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**Session Two**

**Connecting a Continent: Linking Places, People, and Markets:**

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Executive Chairman, Econet Wireless International

**A Changing Dynamic: Africa's Image and U.S. Perceptions in the 21st Century:**

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MR. DERVIŞ: Okay, good afternoon, everybody. And thanks for being with us. Thanks, above all, to the panel members to take the time and share their perspectives on us.

We have a theme which is really connection and communication in Africa. And we have with us -- I'll quickly go over some of the highlights in their CVs. You have the more detailed versions.

We have Jay Ireland, who was appointed president and CEO of GE Africa in 2011. Since his appointment, Jay has overseen the growth of General Electric Africa to a footprint of over 1,800 employees, and revenues of over 2.4 billion, with business across aviation, power generation, oil and gas, health care, and rail transportation. Jay is also the vice-chairman of the Corporate Council of Africa, a member of the board of directors of Damon Runyon Cancer Research Foundation, and a trustee of St. Lawrence University.

Jay, thanks a lot for being with us.

MR. IRELAND: Thanks.

MR. DERVIŞ: Then we have Bob Collymore. Robert Collymore is the CEO of Safaricom, Ltd., a leading communications company in Africa, and pioneer of M-PESA, the world's most developed mobile payment system. Bob has more than 30 years of commercial experience working in the telecom sector, and he's passionate about how businesses can be catalysts in transforming communities and whole countries. The (inaudible) Secretary General appointed Bob to the (inaudible) Global Compact Board.

Then we have Fernando de Sousa, general manager, African Initiatives for Microsoft. Fernando is the general manager for Microsoft Africa Initiative. He has 30 years of experience in ICT across four continents, having first joined Microsoft in 1992 as a technical manager in South Africa. Since that time, he has held many positions with the company, including serving as chief operating officer for Microsoft Saudi Arabia, as

well as director of strategic initiatives for the Middle East and North Africa based in Istanbul -- which is my home city.

Fernando is from Mozambique, and he was once a race car driver. Maybe he can tell us a little bit more about that towards the end.

MR. DE SOUSA: Misspent youth.

MR. DERVIŞ: And, finally, we have Strive Masiyiwa, chairman and founder of Econet Wireless. Strive is the chairman and found of Econet Wireless, a diversified telecom group with operations and investments in Africa, Europe, North American, Latin America, and the Asia-Pacific. Masiyiwa currently co-chairs the African Union World Economic Forum Platform for Investment in African Agriculture, known as "Grow Africa," and recently took over the chairmanship for the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa from former Secretary General Kofi Annan. As a philanthropist, he and his wife finance the Higher Life Foundation, which provides scholarships to over 42,000 African orphans.

So this is a great panel. And, again, thank you very much for being with us.

I had just a few words -- our African Growth Initiative at Brookings is now almost five years old. We really focus on bringing Africa's voice to Washington, and at the same time partnering with a network of African think-tanks and universities throughout Africa.

For us, this event, attached to President Obama's hosting the African Summit is extremely exciting, and we're trying our best to make it as successful as possible.

The communications theme is, of course, crucial for Africa. I was head of UNDP for awhile, but before that, I was at the World Bank, some long years ago. And

I remember traveling, let's say, from Abidjan to Brazzaville, you know, was -- you had to go through Paris, basically. You still have to go sometimes --

SPEAKER: I was going to say you still have to go through somewhere. It hasn't changed.

MR. DERVIŞ: You still have to sometimes go through Paris, London, or now, more often, maybe Dubai. But bringing Africa, this huge continent, together to communicate, to interact, having the physical infrastructure, which is so important, but also, you know, the kind of softer infrastructure, the whole communication network, where mobile telephony has been such a huge breakthrough technology is, I think, a huge opportunity. And I think many of us hope that Africa will be leapfrogging some of the old technologies. We already see it happening in banking, in health care, and in other areas.

And, finally, human networks -- at the end of the day, maybe the most important of all networks -- networks of entrepreneurs, of academics, of NGOs, civil society, and particularly business now looking at Africa as real investment. Philanthropy is great, and I think we, obviously, we want to encourage it as much as possible. But when business sees real profit opportunities, and an opportunity to develop Africa while being good for its bottom line, and while integrating it fully into the business and the value-added chains, I think that's when we will see Africa's takeoff becoming sustainable and really lasting.

