a much greater range of off-farm income opportunities in agro-industry and small-scale service industries.

But this vision is not new. Everyone was talking about it, government and donors alike, nearly twenty five years ago when I was a young economist in Malawi’s Ministry of Agriculture. And yet the dream still seems far from reality. During the past fifteen years there has been a shift in resources, particularly land, away from local maize towards other crops, including: hybrid maize; drought resistant food crops such as cassava, other roots and tubers and groundnuts; and cash crops such as burley tobacco and horticultural crops. However, the rate of diversification amongst smallholders is limited by food security considerations, whereby the need to reserve a portion of land for subsistence food crop production overrides other considerations. As a result, smallholders still allocate more land to maize than any other crop such that approximately 1.5 million hectares of the 2.4 million hectares devoted to the country’s main crops (maize, rice, pulses, tobacco, sugar and groundnuts) remains planted to maize. Yet local maize yields have fallen from 2MT/Ha to 0.7-0.8 MT/Ha and with population growth running at 2% per annum, the country now faces a chronic food deficit.

The chronic food deficit is such that over half of Malawi’s nearly 12 million population are both poor and food insecure – 36% of the population are below the ultra poverty line and chronically food insecure whilst a further 28% are below the poverty line and experience transient food insecurity. The recent trends in both poverty and food insecurity have been getting worse in Malawi (Harrigan forthcoming).

Malawi has reached a critical juncture in its history, which makes it essential to ask why the above vision of extensive livelihood diversification remains remote and what can be done to speed up its attainment. A scenario is unfolding in Malawi that is certainly not appreciated by most outside the country and seems not to be fully comprehended by many Malawians themselves. We are all aware of the current state of play. A GDP per capita of \$160 making it one of the poorest countries in the world; an HDI ranking in the bottom ten; a worsening income distribution with a Gini coefficient of 0.62 in 1995, which is the third worse in the world, surpassed only by Brazil and Namibia; a decline in average life expectancy over the past fifteen years; and one of the worst HIV/AIDS epidemics in the world. However, unless radical change occurs, the future appears even bleaker. Environmental degradation is proceeding at an alarming rate (Government of Malawi 1996), input use has become unaffordable for most smallholders, land distribution remains highly unequal with smallholder land access diminishing, nearly half of all landowners are functionally landless, holding less than 0.5 ha of land (Care 2003), the dependency ratio is increasing and Malawi has one of the highest rates of urbanisation in Africa.

The future without diversification

An excellent, but unfortunately rather neglected piece of work, carried out by Malawi's National Economic Council in 1998 (Government of Malawi 1998a), quantifies the long-term implications if the above problems are not addressed and the results are shocking⁷. The baseline scenario, which consists of muddling along and moderate optimism assumes a continuation of past historical trends for key economic and social variables and a continuation of past policies which have been characterised by "U-turns and full circles" (Harrigan 2003). The catastrophic nature of the detailed projections for different variables are adequately highlighted by the GDP per capita variable – by 2020 this will have *fallen* to approximately \$130 (in constant dollar terms). In other words after 55 years of supposed development, the average Malawian will be no better off than they were at independence. Even more horrifying, if we compute a scenario whereby the trends of Malawi's melt-down period of 1998-2003 are projected into the future, by 2020 GDP per capita would be between \$110-125 – significantly worse than at independence. This can be described as nothing short of an unmitigated disaster.

The constraints to diversification

Why then is Malawi on the edge of such a precipice and facing tragedy and why hasn't rapid livelihood diversification occurred to mitigate this? One critical factor, which is often overlooked by over-optimistic donor organisations, is that Malawi is not a Uganda or a Kenya. Many donor staff leave Malawi profoundly disappointed because the programmes they have supported have not resulted in the type of diversification progress witnessed in other countries in the region. This is because Malawi is the most densely populated country in Africa with a single season rainfall and predominantly rain-fed agriculture. This makes the country unique in a manner not often fully appreciated. Other major constraints to diversification also exist. The small landholding size, the strong subsistence food motivation and the lack of confidence in maize markets to delivering stable consumer prices means that most smallholders are unwilling to diversify out of maize. In addition to these supply side constraints there are also binding constraints on the demand side. Malawi is landlocked with a poor and expensive transport infrastructure making many exports uncompetitive. Extreme poverty also limits domestic purchasing power – the 1998 Household Survey showed that the average Malawian spends only \$2.48 per year on fruit and vegetables. Hence, even if farmers had the confidence to move into commercial agriculture and access their food requirements through the markets their ability to find reliable and profitable outlets for cash crops, especially high value horticultural products, remains in question. In addition, Malawi's traditional cash crop, tobacco, has not provided the much hoped for route to diversification. The liberalisation of burley tobacco in the early 1990s, which enabled smallholder farmers for the first time to grow this lucrative crop, was touted by many donors, especially the World Bank, as the panacea to rural poverty. However, micro level survey work that is now emerging from Malawi, shows that this was overoptimistic, and barley has not brought the rapid commercialisation of the rural sector that was expected. Indeed, surveys indicate that areas in which burley production has intensified have become more food insecure.

Improving Government and donor policy

Many of the above structural constraints to livelihood diversification will be extremely difficult, although not impossible, to address. Does this mean that Malawians, and all those concerned with the welfare of the country, must resign themselves to a fatalistic acceptance of a trajectory which leaves the country worse off in 2020 than it was in the early optimistic years of

⁷ This work provides a model-based quantification of the outcomes of various scenarios projecting through to 2020 using the Malawi Threshold 21 model which was derived from the Threshold 21 model originally developed by the Millennium Institute in Arlington Virginia. The model simulates various scenarios and predicts outcomes in terms of the many economic and social variables considered of relevance by Malawians as articulated in the document "Vision 20:20" (Government of Malawi 1998b). The projections are computed by a system dynamics model that allows complex interactions between various economic, social and natural resource sectors.

independence? I would suggest that there is one critical constraint that can and must be tackled. It is relatively easy to tackle and if done so successfully will make the other structural constraints more amenable to solution. This resolvable constraint is the appalling lack of policy consistency and direction amongst the donor community which in turn has fed into the weakness of the Ministry of Agriculture and its inability to produce clear guidance and leadership in terms of a rural development strategy.

Despite its centrality, Malawi's Ministry of Agriculture remains weak. There have been four different Permanent Secretaries in four years and many of the good civil servants have left. Donors themselves have made the situation worse, both by poaching good staff for their own projects and, with the exception of the EU, by simply giving up on the Ministry. Many donors, notably USAID, have detached almost completely from the Ministry and use the parallel structure of NGOs to implement projects. As a result of its weakness, the Ministry has failed to produce a consistent and clear agricultural strategy. For example, the 2005-2010 draft strategy document being produced by Ministry's Planning Division contains over one hundred unprioritised objectives, which are not linked together as part of a clear strategy.

Within this government policy vacuum, donor operations become extremely difficult. However, donors have made matters worse by their fragmented, ad hoc and sometimes confrontational stance against one another. It is difficult for example to see how the government can be encouraged to work on a sensible agricultural and livelihood diversification strategy when donors are fighting about the appropriate way forward. At one extreme USAID promotes a vision of extensive livelihood diversification away from maize and rapid agricultural commercialisation with a growing reliance on regional maize imports. At the other extreme DFID continues to support maize production initiatives such as the Targeted Input Programme and has argued that Malawi should aim to become a regional maize exporter. The USAID advocacy of rapid agricultural diversification is also at odds with the conclusions of four World Bank diversification missions which concluded that the scope for smallholder diversification into high value exportable crops was limited. Consequently, there has been considerable hostility between donors. The EU, for example, has openly criticised DFID and early World Bank support for free inputs whilst USAID has blamed DFID for undermining its AIMS (Agricultural Inputs Market Development Project) by supporting the government run free Targeted Inputs Programme.

Divisions amongst donors and the failure of the Ministry of Agriculture to bring them to heel and lead with a clear development strategy is reflected in the fact, as noted by one observer, that "Malawi does not just have one of the highest population densities in Africa it also has one of the highest concentration of policy documents per square metre". Such documents are seldom translated into policy implementation and donors, failing to understand the uniqueness of Malawi's constraints, tend to blame weak government and then move onto another policy initiative rather than look at the realism of their own policy initiatives in the Malawian context.

Many of the donor divisions have been cast in the context of diversification versus food, USAID, for example, blaming other donors who focus on food security issues for perpetuating Malawi's "maize poverty trap". This squabble between donors about the role of maize versus livelihood diversification is both misplaced and highly damaging. Improving maize productivity should be seen as complementary with livelihood diversification in any holistic agricultural policy for Malawi. Maize is both politics and life in Malawi and the failure to appreciate this represents a profound failure to understand the socio-political fabric of Malawian society. This does not mean that the country should remain locked into maize. There are many routes to food security other than simply prompting national food self-sufficiency. For example, recent evidence (Whiteside et al 2003) shows a significant increase in informal cross border maize imports from Mozambique where maize productivity is much higher, and this should be encouraged. But realism is required. Malawians have been ravaged by two recent food crises (2001/02 and the current crisis which is unfolding), there are memories of the protracted civil war in Mozambique which resulted in huge costs due to Malawi's reliance on her neighbour (largely for access to ports), premature and poorly thought out privatisation programmes have led to massively unstable prices in both food and input markets. Within this context of insecure maize markets and an extremely weak private sector it will be an uphill struggle to convince Malawians to shift their

cropping patterns out of maize into other activities. Hence, a holistic strategy is required, which should include concerted efforts to improve smallholder maize productivity. The transition to a more diversified economy will be slow and difficult – unfortunately there are no quick fixes for Malawi. During this transition the state, possibly including a strengthened ADMARC, will need to play a continued role in ensuring access, availability and affordability of food. In this context it is not a case of maize versus other crops or the state versus the private sector, which much of the infighting amongst donors themselves and between donors and Government has often implied. State apparatus will remain crucial in the slow transition process.

Donors have a lot to answer for in terms of their behaviour under the democratic regime in Malawi. Improving donor co-ordination in Malawi should not be hard. The country has a relatively small number of donors and in the past Malawi was often held up as a model of good donor co-ordination and good donor/government relations. This is one easily solvable problem which can and must be tackled immediately. The rest will be much harder.

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MALAWI – DEBT

STRUCTURE OF MALAWI'S DEBT

(a) External Debt

End 2004 external debt stock US\$3.1 billion.

- 82% owed to multilateral creditors (IDA, ADF, & IMF)
- 17.5% bilateral creditors
- 0.5% commercial creditors
- Bilateral debt declined from \$0.45 billion in 1999 to \$0.35 billion in 2004 (reduction of 22%) mainly because of cancellations in enhanced HIPC initiative.

Debt Service (US\$ M)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Debt service including HIPC	93.9	72.6	87.9	86.3	102.9	112.9
HIPC	-	-	29.9	30.6	47.5	47.4

(b) Domestic Debt (K million)

1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
13,737	10,653	13,236	35,978	54,101	60,233

Arrears are around K10 billion.

The Problem

One of the causes of Africa's perpetual failure to graduate from poverty is the external debt burden, which is a result of mostly two causes:-

- 1) inability to export enough to cover the cost of our imports; and
- 2) the chronic deficits in national domestic budgets resulting from consuming more than we produce

In Malawi, it is observed that both external and domestic debt remain a very significant impediment to the country's growth. As such resolving the debt problem is fundamental to providing adequate financing for development.

Debt service, totalling \$112.9 million in 2004, more than repayment, absorbs whatever little forex that the country generates without leaving much for use locally to develop and increase the capacity to generate more. As a result, it is producing and exporting to service debts rather than to manage industrial development process.

Malawi reached HIPC Decision Point in the year 2000. Debt Sustainability Analysis (DSA) revealed that the present value of Malawi's external debt relative to exports of goods and services was 267 percent above the threshold of 150% under the enhanced HIPC.

Possible Solution

While some of the recent initiatives on debt reduction are a welcome step in the right direction, the current mechanisms to resolve the debt problem particularly HIPC initiative, have been far too slow, late and often little, selective in coverage and highly-laden with conditionalities.

For Malawi

- **The time period:** completion point is still in the process from decision point; it is now four years on. The successful completion of structural adjustment requirement is a condition.

- **Question:** Does this solve the problem of the poor – such conditions given the urgency of the situation for people in Malawi?
- **Eligibility:** based on the macro-economic indicators export ratios. Malawi's situation has changed in these 4 years. The exports have not grown while internal interest rates have also shifted affecting these variables considerably.

Current preliminary analysis shows that even after reaching completion, the debt is unsustainable. The present value of debt to exports ratio will not reduce to 150%

The current G8 initiative for post HIPC countries, 100% cancellation of debt stock owed to IDA, ADF, and IMF, is necessary and will assist however, there is still 'topping up' to be negotiated – after applying decision point pledges pv/exports ratio will be 261%.

With debt cancellation, G8 initiative and top up, Malawi then can save \$100 million per year in debt service.

Questions

- HIPC sustainability indicators – correct choice? Is the definition of threshold values to deal with uncertainty regarding the timing and magnitude of economic shocks adequate?
- Therefore, any financing of debt relief needs to be put in the right perspective. All this effort can be seen as a wider ambition to achieve Millennium Development Goals.
- An integral complement of the external debt is the domestic debt around K60 billion 37% of GDP! Domestic debt is a very big threat currently of economic growth.
- Will external debt cancellation make poverty history? While leaving major component in the equation of poverty reduction.

Domestic debt impact creates pressure on the budget on day-to-day basis because of its short-term nature. The rolling over compounds the debt. Domestic debt service currently above 7% of GDP is far too high. There is need for development partners to assist with domestic debt reduction in order to have macro stability to lead to growth and poverty reduction.

How do you reduce poverty with untackled debt problem?

It is clear that to halve poverty in Malawi and ensure that more people have access to education, health care, live in a cleaner environment, and can exercise their rights, in a nutshell, to ensure that MDGs are a reality for the poorest people in the world – to make poverty history – it requires debt cancellation, domestic debt reduction and a real commitment from both the government and development partners to achieve these goals.

MALAWI NEEDS MORE AND BETTER AID

PREAMBLE

The world has the resources and know-how to eliminate hunger and poverty, yet unacceptable number of 30 000 people die of hunger each day. Globally 840 million people are severely hungry, and 1.3 billion people live in on less than \$1 a day. Millions do not have access to land and housing. Millions more do not have access to basic services like water and sanitation. 800 million people are undernourished and 153 million children are underweight. The challenges include distributing food more equitably and increasing productivity.

In Malawi, where I come from, 70,000 people die every year from preventable diseases. As years pass by towards 2015, the year of salvation, maternal mortality rate in Malawi has more than tripled from 620 in every 100,000 live births to 1,800 deaths since the signing on the Millennium Declaration in 2000. Of the 8 MDGs, only two show signs of improvement, that of halving the number of infant mortality rate and empowerment of women.

I come from the Sub-Saharan Africa, where all our incomes combined do not equal to the agriculture subsidies that EU gives to its farmers. To eradicate poverty we need your unreserved help, your assistance, your aid. So far with the current levels, Malawi is able to maintain free primary school education and offer access to the extra 1.2 million children in primary schools, despite the 70% drop out rate; 20,000 HIV+ people have access to ARVs through the Global Fund, save for the 54,000 that are going without the therapy; teachers are being trained despite the fact that since year 2000, not a single teacher was allowed to be recruited lest Malawi blows its wage bill, etc. because of your aid, we were able to save millions of lives from following on the colleagues that died of hunger in year 2002. I am tasked to talk about aid to Malawi.

CURRENT REALITIES OF AID IN MALAWI

In the current (2005/2006) financial year, development partners are contributing (or expected to contribute) £217 million. This represents 42% of the total budget. Over the past 41 years, an average of almost 40% of the national budget is financed by donors and 80% of our development projects are funded by donors. In nominal terms the aid has been increasing, but so were strings tied to the aid. 41 years after getting independence (political independence) from the United Kingdom, Malawi is unable to stand on its own. "What is wrong?" is the question that needs to be answered.

AID FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM

Over the past five years, British aid to Malawi has averaged **£54,138,200 per annum**, out of the £974,142,200 that is spent on Africa (5.56%). 24% of the allocation to Malawi is spent on poverty reduction activities, 15.92% spent on technical cooperation and 4.64% on humanitarian assistance. UK's aid to Malawi constitutes **0.0009253% of UK's GNI**.

