

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

FORESIGHT AFRICA:

THE CONTINENT'S TOP PRIORITIES FOR 2012

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**Introduction:**

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HER EXCELLENCY AMINA ALI  
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## P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. KIMENYI: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. My name is Mwangi Kimenyi. I am a senior fellow and director of the Africa Growth Initiative here at Brookings and on behalf of the Brookings Institution and the Africa Growth Initiative, I wish to take this opportunity to thank you all for participating in this event.

I'm particularly grateful to the distinguished panel that we have today. I would also like to note that we have several African ambassadors to the United States who have joined us and we are very grateful for that, also.

We launched Foresight Africa last year and I would encourage you to read that publication on our website, the Foresight 2011. This year we have also produced Foresight 2012 that highlights the issues and events that we consider top priority for the continent in 2012.

Our panelists will discuss additional issues that they consider important and also emphasize some of the ones that we have there, and we also expect to hear from the audience.

We believe that identifying these issues will help Africa, U.S. policymakers, the private sector, civil society, to take advantage of opportunities that exist -- that come up and also to mitigate the potential risks that may be facing Africa in 2012.

We, for example, focus on some of the issues -- last year we did focus a lot on risks and opportunities that were associated with the political events like elections, we focused also -- we talked also about the issues of food security, and we

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know what happened in the case of places like the Horn, and we are also talking about those type of issues. And we also focus on other big things like international players that we believe could impact Africa.

I'm going to -- I hope that you have a copy of the Foresight Africa and we have also been listening to new ideas, so we hope that we will be able to engage, and there is also a Twitter. I think some people are Tweeting and we will be hearing what they're asking, so we will see whether we can get responses.

To help moderate this event is Reed Kramer, CEO of AllAfrica.com. Reed heads the founding team of the AllAfrica (phonetic) news source, which provides online access, a variety of news sources from and about Africa.

As someone who constantly provides and fuels the discussion of current events in Africa, he is uniquely qualified to lead this event and moderate. So, please continue.

MR. KRAMER: Thank you. Thank you. And welcome, everyone. It's very exciting to start the new year with such a turn out for an event like this in Washington. It gives us hope that even if Africa doesn't make it onto the Presidential campaign agenda very often or ever, there are still a lot of us here who are focused on Africa and want to discuss the issues facing it, so this overflow crowd is encouraging.

As Mwangi mentioned, we have already started the discussion on Twitter. I tuned into the hashtag, the search last night, and was astounded to see how many Tweets there already were. For those of you who want to check later, it's #foresightafrica and you put the pound sign, the hashtag before that.

You don't even have to be a Twitter user to do that search and bring it up

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and you'll see the discussion, and I believe someone is authorized to -- we have to have our cell phones off up here, so we can't be Tweeting, but I think someone from your team is Tweeting this event, and there will be other ways, I'm sure, where the discussion that begins here will continue.

The report that has come out is quite a broad sweep, quite concise, but touches on a number of the issues that we won't be able to go into that much depth here today, but we're going to try to cover as much ground as we can, and in the interest of time, I'm not going to do extensive introductions. Most of you probably are familiar with the people on this panel.

We're asking the first remarks from the ambassador, Amina Ali, who represents the African Union in Washington. We're lucky that we could get her before she heads off to start the -- several weeks of consultations and meetings in Addis (phonetic) for the summit of the African Union. She's a distinguished Tanzanian politician and diplomat and I give her the floor to begin today.

MS. ALI: Thank you very much, Reed. I would like to wish you all a happy new year and a very successful year, 2012.

I would like to thank the Brookings Institute for its early publication of the Foresight Africa. I think it's very, very important, this sort of publication, because it gives us an opportunity to reflect on the past performance of Africa, previous year, and also looking to the lesson learned and to set the priorities for this coming year.

And for us, from Africa, we are very happy to hear from various friends and critique from our partners about our performance and from the different source, we are hearing good stories from -- success stories from Africa.

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And I represent African Union and I am a representative here in the U.S. And, as you know, African Union is a continental organization, which is mandated to really steer ahead the development for Africa. And for this year, 2012, really we have a lot of work to do. And in that respect, we're looking at what we've done for 2011 and for previous years.

I realize, looking to five or six priority areas -- not to say that other areas are not important, but these are, I feel, very, very critical and most of our time for this 2012 -- we'll be able to really devote our time on these issues.

The first area, I think, African Union would really look into is in the area of partnership. African Union, we have a new (inaudible) plan, and in that plan we have four pillars, four areas, main areas, that we are -- in terms of implementation. And one of the pillars is on partnership, development, cooperation, and integration. And in that respect, we are working on the assumption -- we are working to be able to bring close partnership with international partners so that Africa can really attain sustainable development.

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But as you know, we have a partnership with almost many of our -- in terms of, we have a partnership with the U.S. through AGOA (phonetic), we have China (inaudible), we have India, Turkey, European Union, other institutions, and there is a need really to really look into the partnership from the past year and for the future so that we can come more to the comprehensive framework of partnership that will enable Africa to really look into issues that can make a difference.

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For instance, the issue of structural issues, job creation, and the partnership that will enable Africa to really -- to look into manufacturing so that we can --

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exporting raw material to our partners, then we can also manufacture our own material and then export, to be able to benefit from (inaudible) addition.

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So, there is a need, especially because China, I believe, by next year, we're going to see new leadership in China. We are going also to review the framework with India and Turkey, and last year we had a meeting between Africa and Latin American government. I think that will give us opportunity this year to look into what sort of partnership, what sort of framework we are going to have.

And then, I think, for this year we will continue also to look into peace and security issues and governance issues. When we talk about peace and security issues, we still have issues in Sudan. There are four issues, we have issues -- CPA, implementation of CPA on South Kordofan, on Blue Nile, and again we have issues between South Sudan and North Sudan, negotiation of -- whatever negotiation they have taken for the last one year, we believe we need to see implementation of those negotiations.

So, the AU will continue to supervise or continue to look into issues for Sudan. At the same time, as you know, this year -- last year we had the Arab Spring. That really created like a wake up call for Africa. And in that respect, this Security Counsel decided to review the mechanism that we -- for democratic forces in Africa. So, in that respect, when I talk about governance, we will also look into the governance issue in terms of election process, in terms of administration, in terms of even our charter, we had African Union Charter for Election Democracy. Member countries are not ratified, some of the member countries. So I believe this year African Union will continue to encourage member countries to sign -- to ratify the charter, because that

charter is very fundamental because it enabled countries to continue the democratic process by following some of the rules that are underlined in the charter.

And also the question of the election process, democratic process, whereby most of the countries in Africa, we are using the west democratic process where you have the winner take all, so we believe we need to have a better system where we introduce inclusive system where everybody would take care -- we are conscious on ethnic issues, agenda issues, and minority issues, so that everybody in Africa can be represented through the democratic process.

And then when they talk about governance, I think, the question of international governance, we have issues with G-20 and we believe there is a need now to expand G-20 to G-20 plus, because sometime, whatever G-20 decide, it really impacts on Africa, but African Union is not a member of the G-20. Of course, we are represented by South Africa and the African Union is invited there and -- but we believe African Union and African countries should be a member of G-20. So, we would like to expand G-20 to G-20 plus.

Again, we are very to reform the World Bank, but we think IMF should also continue to do the reform so that African can really be gaining benefit from those institutions.

And then the last reform, international reforms, I think, in terms of UN reforms. African Union, we have, for the last so many years, we have been arguing to see UN reforms whereby we'll have a representative from Africa with voting power -- veto power. So, right now we have a committee that looks into those issues.