So, with that, we'll go in the order of seating here, and we'll start with Jay.

MR. IRELAND: Great. Well, thanks so much for having me. And it's great to be here this week. I actually started last week, we had a trade mission with some energy ministers, down to Houston, for oil and gas. So the whole aspect of getting more people understanding Africa and, more importantly, getting a lot of the African leaders and heads of state, and business leaders here to connect is a key thing, which is

obviously a big theme of the conference. I said earlier, as we met in the other room, I said it's nice to have a metal-bender across all of these IT guys and telephone guys.

MR. DERVIŞ: Hard power.

MR. IRELAND: Right.

So, we're an infrastructure company, GE. I've been Nairobi, Kenya, for the last three-and-a-half years. We wanted to put a real focus on developing markets, so we put senior leaders in a number of different regions.

And what I've seen in Africa -- the growth, obviously. We all know about the demographics, the population, the growing middle class, et cetera, et cetera. But the real thing that's got to happen is taking those demographics and really getting a real value out of them. And to do that, the infrastructure has to be improved -- not just the physical infrastructure, roads, rails, power electricity, but also the communication infrastructure, as well, which I think has leapfrogged in many cases here in the U.S. My daughter, who has come and visited us when we were out in a safari in Kenya, said thank you for Safaricom. They had better service there than she did in her apartment in Manhattan. So, Bob, you can -- I give you that, a commercial.

But, overall, it's absolutely imperative. I think the innovation aspect in Africa is totally undervalued, and misunderstood by many people when I come back -- come back to the U.S. and talk to people.

We have tremendous innovation that's occurring. And as someone said earlier today in another meeting I was at, you know, typical development, you one through six in a sequential manner. And there's no real reason that in Africa we can't go from one, two, to six, and leap over three, four, five. And I think we have done that in some industries.

A lot of it's capable because of the telecommunication infrastructure, and the ability now of technology to continue to move bigger and bigger pieces of data, if you will, across that. We're working on a number of solutions in the health care sector in Africa to really drive capability from the rural areas, if you will, back into the urban areas, where we do have trained doctors, technicians, that can read x-rays or ultrasounds, et cetera. So we're having that ability to really change the real lives of people that are away from, let's say, you know, the centers of where you would see the trained medical people.

The other big area is energy. Energy is obviously the big -- or electricity is the big one. We all know about the electricity deficit in Africa. It's absolutely imperative to correct that. We're happy to help doing that. We have a whole plethora of products across a number of different power capabilities.

But, most importantly, it's to give access. We can generate all the power, or deliver generation to the grid, but you need access to the consumers. And I think, again, when you look at some of the technologies that are out there -- not just a standpoint of taking the grid and doing some things that are power-by-the-hour, things like that, rental capability for people, again, through the telecom lines -- but also the ability to bring solar power, or very micro grids and things like that, which, again, the payment mechanisms are the key. And that's the access piece. And a lot of that is done through mobile telephony.

So, I think all of those are absolutely critical.

But, you know, one of the key things that I've found is that even with all of that -- and, as you said earlier about traveling around -- the most important thing that has to happen to change Africa is going to have to be more and more investment. There's a lot of dollars that want to invest in Africa from all over -- east, west, you know,

developed worlds, developing countries. And that's going to happen because people perceive that the risks match the rewards on an investment basis.

And the only way that people are going to understand the true risk perception of Africa, or the risk reality, if you will, of Africa is to be there. You have to be local. You know, if I was trying to do my job sitting in London, or sitting in the U.S., and flying in every now and then, I'd have a very hard time to really connect with the people that you need to from a business standpoint, not just in government, but also other business leaders, and to really understand what the issues were.

And I think that's a big piece. And I think the more people that come to Africa from the standpoint of investing, then they really realize, yes, there's a lot of challenges. We all know what they are, but they're not insurmountable. It's an easy place to do business. We have grown -- now, I wouldn't say it's an easy place to do business, but it's easier in some respects than people think -- harder in others, quite frankly. But, you know, we've been able to grow our business from running about a billion a year on order to about four this year, in the last three years. So we've been able to grow it pretty dramatically, and it's all been because we have a focus on the ground. We've continued to hire local people, and that makes the communication, if you will. And the theme of the conference is really, or the panel, is to really have the communication -- not just using the technology, but also using the old, you know, meeting, and understanding, and understanding what has to be done to get things accomplished.