In 2005 **total aid** from UK accounted for **0.39% of GNI**, 0.31% short of the UN target of 0.7% of GNI. Little though it may look, the UK aid to Malawi contributed greatly to poverty reduction activities, construction of primary schools in 9 districts, helped in teacher development, saved millions of lives of starving Malawians etc.

Imagine what doubling and spending 0.002% of UK's GNP to Malawi would do to the Malawi nation! I am here to ask for more than doubling of UK's aid to Malawi.

Problems

UK aid to Malawi has not had many positive results. It was too little; the country is riddled with external and domestic debt; the quality of aid was very poor – the aid came with harsh and unrealistic conditionalities; and the aid did not support strengthening of internal governance (for

accountability); in general the aid was not in line with the priorities developed by and for Malawians. 40 years of poor aid has not helped pull Malawians out of poverty.

PRINCIPLES OF AID NEEDED IN MALAWI

As the Commission for Africa report states, the climatic, natural, political, cultural and economic situations of African countries are diverse and more unique than any other continent. Malawi is even more unique within the Africa group. We are landlocked, without definite minerals, no industrial base, high HIV/AIDS prevalence, just to mention a few. In order for the aid to make a difference, I make the following recommendations:

There is urgent need to increase and more-than-double aid to Malawi, from the 0.000923% of UK's GNI to somewhere around 0.002% of GNI. The demands for the economy are so high. Government of Malawi is committed to turning the country from a consuming nation to a predominantly producing nation. The effort needs to be complemented.

Aid should support the programs and policies developed by the recipient community. In this regard, Aid should be provided in a manner that promotes production, and not consumption of external products. Aid should not disrupt local production and markets. It should support long term development and respond to the expressed needs of local Malawians.

Aid should enable working with local communities and social organisations: Better aid supports local communities, community-based organizations and social organisations particularly in building political empowerment; the capacity of people to articulate their views; implementation of their own development models; and meaningful participation in development processes. This is very important as communities are the most reliable, sustainable and unquestioned monitors of development and checks of accountability.

Aid should be invested in strengthening local culture and knowledge: Knowledge held by communities is based on generations of people interacting with their unique surroundings. Better aid should build on the wealth of local culture and knowledge held by communities, supporting processes that facilitate appropriate technological solutions. UK aid has not targeted on this yet.

Promotion of diversity: Aid should promote diversities – human, cultural, biological, environmental, and in production methods.

Aid should bring a culture of participation: Better aid generates inclusive dialogue and engagement among different development actors. Implementation of agricultural, livestock rearing, fisheries, forestry and rural development must be based on democratic consultations and meaningful ongoing community participation. Aid should contribute towards reducing existing inequalities.

Gender is key: Women play a major role in development. Better Aid facilitates the empowerment of women, recognizing the fundamental importance they hold in providing food and other support to their families and for the community.

Sustainability: Poverty reduction is sustainable when the poor can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks that threaten their livelihood without undermining their natural resource base. Building local capital, social systems, financial capital and the natural resources on which they depend is critical. Malawi has clear development agenda with supportive paradigm of the principles of social, economic and environmental sustainability and intergenerational equity. UK's aid must be out in sectors that would militate against shocks and vulnerabilities.

Coherence and linkages: Efforts should foster linkages between the local, national and global, opportunities for learning and knowledge sharing. Better Aid should provide platforms for the exchange of experience globally, provide nationally coherent programs for delivery of Aid, and should foster linkages among local efforts. It should address problematic structures and

mechanisms that limit the effectiveness of aid in reaching the rural and peri-urban poor and hungry.

Changes in delivery and focus of aid

New policies and practices for agriculture, health, education, and other sectors are needed to end hunger and poverty, and to promote sustainable development. Changes in the delivery and focus of aid are needed to achieve this.

To support such new policies and practices aid should put emphasis on income strategies, peoples' livelihoods, local production systems, local markets, fair trade, fair and good distribution systems, protection of markets where needed to enhance national and local productivity, and avoid the trap of aid cycle. To achieve this requires improved education and public awareness not only for how to implement this but also how to avoid problems caused by poorly conceived aid.

'AID' FROM MALAWI

The August house may wish to know that civil society in Malawi is interested in following up the donations that the President of the first Republic of Malawi, Dr. Kamuzu Banda made to this country. In 1979, he made a donation of US\$2,000,000 to the Wilberforce University, his Alma Mater⁸. This would be equivalent to about US \$10,000,000 in current US dollars and, if it had been wisely invested (10 per cent rate of return) would be around US\$35 million. This gesture was very generous of him. The trouble is that the money was not his. It came from Press Holdings which at the time was the most heavily indebted company in the country having "borrowed" millions from ADMARC which, in turn, had siphoned the surpluses from underpaid peasants.

Dr. Banda also made a £350,000 to the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, the oldest college of its kind in the world. He is also on record of having given the single largest single donation of £64,000 to the then Lothian Health Board. A graduate from the institution, Dr. Banda also made lots of gifts towards the 300th anniversary appeal of Canongate Kirk.

It is our well-thought view that the above mentioned donations were made in good faith, but the problem we have now is lack of resources even to run our academic institutions, *a fortiori* feed the nation.

WHAT THE COMMISSION FOR AFRICA REPORTS

Going through the Commission for Africa, one appreciates the true picture that the authors painted and the recommendations made. For Africa to meet the MDGs, there is need for additional \$25 billion for the next half decade. To develop, apart from good governance in Africa, donors need to improve the quality of aid and how it is delivered. We need more grants than loans; we need more predictable and long-term aid; we need aid without strings. Since UK is not the only donor to Malawi, there is need for harmonisation of priorities, procedures and systems of African governments. On their part, donors need to cancel 100% of our debt, front-load aid through the International Finance Facility, and commit to a timetable for giving 0.7% of their annual income in aid.

I believe the issues have been correctly put to paper in the CFA report. All that is needed is action, action and more action. Africa needs their support. Malawi needs your urgent support; deeper and more aid.

I thank you very much for your attention.

⁸ The Forcean Quarterly Briefs: The Alumni Publication of Wilberforce University, May 1979.

CIVIL SOCIETY – A CRITICAL PARTNER IN MALAWI’S DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY CONSOLIDATION

INTRODUCTION

Civil Society refers to a broader category of non-state actors and include a wide variety of institutions; international and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs), labour unions, employers’ organisations, producer cooperatives, chambers of commerce, educational, health and other service delivery organisations, community based organisations (CBOs) and advocacy institutions.

For the purpose of this presentation, Civil Society refers to “not for profit” institutions that are: -

- (i) engaged in economic and human rights advocacy;
- (ii) provide economic and social services, including education, health, social welfare and relief service delivery;
- (iii) faith-based organisations (FBOs) that focus on economic and social development including health, and
- (iv) community based organisations (CBOs).

Local ownership of the development process is of utmost importance for the success of ongoing efforts and policies to poverty reduction and social development. Such local ownership is derived from citizen participation in systems which govern and affect their lives. The Commission for Africa Report acknowledges that mechanisms are needed:-

- (i) to ensure that the voices of all citizens are heard
- (ii) to monitor how governments respond to what they hear; and
- (iii) to enforce the rights of ordinary citizens.

Civil Society Organisations are increasingly viewed as credible partners in advocacy for citizen participation in national development despite the many challenges they face.

SECTOR CONTEXT

The emergence of civil society in Malawi has a long and rich history which went through three phases: -

- (i) The colonial era (1890–1964) during which political advocacy began side by side with the start-up and development of activities in health and education primarily by churches.
- (ii) The One Party era (1964–1994) during which civil society activity was strictly limited to health, education and social welfare. Advocacy civil society and trade unions were banned.
- (iii) The Multiparty Democracy era (1994–date) which was characterised by significant growth and diversification of activity. Even trade unions, banned for nearly thirty years, resurfaced and civil society activity in democratization, human rights economic advocacy, gender, HIV/AIDS and environment flourished. This growth and diversification of civil society activity was the result of the adoption of a new constitution in 1994 founded on democratic principles and providing guarantees of human rights and freedoms.

As civil society responded to the need for reducing poverty and advocating for debt relief, collaboration with government increased and donors found in civil society a ready and experienced partner to deal with Malawi’s development challenges. This enabled civil society to draw on the resources provided by donors. This collaboration with government at sector and district level as well as at policy and operational level has increased. However, financial dependence on donors constitutes a threat to their sustainability as some civil society fail to

continue to attract external funds because of their inability to demonstrate their effectiveness or appropriate financial management.

The high rate of civil society growth and diversification created a felt need by civil society for inter civil society coordination which is being met through the creation of an umbrella organisation for NGOs, the Council for Non-Governmental Organisations in Malawi (CONGOMA) and the creation of sector networks for other civil society groups of which there are now several. This has greatly assisted in increased networking for advocacy and building synergy and has encouraged government to provide space for civil society in policy formulation and design.

The Commission for Africa Report acknowledges that good governance is a prerequisite for effective development work. As civil society expanded in number and scope of work especially in democracy and good governance, they placed themselves in the most difficult position of being the yardstick for accountability and good governance. To demonstrate their commitment to these principles, NGOs, through the Council for Non-Governmental Organisations in Malawi (CONGOMA) embarked on a process to develop self-regulation mechanisms (NGO Code of Conduct) and an NGO Bill to guide and regulate NGO operations and to provide for the enforcement of and adherence to democratic and accountable operations. Although the Bill was enacted into law by Parliament, it met strong resistance from civil society largely because it was not preceded by the articulation of an NGO policy and also because it contained clauses which are inconsistent with principles of our constitutional democracy. The issue is now being addressed. However, the law has generally been accepted as a good foundation for a well-regulated NGO operational environment.

CIVIL SOCIETY ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

With about 300 civil society organisations and several hundred CBOs in Malawi, the sector is large and diverse. Its dimension is illustrated by the fact that international resource mobilization by civil society is estimated at some US\$70 million, equivalent to 5% of GDP and close to one third of public and private investment combined. While this has helped economic growth and poverty reduction, it has also helped Malawi's balance of payments: annually civil society mobilise close to US\$ 30 million from international NGOs and close to between US\$30-40 million from official donors. Overall this would be equivalent to some 10–15% of the estimated total aid flow of US\$500 million that comes annually into Malawi. Civil Society has also become an important generator of relatively well-paid employment which is estimated to be in excess of 20,000 people.

Civil society has become an important “third sector” in Malawi which reaches significant numbers of people, mostly the country's poor, and which is active in service delivery in rural areas and in advocacy in Malawi's urban areas. Civil Society has learned to work with official donors and government and has displayed its capacities for: -

- (i) constructive policy design interaction with government (design and review of MPRP, MEGS, Budget Policy and PPE monitoring)
- (ii) co-financing programmes with government (ACEM/CHAM)
- (iii) technical cooperation with government especially at the District assembly level.

In advocacy, Civil Society reached a historic point when in 1992 it championed the impetus for change from a one party system to a multiparty system of government. It also played a decisive role in the national debate on constitutional changes on presidential terms of office. Success of the first multiparty elections was also due to civil society activity in civic and voter education.

While there is much to build on Malawi civil society activity, many challenges remain to be addressed before the full potential for sustained and effective interaction between civil society, Government and official donors can be realised. The challenges include the need for a more enabling policy and regulatory environment, addressing a number of organizational and capacity weaknesses, and the need to develop greater financial self-reliance and mobilisation of financial resources within Malawi, inter alia through further development of incentives for corporate

philanthropy. Moreover, in many cases civil society definition of strategic plans and policy agendas seem to be closely derived from donor priorities rather than from internal reflection and policy/problem analysis. Malawian civil society has generally not benefited from the capacity endowments of their international counterparts who often compete for space with local civil society. Last but not least, Community Based Organisations find themselves often marginalised in the formulation and implementation of development programmes.

CONCLUSION

Civil Society in Malawi is now a permanent feature of the country's democratic institutions landscape. Although undertaking a multiplicity of activities, the underlying objective remains that of advocacy and contributing to a better life for the average Malawian. However, their efforts to "add value" to the lives of the poor is challenged by both human and financial capacity constraints which negatively impact on their ability to provide effective and improved service delivery to local communities as well as to define independently their policy agendas and to become actively involved in lobbying activities and policy dialogue with the government. Civil Society activity in advocacy requires that they build a critical mass which reflects well developed institutional and individual capacities, internal coherence and coordination. Failure to address these issues will find Civil Society in continuous appearances of crisis and disunity mostly fought underground rather than openly debating the issues and the strategic directions which civil society have made.

GENDER AND CITIZENSHIP AS CRITICAL LENS FOR ANALYSIS IN MALAWI'S DEVELOPMENT

The Commission for Africa report addresses itself to a number of audiences. Among them it addresses itself to the people of Africa. Therefore in this presentation I speak as a person from Africa, a woman from Africa, from Malawi. I speak as a lawyer, a researcher and a women's rights activist. I speak as one who demands action in the manner in which the report invites me to do.

In this paper I address gender as a cross cutting issue. In particular I speak of gender in governance, HIV/AIDS, health and education. I use these areas to argue that the agency and citizenship for Malawian women is at the core of achieving gender equality. I make this argument using the Commission for Africa report as the main background document as well as various documents from Malawi in particular the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, and The Constitution of the Republic of Malawi. Most importantly I have come up with recommendations on how Malawi can benefit from international support with respect to the promotion of women's rights, gender justice and therefore ultimately gender equality and poverty reduction.

The Commission for Africa report recognises poverty as more than a lack of material things. It also highlights that the exclusion of poor people from decision-making and from the basic services the state can provide as poverty. And I add that poverty and powerlessness interlock. In Malawi, women comprise the majority of the poor with 25% female-headed households which are disproportionately represented among the poor. Gender inequality has been identified as critical factor in the disproportional representation of women among the poor. The following ways represent this.

In Education:

- Because the majority of women in Malawi are very poor and therefore powerless they are the least educated.
- The poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) states that female adult literacy is at 44%.
- The drop out rate for girls in middle primary school is higher for girls than boys. At secondary level, the student retention is estimated at 72 per cent for boys and 28 percent for girls. While for the University, it is 74.4 per cent for boys and 25.6 per cent for girls.

In Health:

- With respect to sexual and reproductive rights, women continue to bear the brunt of an unresponsive health system, whereby the maternal mortality rates are now at 1,800 per 100,000 live births, which is the third highest in the world.
- There are currently approximately 760, 000 adults infected with HIV.⁹ Of these, 440,000 are women, which constitute 58 percent.¹⁰ In the three major cities of Malawi, where the virus is most wide spread, 1 in 4 pregnant women is known to be HIV positive.

Once again, inequality between men and women and cultural attitudes and practices towards sexuality are critical factors in the rate of infection and pattern of risk-related behaviour leading to the spread of HIV/AIDS. As Graca Machel has put it on several occasions, women are the epicentre of the epidemic. The figures in Malawi reflect this sentiment.

In Governance

Governance for women in all sectors continues to be an illusion:

- Representation of women in parliament is at 14.5%.

⁹ The total HIV positive population in Malawi is 900, 000 people (NAC, 2004: 62).

¹⁰ NAC, *supra*.

- In cabinet it is about 21%, in parastatals before they were dissolved, Board chairpersonship was at 4%.
- In the executive branch women PS are at 11%.
- In the Private sector men continue to dominate. In fact the private sector is an exclusive male domain.

All these figures indicate that very few women have economic independence let alone economic dominance.

Legislation and Law Reform

There are still laws which discriminate against women. For example:

- The Citizenship Act, and
- The Wills and Inheritance Act

There is also an absence of laws to regulate abusive behaviour in marriage although domestic violence has been documented to be quite a challenge in our society.

The good news is that the Commission for Africa report recognises most of these issues. It further recommends that **half** of the AID being requested should be spent on health, education, HIV/AIDS. The PRSP in Malawi also recognises these issues as of importance. The upcoming Malawi Growth and Development Strategy also highlights these issues. For example in the PRSP, maternal mortality rate was targeted that it would be reduced from 1,120 per 100,000 live births that it was in 1999 to 400 by 2007/8. However we know; that the opposite has happened – the rate has increased to phenomenal figures.

So what is wrong with this picture?