And then another item I think that will take a lot of our time, this is in terms

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of (inaudible) integration. (inaudible) integration is very key, it's very fundamental. The existence of African Union from OAU started from thinking of integrating Africa into one continent, into one sort of administration. So, the (inaudible) integration is a tool, is a (inaudible) to pass us through integration.

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So, in that respect, what I believe, for this year, 2012, we are going to realize one of our objectives, especially economic integration. In Abuja, in the year 1990, 1991, we had also a declaration, Abuja declaration (inaudible) and then we wanted to establish African economic community. And the date for creation of African economic (inaudible) it was, at that time, 2017. But last year Southern Africa, East Africa, and some parts of North Africa decided to create a tripartite arrangement. TRIP (phonetic) is a free trade area. So, that created sort of a situation whereby African country decided, why don't you have a Tripartite Free Trade Area for the whole of Africa, so we have sort of a roadmap and the ministers of trade in November, in those roadmap -- in the roadmap and the architecture and the framework is going to be submitted to the president. As you know, at the end of this month they are going to have the summit and I believe for the first time Africa, we are going to really start to move to get a step towards economic integration.

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And once we have the continental free trade area, that will really remove all sorts of barriers and will encourage a deepening inter-African trade, trade within Africa, because there are so many barriers, if you look at statistics, you find we are trading among ourselves less than 10 percent, less than 15 percent, while our whole world trade -- global trade for Africa is less than 3 percent.

So, I think with this arrangement, tripartite arrangement, continental free

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trade area, that will sort of activate, that will stimulate business in -- stimulate economic development in Africa.

And then another area, I think, we are going to concentrate this year will be diaspora. In the diaspora, there is going to be a meeting for -- a summit for diaspora in May, and we are going to submit sort of a (inaudible) project. At the same time there are two issues, I think, that are very important for diaspora in terms of (inaudible).

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We are going to establish an African Institute for Remittance (phonetic) and then also we are negotiating now to create the diaspora bonds. I think World Bank is working on creating diaspora bonds. These two institutions will really make a difference in terms of remittance. As you know, remittance -- the source for remittance is higher than whatever Africa is getting from ODA, so remittance is very key for Africa.

And lastly, but -- the last thing, but not really, it doesn't preempt other (inaudible) areas, this is in terms of food security. As you know, Africa, we have very big land mass, but in terms of agricultural potential, we really don't have -- don't do much in that area, and we have created a (inaudible). It's a comprehensive program for agriculture for Africa.

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But last year -- for the last three years we had a problem on food security and last year we had the drought situation in the Horn of Africa, some part of Eastern Africa. And this year, I think, there is a possibility -- there is a fear that we are going to face also drought in some part of -- or some pocket in West Africa.

So, Africa now, for this year, we are going to look into issues how to be able to solve the problem of food security through (inaudible).

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At the same time, there are issues like in terms of food storage, in terms of

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how are you going to encourage government to have bigger, to create more sort of food reserves so that -- to be able to cushion the problem when there is drought in the country.

At the same time, the question of risk that arises because of climate change, risk arising because of shortfall because of the rainy season. So, African Union with the UFP (phonetic), we've now (inaudible) on the ground, the problem that is called Africa Risk Capacity, and this institution will be like a founding institution that will enable member countries to have -- first of all, to know -- to be able to know -- like an early warning systems, the problem of (inaudible) related disaster problem. And in that respect, countries, they will have enough funds to be able to cover -- to cushion those areas that are going to face a drought situation.

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So, in that respect, these are the areas, I think, we'll be able to concentrate. And then, of course, we have health issues, we have other issues that are also important. But for me, I thought, these are the issues for the next -- for this year, African Union will spend a lot of time to be able to resolve some of the issues, also to focus some on this, and to come with recommendation and to help member countries to really face the challenges that are going to face this year.

And, of course, we have the issue of economic problems. Some countries, now, in Africa, they're facing issues, inflation issues, because of what's happening in Europe, especially the debt situation in Europe, like other countries, like Portugal, Italy, and others.

Again, when I talk about economic issues, some countries in Africa, and many countries in Africa, are going to face -- they're going to face challenges. I've seen

in East Africa when we have high inflation and our government now struggling to really to reduce the inflation and to really -- to try to find monetary measures to be able to overcome the situation that's happening in the Euro.

So, I thought, with my time -- thank you.

MR. KRAMER: Thank you for a very comprehensive priority list there. A full agenda to tackle this year.

The next speaker, David Bruce Wharton comes to us from the State Department where he's the deputy assistant secretary in the Africa Bureau for Public Diplomacy.

Bruce has served, as the list shows, in a number of postings in Latin America, and particularly in Africa, and we welcome you this morning.

MR. WHARTON: Thank you, Reed, and thanks to the Brookings Institution and my fellow panelists and to all of you for your continued interest and work on Africa. It's vital to the future of the United States.

I'm going to outline or try to outline U.S. Government interests and efforts with respect to youth in Africa, where our focus is, why that is, what we're doing, and where we're headed.

Ideally, I think my remarks are going to be a mile wide and an inch deep, so I think I'll provoke some questions and we can get to those things in the discussion session.

Public diplomacy, which is my part of what we do with Sub-Saharan Africa, is essentially government engagement with publics, and the origins of public diplomacy have always been interested in youth. The origins, in fact, were really after

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the Second World War and during the Cold War, when we were trying to connect with the so-called successor generations in Europe, prevent the resurgence of fascism, and stop the spread of communism.

So, public diplomacy has always had a fairly strong emphasis on young people. And many of our flagship programs are youth-focused, a Fulbright scholarship program, for example, a lot of our international visitor programs, English teaching programs, library programs, educational advising, and many arts and sports exchanges are all focused on young people.

And all these programs are designed to help us understand, engage, and inform young people and have long, as I said, long been a central part of our relationship with an investment in young Africans.

Look, positive engagement with young people is actuarially a better option for the United States than engagement with older people. It's just sort of the reality of life, but it's also a policy imperative for us. If we hope to have friendly relations with the leaders of Africa 15, 20, 30 years from now, then we need to begin to be knowing those people right now.

And the demographic reality of Africa is that we must engage young people. There are a lot of different ways to parse the numbers, but for me the most compelling is that something like 45 percent of all Africans were born after 1995. And I remember 1995 like it was yesterday and nearly half of the continent was born since then. So, that, to me, just makes very stark how vital it is that we understand and have some connections with young people.

In the last decade, I think, emerging technologies have given us new

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means of reaching youth. Mobile phones, texting, social media allow us to be simultaneously more precise about the information we offer while broader in our reach, we can reach larger numbers of people.

All of our embassies, of course, now have websites which provide youth-focused information and most also have Facebook and YouTube and other social media platforms. Many are also using Twitter or similar text-based communications capacity.

So, I think by using social media and emerging technologies, we're automatically favoring younger people. Younger people tend to be early adopters and are most enthusiastic about using these technologies.

And then the self-selection process of actions such as following or friending or fanning generate a community that we know is curious about what the United States has to say. And then the give and take possible through social media allows us to better understand what this community's concerns and do what we can to address those concerns. Please do notice my very deliberate use of the word "community" here rather than audience. The paradigm now is give and take, not my sitting on a platform and speaking to you all.

Still, there's no substitute for person-to-person engagement and we sought to do that in new and more compelling ways that use big events to create networks and relationships that we hope become self-sustaining.