MR. DERVIŞ: Thanks a lot, Jay. And I'll turn to -- one point, maybe, to all the panelists.

You know, there are quite a few studies on "catch-up" and "leapfrogging." And in Asia, also, you know, the catching up with the technology has been a big story of growth.

But one question mark that now is there, and people are asking and looking at the data, they see that technologies are spreading very, very fast. So when they appear somewhere in the world -- you know, in Japan or in the U.S., or Germany -- a very few months later, or maybe some short years later, they are in Africa and in other parts of the world.

But that's not necessarily true for their diffusion inside the country. So, any remarks on that would also be very welcome.

But Jay already mentioned, at least twice, the mobile payment system as one of the great examples of leapfrogging. And you're one of the greatest leaders of that.

MR. COLLYMORE: I have to check when I get back to make sure that Jay actually is one of our customers, and his daughter is. (Laughter)

You know, one of the problems we've got which much of the narrative today and this week is about this thing called "Africa." And, to a large extent, when we think about Africa, we think about, you know, the continental size, rather than the 55 -- it's 55, including Morocco -- 55 countries that make up the continent.

And, you know, it's a billion people. Those people speak between 2,000 and 3,000 languages -- different cultures, we have different religions, we have different political makeup. And regional integration -- Mo Ibrahim said this morning, he often says it -- that integration in Africa, unless we can get a grip on it, we will never be able to compete globally.

But, so where are we on that integration story? You know, to move a 40-foot container from Dubai to Mombasa is about \$1,400. To move the same container from Mombasa to Kampala is about, is approaching \$4,000. And it takes a lot longer to get that container from Mombasa up to Kampala than it takes to get from Hong Kong to Mombasa.

And another one, which actually relates much more to our industry, to call Washington from Nairobi is about 5 U.S. cents. But to call Kampala from Nairobi is about 28 U.S. cents.

And so a first word of caution is when you think about this thing called "Africa," you know, it is not a thing called "Africa." It's 55 things called "Africa."

The second thing around Africa is the youth bulge. You know, is it a threat or is it an opportunity? I mean, typically, we talk about unemployment rates sitting at about 20 percent across the continent. But that betrays the fact that if you take South Africa, it's about 50 percent. And in Nigeria, where I think we call it about 13 percent, the fact that Nigeria has 170 million people, that's a lot of idle young people without -- you know, idle and very energetic young people without a purpose in life.

So, you know, Jay and the GE team have a lot of investments in Africa, and they're doing a lot of stuff around energy. And when we look at investing in Africa, we do tend to look at the more glamorous part. We say, you know, in Kenya we've just discovered oil in Turkana, so let's go throw money into it.

The problem with that -- you, know, there's absolutely a need for energy, because only 80 percent of the population are currently having access to electricity. And, you know, you can't industrialize a country unless you have power.

What's wrong with that is doesn't create jobs. You know, it's capital intensive. And, again, if I come back to Turkana, we can all get very excited about it, but the problem with that is that the jobs which will be created will be for hotel porters, and for drivers -- no quality jobs. And so that doesn't then address the issue of youth unemployment which, I think, across the continent, in all of the countries, it is a problem.

I was (inaudible) by the role of agriculture, because agriculture, again, across the continent, typically it's about 20 percent contribution to GDP. And it's higher

and lower in some places. And it's about 50 percent of exports coming out of African countries.

But the problem that we have with agriculture is that it's all subsistence. So the average farmer is operating on, you know, .2 or .3 of a hectare. Interesting statistic I discovered the other day, that Germany exports more coffee than the whole of the continent of Africa. And the last time I was in Germany, I didn't see any coffee farms.

But an even more alarming statistic is that the value of Swedish -- sorry, Swiss coffee exports is twice the value of German coffee exports. So, again, you know, you can probably challenge the numbers, but I'm not going to be that far off. A kilogram of coffee costs about \$3 at source. But actually, when you go into Starbucks, and you buy that coffee, that kilogram turns into something like \$500 per kilo.