Let me start with the Commission for Africa report itself. I have already acknowledged that it highlights these issues. However what is problematic is the emphasis. There is a lot of emphasis on trade, money laundering, corruption etc. and not on the very underlying factors which cause poverty. The Malawi PRSP has a similar challenge.

It is therefore difficult to proceed with this argument without posing the question: Is it because issues of health, HIV/AIDS, and education are gendered in that they affect women negatively more than men that a lot of lip service is paid to them? For example AIDS is highly feminised; it is an epidemic of the highest proportion. And yet Malawi operates as if it is business as usual. There is no sense of emergency or urgency. The AIDS pandemic is a tsunami and yet money is only trickling in as opposed to pouring in.

The argument held by many governance experts around the world that state institutions have been constructed and staffed by men and tend therefore to be oriented to advancing their class and gender interests is what is at stake here. To reinforce this point, the Commission for Africa report in my opinion romanticises what Africans want. In this regard the report analyses how the African model of development is different. I agree that to a large extent our model of development is not necessarily about catching up with the rest of the world however pushing the argument further to say that for Africans increment of choices is NOT an issue is wrong. This perspective is male and ignores the fact that for women expansion of choices is critical. In Malawi, it is the lack of choices that bind women in shackles of poverty, exclusion and disempowerment. Although the Constitution of the Republic of Malawi recognises equal rights for women and men and obliges government to take decisive action to eliminate acts and omissions of discrimination against women, in reality the story is different.

Over and above the maleness of the state which I have outlined earlier, another challenge is that there are no mechanisms in place designed to ensure that government is accountable to its citizens in ensuring that *de facto* equality exists. There is a lot of talk of accountability in terms of dealing with corruption, money laundering, elections. However, the angle that is missed in all these topics as well as other topics is how gender relations play themselves out. Who is excluded

who is included and why? Who is accountable and to whom? If accountability was emphasised in the area of gender relations and gender justice then problems of high maternal mortality rate, low levels of education among the citizenry, low levels of participation in decision making among women will be greatly reduced.

How do we ensure accountability in this area? The realisation of citizenship rights for its people and in particular for women is at the heart of accountability. Because of the constitutional rights that women in Malawi have, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of State programmes are put on a different footing. It is not about the state giving charity or deciding what women need, rather, it is about women asserting their rights and deciding what they want as a bare minimum. The state in this case ought to make it much clearer how women can demand answers from it. In short it is about participation by women and accountability by state institutions to them with regards to the translation of their citizenship rights in every sector and at all levels. This approach establishes citizenship as an intrinsic component of development and women's empowerment as a marginalised group. Citizenship also means a recognition by the state of the inherent capacities that women have by virtue of being human and the recognition of its obligation to create space and resources for women to realise their full potential in utilising those capacities. Development will not happen without equipping women and vulnerable groups with their capacity to reduce their poverty and to participate fully in politics and in the economy.

Although Malawi is a poor country, the state must within its limited national budget recognise its obligation under the constitution to apportion some of its resources towards gender equality.

Some of the ways of doing this are:

- The creation or amendment of laws as a capital investment is usually equitable in nature. Therefore there is need to strengthen capacity of parliament as an important State institution to understand the importance of passing legislation aimed at protections women's property rights particularly in matters of inheritance, domestic violence, women's participation in politics.
- Education and public sensitisation should be part of a holistic programme on legal mechanisms as a form of social protection.
- There should be an engagement of policy makers, community based organisations, non governmental organisations, justice delivery structures, community development workers, social development workers and village development committee who should engage in public education on citizenship and rights based approach to development.
- In turn, these groups should mobilise women to know claim and defend their rights and thus positively engage different forms of justice delivery systems for the betterment of their lives and subjective empowerment.

Women would then create a voice that counts, demand answers and demand change. This will signify a shift by the women in Malawi from passive citizenship to active citizenship that is change driven. They will become agents and catalysts of change. They will demand better education for themselves and for their children, better medical care, more support from their male counterparts. In short the road to poverty reduction is better paved by women once current State actors recognise their ability to do so. I thank you.

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SEPARATION OF POWERS IN MALAWI: CONSTITUTIONAL FUNDAMENTALS

0.0 Introduction

- The doctrine of the separation of powers holds that this separation is not just the result of convenience but that liberty and integral human development depends upon ensuring that no person exercises more than one kind of power.
- There is too great an opportunity for abuse if, for instance, one person could make the law, execute that law and then judge whether it has been broken.
- Classical separation of powers theory has been described as a tool against dictatorship and in promotion of democracy.
- The doctrine of the separation of powers was meant to protect an aspect of well-being, liberty, by allowing checks and balances among the three key branches of government.
- If power is accumulated in few hands, liberty is in jeopardy. Dictatorships are characterised with concentration of power in few people, groups, parties, or one organ of government.
- Democracy maintains that if there are no controls and checks and balances through separation of powers, people stay at the mercy of those in control.
- Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Human beings tend to be self-centred and selfish, if unchecked; the exercise of power will result in dangerous accumulation of power and eventually abuse of resources, a threat to the well being of people and to integral human development.

0.1 Background of the Malawi Constitution on separation of powers

0.1.1 From 1964-1992 One Party Era

- From 1964 to 1992, Malawi operated on a constitution which gave way to the fusion of all powers of the state into one body.
- The Executive, Judiciary and Legislation powers were consolidated into one man, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda.
- No dissenting views were entertained. Parliament could be dissolved at will. Parliament simply acted as a rubber stamp of the views of the Executive.
- The Judiciary was not independent. Lawyers did not really practice their profession. Through its system of traditional courts that used traditional chiefs who were not qualified at law to deal with complicated cases, kangaroo trials were common scene. Many were sentenced to death as those in power dictated.

0.1.2 Era of Multiparty Democracy

- Malawi changed to multiparty democracy in 1993. Since 1995 Malawi has a new constitution which has adopted the separation of powers (see Section 7 and the headings of Chapters 6, 8 and 9).
- The Constitution of Malawi clearly establishes three separate branches of government which are the Legislature or Parliament, the Executive (made up of the President and Cabinet which is assisted by the Civil Service) and the Judiciary.

- The Constitution gives these three branches different functions which is very important for the achievement of governance. These branches have the power and control of resources which enable them to promote the various elements of governance such as accountability, transparency, free and fair elections, sound management of public resources and human rights.

1 Separation of Powers, Overlap, Checks and Balances

1.0 Need for Overlap

- Practically, separation of powers does not mean clear-cut exercise of powers.
- Malawi’s Constitution does not use the term “separation of powers.” The reason being that the different branches of government must work together even if they have different duties and functions.
- In any well functioning constitution one branch should not be able to frustrate the proper activities of the other.
- On the other hand, there should be checks to ensure that one branch is not able to abuse its power without being brought under control by the other branches.
- There should be a balance of power between the different branches of government and this is maintained by the “checks and balances” which define the relationship between the branches.
- It must be noted however that in the discharge of these duties, the different organs of state overlap with each other as they inter-depend and complement each other.

1.1 The Executive

1.1.1 Functions

- The Executive is responsible for the initiation of policies and legislation and implementation of laws.
- All Ministers “shall be responsible to the President for the administration of their own departments” (Section 97).

1.1.2 How the Executive is checked

- The national Assembly exercises oversight over policies and decisions made by the Executive (section 56 subsection 6).
- The National Assembly can in the process of enacting legislation amend bills as drafted by the Executive.
- Parliament has to approve any appointment by the President of the Chief Justice, any High Commissioner or Ambassador and their Deputies, the Inspector General of Police, some Members of the Police Service Commission, Prison Service Commission, the Ombudsman, the Director of the Anti-Corruption Bureau and the Director of Public Prosecutions. These appointments are subject to confirmation by the National Assembly by a majority of two thirds of the members present voting in approval. To some degree, it can be said that the Legislature does also enjoy some “executive” powers. In this way, Parliament acts as a check against abuse of the president’s powers.
- Parliament also checks the work of ministers. The Constitution states that ministers have to prepare, explain and formulate for parliament, the budget of the state and its economic programmes, ministers are also required to go to parliament to answer questions relating to the work of their ministries.

- The National Assembly has power to call any person or “office holder” (including Ministers) before it.
- In the interest of separation of powers, under the Parliamentary procedures, Ministers even though they might be members of the National Assembly, they are not allowed to sit in or chair Parliamentary committees.
- Parliament checks the purse of the Executive by having powers to approve or disapprove the budget thereby limiting the executive in terms of what they can spend on and how much. Parliament can shoot down money bills.
- Parliament can impeach the president due to serious violations of the constitution (Section 86).

1.1.3 Overlap between the Executive, Judiciary and Parliament- Legislative Powers

- Apart from being physically part of the Legislature, the Executive also enjoys some law-making powers by way of making regulations under an Act of Parliament. The Executive does enjoy some legislation powers through delegated (or subsidiary) legislation even though it is the prerogative of parliament to pass legislation. Parliament often delegates to ministers the power to make subordinate legislation. This is an inevitable infringement of the separation of powers (see Section 58).
- Similarly, the judiciary also enjoys this law-making power by way of delegated legislation. The only qualification is that the delegated legislation cannot substantially and significantly affect fundamental freedoms recognized by the Constitution or indeed be inconsistent with any Act of Parliament. This underscores the primacy that the legislature has over law-making powers
- The overlap between the Executive and other arms of government can also be seen in the work of the Attorney General who is member of the Executive is Legal Advisor to all organs of State (Section 98).

1.2 The Legislature

1.2.1 Functions

- The Malawi Parliament like any other parliament in the world is the law making body. It consists of the President in his capacity as Head of State (not government) and the National Assembly (Section 49). (Note the overlap between the Executive in the name of the President who doubles as part of Parliament).
- The National Assembly debates issues of national concern and passes the laws as initiated by the Executive.
- In the process the National Assembly can amend the law thereby exercising Executive powers.
- Can initiate Legislation through Private Member’s Bills (share powers of the Executive) (Section 66 subsection ib). (This provision has been abused by power hungry leaders who have amended the constitution through the back door to give themselves too much power e.g. open term bill, third term bills, impeachment etc).
- Can exercise judicial powers by trying anybody who is in contempt of the National Assembly (Section 60 subsection 3).

1.2.2 How the Legislature is checked

- Presidential Assent: The National Assembly cannot make a law alone, the president must approve it by signing it within twenty one days. If he does not approve it, he sends it back to the House with reasons for not assenting to it, it is debated again at the next sitting of parliament and decided by simple majority.
- The President has the powers of veto when it comes to making laws. (Note the involvement of the President in the making of laws). Of course theoretically speaking it is Parliament that has a final word. But in practice the final say is with the president where he/she has the majority of parliamentarians, or if he is in a coalition Government that has majority in the Parliament. At the moment, the current government has no majority of parliamentarians and so it finds it difficult to pass relevant laws.
- The legislative powers of Parliament are also constitutionally limited in two ways:
 - Parliament cannot make laws that are inconsistent with constitutional provisions.
 - Money Bills can only be introduced into Parliament by the Minister responsible for Finance.
- These two limitations are very significant as they go to the core of “power politics” and “power of the purse politics”, respectively. This ensures control of Parliament by the Judiciary and the Executive.
- The Speaker calls for Parliament to meet after consultations with the President (Section 59).

1.3 The Judiciary

1.3.1 Functions

- The judiciary has the duty of interpreting, protecting and enforcing the constitution and all laws (Sections 3, 5 and 9).
- The Judiciary has to be impartial and independent. Judges are not allowed to base their decisions on external pressure or irrelevant considerations but on the basis of relevant facts and law, the constitution’s underlying principles, the Constitution’s principles of national policy (section 13), human rights (chapter 4), values which underlie an open and democratic society, applicable current rules of international law and decisions of foreign courts made in similar cases (see Chapter 2).
- Checks on both Parliament and Executive:
 - The Judiciary has unlimited jurisdiction to review the legality or constitutionality over Executive’s and Parliament’s decisions and actions if questioned in court.
 - The Judiciary can declare any Act of Parliament or the Executive as null and void if it is inconsistent with the Constitution (a good example is the case of section 65, crossing the floor), (Section 5 and Section 11 subsection 3), Thus the Judiciary has final say on constitutionalism.

1.3.2 Overlap with Executive

- Most of the constitutional commissions such as Electoral Commission, Police Service Commission, Prison Service Commission and Judicial Service Commission are headed by judges of the superior courts. This tends to bring its own challenges as they have to report to the President.

1.3.3 How the Judiciary is checked

a. *Appointment of Chief Justice and Judges*

- The head of the judiciary is the Chief Justice who is appointed by the president but approved by at least two thirds of the members of the National Assembly.
- The rest of the members of the High Court and the Supreme Court of Appeal are appointed by the president but at the recommendation of the Judicial service Commission.

b. *Removal of Judges*

- To safeguard their independence, judges cannot be removed from their office on grounds of incompetence, misbehaviour until the proposal to remove them passes through the Judicial service Commission and is debated in the national assembly and passed by the majority of the members.
- Parliament can impeach Judges as well as Presidents thereby putting a check on the other organs of State. (A good example is the attempt to impeach three High Court Judges in 2000 by the president and parliament).

2. The Malawi Civil Service

- In Malawi the Executive relies on the civil service in implementing government business which is the fostering of the well being of people. The Civil Service is governed by the provisions of Chapter 20 of the Constitution.
- In Malawi Ministers provide the political leadership, take the major policy decisions and bear the political responsibility for the administration of their departments. However, the departments are in fact “under the supervision” of their permanent civil servants (the Principal Secretary) who are independent of party politics and do not lose office when government changes (Section 93 subsection 2).
- The independence of the civil service is protected. “No government or political party shall cause any civil servant acting in that behalf to exercise functions, powers or duties for the purposes of promoting or undermining the interest or affairs of any political party or individual members of that party, nor shall any civil servant acting in that behalf promote or undermine any political party or member of that party, save as is consistent with the provisions of this section.” (Section 193 subsection 3).
- A neutral civil service is more likely to promote governance than one that is partisan. Democratic values, sound public sector management, accessibility of government, constitutionalism and other features of governance cannot be achieved if the civil service is not balanced in its implementation of government policies because of bias.
- Thus civil servants in Malawi are obliged by law to act impartially as servants of the people. The Civil Service Commission – not party politicians – appoint (and discipline) members of the civil service (sections 186 & 187). This is a change from the era before multiparty politics when the party that was in power controlled the civil service and manipulated it to promote its own interests and those who refused to cooperate were severely punished by party gurus.

3. Independent Constitutional Bodies

- The Malawi constitution also creates separate bodies that contribute to the promotion of accountability by the government and officials by monitoring their conduct, investigating government or public officials, by requiring civil servants and other public officials who violate rights to pay for their violations and by informing citizens about their right to demand their rights.

- They operate independently without any influence from any individual or institution including government.

3.1 Ombudsman

- The office of the Ombudsman promotes governance.
- It exercises its powers by investigating injustices and takes action against any institution including government.

3.2 Human Rights Commission

- It investigates violations of human rights as a way of promoting them and it disseminates information on human rights.

3.3 Anti-Corruption Bureau

- It is an organ of the State that contributes to governance by seeking to reduce or eliminate corruption.
- Its tasks are as follows:
 - take necessary measures for the prevention of corruption in public and private bodies;
 - receive and investigate complaints of alleged or suspected corruption;
 - prosecute those who are involved in corruption;
 - investigate and report to the relevant minister any conduct of any public officer which may be connected with or encourage corruption.

3.4 Auditor General

- His responsibility is to check the financial and accounting records of government and all public institutions. He submits reports to the president and to the Speaker of the National Assembly.

3.5 Law Commission

- It has the task of examining laws and recommending the necessary changes.
- It has power to review the Constitution and all other laws and recommend necessary changes in order to ensure that they adequately address challenges facing society.
- It has the mandate of simplifying laws, recommending new or more effective methods and procedures for the administration of the laws and to promote public awareness of the laws of the Constitution.

4. Recommendations

4.1 Provide training and resources to Executive and Parliament

- In the past ten years, the executive tended to dominate Parliament. This happened because the parliamentarians, coming from dictatorship, did not understand their responsibilities, theory of separation of powers and loyalties. This continues to haunt Malawi today.
- There is need to train the Executive, Parliament and the Legislature on what Separation of powers means. It is not frustration of each other's duties but complementarity. This

lack of understanding is derailing development in Malawi due to unnecessary political tensions between the Executive and the Legislature especially now that the President does not have the majority in Parliament.