In 2010, President Obama was looking for ways to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the independence of many African nations, but rather than do the usually, you know, invite presidents and prime ministers to a big meeting and have a nice banquet, he asked that we look at bringing the next generation of African leaders

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in, the 2010 equivalents of President Obama's father's generation of the 1960s. And I have to tip my hat to Mel Foote, who's sitting here in the front. In many ways he's the intellectual godfather of this effort, so thank you, Mel. Still indebted to you.

But the event that we then worked very closely with the White House and the Peace Corp and USAID to create was called the President's Forum with Young African Leaders, and I believe it was a big success. It opened people in the United States to opportunities that Africa presents, it inspired the young African participants and those who they influence back in their home countries to work to shape their own futures.

The fundamental message of this event was, young Africans have the skill, the knowledge, the energy, and the capacity to shape their own futures. And I think this event also caught the notice of a lot of political and social leaders in Africa and helped advance a larger international concern about engagement with young people. The United States is not alone in this.

We followed that event, then, in May 2011, with what we call the Dialogue with Young African Leaders, which was a month of sustained, focused engagement with young people, mainstreaming youth programs into all of the work that our embassies do.

And then in June of last year we brought 76 young African women leaders to South Africa for three days of workshopping, networking, mentoring, and some serious in depth discussions with First Lady Michelle Obama. Again, it was an inspirational event, it helped create a network and connections that continue on without our day-to-day involvement.

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These three big events had some overlap of participants. They generated reporting in both traditional and social media and led to new connections and networks. They also led to youth programs that we are working on, did work on, and continue to work on, with organizations such as the African Union, the World Bank, and NGOs like the African Leadership Academy in South Africa.

This work all fed into the larger international focus on youth programs and all of this carries some version of the message that our Kenyan youth program uses, Yes, Youth Can. Inspirational, networking, mentoring.

These big events created a buzz and a momentum that I think helped propel smaller, local efforts forward. We brought our strengthened U.S. Government Exchange Alumni Program to bear on this to help provide a platform for continuing engagement, contact, and conversations among the participants of those big events.

The young women's program developed its own website and follow on activities, which we funded through small grants from our embassies.

Many of our embassies now have Ambassadors Youth Councils through which we invite a select group of young people into the embassy on a regular basis to consult with our chiefs of mission and talk about their perspectives on policy and share their ideas for how the United States can be more effective in engaging with Africa.

We're now working on another high-level youth event, which I hope will take place here in the United States this year, and I hope it will combine the best of the three previous events, but focus especially on young social and business entrepreneurs, bringing youth energy to entrepreneurial endeavors, we believe, is a key way forward, but ultimately we hope to build lasting networks among the young leaders

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and people and organizations in the United States.

Let me quickly mention a few other of our youth engagement programs. We've got one called Apps4Africa, which brings technology developers together with civil society leaders to look for technical solutions to African challenges.

We're beginning to move information to handheld devices, anticipating Africa's rapid evolution from simple cell phones to more capable handheld devices. We're expanding and improving our American spaces, libraries, cultural centers, those sorts of platforms.

We're increasing the availability of English language programs and educational advising programs. We're seeking to expand cooperation and partnerships with organizations such as the African Union and the World Bank.

And we're using African-based social media programs, such as MXit, in Southern Africa.

One challenge that we face is to avoid giving the impression that we seek to create a cadre of young people who are loyal to the United States. The power of youth is so great, and the history of manipulation of youth is so bitter, that we've got to be very careful to be clear about our motives and our means. And, in fact, I was just speaking to Ambassador Ali about that and we're going to get together, I think, next month to talk about that some more.

I think our greatest challenge is engaging marginalized youth, rural and urban poor, those who don't have a great deal of education or language skills, and those who don't have access to news, information, or communications. We're seeking to engage them through radio, for example, through road trips, through civil society, and

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by constant expansion of the youth networks we have now.

But it's not easy, and these are the people, these marginalized youth, are the ones who are most vulnerable to hopelessness, to crime, to disease, and to extremism, so they're the ones that we really need to reach out to. Ultimately, we're seeing to engage African youth as a means of helping African nations build just, tolerant, peaceful, prosperous, and democratic futures.

The future is in the hands of young Africans and we know that it is in the long-term interests of the United States to see Africa grow in democratic, economic, and social strength, and we believe that Africa's youth and their entrepreneurial abilities are a powerful means of achieving that growth. So, that's where we think we're headed.

Thank you.

MR. KRAMER: Thanks, Bruce. Jennifer Cooke directs the Africa Program at CSIS. They focus on a range of issues, as most of you know -- democratization, security, health, conflict -- and help keep the rest of us informed about what is happening in those areas and I call on her now.

MS. COOKE: Great. Thanks, Reed. And thank you, again, to Brookings Institution. It's great to see the community that you've attracted here.

I've been asked to talk a little bit about global health and so I'll say a little bit about the prospects in the coming year for that, but maybe I'll try at the end to segue, briefly, into some of the big issues that worry me as well on the African continent in 2012.

First, I think it's important to acknowledge the tremendous strides that have been made in Africa in the last decade. There's obviously a great deal further to

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go, but the global mobilization around the HIV/AIDS pandemic has engendered major progress, not just in fighting HIV, but in drawing attention to a whole range of issues, to other health challenges, to the needs for greater investments in health professionals, in health infrastructure, in health systems, the need to access marginalized populations in impoverished communities, to empower women and girls. I think, attention was brought to that very dramatically because it was seen very early on as an obstacle to effective health interventions, the need to invest in preventive health measures, to build managerial competence, to build mechanisms for accountability, for funding flows, systems for equitable health financing.

So, while HIV has been, you know, obviously the dramatic tragedy, I think it's also been a wedge issue to bring greater attention to a whole range of development, health, and governance issues, and it's obviously been a major component of where the U.S. foreign assistance has gone in Africa.

I think I was a skeptic early on of this focus on HIV narrowly and kind of this very vertical focus, but I think as PEPFAR has evolved over time, there's been greater acknowledgement that a simply medicalized, narrow focus on HIV. Really you have to address these other issues of governance, of gender, of health systems, of health professionals, of how do you reach with services, with water, for example, with water, food security. All of these things have combined within that focus on global health.

There's been major progress made on health. As I said, there's a long way to go. In HIV, the rate of infection -- of new infections, has fallen dramatically by 25 percent all across Sub-Saharan Africa since the peak in 1997. In just the last 2 years,

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22 countries have seen a 25 percent decrease in new infections.

South Africa, which is the epicenter of the pandemic, new infections have fallen by a third. All of this has been brought about by behavior change, condom use, delay of sexual debut, limiting the number of partners, new technologies that have been kind of developed and applied, male circumcision being a very important one. Really remarkable progress in access to medicines to prevent mother to child transmission.

And all of these now, together, have people talking about the real possibility of an AIDS-free generation, not in this coming year, not probably the next five years, but it's actually seen as a possibility. And I think 10 years ago when we just saw the trend lines going up and up, that was almost unimaginable to talk about that except in the most aspirational terms. It's still an aspiration, but it's something, I think, that people are thinking may be more real.

The investments on HIV, I think, and attention on HIV, have led to kind of new sources of funding, the global fund being one of them, greater strides on malaria, far more attention to tuberculosis and its intersection with HIV. As I said, health system strengthening then leads to greater progress on some of the neglected tropical diseases, some of the chronic diseases, and we're seeing a rise of chronic diseases in Africa, as well.

There are new constituencies, both in Africa, that have been built in this ten-year period, there are new constituencies here in the United States. What made that mobilization possible here in the states was really a bipartisan impetus and recognition and acknowledgement of the dangers of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and a community made of religious leaders, bipartisan Congressional leadership, universities.