So, these are the issues which need to be addressed. You know, I have a friend, Andrew Rugasira, who works out of Uganda and runs the Good African Coffee Company. And Andrew pays his coffee farmers more than Fair Trade pays them. He does the value-addition -- so he roasts and he packages and he exports -- and supports 14,000 Ugandan farmers.

But, you know, that 14,000 Ugandan farmers, as much as it sounds like a big number, if you take Andrew's annual turnover, it's only about \$2-1/2 million. And so that's where the investment needs to get into Africa.

And so, you know, what are we doing about it as an industry? And I don't just speak on behalf of Safaricom, but I can give you, you know, the challenges facing farmers are they don't have access to decent weather information, they don't have access to pricing, they don't have access to capital, easy access to capital. And, you know, farm extension services are worse now than they were maybe two decades ago. So they're not using the latest technology.

So, you know, I'll give you a couple of examples, two or three examples of things that we're doing in Safaricom, specifically, but also in Africa.

You know, there's a thing which we launched called iCow, which an information service for farming management. It's a tool which farmers use. But we launched it without any big advertising, but we've got about 170,000 farmers who are now using that, and reporting up to 50 percent improvement in their yield. And a farmer could be a guy who has two cows. You know, it's not a big deal.

Farmforce, which is a cloud-based mobile platform, and it keeps track of pesticide residue on produce, which helps that farmer now to manage the quality of the goods coming out, and actually makes him more attractive to the export market.

We have a thing called Kilimo Salama, which is a scheme providing crop insurance, which helps to deal with the vicissitudes of life in Africa and the weather.

And, finally, M-Farm, which enables farmers to market their crops effectively by using, getting access to timely market information. Because, traditionally, what a farmer would do is just take whatever price is given to him at the market. Now he or she can decide what they want to do.

So, you know, I've talked a little bit about agriculture. I haven't talked about the impact that we're making on health care. And here, I have to commend GE, because this has been a big focus for Jay and the guys.

We haven't talked about how we're using a mobile phone to save expecting mothers -- you know, very high incidence of maternal mortality in Kenya and in Africa. The mobile phone, which is now so ubiquitous, is making an impact.

We haven't talked about what we're doing in education. Again, you know, you can give a mobile phone to a child, and give him access to any piece of

information in the world. That is such a huge leap from where he was yesterday, where he's in a school without even cement on the floor.

And we haven't talked, of course, about M-PESA, because that's something which has probably been a bit overused.

So, you know, what I say is that, coming into Africa, Africa has a lot of challenges for sure. And, you know, the ease of doing business is not always as we would expect it to be.

However, what I'd say is, for the intrepid, it's a fantastic place to be because innovation is driven by need. And because we have such massive needs, it forces us to be innovative, to make our businesses work.

MR. DERVIŞ: Just one question: Borders, have borders become more cooperative in your, kind of, line of business? Or are they --

MR. COLLYMORE: No, I mean, it's shocking. We talked about call rates from Kenya to the U.S. at 5 cents, but Kenya to Uganda at 28 cents. So, these non-tariff barriers are really a big problem for us. We can't move money easily from Tanzania to Kenya, or from Uganda to Rwanda. You know, those barriers are as big as ever.

MR. DERVIŞ: Thanks a lot.

Fernando, you've seen almost all the world, and you're now based in Johannesburg. What's your perspective on all this?

MR. DE SOUSA: Thank you, Kemal.

So, I think, in trying to think about this particular discussion -- and I think you've all touched, to a certain extent, on some of these topics -- but what came to mind, and it was really almost triggered -- last week I was here in Washington. We've been working with the White House on the Young Africa Leadership Initiative, and I had the

privilege of actually hosting an event for all 500 Washington fellows. And so this massive energy -- right? -- the youth of Africa just came in the room and transformed the room. There was just activity, and they were through the expo, and, I mean, I spent about six hours -- and my team can attest -- I didn't stop talking one-on-one to individuals for six hours, because their desire for information, their questions, the initiative that they had was just completely overwhelming. But it's also refreshing.