- It is important that we, as a nation, should be helped to change the mind set of the Executive, the Judiciary and Legislature from the mentality of one party dictatorship to multiparty democracy with full understanding and appreciation of the constitutional provisions.
- Train the executive so that they know what their limits are, some of the things they think they can do are simply not within their mandates or require approval of parliament e.g. public appointments. There is need to train our members of parliament so that they are able to understand their roles, their duties towards the people of Malawi who put them in power.
- Parliament should be helped to understand that it is not free to make any law that it wishes but must act according to the powers and responsibilities set out by the constitution; and it is required to make laws whose debate reflects the interests of all the people of Malawi and to promote the values of the Constitution.
- Many parliamentarians think they can make any law they want since they are a law making body. This is causing problems and tensions and civil society groups waste a lot of time and resources to correct the situation through courts when such efforts and resources could have been used for development activities.
- There is need to make parliament work the way it should. Parliament needs resources and facilities for effectiveness.
- All this requires heavy investment which Malawi cannot afford.

4.2 Train and properly finance the Judiciary for proper and timely delivery of Justice and to enhance modern interpretation of Local and International Law

- The judiciary too has played a crucial role in shaping our democracy. They made important rulings for the country and exercised their independence. In Malawi, the Judiciary enjoys respect for this reason. However most of our judges in the senior courts were trained in the one party era hence the need to train them more so that they can update themselves and make proper rulings which are in line with international standards.
- Need to train our Judges to display independence and not pander to governmental convenience or to the convenience of a political party that has the majority in Parliament, as seems to have been the case in some key cases.
- The Judiciary further needs to be able to strike a fair balance between the interests of the parties in the case and national interests. Needs for training here too.
- Another hurdle the three branches face vis-à-vis the independence of the judiciary is the failure or apparent failure by both those within the Judicial system and those outside it, to distinguish between what amounts to unwarranted interference with Judicial discretion and/or independence and what amounts to a mere demand for openness, accountability and transparency.
- Many people in Malawi cannot access justice because of the shortage of judges in the courts. I therefore appeal to you, to help us so that judges can increase their capacity and that the justice system, the courts, the police, the prisons, the laws etc. can be improved. Insecurity, absence of safety and lack of justice are challenges to governance

and development. Thanks to the work done by DFID and the European Union in Malawi in this regard.

- If this is done, issues of corruption, accountability, governance, constitution and justice will be handled efficiently. The judges will help us on our journey to peace and development.

4.3 Pay attention to the Civil Service so that it can be professional

- The delivery of services depends largely on civil servants. The civil service too needs attention. Our democracy is just eleven years old. The ghosts of one party rule are still haunting us. There is need to instil in them the culture of independence from the bad influence of the executive.
- They should know when to cooperate and when not to. This will happen if they know how much the constitution protects them. There is need to improve the capacity and ability of the civil service and to help them change their mentality. This requires heavy investment which our government cannot afford. We appeal to you to help us.
- There is need to train them to change their attitude towards the people of the country so that they do not boss over them. Many in Governmental positions view themselves as governors and not stewards of people. This situation can be traced to as far as the time of colonialism.
- Need to train them to improve their work ethos.
- For our Civil Service to operate properly, it needs resources, facilities which Malawi as one of the poorest countries in the world cannot afford. If we are to move ahead, there is need for rich countries to help our country in its ability to invest in the civil service for efficient and effective delivery of services.
- It is important to note that weaknesses in public institutions and certain behaviours are a challenge to good governance and so to development.

4.4 Need to train Political Parties to be democratic and to understand their role in development

- Political parties continue to tow the line of dictatorship.
- Parliamentarians are not allowed to exercise freedom of conscience without risking ridicule, abuse and even dismissal from their political leaders.
- As a result there is a continued culture of deification of leaders of political parties. The leaders abuse this allegiance to frustrate developmental programmes of government which are meant to benefit the people through parliamentary manoeuvring.
- If Malawi is to achieve development, there is need to train political parties as well so that they can be democratic, help them in formulating their ideologies so that they can understand why they exist and how much good can come out of them.

4.5 Invest in Civil Society for Accountability, Transparency, Dissemination of Information and change of Mindset

- In the past ten years, the allegiance of parliamentarians to their leaders led to the rape of the Malawi constitution by those who wanted to have more power into their hands. This however was minimised because of the noise and challenges that came from civil society groups.
- Democracy in Malawi could not have reached the level where it is if it were not for civil society. The media has played a big role. Various civil society groups have helped in

disseminating information on good governance, rule of law, accountability, transparency and democracy.

- This has helped to some extent to challenge abuses and expose malpractices. However many people are still ignorant of their rights.
- Civil Society groups are an important component of good governance. It is therefore important that they should be funded properly so that they can carry out programmes that benefit the ordinary person to remove ignorance and to help him in being development minded.
- A good mindset is required in all the governance actors and stakeholders: the public service, civil society, the general population, the private sector and even the donor community. It is civil society groups that can best do this work.

4.6 Need to help in increasing Local Democracy and enhancing Decentralization

- The principle of separation of powers could be enhanced by stressing the distinction between the roles of Central Government and that of Local Government.
- It is only in this way that the well-being of Malawians can be realised as there will be increased participation in decision making and consequently the institutions will be strengthened.
- If used properly, the local development plans could become demand tools for the enjoyment of human rights if Central Government is responsive.

4.7 Provide training, capacity for the proper functioning of Independent Constitutional Bodies

- If the Independent Constitutional Bodies were effective and efficient, governance and development would improve a lot. This is possible if their professional skills and knowledge are improved. This will increase accountability.
- If the recommendations are followed, the Republic of Malawi will be strengthened, will be effective and able to deliver, as we all know that weak institutional capacity prevents the state from undertaking its responsibilities effectively.

5 Positive Signs of Change, a beckon of Hope

- The mentality of abusing the civil service has not gone away completely, the past ten years Malawians experienced great abuses when civil servants were dismissed for not towing the line of the ruling party.
- Since last year, things are now changing and we expect the new government to respect the constitutional provisions in this regard. From my personal observation, this tendency has gone down but still there are many areas that need improvement and government needs to be encouraged.
- Less public money is abused by current government unlike before June 2004 when massive amounts of money were siphoned out by the ruling party. It is important that current government should be supported in its decision to maintain fiscal discipline and to stop any abuses.
- Public funds are less likely to be grossly abused by those in power for party or personal interests taking into account checks parliament is making on current government and the zero tolerance of government on corruption.

- Corruption has not been wiped out completely, and cannot be since the past ten years of our country saw the highest levels of corruption and some of the officials who cooperated with the corruption of political leaders are still in the new government. At the moment there is political will and we Malawians have noticed that there is a great improvement, and the trust of the donors who are on the ground in Malawi has been won back.
- Most of those abusing Public Funds are being prosecuted unlike in the past ten years when thugs were protected by the Executive and simply transferred from one ministry to another where they continued plundering government coffers.
- The Anti-Corruption Bureau is now seen to be working while in the past ten years it was left toothless. At the moment high profile cases are coming out and anybody who is suspected of corruption whether he is in high public office or not is being investigated and if necessary prosecuted. Nobody is untouchable.
- The Director of Public Prosecutions is not hampering prosecutions of high profile cases as was the case in the past. With these developments, be assured that the money you will give to Malawi will help in the development of our country and will go to those most in need.

6. Conclusion

- The doctrine of separation of powers in theory and practice will not necessarily be the same thing. Moreover, it cannot be practiced in its purest form.
- In our system of Government, it is riddled with exceptions and variations. Certainly, in its classical form it exists here only partially at best, but in practice mechanisms for avoiding the over-concentration of power exist in many ways through the constitution, Parliamentary oversight, elections, media, Courts and tribunals; and the active ongoing participation of citizens.
- The doctrine is part of a simultaneously robust and delicate constant interplay between and among the different arms of Government.
- A tension between separation and concentration will always exist and the greatest danger will always lie with the executive arm because in the executive lies the greatest potential and practice for power and for its corruption. But what is happening in Malawi whereby the legislature by virtue of game of numbers wants to hijack the executive role raises a matter of serious constitutional concern.
- Separation of powers, philosophically, historically, and practically, is a proven tenet of good governance, which is essential for progressive well-being.
- In Malawi, separation of powers has been marred by political obsession with power, which is a major cause for the country's low human development.
- The distinctiveness of and accountability for roles needs vigilance, largely because of the country's low development and poor governance record.
- At the same time, there is need to recognise and practise complementarity among not just the key branches of Government, but other complementary organs of Government. Separation of powers and complementarity, further, require practical adherence within the organs of Government, which must be characterised by checks and balances.

Summary of the discussions during the panel sessions

Format of plenary sessions

The five plenary discussion sessions each dealt with a broad theme identified in the Commission for Africa report (see the programme on pp. 9–11). For each such session, there would be four or five panel members seated at the top table in the well of the chamber, two or three whom (the “lead panellists”) prepared discussion papers and published them before the conference (see pp. 37–77). During the session, the lead panellists spoke briefly about the issues raised in their papers, then the floor was opened up to general contributions, with discussion reverting to the panellists from time to time for comment.

Sir David Steel drew out several of the broad themes emerging from the conference in his closing remarks (see pp. 92–96). However, to give a broader indication of the discussion and debate, a summary of the themes and some of the individual contributions made during the sessions are noted below. The conference organisers are grateful to Ruth Wedgwood, Tom Molony, Maïke Beveridge and Jude Murison, all of the University of Edinburgh, for acting as rapporteurs.

Session Three – Investing in People: Health

The first plenary discussion session related to one of the broad themes of the Commission for Africa report: investing in people, and in particular, in health services. The two lead panellists were Dr Victor Mwapasa of Blantyre College of Medicine and Mr Tim Martineau of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine.

The problem of training and retaining medical personnel dominated discussion during the session. Dr Mwapasa considered the human resource challenges in the Malawian health sector in his presentation, as well as Malawi’s health indicators, which are among the poorest in the world. Between a third and two-thirds of available health posts are unfilled. There were many reasons for this, but the most critical was the “brain drain” by which health workers and professionals trained in Malawi leave the country to work elsewhere, often because the salaries offered in Malawi are comparatively low, although also because working elsewhere offers better facilities and more opportunities for fulfilling work, continuous training and promotion. Similarly, those who leave Malawi to undertake postgraduate training abroad rarely return.



As Rt Hon Justin Malewezi, Hon Aleke Banda, Douglas Lungu and others noted, and Hon Dr Hetherwick Ntaba acknowledged, this problem was particularly acute in rural areas, although Dr John Gillies noted that a similar problem existed in developed countries, although to a lesser extent. In his experience where doctors, nurses and AHPs are given experience in rural areas during their training – provided that is a positive experience – it has a positive effect on recruitment and retention. Dr Ntaba noted that the Government had negotiated a package with donors to provide hardship allowances for staff in rural areas, and would consider, in discussions with donors, filling vacancies in rural areas by placing staff there at higher grades and offering loans for housing and transport. As Bishop James Tengatenga pointed out, most services in rural areas are provided by the Christian Hospitals Association of Malawi (CHAM), which is not a private sector provider but intricately interwoven into the public health system. Dr Ntaba acknowledged the role of CHAM, noting that the Minister pays all health workers’ salaries, even in CHAM facilities, but that in many cases CHAM also provides housing and other services. However, many rural areas are without clean water or electricity, so it is difficult to encourage

people to live and work there. Improving infrastructure through development is also a key element.

As possible strategies to deal with the human resource issue, Dr Mwapasa suggested that the government should use a combination of incentives and restrictions, such as bonding agreements for nurses and doctors trained in Malawi to agree to stay there for a specified period. This issue is one of the thorniest to address: there was considerable doubt that bonding agreements were either practical or fair. Linda Kabwato felt that it was the role of government to create an environment people wished to work in, as restrictions would breach people's human rights to move freely around. Rt Hon Justin Malewezi felt that bonding agreements were one possible element, but would not work in isolation (citing South Africa as an example) and should be in tandem with other measures. He did feel, however, that agreements with developed countries on the ethical recruitment of health personnel from developing countries would be valuable. He doubted that it was personal development which motivated people to leave as, in many cases, nurses from Malawi were not working in UK hospitals or doctors' surgeries but in care homes for older people. Rob Rozenburg of the European Commission thought that this was one of the worst examples of lack of policy coherence referred to in his speech earlier that morning. At the same time as EU countries were cutting budgets for domestic training of public service workers, they were recruiting health workers trained overseas, often trained using EU aid money. He noted that the EU would be considering a proposal to establish a code of conduct applying to all EU member states. Unlike some existing codes (including the UK's), this would be compulsory, not voluntary, and would apply to both the public and private health sectors.

Geoff Earl also mentioned partnerships between people on ground and people at the top to ensure that nurses feel valued, as this would encourage them to stay. Billy Banda and Malcolm Blackie both suggested that providing better facilities would also encourage workers to stay, so this should not be ignored. Rt Hon Justin Malewezi and Hon Aleke Banda both raised the issue of medical assistants (or enrolled nurses) who, since they did not have formal qualifications, would find it difficult to transfer their skills elsewhere, but Douglas Lungu sounded a note of caution that using volunteers could affect the credibility of the service and have the negative effect of taking money away from institutions. Dr Ntaba acknowledged that nurse technicians were being used, and the midwifery element was being reintroduced as part of their training to try to combat the country's alarming maternal mortality rate (this issue was also addressed during the report back on the health workshop: see pages 89–91 below).

The other related issue raised by Rob Rozenburg, Professor Mkandawire, Dr John Lwanda and Billy Banda, amongst others, was to offer opportunities for those (including emigrants) who wished to help out by returning to Malawi for short periods of a month or two by guaranteeing their rights of residency and pensions in their adopted countries. There seemed to be broad, if not universal, support for this amongst the delegates, and it was pointed out that other countries are already doing this.

Professor Mkandawire asked if it would be necessary to think differently about how training and retention were considered. In the Philippines, it is considered tolerable that the country produces so many nurses that it can afford to export some. Dr Ntaba agreed that this would be a novel way of looking at it. Dr Lwanda suggested that one of the main reasons why health provision remained poor in Malawi was the absence of an articulate middle class to agitate about inadequate services. Dr Ntaba agreed, but thought that this was an inevitable corollary of the combination of poor health and poverty.

Tim Martineau, the other lead panellist, and Dr Mwapasa both noted that the impact of Malawi's HIV/AIDS crisis on human resources also cannot be ignored, as deaths from HIV and AIDS cripple the number of health workers in Malawi every year. Of course, HIV/AIDS has a dual effect because it also increases the numbers of patients requiring treatment for immune system-related illnesses. Karen Gillon MSP raised the issue of workforce planning, assessing what Malawi's health human resource needs would be in 10 years' time, in the light of migration, HIV/AIDS attrition and other losses.

On the training issue, Tim Martineau suggested that incremental increases in the numbers being trained would be the most practical and likely solution. Many delegates suggested that this would only be possible if money was freed up by debts being cancelled (this was discussed in session six, see below). Dr Ntaba agreed but noted that, even with debts being cancelled, the amount which could be spent on health would be far short of the minimum of US\$35 per capita recommended by the World Health Organisation: it is currently US\$11–12 per capita. Nonetheless, if the country could eradicate malaria or TB it would free up millions to spend elsewhere, and health could be viewed as a wealth-creating service rather than a drain on resources.

Margaret Ewing MSP raised the question of vaccination for preventable diseases, and how positive the Malawian experience with drugs companies was. Dr Ntaba noted that money was being made available for vaccines under the Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) agreement involving both civil society and development partners.

Dr Anne Conroy referred to the impact of food crises on health: this often created not only undernutrition and/or malnutrition, but often forced girls in households into high-risk sexual behaviour for an alternative source of income, and also often led to greater incidences of anaemia amongst women presenting themselves at clinics for childbirth (thus increasing the maternal mortality rate).