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You see young people today flocking to public health schools here in the United States and international public health programs, I think, largely because they were kind of woken up and sensitized to this by the HIV pandemic.

2012, though, is going to be a tremendously important and uncertain year, I think, for public health in Africa. It's a critical test of whether the momentum created by this historic mobilization around HIV, and health more broadly, will be sustained in a time of fiscal austerity and adversity.

The great concern, obviously, is that we're seeing the end of major funding surges and the increases of the last decade.

A continued global economic recession has meant that some of the major donors on global health and development are fundamentally reassessing their spending. The U.S. has -- I think the Administration has sought to preserve the spending, but it's a very tough time and a tough fight ahead, and I think we're likely to see a flat lining of global health spending rather than any major upsurges in the next number of years.

The Global Fund has said that it will not offer new grants until 2014, at least. Some of the big G-8 donors have failed to fulfill their pledges on health, and obviously the EU members are really looking hard at their spending.

We've seen decreases -- potential decreases in research for health funding in -- I mean, for health research and research particularly focused on health in impoverished countries go down, and there's going to be tremendous pressure to streamline, to scrutinize what assistance, both in health and in foreign assistance, that we give. And I think it's not just the health budget line that we should be looking at, but

the development assistance as well, because investments in education, in water, in governance, all of those pertain to health as well.

We have a new Congress. Some of the new champions that helped build the PEPFAR initiative are no longer in Congress. We have a Congress that is, you know, not, perhaps, as experienced in the international, global agenda as previously. I think they're understandably focused on U.S. domestic issues, but there's a need to kind of build up their awareness, I think, of what global health means in Africa. I think that's going to be an important kind of avenue for advocacy with this new Congress is getting them to Africa to see what the impacts of U.S. assistance have been and what a downturn in that assistance might mean in the future.

So, going forward, I think, what will this mean for Africa? First of all, it will mean finding efficiencies in how we do health, how funds are managed, and that will mean much greater, I think, transparency in funding flows, both from developing countries and the U.S., and for funding flows within those countries.

It will mean that there's a greater expectation of recipient countries to step up their investments in health and begin really to take on kind of that country ownership, not just in setting the plan, but in stepping up and putting their money where their mouth is, prioritizing health, looking at their national priorities and putting health where it needs to be.

It will mean kind of domestic constituencies in partner countries will need to be stepping up their voice, I think. It will mean, perhaps also, looking to new partners, looking to China, India, and others who are making good money in Africa, and kind of for African states to say, hey, you know, maybe you can help share the burden

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on this a little bit as well.

And then the private sector can play a more important role. They've stepped up in important ways in the last decade. How do you leverage their capacities, their training capacities, their infrastructure capacities better?

And it will mean economic growth. I once said to -- you know, the Abuja commitments, the countries committed to invest 15 percent in health services. I said this to a Kenyan. He said, well, we're not up to that percent, but we've grown our economy by 20 percent over the last 6 years, so we're investing way more than we were 6 years ago. And, so, economic growth to free up those funds for health will be important as well.

And then African leadership and kind of the advocacy role of the African Union. I don't think -- you know, there was a surge with the Abuja commitments and Obasanjo, for all his flaws, kind of made that an important priority for the African Union and Africans at the G-8 and the G-20 and the UN and so forth, to continue to make the case for that and make sure that the rest of the world knows this is a priority for them.

That maybe, if I have just a couple minutes, leads me to the second point I wanted to make on African leadership in general, and, you know, the Ambassador outlined the many priorities that the African Union has.

Obviously, there's huge challenges in the year ahead. The fallout from the Libyan crisis, what does that mean for the Sahel? The expansion of the conflict in Somalia drawing Kenya in, drawing Ethiopia in, the prospects for peace in the newest country, South Sudan, these kind of intractable governance problems; Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of Congo, which just had an awful election experience, and even

those ones that we've kind of relied on in the past, Senegal is looking very problematic coming to focus.

And beyond these kind of obvious ones, I think, the question of African leadership, the three big -- the big countries that we tend to rely on to lead and to push, and I would say Nigeria, South Africa, and to a certain extent Kenya, are all kind of convulsed with their own inner issues right now. Nigeria, obviously, with Boko Haram and now the lifting of the -- the elimination of the oil subsidy, I mean, this is an extremely uncertain year for Nigeria.

South Africa, you talk about youth, you'll have a challenge engaging South African youth, I think. The huge dynamics going on within the ANC and the pressures of the ANC and the populist pressures and the wealth disparities, and so forth. And some of the rhetoric and the unpredictability of South Africa's foreign policy and engagement in the region and with the U.S.

And then Kenya, I think that's -- it's probably the -- I'm most optimistic about Kenya, but it is going through a challenging time, implementing a new constitution, now drawn into Somalia, elections coming up this year, the first since the very bloody elections of 2007.

So, I think African leadership, where is it going to come from? Madam Ambassador, you in the AU have a big task on your hand in that regard.

I'll end there. Sorry to go over my time.

MR. KRAMER: All right. Last word.

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you very much. I think the panelists have been very good at covering the broad range of issues. First of all, I'm very happy that the

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issues that we have highlighted in the Foresight 2012, all of them have been touched on and at least some more have come up, but in greater detail. And so we are very happy about that, and there are also issues now we see that we need also to follow up.

Now, when we -- I want to tell you a story. Foresight is good if people act on it, you know, if you provide this informed analysis and our governments take action, then it becomes useful. So, that's why I'm very grateful that the ambassador talks about how the AU and the heads of state are keen to look at some of these issues that we are looking at. And so it would help them when we analyze what we expect.

Now, I've been sitting in the UN panel on human development in 2009, 2010 and 2011, and in 2010 our report said -- referred to what we referred to as the North Africa Miracle, and that was referring to the very good performance of North African countries, particularly Libya, Morocco, Egypt, and so on. So we are saying these are the neoclassic cases.

What we didn't look into were these other internal -- the dynamics of other people. We just looked at the Human Development Index and said these were really good performers.

So, sometimes it's very good to go into a country and dig deeper and know what the dynamics are going on. And one of the things that we have tried to do, we engage with partners in Africa to see what's going on in particular countries. And I wanted to highlight what the African partners have told us, some of the issues that have not come up.

We have gotten a big picture here, which is good, and in that report you see report analysis from, for example, South Africa. And I've got -- Jennifer just

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touched on that. In South Africa we talk a lot about how, you know, it's one of the high per capita income countries. You know, it's -- if you look at the numbers, what you see is, you know, is a country that qualifies to be in G-20.

But the issue of inequality in South Africa could hurt a lot of development efforts and that has to do with the youth and so on, and so the way the South Africans see it, the researchers are telling us, we have to do something about the inequality. As South Africa moves on, the government needs to look into these issues of inequality. But inequality is not just an issue in South Africa. It's now -- it's a big issue in Kenya, for example, also, and a lot of these countries.

So, how we design our government (inaudible) these policies that are more inclusive, that can bring the youth into these policies, are very important. And I like the approach by the U.S. Government. I was not sure how essentially to go creating jobs. It's informing the youth, but I think we need to go farther in terms of real, substantive jobs.

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When we go to Nigeria, and it's in this package, and Nigeria is one of the countries that I would refer to as the anchor countries, if Nigeria is not moving forward, a lot of things will falter in the Western Africa, so we need to think about Nigeria carefully, because of the size, the numbers, the economic power. And the big issue there is how do you manager the petroleum industry.