And I think it talks to the point of the inclusion of Africa -- right? -- the 55 countries in Africa are very, very unique. Because each one of these individuals -- there was one individual from Eritrea, the single Washington fellow from Eritrea. And, you know, he's so completely different from the rest of Africa because he lives in a very different world. And yet, first question to me, so, can I get a computer with Microsoft software, because I know my country's embargoed, but can we do something about this, because I want to connect to the rest of the world? Right?

And so that's -- it's such a simple, to a certain extent, because -- and so, when you refer to the borders, the trade situation between Africa, I think there's a statistic that says that potential trade in Africa, between Africa -- so, the east-west, rather than the north-south trade -- in a year is equivalent to the amount of aid that is actually delivered to Africa by well-intentioned multilateral and government organizations.

And so the reality is Africa doesn't need the aid, it needs to figure out how to get the trade amongst itself to start to work. And that is not trade between Africa - - and I think that's, again, to take Bob's point -- this is trade between independent, very diverse nations that need to learn to work together and break those barriers.

So, we have a view, and I'm going to illustrate this, I think, in thinking and asking you to think about slums. Think about the phenomenon of slums. And slums are growing at an alarming rate around the world. There's about a billion people today that

live -- are slum-dwellers. The forecast is that by 2050, 3 billion people, almost one-third of the world's population, will be living in a slum.

There's something interesting about a slum. There are many issues about slums, but there's something which is the people that live in a slum have no tenure in the land where they live. They don't belong to that land. They have no right to it. And so, typically, in the more traditional world, business, education, health care, is dispensed on the basis of your tenure on your location. You have a physical address, you show that you live in a community, and that community interacts with you, or interacts with other communities.

What we see, the promise of Africa, what we see Africa leapfrogging some of those legacies, is that in the technology world, in the knowledge economy, in the digital world -- call it what you will -- I have an address. I'm fernands@microsoft.com. I exist. Within in that world, which, by the way, has no boundaries -- right? -- I can present myself, I can trade, I can acquire information. I can educate myself or my children.

And so that in itself, we think -- and we see as the potential for Africa to leapfrog, and for this trade to start to become something meaningful, where the payment mechanisms are an enormously important part, but so is government policy. And I think the whole -- there needs to be a focus which, rather than -- I appreciate that there's a discussion around democracy, and there's a discussion around civil society, and those are all very important.

But there also needs to be a dialogue with governments in Africa that refers to the policy of the digital age, and the policy of allowing Africans, across Africa, to connect with the world, to be globally competitive, to participate in global economy, purely through that little device that they carry in their hand, with which they are so comfortable. Illiterate farmers are comfortable with the mobile phone, they understand how to use it.

And so I think that's where the leapfrogging, I think, we believe, is going to come from.

And I think the last point on this is that what we're also seeing is the massive innovation, I think, to the point -- the problems that exist in Africa are very, very much relevant to Africa. My old boss, Bill, made a comment not so long ago, we were having a discussion about something, and Gates made the comment about polio. And we were talking, and he said, "The cure for polio is not going to come from the Western world, because the Western world doesn't need to invest resources figuring out the cure for polio because it is almost eradicated." Yet polio kills hundreds of thousands of children in Africa.

So the cure to polio is going to come from Africa, because it's the one continent where that need is so absolutely overwhelming. The cure for malaria will come from Africa, because Africa needs it.

And so that's, I think, as we see the opportunity for the development of Africa, and the connection of Africa, is going to be because Africans address their own problems, in their own unique way, but the solution is so relevant to what they need that it makes it a really feasible solution.

So, the 750 million young people in Africa will participate in that market, rather than, perhaps, a Western or Eastern or North European market, because there is the potential for that market.

We take a view that says: Africa becoming a net producer of knowledge, of technology, is where Africa needs to go, I think, to break the boundaries of sometimes the physical challenges, but also to create that almost unbelievable inclusiveness that these 55 countries need to figure out how to work on. And they're not there yet. I would argue that we are still far away from getting that.

But it's possible. The technology exists, the innovation exists, the capacity exists. It needs to come together, I think, faster than it has up until now.

MR. DERVIŞ: Thank you very much, Fernando.

Just, you know, remembering the broad numbers, at the very beginning, after independence, in many countries there was a kind of positive period --

SPEAKER: Yes.

MR. DERVIŞ: -- and then there was a very tough period in the '80s, early '90s --

SPEAKER: Civil wars and liberation wars.