Dr Hetherwick Ntaba, the Minister of Health, noted that the Government had adopted a Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) agreement involving civil society and development partners. Common policies are developed and implemented in association with NGOs. Bishop Tengatenga noted that the Christian Hospitals Association of Malawi (CHAM), a civil society organisation, was one of the biggest providers of health services in Malawi, providing 40% of all services, and highly prevalent in rural areas where poverty was at its greatest. Kondwani Munthali mentioned that some non-health workers were already involved in providing services, such as shopkeepers providing vaccines, and Dr Ntaba also mentioned using school leavers to assist with this, and noted that all health workers – not just doctors – would be eligible for the recently announced 52% salary increase. Linda Kabwato thought that it should be a condition of giving aid that donors involve civil society organisations, and although Dr Ntaba acknowledged the point and encouraged civil society involvement, he thought it would be difficult to refuse aid on this basis.

Session Four – Investing in People: Education, Professional Skills and Leadership

This session sought to combine the educational aspects of the Commission for Africa's discussion of investing in people with the parts dealing with developing professional skills and leadership qualities, which are located in the section of the report dealing with good governance, building capacity and institutions. The first lead panellist, Limbani Nsapato, addressed basic (i.e. primary and secondary) education. For him, the key issues in basic education were that, although there had been a large increase in the provision of basic education across Malawi for political reasons, the indicators of achievement in education were still too low (e.g. high levels of illiteracy and innumeracy), and the rates of access were also poor, with high dropout rates especially for girls and those from poor backgrounds. The overarching problem remained a lack of resources, both human (with too few teachers, too low teacher salaries, and a high attrition rate as many teachers leave or die of HIV/AIDS each year) and financial (too few textbooks and teaching materials, too few classrooms, with poor facilities). The second lead panellist, Professor Kenneth King addressed the issue of higher education and its wider impact. Echoing the Commission for Africa report, he argued that the development of a professional middle class is, like good governance, a necessary precondition of sustainable development and is essential to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Malawi has one of the smallest university sectors of any sub-Saharan African country, but it also suffers from poor investment and low salaries for academics. Proposed salary enhancements for the top slice of academics – proposed by the Commission – would probably be unhelpful, invidious and short-lived, being perhaps just the latest donor fad. He proposed two principles: the democratisation – allowing access for the bright poor – and expansion of the sector, which might for practical reasons have to be led by faith organisations and civil society rather than the State.

Many delegates touched on the purpose, extent and quality of education provision. Dr Jack Thomson raised the elemental question of ‘what does a country like Malawi want or need from its educational system?’ Education could be a means for development and poverty alleviation, but it also develops critical consciousness and skills that contribute to a better society. If the system was aimed simply at counting heads – without considering why pupils and students are there, what are they learning, and what will they do with it – then the prospects of significant or sustained improvement for the country were poor. Collins Magalasi suggested that education could and should be used as a source of work creation, by imparting skills and knowledge that were relevant to the global market and in this area Scotland and the partnership could help.

In a wide-ranging debate, many of the themes raised in the health section were also thought to be relevant to education. Hon Kate Kainja acknowledged that human resources were a big issue here too, with only forty per cent of teacher places filled. Collins Magalasi noted that the enormous demand for new teachers when universal primary education was introduced had not been met and that arrangements for training and recruiting new teachers were inadequate, with no new teachers being recruited for six years. Ben Young thought this sounded like the sort of condition the IMF tended to impose, but Hon Kainja thought that the problem would best be addressed by exploring alternative means of training teachers.

There was a similar ‘brain drain’ issue in education as in health, with teachers being lost to neighbouring countries which were paying better. Dr Mpalive-Hangson Msiska noted that the best way to keep people would be to make them happy. Professor Kings Phiri raised the issue of an incentive scheme to promote retention. Professor King also proposed a Malawi expatriate supplementation scheme for academics – as well as doctors, nurses and skilled health workers – to return and help out whilst protecting their pension and rights of residence, as well as using aid money to cover their expenses. Dr Msiska noted that there was a desire to do this amongst the diaspora but asked what Malawians had done, and could do, to facilitate this targeted re-engagement?

As with health, one of the main motivations to stay would be better infrastructure, services and amenities, particularly in rural areas. These problems were also noted by Hon Berson Lijenda MP: many schools had classrooms without doors or windows, no teachers’ houses, no textbooks or exercise books while others did not have classrooms at all, and lessons were conducted under trees. Most had no electricity most of the time, and used candles at night or waited until daylight for lessons. He believed that the government was concentrating on quantity of provision not quality. On the wider quality theme, Professor Kings Phiri noted that pass rates had dropped from 75% to around 35% at the same time as the massive expansion of provision since the 1980s. He wondered if a system of accreditation of teachers and schools would be beneficial.

The effect of HIV/AIDS was also significant: Hon Kainja noted that the rate of attrition of teachers was around 1,000 every year, or around 6% of the teaching workforce. She and Professor Kings Phiri both thought that teachers should be encouraged to seek out tests and treatment: the stigma still associated with the disease was a strong disincentive against teachers participating in voluntary testing. Andrena Irons noted that she found alarming ignorance about HIV/AIDS among schoolchildren, which was compounded by little knowledge of harm reduction amongst teachers. She thought that using health workers to educate teachers would be useful, and Rob Jamieson thought that, with investment, the media could also play a role by raising awareness.

The Minister thought it unlikely that access could be extended to everyone on present trends, even with unlimited resources. Distance education, using radio broadcasts for example, used to exist in the 1980s and hoped it could be revived. Also, faith organisations could supplement what the State could do, accepting that its expansion could only be slow.

In terms of access and equity, although several delegates noted that although Malawi has had a system of universal primary school education since 1994, problems of access remained for reasons of poverty (Esme Kadzamira noted that where families need children to work, they

attend school erratically then stop altogether), poor nutrition (Collins Magalasi noted that there is a 95%+ probability of children dropping out of school in areas where the food crisis most apparent) or culture (arranged marriages, and preference for teaching in the home rather than formal schooling in poorer areas). The formal system was often not flexible enough to deal with these situations. Father Gerald Bwemba also noted that these problems were most acute in rural areas and for orphans, for whom bursaries should be considered. Hon Esther Mcheka Chienje MP also noted that girls drop out more frequently than boys, and that poorer education for women makes it much harder for women to break through into senior positions in public life, government, parliament, business etc.

Orison Chaponda noted that the five million who are illiterate are not only the most in need of equality and advancement but are the least likely to be able to effect change, since they often have a poor appreciation of civic rights and duties and are least likely to participate in Malawi's governance. From the other point of view, Seodi White thought that democracy in Malawi might be adversely affecting education by encouraging the view among teachers and children that non-attendance is a form of freedom.

The issue of discipline and violence was also raised. Seodi White noted that teachers faced violence, but felt that they could not deal with the issue themselves for fear of reprisal by the ombudsman. John Kapito felt that there was a collapse of discipline across the country, not only in schools, and Hon Kainja agreed with the principle that discipline in schools was a reflection of discipline in wider society.

The effect of Malawi's debt was an issue here too. Mavuto Bamusi noted that the amount spent on servicing debt annually is greater than expenditure on health and education combined and has been for many years. He did believe, though, that extra spending would only lead to better results if it was properly directed. Dr Jane Harrigan also believed that debt relief should not be seen as a panacea, but that growing the domestic economy using aid and debt relief as tools should be the focus instead.

The problems of even lower access to secondary and tertiary education were also referred to by, amongst others, Professor Phiri. In the university sector, the number of state-funded places was static, but there was an expansion in parallel (or part-paying) places – this gave an opportunity for those from well-to-do backgrounds but not the poor. In this context, the wisdom of subsidising university places for those who could already afford it was questioned.

At the end of the session, Bishop James Tengatenga was moved to compare the discussion to James Conrad's "Heart of Darkness", with its shadows of disease and starvation. He said that the Malawian spirit is strong, but if the country's self-esteem is continually downtrodden and its achievements never applauded, development would never happen. There was cause for optimism – despite pitiable salaries, and against all odds, committed people were trying to improve conditions, such as looking after orphans as well as their own children. The focus should be on what other countries can do to help. This passionate call to arms was rapturously applauded across the chamber.

In conclusion, Hon Kate Kainja felt that there was a strong political will to improve services like education, she agreed that the problems with it were interrelated and could not be dealt with in isolation, that good governance was essential catalyst in making progress, and that we should always have hope and faith that things can and will improve by working together.

Session Five – Infrastructure, Growth and Poverty Reduction

Agriculture and the issue of food security dominated the discussion during this session. Eighty-five per cent of Malawi's people are dependent on agriculture for their income, so this is absolutely central to the country's economy and development. At the time of the conference, Malawi was facing a food shortage crisis because of poor weather during the previous rainy season.

Austin Ngwira, Chairman of the Civil Society Agricultural Network and one of the lead panellists, noted that two-thirds of Malawians suffered from a lack of food security, with over a quarter unable to meet even basic requirements. This makes food security routinely dependent on donor aid and international development partners. It also has other effects: Mr Ngwira referred to the issue of casual (or *ganyu*) labour, as a result of which farmers and farm workers take on other tasks, which becomes a difficult cycle to break out of. Malawi's crop growth was also poorly diversified, focusing mainly on maize. As possible solutions, Mr Ngwira pointed to subsidies for agricultural inputs and expansion of irrigation.

Jane Harrigan, the other lead panellist, spoke of a vision of a diverse, developing economy in which agriculture was only one part of economic activity, alongside a developing professional class. She also noted that this image was not new, but that progress towards it had been slow and stalling. Malawi has the third worst income distribution in the world, after only Namibia and Brazil, and GDP per capita had actually fallen since independence and was projected to be US\$130 per capita. Dr Harrigan also noted that many donors do not appreciate that Malawi is the most densely populated country in Africa with only a single season of rainfall, and these factors make it difficult to follow the pattern of Uganda, Kenya or Tanzania in rapid crop diversification. This can create disillusionment if donors have higher expectations which are not met, and they may simply leave afterwards. Dr Harrigan also levelled some severe criticisms at donors for arguing with each other, and for applying a false dichotomy between higher maize productivity and livelihood diversification, when these could and should be seen as complementary rather than mutually exclusive. This dogmatic approach fails to take account of Malawi's particular circumstances, and creates a vicious circle in which donors blame Malawi's Ministry of Agriculture for weakness, but then promptly by-pass them to use NGOs to implement projects they favour, making co-ordination impossible. However, if donors would agree to work together with the Government to develop a consistent strategy and apply it rigorously, then this barrier to development could be tackled for everyone's benefit.

Matthews Chikaonda and Dr Jane Harrigan both agreed that it was necessary to establish a clear vision of food security (and Dr Chikaonda quoted from the Bible, that "where there is no vision, the people perish"). Both Hon Goodall Gondwe and Dr John McCracken thought that such a vision was realistic, and noted that Malawi had enjoyed periods of relative success in agriculture, particularly between the early 1960s and late 1980s (before the multiparty democracy era). Dr McCracken thought that this was largely because there was a perception amongst international donors that, despite the lack of democracy, when Dr Banda was convinced of something, he would implement it and he used resources responsibly to do so.

There was a repeated call for strong leadership, a clear vision and a consistent policy by government. Orison Chaponda thought that only those who exhibited political favouritism towards the government would have their views taken seriously, but others were more positive. Morgan Tembo thought that Malawians know their priorities, they simply need to stick with them and have an independent civil service which can survive political change and implement necessary steps. The seemingly constant turnover in principal secretaries in the Department of Agriculture – four in four years – was lamented, as was the short time any Minister would effectively have to develop expertise and knowledge in applying a consistent policy. Dr Harry Potter also felt that experts needed to present their findings in a way which influences policy-makers and leads to consistent action.

In terms of inputs, Hon Aleke Banda MP, who was the Minister of Agriculture at the time, and Dr Anne Conroy, one of the scientists involved throughout this process, both referred to the experience of the Starter Pack programme. According to Dr Conroy, this was grounded in science; with seed varieties developed based on Malawi's soil and climate needs and offered to farmers at a much-subsidised rate. It led to increased maize production, whereby not only was food security tackled but a maize surplus created and exported. Many felt that, at this point, the donors lost faith and started to change the system, making it a more targeted programme and altering the contents of the pack for reasons of cost. Others, such as Jane Harrigan and Dr Harry Potter, who had been involved also lamented the demise of the programme, advocated its updated version, the Green Revolution, which involves giving income vouchers to smallholder

households, allowing them to choose which seeds and other inputs to buy. This led to a wider discussion of whether experts' views were being taken seriously enough by politicians and donors.

On the role of donors, Matthews Chikaonda expressed the belief that "a good donor was one with an exit strategy." This was important to avoid a dependency culture developing. Proper economic development would mean the economy was sustainable by itself, not dependent on handouts to function properly. He also quoted an African proverb that "no-one can shave your head in your absence." Throughout the period that donors' actions and decisions were being criticised, the Government of Malawi and its NGOs had been involved in these decisions. Similarly, Hon Gondwe thought that there was too much of a tendency to avoid responsibility for involvement, and said that blaming the donors was unfair because some of the ideas they promoted had worked elsewhere. Linda Kabwato felt that the involvement of NGOs and civil society should always be a condition of aid being given, although it was questioned whether this would lead to conflict with the so-called technocrats or experts in the field. Jane Harrigan felt that maize was less likely to be a political issue when there was a credible research team supported by a strong Department of Agriculture. By contrast, Professor Mkandawire thought that food security should be a political issue, as when politicians believed that they would lose elections because of food policy that they would sit up and take notice.

Many people discussed the use of technology, organisation and infrastructure. Both Sheikh Rocard Ayami and Hon Gondwe noted that farm tools were often primitive. There had been community tractors in the past, and these could be re-introduced. The key issue here, though, was irrigation. Irrigation offered the prospect of yearlong production, rather than only three months of production per year (thus reducing idleness, as noted by Billy Banda). With the vast Lake Malawi, irrigation was possible at least along the lakeshore. Murdoch Gatward, an irrigation engineer who had worked in Malawi, noted that there were some success stories, such as efficient production of sugar, but that the West wouldn't buy it. Organisations such as Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Scottish Water (at least the former North of Scotland Water part), and Highlands Health Board all had experience of delivering services in rural areas and could provide useful knowledge and experience. A few also mentioned the importance of access to agricultural inputs, such as subsidised fertilisers. Austin Ngwira mentioned both the importance of farm organisations, and felt that government and donors should do more to support them, and also the importance of livestock, not just crops (to promote the year-round work idea, and produce a regular rather than seasonal income).

Hon Gondwe referred to the extension service, involving extension officers guiding farmers at grassroots level by providing practical advice on techniques and organisation. When backed up by able researchers, they were able to cultivate good practice. Hon Banda thought that a state-backed extension service would be more likely to succeed when supplemented by civil society assistance. Austin Ngwira noted that the agricultural college was commercialised a few years before, thus meaning fewer extension workers were trained.

Esther Mcheka Chilenje MP noted that the role of women in ensuring practical and sustainable development was crucial, and Rt Hon George Reid MSP, Seodi White, Anne Hepburn and Karen Gillon MSP all backed up this point. Women were often the head of households and often the most influential people in communities, but had little voice in the political process. In the Presiding Officer's experience with the Red Cross, if you gave grain to a man he would eat it, but if you gave it to a woman she would share it and also save some for next year's harvest. Esther Mcheka Chilenje MP's proposed solutions included having farm technology which is women-friendly, getting women involved in farm extension work, and giving them access to development loans. Although the issue was dealt with far less extensively, Kondwani Munthali questioned how much young people's involvement had been considered. Young people were mobilised in the 1960s to help ensure food security and could do so again. Hon Aleke Banda thought that forming a national youth service and intensifying vocational training would have a positive effect.

On Dr Jane Harrigan's basic point about diversification, many agreed that diversification of crops would have an effect. Matthews Chikaonda noted that other countries, such as Uganda, had done

this and succeeded in creating more food security. Thandika Mkandawire noted that diversification not only had to extend to production but also consumption, as without this communities would remain subsistence economies and there could be no long-term development. This would not only require diversification, though, it would need basic infrastructure – for many areas this would mean passable roads to allowing crops to be transferred to markets. Matthews Chikaonda thought that one of Malawi's problems was that it had often used short-term solutions to long-term problems. As an example, Professor Mkandawire noted that food security is most often discussed under famine conditions. Short-term crisis solutions in these circumstances often make the long-term problem worse by importing more food, thus undermining domestic production. One or two delegates thought that the solution lay in changing attitudes amongst the private sector. Bright Malopa observed that there were few examples of Malawian produce in UK supermarkets: Matthews Chikaonda thought that an incentive scheme might help. In terms marketing, Hon Gondwe praised the ADMARC scheme for providing incentives to farmers, and felt that getting pricing right would be crucial if the sector were to develop. John Douglas was the only speaker to address the issue of diversification within the wider economy into areas like tourism, as he felt that an economy which relied so much on one sector was bound to be liable to difficulties.