Now, this publication -- our publication was out before the removal of the subsidies, but the recommendation in that Foresight was Nigeria needs to deal with management of the petroleum industry. How that is done is, of course, tricky, and we can see what's happening now and that's something to think about. And of course the

other issues have to do with governance. And those issues are also discussed in terms of security, I think Jennifer also touched on that.

I think Nigeria is -- you know, I mean, it's moving on, but now looks a bit -- is of concern. And I think there are a lot of issues that we need to think about as we move forward in 2012, what might happen in Nigeria.

Now, the other case is the Kenyan case. I think what we saw -- Kenya, I mean, Kenya had a very good track record, stable, you know, moving on well as a democracy of some sort, and then all of a sudden things unraveled in 2007, 2008. Now, we are going to another election, 2012, and what -- I wrote that piece on Kenya and I said, this is a year for either make it or break it. And I think it's a very crucial time for Kenya in how we need to look at Kenya and how international players need to look at Kenya. And the first thing that I think is crucial is the ICC process.

We have six people who are going through the International Criminal Court, all -- two of them presidential candidates, and how that turns out will be critical in terms of whether we, you know, Kenyans start fighting again. You know, so that will be an issue.

The other one is, of course, the constitution. Kenya has this now new (inaudible) constitution, power to the people, 46 new governments within this country. There will be governors, there will be senators, there will be MPs, very complicated constitution.

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And I think how this is implemented will be very important, and I then mention the issue of Al-Shabaab. Kenya is very deep into Somalia right now, but there doesn't seem to be a very clear exit strategy. I didn't hear the ambassador mention

exactly how the AU is going to get Kenya out of there, but I think that will be a very important issue is how does Kenya exit out of there.

So, for those countries you can see there are specific issues. Let me mention some trouble spots that I think U.S. and other governments need to look at.

I think South Sudan, and we cover this in our package, independence is one step, but it's not as important as building the nation, and I think the way it's going now is not very good. In my view, we seem to -- we could create another volatile region there and there needs to be more action from international players this year. Very early on we need to intervene in Southern Sudan.

The (inaudible) region is going to continue to be a problem. I think Congo, we see this -- I think we have two presidents now in the DRC, so -- well, but I think DRC and that region is going to continue moving on.

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I will not -- I think we really would like to hear what people are saying, but these are very important issues that we should be prepared for.

For the U.S., it's good to focus on the youth, but from our point of view and from our Africa Growth Initiative, we think that U.S. needs to do more this year.

I think U.S., and we have been stating this, is that this is the year that U.S. -- these next years are the time U.S. re-establishes itself in Africa in a way. I have been saying that it's been edged out of Africa because these days you go to Kenya, you go to any country, the construction is being done by the Chinese, the investors are the Chinese, the people who are doing the railways are Chinese and all that. I don't think that U.S. should let these opportunities slide. I think we should see U.S. as -- U.S. should see this as an area where not aid is most important, that is investment that we

should be looking at.

So, to me, I say this, the form of engagement from African point of view, is more that U.S. needs to be engaged.

So, I'll leave it at that and regional integration issues, crucial, but the ambassador has already talked about this. So, thank you very much.

MR. KRAMER: Thank you. (Applause)

All right, we're going to turn to the section which is the most difficult for me, and that is moderating your questions. You know the drill. Wait for the mic, identify yourself, speak concisely and quickly and to the point.

Let me start in the back and move forward. There we go, right there. I think it's Amira.

MS. WOODS: Good morning, and thank you so much to Brookings for this phenomenal publication and for this opportunity this morning. And to all the --

MR. KRAMER: Tell us who you are.

MS. WOODS: Sorry, I'm Amira Woods with the Institute for Policy Studies. And my question really goes to the U.S. engagement, and I thank you, Mwangi, for commenting on that.

Bruce, thank you for your remarks, but when you spoke, many of us thought, youth? Yes, but the real engagement is happening, as we see most clearly, probably in Central Africa round U.S. military forces and the expansion of the U.S. military's footprint in and around Africa. So, whether it's the troops going into Central Africa or Uganda or -- the list is just growing -- or the flow of weapons still going into South Sudan with the lifting of the arms embargo, it seems that the engagement is

there, Mwangi, but it's almost in the wrong direction, it's on the military side, on the security side, and on the flow of weapons.

So, I guess the question is, to what extent -- given that this is an incredible year, an election year, where so many people voted for the Obama Administration, to what extent will the Obama Administration make a true commitment not to increasing its military footprint and further destabilizing Africa, but in real solidarity with the people of Africa at the time of incredible opportunities and occupations and all the rest that's happening on the continent?

MR. KRAMER: Do you want to make the first response, Bruce?

MR. WHARTON: Sure. Yeah, thank you, Amira. This is a really important part of the overall conversation. I would not exaggerate, though, what the U.S. military is doing in Africa. There's a very specific engagement aimed at Joseph Kony and the LRA, which includes 100, at a maximum -- they're not there yet -- but a maximum of 100 American soldiers who will not be in the jungle fighting against anyone, but will rather be playing a support role to African forces, primarily UPDF forces, who are pursuing Joseph Kony.

The issue of the possibility of arms, weapons sales to South Sudan, it's a very long-term process. It's sort of a standard relationship that the United States enters into with many allied countries around the world.

I don't mean to dismiss your concern. We work very hard in the State Department to make sure that it's absolutely clear that U.S. engagement with Africa is led by civilians in the State Department. The U.S. military has an important role to play in supporting that engagement, but I would not -- I'd caution against over-exaggerating

or exaggerating what the actual military role in Africa is.

MR. KRAMER: Anyone else want to comment before we move on?

Jennifer?

MS. COOKE: Well, I mean, Amira, I don't think there's much chance of a massive new surge of U.S. military presence in Africa when the Defense Department is undergoing massive cuts in the coming year. And, I guess, to some extent I have to take a little issue with how destabilizing it's been. I think the focused effort on Kony was something -- you know, I think it's hard to take issue with that in and of itself. I think it is important that that not be kind of the unique response we have to Kony and so forth, so it has to be embedded in a broader development assistance.

I'm actually, you know, somewhat concerned that we dropped some of our engagement in Africa, kind of the building of professional, competent, accountable African militaries, it's going to be important, and I think not just militaries, but police forces as well, because otherwise, the default is for interventions from the outside in cases of egregious humanitarian calamity and so forth.

So, how do we ensure that African security forces are competent and capable of doing it in a professional manner that accounts for human rights and responsiveness to civilian authorities? I think that's, perhaps, a greater worry, that as the U.S. military turns all its attention to -- you know, shrinks down, turns its attention to the West, that we do things in a more haphazard way. And I think it's important to continue doing it in kind of strategic -- what's the word I'm looking for? -- kind of a committed way rather than kind of half thought out interventions here and there when a fire kind of blows up and -- rather than kind of a longer-term, sustained engagement.

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MR. KRAMER: Mwangi, in your writings about engaging, how you would like to see the U.S. more engaged in Africa? You focused a bit on investment and what, for example, the President could do to try to stimulate more investment. Do you want to say a little bit about that?

MR. KIMENYI: Yeah, our proposals have been -- yeah, in terms of security, it's a bit disappointing because of the haphazard approach. We were questioning, for example, we had this crisis in Ivory Coast and we -- you know, U.S. was pretty much laid back on that. And the U.S., when it came to like Arabia and Egypt, they will spend a bit of, you know, involvement. And we think that the U.S. needs to take a more balanced approach. You know, these people are dying in Ivory Coast, they need to be more involved.