MR. DERVIŞ: -- and now we've had the best years, the last 10, 12 years, in modern history, at least.

So I would appreciate, maybe later on, (inaudible) the debate: Do you think this speed is kind of what one should expect, or could it even accelerate a little bit more? Or, you know, what are the key factors?

Strive.

MR. MASIYIWA: Oh, thank you. You know, if you go back to 1990, '91, when the work was going on that would lead to the telecom revolution in Africa, if you had come to those of us who worked in the industry then, and said to me, you know, "What would it take for 70 percent of the African population to get a telephone? How much will it cost?", well I would have said, look, it's greater than our GDP across Africa. And if you had said, "Look, to put a phone in everybody's hands, how will you do it?," I probably would have called the police to get you locked up somewhere.

But it has happened. Some 700 million African people are connected. They have a cell phone. Countries like Botswana, where we have a presence, have a

penetration of 150 percent, Zimbabwe, 106 percent. I don't know where you are in Kenya, Bob -- Nigeria, 70-plus percent.

People are connected. You can get a telephone if you want it. You can have 10 if you want.

And there are incredible lessons in that -- but maybe if I can just draw on one of them.

An extraordinary amount of capital was drawn into African telecommunications. And 99 percent of it is private capital. It required African entrepreneurs. It pushed the regulatory environment. It pushed for policy changes. It took risks.

In the early days, back in '94, there were very few multinationals taking a point in Africa. It was local entrepreneurs fighting for spectrum, pushing to get mobile phones in place. And then we got, you know, people like Vodafone came in and partnered with many African entrepreneurs.

So you see the need for regulatory policy frameworks for the private sector to begin to come in. The capital is there. There's a wall of capital ready to build power stations, ready to build bridges and trains -- if you would trust the private sector in the same way. You could do that in agriculture, and many other sectors.

So the entrepreneurs came in and pushed, and pushed the transformation which has seen this extraordinary connectivity. Today we are no longer talking about connecting people. If you bring me a dozen cell phone licenses, I'm not really that keen to pursue them.

We are in a second revolution, where we are beginning to use these platforms as enablers for health care, for agriculture, for banking services, financial inclusion, insurance, education. These are the frontiers, as Bob was talking earlier on,

that we're beginning to push, where this connected platform is now a means towards bringing more and more people -- because it was a revolution of the ordinary man.

I've always said that the telecoms revolution in Africa was no a communications revolution -- ironically -- it was a revolution that was spurred by billing. When it became possible for someone in the slums to pay for their service -- in the old system, it was post-paid. They had to know where you lived, and your credit history, and so forth. When it became possible to get a prepaid SIM card, ironically -- we already knew about radio communications, and what you could do with that. But it was when we made it possible for ordinary people to buy access in an affordable and inclusive matter.

And that's what we're beginning to do again with financial services, with, hopefully, with education, insurance, agricultural extension. So this is the next phase of this revolution.

And then there is a third beginning to push its way, which is the data revolution, the internet of things, as somebody has -- it will not leave Africa. From this data revolution we are beginning now to see the footprint that will give people access to credit. Imagine if you had to buy your car for cash, your house for cash, everything you ever bought for cash -- a lot of people in the U.S. would find -- you'd have a revolution. But that's how it is in Africa.

This connectivity is going to create that next revolution, where it will become possible for ordinary people in the formal sector -- they're not unemployed. If they were unemployed, there would be a revolution, and a lot of people are employed in the formal sector, they work just like you and I. They may not have a pay slip, but they are feeding their families -- okay? And we need to make, to bring them into a greater inclusion.

Thank you very much.

MR. DERVIŞ: Thank you. Thank you very much, Strive.

As a follow-up question, in terms of the education system, the skill system, is it accelerating the kind of -- I know some of these skills may not be that hard to acquire, others may be more difficult. But are you seeing -- any of you, really -- are you seeing kind of the education and training system adjusting to the new technologies?

MR. DE SOUSA: I would say very much so. I think what we're seeing is the transformation of education away from the traditional classroom methods using textbooks. And I would actually reference a young, a group of young people in Kenya that set up this little business called Kitabu, the word for book. And what they're essentially doing is digitizing textbooks, putting them on thumb-drives and making them available, and transporting them so that children can have access.