Session Six – Aid, Trade, Debt and Investment

These financial and economic issues dominated discussion during the Make Poverty History campaign and the G8 summit in Scotland, both of which preceded the conference.

Collins Magalasi presented a pointed critique of the existing aid situation. He noted that, although aid has helped to achieve many things, the effect on poverty reduction is still small. The combined incomes of all sub-Saharan African people amounts to less than the EU pays to farmers in agricultural subsidies. 40% of Malawi's budget – and 80% of its spending on development projects – comes from donor aid, but countries like the UK are still well short of giving the UN target of 0.7% of GDP. The form aid is given in also creates difficulties: it is sometimes too little, comes at the wrong times, with unrealistic strings, and does not promote either good governance or Malawian domestic priorities. Mr Magalasi proposed that aid should be increased, or even doubled, that the priorities for aid should be determined by the recipient community, working with local communities and social organisations, and that aid should promote citizen engagement, female empowerment and sustainability.

Colleen Zamba spoke about the nature and scope of Malawi's debt. Fundamentally, the country is consuming more than it produces and importing less than it exports, this creates a long-term structural problem and one which is increasingly hard to overcome. Much of Malawi's economic activity services existing debt rather than promoting development and growth. Achieving the Millennium Development Goals will be almost impossible given this debt situation. The G8's proposals for reducing or cancelling external debt were, of course, most welcome, but they still left the significant issue of domestic debt to deal with which, in Malawi's case, amounts to 37% of its GDP (the issue of domestic debt is not mentioned in the Commission for Africa report). A strong commitment from both the Malawian government and development partners to achieving the MDGs would be necessary to stimulate solutions to the debt problem.

On the issue of debt, Rt Hon Justin Malewezi MP stated that he was confident that Malawi's debt – both external and domestic – would be cancelled at a point in the foreseeable future. Several contributors – including John Douglas, Matthews Chikaonda, Rt Hon Justin Malewezi MP and Professor Mkandawire – felt that there needed to be a clear strategy for what to do with the resources this freed up if it happened. The role of other industries – such as tourism, and cotton production – were considered. There appeared to be broad agreement that development would necessarily involve the development of a sustainable middle class, although Dr Laurel Aguilar noted that it was no coincidence that 5m Malawians were suffering from famine and that 5m Malawians were illiterate. The extent to which resources freed by debt cancellation should either be invested in social services such as health and education and in developing self-sufficient industry was also discussed. Professor Mkandawire noted that the UN Research Institute for Social Development's studies had shown that none of the programmes aimed at poverty

reduction had ever succeeded in their objective, but that policies focused on development had much more success (citing China, India and other parts of Asia as examples).

Ben Young of Jubilee Scotland asked that, if debt cancellation did occur, would this lead to unreasonable strings and increased pressure to accept them? This was also connected to the question of conditions for aid. On this point, Chris Wraight, the Deputy British High Commissioner in Lilongwe, agreed that some criticisms of donors had been levelled repeatedly, and although in many respects these were historically accurate there was a danger in believing that an obvious solution would be for donors to listen better and stop dictating their own agendas to recipients. However, often the problems LDCs such as Malawi faced were complex and that there were no obvious solutions. Good solutions were most likely to be reached if government took the lead in developing policy and that donors and civil society were involved in a single discussion with the government about what the priorities should be and what contribution they could make, as the best prospect for development lay in co-ordination of approaches between the various actors. Matthews Chikaonda also felt that donors often simply wanted guarantees that their money would not be wasted. Kirstie Shirra suggested that a possible role for the Scotland Malawi Partnership would be to monitor aid conditions and become an advocate for fairer conditions of aid to Malawi.

One analogy used repeatedly was that of Malawi being a country in poor economic health, like a sick patient. Hon Respicius Dzanjalimodzi MP suggested that Malawi was in the intensive care unit, and the least that partners should do is avoid any actions which were life-threatening. Hetherwick Ntaba suggested that when a patient does not respond to treatment as expected, the last thing a doctor would do is withdraw it, leaving the patient to fend for him or herself, but that this is what donors tended to do. Matthews Chikaonda extended the analogy by asking, what if a patient takes pills at different times from when the doctor advises? The resources are used up, but to no benefit. How is that behaviour altered?

On the issue of how to deliver development in practice, John Lwanda asked if plans were being made at a very local level (or “nano-level”, as he described it), and thought that local control over self-help projects and their budgets would foster a spirit of autonomy and capability. Rt Hon Justin Malewezi MP agreed: although many projects were being co-ordinated at district level, many of these should be passed to area level or even lower. Area Development Committees could work with NGOs to ensure that projects fitted local priorities. Matthews Chikaonda, on behalf of the Finance Minister Goodall Gondwe who had been called away, stated that the Government expected a lot of its development work to take place at a local level.

There was broad agreement amongst the panellists on two key points:

- aid should be targeted towards empowerment and development, and not considered an end in itself; and
- debt cancellation would be only one part of the equation in solving Malawi’s financial problems, and aid another part, but that its long-term sustainable future would only be secured through increased trade and investment, leading to economic growth and diversification.

Session Seven – Getting Systems Right: Accountability, Media and Civil Society



There were three main issues tackled in this session, reflected in the subjects covered by the three lead panellists. These were: women’s rights and gender equality, discussed by Seodi White; the role of civil society and non-governmental organisations, tackled by Ted Nandolo; and the separation of powers, governance and accountability, led by Rev Father Boniface Tamani. Their discussion papers appear on pages 62–77.

On women's rights, Seodi White argued that women endure combined problems of poverty and powerlessness, and discriminatory laws on issues such as citizenship, property and inheritance. Women also suffered unduly from lack of adequate health and education provision, and lack of fair representation in public life and in business. Joyce Phiri argued that gender equality needed not only laws and regulations, but a change of attitude and of culture too. Women were, until very recently at least, regarded as objects of entertainment rather than independent and fully equal human beings. Linda Kabwato noted that legal changes were necessary to bring full equality, and referred to the particular case of citizenship rights whereby applications for passports for children required a form to be signed by fathers. Hetherwick Ntaba argued that the Malawian constitution prohibited discrimination, and that many discriminatory laws were a hangover from the period before the constitution was adopted. Seodi White agreed but noted that it was up to either the courts to overturn such laws or to Parliament to amend or repeal them and Governments to propose such changes. Unlike Parliament and Government, which can set their own agendas, the courts cannot take the initiative themselves, but must wait for a case to be brought which allows the issue to be decided upon. Similarly, the role of the Law Commission was raised, but although it can identify issues worthy of reform and make proposals, it cannot insist that they are enacted. Hon Kainja reflected on the previous experience of unsuccessfully trying to present a change in the law on citizenship rights and equality, but expressed the hope that the new administration, with four female cabinet ministers rather than one, would reconsider taking this forward. She did agree, though, that liberating women was a key measure in ensuring social development. In summary, Seodi White argued that liberating women and involving them fully and equally in social, civic and economic life was not a competing priority with food security and other development goals, but was an absolute necessity as a matter of social justice. As 52% of the population, it was not only morally wrong to deny women full and practical equality; it denied the country the benefit of their experience, skills and knowledge.

Ted Nandolo discussed the role of civil society in fostering and maintaining democracy. He noted that civil society organisations (CSOs) played a crucial role both in involving citizens in public life and as partners in achieving the MDGs, and also in providing employment. The regulation of CSOs had improved under recent legislation, but – as with many other services – CSOs face critical challenges both in human and financial resources (with 80–90% of CSO core finance coming from overseas). As with many other groups, CSOs were heavily dependent on donor funding and sometimes donor priorities dictated activities, making co-ordination more difficult and transient. In particular, the aims of international NGOs, the Malawian government and donors often conflicted, leading to “founder syndrome”, and there was also a civil society equivalent of the “brain drain”, with talented workers joining either international CSOs or the Malawian government. Limbani Nsapato emphasised that a healthy democracy depended upon CSOs holding the government to account and campaigning for change using their knowledge and resources. Anne Conroy and Jane Harrigan raised the issue of core funding for CSOs as opposed to other means of aid, such as budget support and/or project funding. Although it wasn't glamorous, core funding rather than project funding was essential for CSOs and NGOs to work properly and to plan their activities. Malawi was fortunate that it had many talented and dedicated people working for NGOs because they were prepared to accept lower remuneration for their work. Others corroborated this impression, although both Ken Ross and Rev Howard Nkhoma felt that churches and religious organisations were often the best providers of core funding for services. Ted Nandolo suggested that the best approach to improving domestic funding for CSOs would be twinning or partnering NGOs, as this could build up trust, referring to the example of the global fund on HIV/AIDS. The committee was often more willing to give money to international NGOs as they had established a track record whereas local organisations did not. Development of domestic CSOs was essential as international organisations often came in to clear up a crisis, but then left, leaving no proper civil society infrastructure in place. As in the previous session, it was agreed that the critical factor in this was improving economic development so that more resources could be devoted to civil society activities.

Rev Father Bonface Tamani discussed the constitution and governance of Malawi, and in particular the important principle of separation of powers. The principle of separation is important for avoiding abuse of power and dictatorship, and promoting good governance, and

the effective enjoyment of rights and freedoms without being at the mercy of benevolent rulers. It also encourages efficient use of resources. Father Tamani's principal proposition was about training and resources. Training should be available to government, parliament, the judiciary, the civil service, the political parties and civil society, as each sector needs to understand their proper role and have adequate funding to carry out their functions, as each of them are essential for a democratic system to work. The final factor is less tangible, a change of culture and attitude. Malawi's democracy is young, only eleven years old, and is often haunted by the ghosts of its dictatorial past. There are, though, positive signs of change, such as an evident political will to deal with corruption, and signs of greater fiscal discipline (e.g. spending was within budget for the first time for many years). In a later comment, Brian Taylor noted that the separation of powers was a feature of an elective democracy, but that there were other models, such as a consultative democracy, and also a participatory democracy. In a participatory system, local people, NGOs and others were involved and given responsibility for delivering outcomes. Local efforts on projects such as irrigation schemes would be a good example of an issue where this system could work better, and that support from outside should be simply that – support – for it to work.

The question of trust in domestic institutions also raised the issues of scrutiny and audit. Hon Esther Mcheka-Chilenje MP and Rt Hon Justin Malewezi MP were asked if the role of Parliament in holding the government to account was being followed properly. It was noted that the Parliament's committee system was just starting to work and had little in the way of research support, but there was hope that things were moving in the right direction.

His Excellency the President had addressed the issue of corruption directly in his speeches to Parliament on 3 November and opening the conference the following day (see pages 4–7 and 15–18). To some extent, this had allowed the conference panel discussion sessions to focus on other matters. Consistent with this, Hon Dr Hetherwick Ntaba, representing the Government on the panel, emphasised that accountability is a wider issue than simply fighting corruption. The principle should extend to every decision made in public office, and is a vital part of the system of checks and balances between the different branches of government. Government's activities are now monitored not only by parliament and the judiciary, but also by civil society and the media, and that these elements are more active in Malawi than in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa. There are also a number of public agencies that exist to help democracy (on issues such as audit, procurement, human rights and anti-corruption).

On the media issue, Brian Taylor noted that a free and open media was an essential component of a free and democratic society, but that it was often inconvenient for government, parliamentarians and others in public life. There were risks of bad practices from proprietors, journalists, and paymasters (such as advertisers), but the risks of not having a free media were greater. To create a free media, some important elements were necessary: both political stability and the rule of law, of course, but also access to reliable data on regular basis and ready distribution. Without reliable information there is no credible reporting, and it matters less what journalists say if the populace is too illiterate to understand it or react to it. From the Scottish media's perspective, there was an instinctive human response that "something must be done" about the serious problems in Malawi, but that the media should not abandon its role of reporting bluntly and honestly what the situation is, why it has come about and maintaining a healthy scepticism about any proposals to solve it, so as to foster debate and discussion, but this should not slip into easy cynicism. John Lwanda worried that there was a tone in Scotland suggesting that criticism of President wa Mutharika or his government was unwelcome as the President was a guest. The Presiding Officer noted that politicians and journalists tended to be nicer to each other when away from their own country, as the distance created a sense of perspective and less value on argument for its own sake.

Brian Taylor then made two final points. He had seen a sense of defeat in some people's faces around the world, but it was clear to him that Malawians (and especially Malawian women) remained determined, optimistic and hopeful that their lives would improve through a combination of their own efforts and help from others. He then quoted Voltaire's expression that "we must cultivate our garden", avoid grand plans, schemes and ambitions, and simply make the

place a bit more fertile through simple efforts directed at straightforward tasks. Finally, the Presiding Officer noted that Voltaire also said, from the age of the Enlightenment, that “it is to Edinburgh we must look for inspiration”. He hoped that the conference discussions in Edinburgh had provoked both some inspiration and some enlightenment and that the lessons would be taken, remembered and implemented for everyone’s benefit.

Report Back from the Health Workshop

Hon Dr Hetherwick Ntaba OBE, Minister of Health

Thank you very much Honourable Presiding Officer, Cabinet colleagues from Malawi and from Scotland, honourable Members of Parliament and distinguished invited guests.

We did have a health workshop. This workshop took place on Thursday morning – this was preceding this conference – at Edinburgh City Chambers. I am grateful indeed to honourable Andy Kerr, Minister of Health and Community Care, for taking time out from his very busy schedule to open that event. I am also very grateful to the Lord Provost, Councillor Lesley Hinds, for hosting the workshop and for chairing it so effectively.

A large number of invited guests took part. As expected, the majority of these were Scots or Scottish residents, drawn mainly from the universities, from the National Health Service, from the Royal Colleges and from the Health Department of the Scottish Executive. But there was also strong representation from Malawi. This included the likes of the Rt Hon Justin Malewezi MP and several health professionals. Their contribution to the workshop was invaluable and I welcome this opportunity to place on record my appreciation of their support.

Unlike yesterday's conference session on Health, the workshop focused exclusively on Scotland's relationship with Malawi in the health sector and how this might be developed in detail.

The workshop took place against the background of the Co-operation Agreement which was, at that time, due to be signed by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Malawi and the First Minister of Scotland. The Agreement, for those of you who have seen it, covers four broad themes, of which health is one. The Health section identifies five specific areas for collaboration. Given the consultation process that has been underway over the last several months in both Malawi and in Scotland, it should come as no surprise that these areas match those that were considered deserving of priority attention by participants in that workshop.

The objectives agreed between the two governments in the five areas are:

1. To contribute to the improvement of maternal health. This, as you can tell, to the pleasure of one Seodi White and others, is just emphasised that we are taking the matter of maternal mortality seriously. We have a roadmap; we are already innovating on a pilot basis in this roadmap just to make sure we convince our donors and our participating partners that it is really worth doing. And I'm sure from the preliminary findings and from the preliminary outcomes of those initiatives that we shall be bringing down the maternal death rate. It is incomprehensible. It is unacceptable that women should be dying in the noble act of bringing us into this earth, so I just want to assure all of you that the Ministry of Health is much more responsive – it was described as a non-responsive health sector but quite the opposite is true this time. We will work with you to make sure that we reverse this unacceptable trend in our maternal mortality.
2. To increase the capacity of our Health Colleges, both government and in CHAM. We want to train many, many more of our health workers at all the levels. At all the high levels for those we can. For those registered nurse guarders to supervise the lower levels of the registered nurses to make sure that we reach out to equip them also with the midwifery skills to make sure that these are not disasters like the ongoing rising maternal mortalities are brought to an end.
3. We also want to have support the College of Medicine in the development of specialist medical training. We would prefer to have this specialist training done in Malawi for obvious reasons – the specialists that have been training outside, have remained outside to a large extent. The doctors and hopefully even the specialists that we will be and have been training in Malawi – it is our hope that they will be staying in Malawi. That is why we want to ensure that in this partnership we train the specialists with the assistance of the institutions here – train them in Malawi.