So, we think that sometimes there is involvement of international community, but we have always argued this should be done through the African Union. We have also challenged the African Union to be more proactive, but we think that it is important for things to go through the African Union.

But if, as we mentioned, we did (inaudible) at one point, that our friend -- I mean, a former colonel (phonetic) was the chairman of the AU. It was very difficult for the other members to vote against him, Qaddafi; he was the previous chairman of the African Union. So, there are some problems.

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We think that this engagement in Somalia has not been very good. I think the U.S. experience in Somalia was bad, but I think there's a real danger that, you know, a real disconnect with what's happening in Somalia is not good for the U.S. in the long run. There need to be some strategic approaches. I understand there is some

support in some way, but I think there is need for more involvement in that area.

However, I think our approach, what we think that Obama could do -- President Obama could do in terms of investment, we think it's a possibility, for example -- well, the Chinese premier has visited Africa. I think I was reading from (inaudible) the last few years, he has visited seven times or so to African countries. Why is he going there? I mean, because there are benefits.

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President Obama went two times and talked to the Muslim world in Egypt, went to Ghana and said how he's going to engage Africa with investments and trade, and that was about it. There has been no major issues.

I think there are ways of providing incentives for investments, and you hope that you make a substantive tour to Africa focused on these trade investment issues.

MR. KRAMER: Ambassador, do you have a comment?

MS. ALI: Yeah, I think what Professor -- Dr. Kimenyi said, we would really like to see more American engagement, especially in the economic field, and also we would really like to see the support of the U.S. Administration in the regional integration agenda because we believe regional integration is fundamental for development -- sustainable development for Africa.

And we have different areas we would like to see support of the U.S. Administration, especially in the field of infrastructure development. And, as you know, our infrastructure development requirement is over \$50 billion a year, and we have different sources of sort of financing, but we believe through private sector -- U.S. private sector and commitment from the Administration, we may be able to really make



the sort of leap forward.

As the professor said, the Chinese are helping Africa to build infrastructure programs in Africa, and also in terms of the overall trade investment issue. We have a goal, but we think the time has come to extend that goal, at the same time also to looking to deepening the partnership between America and Africa.

As I said, we have a partnership with all other countries in this situation, like Europe, India, China. The only country we don't have right now, I mean, in terms of international power, is the U.S. We already have a goal, but we need to deepen and strengthen that goal and to move into other areas. Because a goal is, it's a trade window (phonetic), but we would also like to move into investment area.

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So, I think, yes, I agree, military is very important when you have a situation. Sometime, let's go back to the root cause of the problem in Africa, and the root cause, because of poverty and because of lack of development, because of poor infrastructure. So, we need to have a partner like America to be there, because we already have -- of course we have China and Brazil and other countries, but America, the more we -- this engagement in Africa in those areas, the more other partners are coming in. And it's going to be very late by the time America wants to -- in terms of investment in the private sector, we don't see much. And I think there is a lot of -- there is a need to see more private sector from America engaged in Africa. We don't see them much in Africa.

MR. KRAMER: We come to the front now for a question. Mel?

MR. FOOTE: Mel Foote, Constituency for Africa. First, I want to compliment you on the positive nature of this discussion. If this conversation was held

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10 years ago, it would have been all negative, and I've heard here a lot of opportunity in Africa and I comment you for that.

When I look back on 2011, the biggest story I heard was there's a revolution in North Africa, specifically Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, and it dominated the scene. But my question is, do you anticipate any of that spreading to Sub-Saharan Africa?

We have a presidential election coming up in Senegal, for instance. Youssou N'Dour is now running with a populist. What do you anticipate in 2012? Do we expect an Arab Spring to actually move into Sub-Saharan Africa? Thank you.

MR. KRAMER: And we have a similar question that came in via Twitter that says, "What might 2012 bring for Africa's longstanding leaders in countries such as Zimbabwe and Angola?" So, we pull all that together. Who would like to start?

Go ahead, Jennifer.

MS. COOKE: You know, I think, in those really intractable cases, I think an Arab Spring -- African Spring, is a ways off. I think in countries like the DRC, I mean, the Internet penetration, the coherence of the opposition, the strength of the opposition, and then the disproportionate strength of the government, small as it is, means that that will be some time in coming, although you could see flare ups. I don't see them coalescing in a way that will fundamentally revolutionize the country.

I think you have seen spill off from the Arab Spring kind of the demonstration effect. I mean, you saw in Uganda, for example, unprecedented public kind of protests, in Malawi, in Senegal, this -- so, you saw leaders afraid of the Arab Spring phenomenon. In Zimbabwe, you know, people watching a film about the Arab

Spring were arrested en masse. Museveni forbade the use of Tahrir Square on Tweets and texting. I mean, those kinds of things -- in Angola as well, I mean, there's kind of fear.

And so, in a way it's a positive effect saying, look, you have to respond in some ways to your citizens lest you become an Egypt or a Tunisia.

You know, it needn't be revolutionary, though. In Malawi, you know, it was over fuel protests and the governance issues. I think Senegal, you know, you've always had this long tradition of mass protests and eventually the government has conceded.

I think Senegal, I'm hopeful for, the structures of democracy and of negotiation between people and government and the institutions are relatively strong. So, I don't think you'll see a fundamental revolution, but you may see pushback enough against a third Wade incumbency, that he concedes and the institutions concede.

So, I think it plays out in various ways, but that demonstration effect of how powerful popular mobilization can be, I think that's something that populations and citizens are recognizing, and governments too, and I think that's all for the good in the long run.

MR. KIMENYI: Yeah, I think that's the way I take it. It may not be the same, the exact way that it will overthrow this government, but governments are taking note, which is really important in terms of they realize that, you know, the people power is relevant, and I have seen the government increasing budgets for youth programs, some creating ministries of youth, and so on.

So, there is some reaction, there is some response out of this fear.

On the other hand, of course, some are taking a hard line position, so it's

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working both ways. I think Museveni now knows that these are not -- President Museveni fears that, you know, these things could escalate, so what you find is that there usually more force being used against demonstrators in some of the countries.

MR. WHARTON: I agree with those comments, but I'd add that I think if you take the longer view you can make the argument that in some ways Africa had its spring in the last 20 years. I mean, if I do a quick inventory of nations in Africa that were considered democracies, say, in 1980, it's a very short list and that list is much longer today. So, in some ways, I think, Sub-Saharan Africa has been ahead of North Africa in the evolution of its democratic processes.

MR. KRAMER: And the pressure -- you say governments are taking notes, but citizens are, too. It's, as you say, in places like Mali and Madagascar --

MR. WHARTON: Niger.

MR. KRAMER: -- there were amazing demonstrations in the '90s, but now we're seeing it again. And where is it going in Nigeria? We don't know. Ambassador?

MS. ALI: Yeah, I think what had happened during the Arab and the North African up rise this last year, it really gave opportunity for our countries really to review the mechanism of governance and democratization.

And even in terms of AU, last year in April, (inaudible) Security Council, they took time to really review and to talk about the cause of what had happened in the North and also to really ask the Panel of the Wise to come out with their recommendation to member states to link them to the issues of youth issues and also issues of democratization and governance, to give space to everybody and also to allow inclusion, because most of the time you find the reason -- because some segment of

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the society is not included in the process, in the political process.

So, as I said early on, that this year, the recommendation from the Panel of the Wise will be submitted to the AU, I think, in July and the AU will also deliberate on those issues and recommend to member states to be able to -- really to take action on those issue. And because, again, the majority of our population, now they are aware, first of all, they are young people, and then they are aware of their political rights. And most of the political part is now they know what they're supposed to do and what they should get from the government. So, 2011 and 2012, it was like a period whereby awareness for the population, it was also a time for review in term of the governance and our institutions.