4. We also want to support HIV and AIDS prevention, treatment and care. Simply put, HIV and AIDS is a disaster. It threatens to undermine and put back all the efforts and all the gains we have made in the past few years. It has put us back in terms of our life expectancy. Our maternal mortality rate has also gone way up so high also due to the contribution of HIV and AIDS. The impact of this of our own healthcare workers is also disastrous. The healthcare was in danger of collapsing if we hadn't done anything about the attrition rates of the other causes as well as the attrition rates of HIV and AIDS.

5. We also want to support communities to access and deliver health services. Malawi is also constitutionally committed to make available the services that we deliver equitably to everyone.

These are the objectives that we agreed on, and the Workshop concluded that, in pursuit of these objectives, Malawian and Scottish partners should take account of the following key factors:

- The engagement should be long-term. While it might make sense to plan actions and commitments for the next 2 to 5 years, as called for in the Co-operation Agreement, benefits are unlikely to accrue within such a short time-frame, particularly in the health sector where the training periods are quite long, the effects and benefits take quite some time to be realised, so we want to make sure this is long term.
- A strategy already exists for the health sector. We have developed a SWAP arrangement – within this a new way of doing business. We have collaboratively agreed a joint programme of work with all our development partners. There is therefore no need to re-think it or to revise established priorities. Similarly, the Road Map should be implemented right away on the basis of existing data.
- An audit of causes of maternal death should be conducted and the appropriate lessons learned.
- The bulk of training should be Malawi-based, as I have already said. Inevitably, much of this must be done formally at a central level, but we also believe that a substantial element of this must be community-based. We must train some of our core workers at the very lower levels right in the communities themselves.
- It is particularly important to develop post-graduate training in Malawi, for the reasons I have said, and this of course will be to remove one of the main motives for health professionals to leave the country once they have been exposed to the benefits of working in the foreign environments.
- The modular approach to education and training is best suited to support which will be available from Scottish institutions. This we were advised from our Scottish partners.
- Short-term attachments (3 to 4 months) we are told would work best for the trainers from Scotland.
- Multi-professional working in medical education, with the right mix of skills, is the best way forward we concluded at this workshop.
- It is also essential, we thought, to roll out very quickly the training of midwives. Direct entry for instance to midwifery education is an option we think we should seriously consider, rather than delay the imparting of these skills to be a post basic training course.
- The academic profile, we believed, of some courses and qualifications must be raised, to make it attractive for these students to be educated in Malawi. We also did make specific mentions and pleas for training pharmacists. We only have, for the public sector in Malawi, 4 fully qualified pharmacists. It is very difficult to manage the drug trade from the manufacturer through procurement, central medical stores and to the hospitals and finally to the health centres in the periphery, and finally to the patient. You cannot do that unless

you have fairly qualified pharmaceutical workers at some level and this is very, very important. We have no training abilities for pharmaceutical workers in Malawi.

There was great agreement at the Workshop that the next stage in the relationship was to proceed to the completion of a Health Engagement Plan that has been agreed. Officials on both sides will now take this forward and begin working immediately rather than let this document of agreement and intent to move forward, to sit on our shelves as is usually the case after many such similar workshops.

Finally, Mr Presiding Officer, Sir, it was acknowledged that there was a need for effective co-ordination of the Scottish contribution to the Health Engagement Plan. The sense of the Workshop was that the Scotland Malawi Partnership, working in cooperation with the Scottish Government should take on this role and the Lord Provost made it clear in her intention to commend this approach to the Scottish Executive.

Thank you very much Sir and thank you everyone for your attention.

Conclusions and Recommendations from the Conference

Rt Hon Sir David Steel, Chairman, Conference Planning Committee



I am delighted to end this conference in a kind of duet with Dr Hetherwick Ntaba, the Health Minister. We go back a long way. I should perhaps explain that with my Kenyan background I first went to Malawi in 1991 at the instigation of the Church of Scotland and our Foreign Office. Their view was that since both President Banda and I were Church elders and graduates of Edinburgh University I could perhaps talk to him about human rights, multi-partyism and other easy topics like that. It was not a success.

I was refused permission to visit Orton Chirwa who was in prison without trial and who died there before my second visit. Dr Banda was very old and very deaf. I was followed a few months later by Lynda Chalker, then our Minister for Overseas Development and Africa. I told her my efforts were not successful and she said they could not have been worse than hers. After twenty minutes in which she indicated Her Majesty's Government's views on changes required in Malawi's policies, he leaned forward and asked: "And which part of America do you come from?"

The subsequent donor pressure led to the referendum in 1993 on multi-partyism, and on the eve of that crucial event Dr Ntaba invited me to dinner over which we had a cordial disagreement on the likely outcome. We have kept in touch on my several visits since then.

Let me remind you as a start of our shared history in Scotland and Malawi. Links began with David Livingstone's journey up the Zambezi and Shire rivers to Lake Malawi. Not only his life of friendship and engagement with the Nyasa people but even more his death in central Africa galvanised Scotland to make a commitment to this particular part of Africa, long before the borders of the modern nation of Malawi had been set. In the mid 1870s, both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland established missions in Malawi, the former in the south, the latter in the north. David Livingstone was followed by Dr Laws and Dr Hetherwick and others. Before long Malawians were coming to Scotland for further training and a two-way movement of people and ideas began between the two nations was underway which we have been continuing in this conference.

From the beginning, it was a relationship involving different sectors of society. Livingstone's vision of Christianity and commerce as a solution to the evil of the slave trade in Africa ensured that the churches and the business community were highly involved. Alongside the church work, the African Lakes Company was established to focus on fulfilling the commercial aspect of Livingstone's vision. Very quickly education and healthcare became prominent, as they have done in this conference, and the relationship took a directly political form when, in the late 1880s, it seemed that southern Malawi might become part of Portuguese East Africa. A popular campaign in Scotland and a heavily subscribed public petition persuaded the British Government that this must not be allowed to happen and Nyasaland came into being as a British Protectorate. Likewise when Cecil Rhodes was eager to incorporate Malawi in his British South Africa Company, it was the Scottish missions which frustrated his ambitions and secured Nyasaland's

Protectorate status. Later, in the 1950s, when Malawi did fall into the clutches of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it was debated here in Edinburgh, in the Church of Scotland General Assembly which did much to persuade the British Government that independence was a proper path forward for Malawi.

So that is the background to our meeting today and this has been a most happy and, I think, productive conference, quite unlike one I attended a few years ago in Germany when I was invited to be the international fraternal speaker at a party conference. I was sitting on the platform waiting to make my speech, alongside the German Foreign Secretary and the debate went on and on and on and on, and I was getting a little impatient, and I turned to him and said “Don’t you think that everything that needs to be said on this subject has already been said,” and he looked at me scornfully and he said “You don’t understand David. You’re quite right, everything that needs to be said has been said, but not everybody has yet said it”.

That was not the case in this conference. We had a wide variety of contributions from the panels, from the floor – original and thoughtful – and I want to thank you all for participation of that quality which we greatly enjoyed.

I want also on your behalf to thank the staff of the Parliament and of Holyrood Events who have organised this two day event over what would normally be their weekend. And I especially want to thank you, Presiding Officer, and your two colleagues for the hospitality and chairmanship that you have shown to us in this magnificent chamber. We have appreciated it very much and I am perhaps in a unique position to know the demands on your time, and the fact that you have given two days of your time to us is very greatly appreciated by us all.

The last person I want to thank is our conference director, George Finlayson. He has been giving single-minded devotion to this task over several months, and without him, the conference simply would not have happened, and I am very grateful to you, George. I’ve even forgiven you for the remark you once made when you were High Commissioner in Malawi and I came through Malawi on a frivolous pursuit, driving an old car on a rally from London to Cape Town. The High Commissioner very kindly gave a reception in his garden, but spoilt it by telling the assembled multitude that in his view, I was a couple of sandwiches short of a picnic. I have now forgiven you George: I think we are all deeply grateful for the work that you put in to make this conference a success.

Of all the statistics presented to us during these two days the one that sticks in my mind is that average life expectancy in Malawi is only 36 years: less than half the figure in Scotland. The effects of malnutrition, HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis have taken their toll with a parallel reduction in *per capita* income. The need is enormous.

I need to make it clear to our Malawi friends that though topics like debt cancellation and aid are vitally important, these are UK matters not within our competence in Scotland to tackle. That is why our partnership has to concentrate on those areas within our capacity to help. In this conference we have therefore naturally begun with health and education. It may be that we should hold such a symposium every couple of years extending to other topics, and why not sometimes in Malawi as well as Scotland? Incidentally if anyone wishes to join the Scotland Malawi Partnership there are forms at the back of the Chamber.

Mr Mkandawire’s observation that African governments must own their policies was echoed by many delegates and we were glad to learn what your priorities were. Let me mention some of the themes which have emerged during the conference:

Parts of Malawi, the cities of Lilongwe, Blantyre, and Mzuzu, have patches of development. But in the rural areas, life is very different. It is frugal and austere. There are great problems with basic levels of health and education provision. There is a lack of roads, a lack of clean, healthy running water.

One of the problems which has also been identified is the brain drain of professionals and skilled workers to other countries, including the UK. The most interventionist solutions, of seeking agreements with other countries not to employ Malawians, have many problems, including the human rights of individuals to move freely and seek a better life for themselves and their families. But one thing that can be done, and which we in Scotland can help with, is to help people secure entitlements to visas and to safeguard their pension and residents rights within their adopted countries. I hope that by doing that, we can provide opportunities to the Malawian diaspora to return for short periods to provide some of their time and effort to helping out at home.

We have heard many things about Malawi's problems. But more important, there is great optimism. Dr Bingu wa Mutharika said yesterday, and has been saying since he arrived here earlier this week, Malawi is not a poor country. It is a country with many riches, and natural resources, but with many poor people. There is hope that solutions can be found to these problems, and that social and economic development can be achieved. And there is commitment to identifying those solutions and implementing them.

One of the seminal moments from the conference was the frustrated call yesterday afternoon from Bishop James Tengatenga not to let ourselves become disheartened by the scale of the problems, as described in Joseph Conrad's "Heart of Darkness". He said that the Malawian spirit is strong. Many of us who were here will remember that spirited contribution and will take it into our hearts. And I hope that this conference has made some contribution to instilling confidence and faith in Malawi and in Malawian people.

We are here in the new Scottish Parliament building. When the Scottish Parliament was established in 1999, we talked about devolution providing Scottish solutions to Scottish problems. Our First Minister Jack McConnell said yesterday that he feels, as do all of us, that in Scotland we have made better decisions as a result. The problems faced by Malawi are most likely to be solved by finding Malawian solutions to Malawian problems.

We have heard that Malawi is anxious not to be treated as a victim. Matthews Chikaonda told us of an African proverb – that "no-one can shave your head in your absence". Malawians accept responsibility for their problems, and are trying to solve them. It is a mark of Malawi's move to democracy that this has happened.

And the best way of finding solutions that will work is to work out what Malawi needs, to have a vision and a sense of purpose, and then shape policies around achieving it, and ensure that every development partner is on board so that Malawians and the international community can work together. To achieve growth and progress, Malawi will need a clear, consistent, long-term strategy.

What is also clear is that many groups feel excluded from the policy development process. This is not a uniquely Malawian issue, as many groups in Scotland have said that they feel distant from government and from decision-making. In Scotland, the new Scottish Parliament with new methods of engagement with civil society has helped relieved that situation. One such group in Malawi is the "technocrats" and scientists – we heard this morning as we discussed agriculture that systems for ensuring that independent research are available to the government and civil society are very important. We have also heard of the important role of women in society. Seodi White, the First Deputy Speaker and Anne Hepburn brought this home to us. These groups feel excluded from governance and decision-making. The greater empowerment of women will I am sure will be helped by what the President told us, in his opening speech, about his government's determination to increase the number of girls' hostels and secondary schools. Another group who may feel excluded is the Malawian diaspora. Many of them keep a strong interest in Malawian issues and are anxious to help but do not feel that they can return permanently. It is good to see, though, that a number of Malawian Scots were here at this conference. We hope that the leaders and decision-makers in Malawi can find a way to include specific groups who have been mentioned at this conference.

What became clear in our particular sessions on health, education and agriculture, debt and aid, and governance, is that many of these issues are interlinked. If policy for agriculture, or for health, or education, or finance, is determined separately, then these may conflict. A policy implemented in one area may hamper policy aims in another area. The key is to have an overall development policy, into which health, education, food security and the rest all fit.

As was mentioned by Jack McConnell yesterday, Scotland is a small country and can only make a small contribution towards international aid efforts. But as Jane Harrigan said this morning, small can be beautiful. Two of the main things Scotland can do are to share skills and experience, and promote Malawi as a friend and partner on the world stage. Many links have already been forged between Scots and Malawians in specific fields. In education, Strathclyde University and Bell College has forged links with Malawi through the Millennium Project. Stenhouse Primary School, here in Edinburgh, has already forged links with Embangweni Primary School in Malawi, exchanging three teachers from Scotland to go out there and three teachers from Malawi to come here to teach our children. Emms International has important technological links with Malawi. The Scottish churches have also forged links with their equivalent Episcopal and Presbyterian brothers and sisters through the World Exchange. One of the things the Scotland Malawi Partnership hoped would happen whilst our Malawian guests were here is that they would forge new links with individual Scots, and I know from speaking to many people here that this has been happening and many new contacts and friendships have been formed in and around this conference.

One feature of this conference has struck me. We have taken politicians out of their country and sitting together with NGOs and others they have applied themselves constructively to the practical problems of Malawi without the asperity and rancour which colours much of the debate at home. I have noticed exactly the same trend among British politicians when overseas. The donor ambassadors in Lilongwe last week issued a statement. While I don't agree with all of it, their central observation was correct: namely, that there has been too much politicking in Malawi to the exclusion of serious immediate matters. I hope that one effect of this conference may be to redress that balance.

There is an old African saying that when the elephants fight the grass suffers. The elephants have been fighting in Malawi for months. If they could stop, the grass would grow again. I have read last week's report of the Public Accounts Committee, whose Chairman is with us here. They have demonstrated a welcome capacity to expose financial mismanagement, but are we clear that when we talk of corruption in Malawi we are not discussing the scale of abuse of a Mobutu in Congo or Abacha in Nigeria. There are no Swiss bank accounts, French chateaux or English estates. It is all relatively small beer. But it is reprehensible all the same and this new transparency and accountability is welcome. It is the democratisation of corruption exposure. Politics is not an exact science. I have yet to find the politician – and I include myself – who has made no mistake.

The previous President made mistakes and the current President has made mistakes, but I suggest that the time has come to draw a line in the sand, for the Public Accounts Committee report to be a warning to all Ministers and civil servants that in future they will be held to account, but that the past and present should be forgiven in favour of a new determination for President and Parliament to respect each other's proper roles and to work together with civil society in the interests of the people with zero tolerance of corruption. "Harambee" is a Swahili slogan we use in Kenya meaning "pull together".

I am grateful to Bishop Tengatenga for finding the quotation I had at the back of my mind. It is Isaiah Chapter 1 verse 18: "Come let us reason together." We have done so here. Let us do so back home.

As for as us in Scotland, we too need to reason together. This has been an impressive and useful event. As with all such conferences the interaction during the lunch, tea and coffee breaks has been almost as important as the conference sessions themselves. I learned a great deal from talking to delegates. One delegate told me that she was bewildered by the number of different

organisations all operating in the same Scotland / Malawi field. We have the Scotland Malawi Partnership, the Scottish Malawi Appeal Fund, the Executive's Advisory Committee, the longstanding Strathclyde initiative, and the Cross Party Group of the Parliament. No sooner had the Partnership achieved formal legal status than the First Minister announced his proposals. Some in the Partnership felt that this was stealing their thunder, but on the contrary the backing of the Scottish Executive was wholly to be welcomed. They have the resources in funds and manpower we do not have. The First Minister's visit this year and Minister Patricia Ferguson's visit next year give concrete leadership to all our efforts.

But after this Conference we need to sit down, reason together, and ensure that we are co-ordinating and not duplicating all our efforts.

I want to stress that, in spite of the welcome opening of our conference with the President and the First Minister, this is not a government to government activity. It is a people to people one, involving schools to schools, health authorities to health authorities, business to business and so on. It is a real twinning partnership at all levels.

Presiding Officer, we close this conference with Scotland and Malawi having refreshed and renewed their historic links and with a new determination to benefit each other. For us in Scotland, Malawi will always remain the warm heart of Africa.

Mulungu Mverani Ife Ananu



The conference concluded with the singing of a Malawian song, “Mulungu mverani ife ananu”. The Presiding Officer introduced this by noting that this was the song sung in the detention centres in the difficult period of emergency before independence. Richard Baxter, a former Presbyterian missionary in Malawi, led the chorus.

“Mulungu mverani ife ananu
Dziko la Malaŵi mutidalitse
Mulungu mverani ife ananu
Dziko la Malaŵi mutidalitse
Muti dalitse Ee m’tidalitse
Muti dalitse Ee m’tidalitse
Muti patse mtendere
Ndi ulemerero”

Crieff High School Choir sing at the Chairman's reception following the conference



Delegate list (alphabetical by organisation)

TITLE	FIRST NAME	SURNAME	POSITION	ORGANISATION
Dr	Mandela	Thyoka	Specialist Registrar	Aberdeen Royal Infirmary
Ms	Julita	Nsanjama	Education Co-ordinator	Action Aid International Malawi
Mr	Collins	Magalasi	Head of Policy	Actionaid Malawi
Mrs	Elaine	Cockburn	Advisory Faculty/Instructor	Advanced Life Support in Obstetrics in Scotland (ALSO)
Mr	Christiaan	Prinsloo	Chairman	Africahealth
Mrs	Barbara	Wood	Vice-Chairman	African Child Education Programme
Dr	Gordon	Macpherson	Advisor on Nutrition and Health in Education	African Child Educational Programme
Rt Hon	Earl of	Airlie	Landowner (and Director, The Prince's Foundation)	Airlie Estates
Prof	Landson	Mhango	Chief Engineer/Director of Research	Airscrews Ltd
Bishop	James	Tengatenga	Bishop	Anglican Diocese of Southern Malawi
Ms	Colleen	Zamba	Consultant	Batu Enterprises
Mr	Robert	Hillier	Development Correspondent	BBC
Mr	Brian	Taylor	Political Editor	BBC Scotland
Dr	Isabel	Bruce	Chair	Bell College
Ms	Alison	McLachlan	Senior Lecturer School of Health Studies	Bell College
Dr	Mpalive-Hangson	Msiska	Senior Lecturer in English and Humanities	Birkbeck College, University of London
Mr	Tesfu	Gessese	Director	Black Community Development Project
Mr	Hugh	Ajassi	Management Consultant	British Council
Mr	Chimweimwe	Ajassi		
Ms	Farah	Kabir	Consultant in Participative Democracy	British Council Scotland
Mr	Roy	Cross	Director	British Council Scotland
Rev	Daniel	Gunya	General Secretary	CCAP Blantyre Synod
Mr	Richard	Mpaso	Education Co-ordinator (Trainer)	CCAP Blantyre Synod
Rev Dr	Winston	Kawale	General Secretary	CCAP Nkhoma Synod
Rev	Howard	Nkhoma	General Secretary	CCAP Synod of Livingstonia
Mr	Ollen	Mwalubunju	Technical Advisor	Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation
Dr	Laurel	Agular	Researcher	Centre for the Study of Religion and Politics (CSR/P)
Mrs	Phyllis	Thompson	Secretary	Child Survival in Malawi, Scotland
Mrs	Susan	Pattison	Committee Member & Rep on Scotland Malawi Partnership	Child Survival in Malawi, Scotland
Mr	David	Christison	Scotland Manager	Christian Blind Mission
Miss	Desiree	Mhango	Health Co-ordinator	Christian Health Association of Malawi (CHAM)
Mrs	Eileen	Bishop	Convener for World Mission Presbytery of Aberdeen	Church of Scotland
Rev	Kenneth	Pattison	Retired Church of Scotland Minister / Mission Partner	Church of Scotland
Dr	Catherine	Campbell	World Mission Representative	Church of Scotland (Fodderty & Strathpeffer)
Ms	Carol	Finlay	Associate Secretary (Local Development)	Church of Scotland World Mission
Cllr Dr	Jenny	Dawe	Leader, Liberal Democrat Group	City of Edinburgh Council
Rt Hon	Lesley	Hinds	Lord Provost and Lord Lieutenant	City of Edinburgh Council
Ms	Andrena	Irons	Community Learning & Development Worker Broomhouse Office	City of Edinburgh Council
Miss	Gema	Rodriguez	International Officer – Schools Children and Families Department	City of Edinburgh Council

TITLE	FIRST NAME	SURNAME	POSITION	ORGANISATION
Ms	Claire	Soper	International Unit Manager	Department of Children and Families
Mr	Austin	Ngwira	Chairman	City of Edinburgh Council
Mr	Limbani	Nsapato	Coalition Co-ordinator	Civil Society Agriculture Network (CISANET)
Dr	Victor	Mwapasa	Lecturer	Civil Society Coalition for Quality Basic Education
Mr	Colin	Cameron	Honorary Consul	College of Medicine (Malawi)
Mrs	Alison	Cameron		Consulate of Malawi in Scotland
Mr	John	Kapito	Executive Director	Consulate of Malawi in Scotland
Mr	Ted	Nandolo	Executive Director	Consumers Association of Malawi (CAMA)
Ms	Joyce	Lang	Development Officer	Council for Non-Governmental Organisations in Malawi (CONGOMA)
Sister	Claire	McKenzie	Senior Sister	CRADALL
Mr	Dave	Fish	Director, Africa	Cumberland Infirmary
Mr	Guy	Mustard	Civil Society Team	Department for International Development
Mr	Anthony	Smith	Deputy Director, Southern Africa	Department for International Development
Dr	Harry	Potter	Independent Consultant on Malawi	Department for International Development
Dr	Anne	Conroy	Consultant	Formerly with the Department for International Development
Dr	Douglas	Lungu	Medical Director	Development Cooperation Ireland
Mr	Godwin	Jere	Head Teacher	Ekwendeni Hospital – Malawi
Mr	Robin	Arnott	Chief Executive	Embangweni Primary School
Mr	David	Toner	Branch President	Emms International
Father	Gerald	Bwemba	Secretary General (Representative)	Engineers Without Borders
Ms	Judith	Begg	Proprietor	Episcopal Conference of Malawi
Mr	Rob	Rozenburg	Development Directorate General	Ethical Enterprise
Mr	John	Douglas	Director	European Commission
Mrs	Clare	Harker	Teacher/Enterprise Employability Officer	GEO Group & Associates / Malawi Tourism Marketing Consortium
Mrs	Helen	Findlay	Clinical Nurse Manager	Glasgow City Council
Mr	Alastair	Sammon	Consultant Surgeon	Glasgow Royal Infirmary
Hon	Chimunthu	Banda MP	Minister for Natural Resources, Mines and Environmental Affairs	Gloucestershire Royal Hospital
Mr	Joseph	Chiteye	Director of International Co-operation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Government of Malawi
Hon	Goodall	Kate	Minister of Finance	Government of Malawi
Hon	Kate	Kainja MP	Minister of Education	Government of Malawi
Hon	Davis	Katsonga MP	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Government of Malawi
Mr	Matthews	Makalade	Deputy Director of Education Planning	Government of Malawi
Mr	Bright	Masaka	Chief Secretary to the President and Cabinet	Government of Malawi
Hon	Hetherwick	Ntaba	Minister of Health	Government of Malawi
Mr	Clement	Nyirongo	Deputy Chief Economist, Ministry of Economic Planning and Development	Government of Malawi
Dr	Ann	Phoya	Director of Nursing, Ministry of Health	Government of Malawi
HE Dr	Bingu	wa Mutharika	President of the Republic of Malawi	Government of Malawi
Mr	Ron	Beard	Regional Director	Halcrow Group Ltd
Mr	Robbie	Mochrie	Lecturer, Economics Department	Heriot-Watt University

TITLE	FIRST NAME	SURNAME	POSITION	ORGANISATION
Mr	Murdoch	Gatward	Managing Director	Imani Development UK
Mr	Ian	McEwan	Director	Imax Associates, Consulting Engineers
Prof	Paul	Jowitz	Vice President	Institution of Civil Engineers
Miss	Marcia	Zondervan	VISION 2020 Links Programme Manager	International Centre for Eye Health, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
Ms	Sarah	Mackie	Scottish Communications Officer	Interact Worldwide
Dr	Ben	Young	National Co-ordinator	Jubilee Scotland
Mr	Ewan	McKay	Principal Teacher of Mathematics	Kinross High School
Mrs	Margaret	Conway	Member	Labour Party
Mr	Barry	Brindley	Senior Teacher/Malawi Co-ordinator	Leeds Girls' High School
Mr	Tim	Martineau	Senior Lecturer	Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine
Mrs	Isobel	Bone	Joint Secretary	Livingstonia Blantyre Fellowship
Mr	Brian	Allaway	Chief Fire Officer	Lothian and Borders Fire and Rescue
Mrs	Anna	Macdonald		Lusowira Orphan Project
Mr	Kondwani	Munthali	National Co-ordinator, YES Malawi and Journalist	Malawi Broadcasting Corporation
Mr	John	Mbendela	Chief Executive	Malawi Distilleries Ltd
Mr	Mavuto	Bamusi	Acting Executive Director	Malawi Economic Justice Network (MEJN)
Ms	Linda	Kabwato	Honourable Secretary and President	Malawi Law Society / Women Lawyers Association
Hon	Respicius	Dzanjali modzi	Shadow Minister of Finance	Malawi National Assembly
Hon	Berson	Lijenda	Member of Parliament	Malawi National Assembly
Hon	Esther	Mcheka-Chilenje	First Deputy Speaker	Malawi National Assembly
Rt Hon	Justin	Malewezi	Member of Parliament and Former Vice President	Malawi National Assembly
Mr	Bright	Malopa	Moderator	Malawi Talk
Ms	Desire	Gondwe	Supporter	Malawi Tomorrow
Ms	Martha	Mballah	Subscriber	Malawi Tomorrow
Mr	William	McAnaney	Trustee	Malawi Tomorrow
Mr	Owen	Mullen	Trustee	Malawi Tomorrow
Ms	Joyce	Phiri	Trustee	Malawi Tomorrow
Ms	Michelle	Phiri	Trustee	Malawi Tomorrow
Mr	Billy	Banda	Executive Director	Malawi Watch
Miss	Anne	Dawson	Treasurer	Mamie Martin Fund
Dr	Gillian	McIlwaine	Committee Member	Mamie Martin Fund
Mrs	Margaret	Sinclair	Secretary	Mamie Martin Fund
Dr	John	Gillies	GP	Member Primary Health Care International Group
Mrs	Anne	Findlay	Midwife	MUMS
Prof	Jack	Wirima	Medical Director	Mwaiwathu Private Hospital
Mr	Joseph	Langa	Senior Reporter (Investigations Desk)	Nation Publications Limited
Mr	Orison	Chaponda	Project Manager	National Initiative for Civic Education (NICE)
Mr	Ephraim	Munthali	Senior Business and Economics Reporter	National Publications Limited
Ms	Karen	Carruthers	Property Manager – David Livingstone Centre	National Trust for Scotland

TITLE	FIRST NAME	SURNAME	POSITION	ORGANISATION
Rev	Bobby	Anderson	Chairperson	Network of International Development Organisations in Scotland
Dr	Fiona	Chalamanda	Co-ordinator	Network of International Development Organisations in Scotland
Mr	Jacob	Dreyer	Consultant General Surgeon	NHS Dumfries & Galloway
Dr	John	Womersley	Consultant in Public Health Medicine	NHS Glasgow
Dr	Charles	Chithila	Associate Specialist	NHS Grampian
Ms	Noreen	Kent	Associate Director of Nursing & Midwifery	NHS Lanarkshire
Dr	William	Newman	Respiratory Medicine Unit	NHS Lothian (Edinburgh Royal Infirmary)
Dr	Gordon	Scott	Consultant, Department of Genitourinary Medicine	NHS Lothian (Edinburgh Royal Infirmary)
Dr	Graeme	Walker	Specialist Registrar, Obstetrics, Simpson Maternity Hospital	NHS Lothian (Edinburgh Royal Infirmary)
Mr	Isaac	Ziba	Surgical Staff Nurse	NHS Lothian (Western General Hospital)
Miss	Margaret	Smith	Director of Nursing	North Glasgow University Hospitals NHS Trust
Mr	Anthony	Gibson	Pathology Modernisation Project Manager	Northumberland Tyne and Wear Strategic Health
Ms	Judith	Robertson	Head	Oxfam in Scotland
Dr	John	Lwanda	Medical Practitioner and Managing Director	Pamtondo and Dudu Nsomba Publications
Hon	Aleke	Banda MP	President of PPM	People's Progressive Movement
Dr	Matthews	Chikaonda	Group Chief Executive	Press Corporation Limited
Father	Boniface	Tamani	Chairman of Board	Public Affairs Committee
Sheikh	Rocard	Ayami	Treasurer / Chairman	Public Affairs Committee / Muslim Welfare Organisation
Mr	John	Challis	Trustee	Raven Trust
Mr	Michael	Traynor	Director of Information	Registers of Scotland
Mr	Geoff	Earl	Board Member	Royal College of Nursing
Dr	Jane	Harrigan	Head of Economics Department	School of Oriental and African Studies
HRH The Princess Royal			Co-Patron	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Rev	Kenneth	Ross	Chairman (and Secretary, Church of Scotland World Mission Council)	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Mr	George	Finlayson	Conference Director	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Mrs	Elsbeth	Pentland	Interim Director (and Friends Convenor of Muluma, Malawi)	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Ms	Margaret	Robertson	Acting Secretary	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Sir	David	Steel	Chairman, Conference Planning Committee	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Mr	Morgan	Tembo	Interim Treasurer, Malawi Branch	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Dr	Jack	Thompson	Interim Director / Member of Conference Planning Committee	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Dr	Peter	West	Vice-Convenor	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Rev	Jim	Wilkie	Director	Scotland Malawi Partnership
Prof	George	Marshall	Assistant Principal	Scottish Agricultural College
Dr	Nicholas	Sparks	Head of Avian Science Research Centre	Scottish Agricultural College
Ms	Fiona	Talcott	International Officer	Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations
Rt Rev	Brian	Smith	Bishop of Edinburgh	Scottish Episcopal Church
Ms	Lisa	Bird	Head of the Scotland-Malawi Development Team	Scottish Executive
Ms	Patricia	Ferguson MSP	Minister for Tourism, Culture and Sport	Scottish Executive
Miss	Caroline	Fox	Assistant Director of Human Resources, Health Department	Scottish Executive
Dr	Andrew	Goudie	Chief Economic Advisor & Head of Financial Services	Scottish Executive

TITLE	FIRST NAME	SURNAME	POSITION	ORGANISATION
Dr	Elizabeth	Grant	Scotland-Malawi Development Team Development Adviser	Scottish Executive
Mr	John	Henderson	Head of International Division	Scottish Executive
Mr	Gerry	Hendricks	Scotland-Malawi Development Team	Scottish Executive
Mr	Owen	Kelly	Head of International & Communications Group	Scottish Executive
Rt Hon	Jack	McConnell MSP	First Minister of Scotland	Scottish Executive
Dr	Margaret	McGuire	Nursing & Midwifery Officer, Health Department	Scottish Executive
Ms	Elizabeth	Williamson	Head of International Relations Unit	Scottish Executive
Mrs	Anne	Hepburn	Co-ordinator	Scottish Malawi Network
Mr	Anton	Colella	Chief Executive	Scottish Qualification
Miss	Kelly	McAulay	Head of Overseas Operations	Signpost International
Dr	Malcolm	Blackie	Researcher/Agriculturalist	Smallholder Agricultural Development
Ms	Santorri	Chamley	Producer/ Senior Journalist Talking Africa Radio Programme	Spectrum Radio International
Mr	Gary	Smith	Trustee	St Andrews School for Africa
Mr	Richard	Waller	CEO	St John's Ambulance Scotland
Miss	Fiona	Christie	Teacher	Stenhouse Primary School
Mrs	Marlene	Galashan	Head Teacher	Stenhouse Primary School
Mr	James	Cavanagh	Group Manager	Strathclyde Fire and Rescue Service
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