So, I think within this coming year we may be able to see some sort of development so that -- I don't think we are going to see an uprising like what happened in the North, but we are going to see more demands from the population. They would like to have their rights. And also to see positive reaction from some of the governments. Of course, some governments will continue to be hostile to their people, but it's not going to help them because what we have seen, the more (inaudible), the more aggressive people are going to be.

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So, I think, it gave us a lot more opportunity to open up our society in an effort to think of a new method of democratization and political process in Africa.

MR. KRAMER: Let's go to the middle. Goodness, so many questions. Let's take one right in here.

MR. ENVELA: I'm (inaudible). My name is Gustavo Envela and I'm president of the Voice of Democracy for the United States in Equatorial Guinea. I'm

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going to focus my question on the ambassador.

As you know, the head of the African Union is Teodoro Obiang, who is one of Equatorial Guinea's longest serving dictators. I'm not sure if his name was not mentioned for reasons that may be diplomatic in nature, but I was curious with regard to your advancing the partnership, development, cooperation, integration, diaspora, help on economic issues, in how you reconcile that with the current president of the African Union, Mr. Obiang, who during the AU summit said that he thought that Africa -- Africans should solve African problems? There seems to be a disconnect as to what you're telling the audience here as opposed to the positions that perhaps the current head of the African Union, Mr. Obiang, has stated publically during the African Union summit in Sipopo, and I was wondering if you could, perhaps, delineate that in some kind of way.

MS. ALI: I would not like to speak on behalf of the president of our chairperson, but I think what he meant to say, and this is what we are saying all the time, that we should be allowed, Africa, really to serve our own problems, and this is because of our history, of the history, of what had happened in Africa. Most of the time, we are seeing a lot of interference from outside in decision-making, in some of the political issues, we are seeing a lot of push, a lot of influence from outside. So when we normally said that this is a time for Africa to come out with their -- our own African agenda, also to be allowed to have -- to solve our own problems, it's because of that.

But I think -- and we agree because we have the capacity to solve our problems, we have capacity to do that, but we need support from our partners, we need support from our friends, from our partners, to be able to build the capacity, we needed -

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- sometime we don't have enough capacity to deal with specific issues, so we need support.

We don't need intervention from -- direct intervention from outside, but we need support, we need partnership, we need all sorts of facilitation to be able to solve our problems. So, I think that's what he meant when he said that.

MR. KRAMER: Okay. Let's take one back there. Yeah, there, that will be fine. Yes.

MR. FANUSIE: Thank you very much. My name is Yaya Fanusie. I'm the lead person for Special Operations Division of the United States of Africa 2017 Project. Concerning whether what you saw in North Africa will happen in the rest of Africa, well, in December 2010 at the Carnegie Endowment, I told a panel, including the British minister of international development, that there was an eminent uprising that's going to happen. They thought I was ridiculous. And in January, they all wanted to talk to me.

Yes, there is going to be serious uprising in the rest of Africa against the political class if they don't make a quick U-turn.

MR. KRAMER: All right. Anybody want to add to that? We've touched on that. Yeah, we'll go on to another question on this side. Come on up here.

MS. FREEMAN: Connie Freeman, Syracuse University and most recently Tsinghua University. I'm very interested in the discussion across the board and appreciated all the insights into next year, but I'm curious that nobody brought up the tremendous progress that's been made in Africa economically and documented in, of all places, *The Economist*, and that follows on many other studies, and what the

implications of that are for the coming years, not just 2012, but going on further. I'm also interested in hearing a bit of an expansion on African leadership.

I appreciated what the ambassador had to say, but if Africans are undertaking responsibility for their own development, does this not mean that the approaches of Africa's partners need to be a bit different as well? Thank you.

MR. KRAMER: Mwangi, you deal with the economic growth a bit in your report. Do you want to pick that up?

MR. KIMENYI: Yeah. Thank you, Connie, for coming and the good question. We do actually -- in one of the pieces we talk about -- we start with a discussion about Africa Rising, which was the title of *the Economist's* piece about how Africa is, you know, about to turn the corner, Africans are doing things for themselves. What the Foresight has tried to do is to look at what might halt that progress, it's sort of looking at these challenges that might actually impact on the progress that we have seen. So, we have looked at the issues that we need to take care of, the challenges. We do also talk about opportunities and we had also talked about a lot of this in the previous view and we sort of suggested that we don't want to repeat that, but they still remain important.

But, yeah, we are looking at issues that could reverse this progress and we are saying, you know, in (inaudible), in the original integration, focusing on issues like food security, issues of global governance would be important in times of a continuation of this process.

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Now, in terms of engagement, and, again, this is good, the question is good, what we are really talking about is who determines these terms of engagement or how do you negotiate these terms of engagement. And the first article from our

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colleagues on China is that, okay, China, you have come strong in Africa, but we need now to think what are the terms of engagement that we need. That's the first piece in the Foresight.

And, so, the issue is, you know -- and I can understand these questions about we don't want the outsiders telling what to do, but we want to work with them and we sit down and negotiate those terms. So, that's, I think, the idea.

MR. KRAMER: Jennifer?

MS. COOKE: Well, just briefly, I mean, I think there's tremendous opportunity there. I mean, a lot of the growth going in 2012, or a good deal of it, may be in kind of commodity and how do you ensure that revenues are reinvested in ways that generate employment into kind of traditionally neglected areas like agriculture, food security, and so forth.

That's the big challenge. What does Africa do with this boon? Or what do African countries do with this boon? And how do they set the terms of engagement with external investors, whether it be China, India, Brazil, the United States, whomever? Are leaders thinking strategically about this or is this going to be kind of a windfall that doesn't have a sustained impact? That's, to me, the big challenge.

MR. KRAMER: Okay. Right here.

MS. SEGERO: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. Happy New Year to you all. My name is Rosemary Segero. I'm the president of Hope for Tomorrow. Our focus is on job creation, working with the youth and the women. Thank you so much for your presentation.

Ambassador Amina, I just wanted to commend on the African Union.

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Many times I've asked, the role of African Union, when it comes to African elections, now that -- initially I come from Kenya. Now Kenya and other African countries are coming to do -- they'll be having an election this year. What role are you going to play as the African Union? Because we have had children and women who are victims of violence. My own nephew was killed in 2007. We don't want that in Kenya and other African countries again, so please take the message to Addis Ababa. And AU should involve more women like me to fight violence and to the election of (inaudible) in Africa.

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Thank you so much. Ambassador approves (phonetic) my organization, Hope for

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Tomorrow. I want to thank Honorable Hillary Clinton for putting issues of women and young people into the State Department, yes, sending representatives to our events. I want you to involve African civil society organizations, like the World Bank has done, to work with you at the State Department. Don't do it alone because I know -- we know Africa will give you more information of Africa. Thank you so much.

MR. KRAMER: Ambassador?

MS. ALI: Well, I think, African Union is really involved throughout in terms of resolving election conflict, and also in terms of helping countries, really, to go through the process peacefully.

In the case of Kenya, when the situation arises in Kenya, African Union took part in terms of supporting, in terms of helping Kenya to be able to come -- to attain peace and in April. Immediately after the situation in Kenya, (inaudible) Security Council called the Panel of the Wise and then they were asked -- tasked to prepare sort of a thematic policy to be able to look into issues of the whole spectrum of election, pre-election and during election and even post-election to help to look into ways and means,

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to be able really to safeguard the whole process.

And those problems in Kenya were caused, at that time, in terms of election observing, AU waited to be invited by member countries, but because of the Kenya situation, that clause (phonetic) has changed now, so now AU can really participate in the election of the region without being invited. This is now mandatory for African Union to be in the country before the election and even during the election, to be able really to be efficient, and to come out with the report that is not bias, an unbiased report.

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So, in that respect, African Union, as I said, really we are mandated to participate and to help this countries to pass through the election process without difficulties.

And one thing we have now, we have sort of early monitoring system whereby we have a department that takes care of, of course, policy department and then through the Panel of the Wise, they get information about what's going to happen. So, we know that preventive measures, we are sending our team there to be able to start to negotiate with a different party that has the feeling of -- a (inaudible) feeling from the government.

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So, I think from the coming election, we may be able to see a little bit of change.

We are also there in the DRC. We have been there before election, even during election, and even now, right now, we have an office in Goma to be able to look into the issues of election issues in the DRC. And even for other countries, for Senegal and other countries, we are going to be there early on to be able to help the country, to

transit during the election process.

MR. KRAMER: Any other comments on elections before we let Bruce answer?

MR. KIMENYI: I think what I probably would say, we need to invest more on electoral processes. I think we wait quite late and one of the proposals we heard in our January 2011 Foresight was that we need to invest in these processes.

I know -- I mean, the problem with AU, I think, is a capacity to prevent -- to intervene when there's actual violence. It takes a long time to get this mobilized, but I think we need to be prepared that this is likely to happen. I think that we should even be prepared when in Kenya the ICC makes the -- they reverse the judgment in a few weeks. I think we need to be prepared that there are likely to be riots, there might be quite a bit of violence. So, we need to -- we know that is likely to happen, so we don't need to wait until that judgment is delivered and, you know, we need to be -- I think it's a question of being prepared.

MR. WHARTON: I would just offer that civil society is absolutely vital to the work that we do here and in Africa and along with business and government are the three groups that we most need to be partners with. So, I accept your challenge and we'll move forward with it.

MR. KRAMER: Before we leave the elections, though, I would like to -- and we had a couple of Tweets about this, too -- come back a bit more on the DRC, because there were plenty of monitors. As you say, the African Union was there in advance, so were other organizations, there was a lot of pre-elections work done. What's the missing element there? Jennifer?

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MS. COOKE: Well, one thing, I would say, I mean, in certain ways, and DRC is not the only one, there's got to be some standard on changing the constitution right before the election. I mean, in some ways that election was almost a foregone conclusion once the constitution was changed, you know, eight months before the election was held. And I think a lot of African countries are finding new ways to get around the election issue by kind of manipulating the constitution, so everything can look very good, although it didn't in DRC on election day. But there's a whole lot that's gone on before then, in Senegal, as a case in point, that not only needs to be factored into that, but people need to be called out on that, and I think the African Union is going to have to get a little more sophisticated in how it sets a standard for what makes a free and fair election.

The Congo is one case in point, but there have been multiple others of these kind of constitutional manipulations and other ways of getting around what happens on election day.

MS. ALI: I think when I said AU through (inaudible) security council, one of the recommendations is to look into not only constitution issues, but also institutional issues. For instance, election commission, what sort of -- in terms of election commission, we need to have an election commission which is not really tied to the government. So, this is also -- it impacts in a big way in the election process.

Again, in terms of legal issues, sometime, if you look at the election laws, they are also impacted, maybe sometime negatively and sometime positively, in the whole election process, so what AU is going to do, especially through the charter and also through the commendation on the peace and (inaudible) department, is to really

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encourage government to look into the constitution issue before elections and also to look into institutional issues. Because institutional issues, as I said, really can have a very big impact on the whole process of elections. And also in terms of the law. The law, the law of the nations.

Some of the laws don't really encourage, maybe, opposition party to -- the whole process of politics. So, I think it has to be sort of a comprehensive approach that we -- so that our countries will really fulfill the governance agenda in (inaudible) because as you see, some countries are opening up, but some countries are restricting. So, AU has seen that problem and is really working on that problem.

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MR. KRAMER: Can we take two more? All right, I'm going to take one right over here and one in the corner here. Quick, quick questions. Only very short. Whoever gets the mic first can go.

MR. LANDING: Steve Landing, Manchester Trade. Very quickly, I congratulate Mr. Mwangi and Steve Karingi for the excellent article on regional integration. I take note of what Abad Sudoamin (phonetic) said about the African Union and the continental free trade agreement. Let me just add to that very quickly.

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There were some very serious impediments to regional integration that the U.S. has influence, one is the World Trade Organization, which still insists on differentiating between least developed and non-least developed countries. When you have a regional economic community, you must combine two. And, secondly, is the European economic partnership agreements. Europe just announced if advanced countries do not sign on by the end of 2013, they're going to withdraw benefits, which, again, is an impediment.

The issue I want to raise real quickly, of course, is that this should be something that should be looked at and perhaps the African Union working together with U.S. (inaudible) and other agencies might be able to develop some way to say, go slow, finish your economic union by 2017, and then you can negotiate with us as a group as to the best type of message. Thank you so much.

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MR. KRAMER: Thank you. Last question.

MR. OBU: Thank you very much. My name is Osita Obu (phonetic). I just arrived from Nigeria, a visiting fellow at the AGI programs of the Brookings.

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I made a few notes for myself but I'm going to be very brief. When I listen to the ambassador, I couldn't agree more. The failure of economics in Africa, is actually the failure of politics, and for as long as the politics is not right, the economics is not likely to be right, and I think the emphasis on the corruption in the electoral process, the corruption in governance, they are all tied together.

So, for as long as the AU, the other regional institutions, the national institutions, the civil society are not tackling the electoral process, the political process is going to influence the economics.

In fact, it leads me to the second point I want to make. Whether it is youth inclusiveness, it is tied to it, whether it is gender, it is tied to it. The point about Africa growing is not -- we can celebrate growth, it's good, but what are the sources of this growth? And to what extent is it inclusive? And I think this is why we also need to look at the role of institutions and then we need to look at, do we command the means of production.

Africa is so import dependant, they produce virtually nothing. I think

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Nigeria spends about \$8 million a day importing food, and that tells you a lot. So, we were in Ghana just a few weeks ago, some sets of discussion on African transformation, so the structural change that we're talking about can only take place when we begin to own, master, and beginning to administer certain levels of technology and knowledge.

The (inaudible) of education cannot help in science and engineering, and I think this is also an area in which we might need help, that in fact we need more to support the universities in research, in engineering, and in science.

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So, I think we do have our work cut out for us, but I'm very pleased that there is a platform like this in Washington. As we are discussing it back in Africa, we are also discussing it here because I used to say that if you influence what happens in Washington, you will always influence what happens in Africa in some way.

So, I am very pleased. Thank you.

MR. KRAMER: It has to be a dialogue, that's for sure, and we -- your comment helps us point to what we have talked about here, but perhaps I haven't emphasized enough the central role of job -- central importance of job creation, addressing almost all the issues we've touched on, there's a lot about it in the report.

Any closing comments?

MR. KIMENYI: Just thank you to the audience and we appreciate -- I think we have gotten a lot more that we will deal with. I would say that Steve's point on the European Union is something that AGI is working on and we are hoping to engage the AU on this. It has detrimental effects on how we do business, so that's something that we are working on, Steve.

MR. KRAMER: Thank you all for coming. (Applause)

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