We, ourselves, have an initiative called "Teaching with Technology," where our focus is on the teachers. And what we're seeing is the transformation. I was recently in Morocco, and the conversation with the ministry was -- and he referenced it, and he said, "I have 65,000 problems. Those are my teachers. Because my teachers need to move faster than the pupils, and they are not." Because the young people are moving very fast because they're adopting the technology so much faster. "As a government we need to understand how we get our teachers to move at least as fast as the young people."

So we're seeing transformation in skills for employability, so the more vocational-oriented, with the more creative. Certainly, a huge focus on entrepreneurship skills. And I think the formal, sort of academic, education is there, of course. And I think it will remain so. But I think there's a much broader perspective on the use and the adoption of technology around more socially active ways of creating wealth. I think

education and wealth creation are starting to run in parallel, rather than as a formal, serial process which perhaps worked 20, 30 years ago.

MR. COLLYMORE: I mean, you know, start with a kid who is sitting in a classroom that doesn't have cement on the floor, and doesn't have a window -- all right? So that's your starting point.

And then you move from bricks to clicks -- right? So, suddenly you can deliver to this child the best quality of education, the best standard of education. You can bring a lecturer from Zurich in the palm of your hands and deliver that information (inaudible). So that leap is happening now.

One of the questions you asked earlier, you said, you know, innovation around the world coming into Africa. But actually what we're finding now is that innovation in Africa is moving out to the rest of the world. I mean, the most obvious one is mobile money, where we've made such a massive change, and we've driven the rest of the world in this area.

And there's lots more coming out from places like iHub in Nairobi. You have iHub, you have iLab. You know, we've got a lot of these innovation hubs. And those things are moving out of Africa and being exported to the rest of the world.

MR. IRELAND: I agree with all that. But on the other hand, I also see a lack of skills that we need, from the standpoint of -- I'll call it "technical skills" around engineering and things, from universities. And it's a combination. It's not like -- it's two things. One is, the need continues to grow pretty dramatically, and it's, to a degree, magnified because many countries now have stringent localization requirements for you to be able to sell or invest in the country. So all of a sudden, you know, you have to go into a country, and for every one ex-pat, you need to have nine locals.

And the problem is, you don't -- you know, that country may not be equipped yet to provide you those --

SPEAKER: The numbers.

MR. IRELAND: -- from an educational standpoint.

And so one of the World Bank people -- I've heard this quoted -- that 11 percent of the college graduates graduate with degrees that are usable in business, and 70 percent are studying things that are not. Now, I don't know where that comes from, but I do know that in many of the countries, the technical skills -- engineering, things like that -- are not at the same level as, you know, business skills, law, legal, you know, typical other studies.

And there's plenty of great business people. We need more engineers. You know, we need more of the young kids that are coming out. And that's going to be a key one. And I think that, as many as there are graduating, just the need is multiplying faster than the schools can graduate.

So, I think it's up to companies, like ours and others, to really invest in that. We've invested in some curriculum development across some of the countries, in some of the major universities, done internships, things like that, to really drive that -- because it's really going to be the linchpin.

And, quite frankly, it's not that different in the U.S. either. But, you know, it's almost a worldwide phenomenon, outside of Asia, where we're not getting enough technical people, especially from the standpoint of what we need to do from engineering, and things like that.

But all of these issues that Fernando and Bob talked about, those are the ones that are going to really, hopefully, bridge that gap as these kinds continue to move out.

MR. DERVIŞ: You mentioned Asia. And in the development literature, there's quite a debate, of course. Asia did extremely well, I mean, overall, with some exceptions here and there, over the last 30 years or so. But it did, a lot of that "doing very well" was really through manufacturing. I mean, you know, when you look at what happened in China, in Korea before then, and some of the Southeast Asian nations -- India, less so.

And, yet, the share of manufacturing, you know, in global demand, global output, is limited, at the end of the day. And in terms of, you know, the kind of dynamics in Africa, it's probably not going to be a repeat of Asia. Something different is going to happen, right?

MR. IRELAND: Let me -- I think I know where you're going.

MR. DERVIŞ: Any thoughts on that?

MR. IRELAND: Yeah -- I'd call it infrastructure.

China, the first time I went to China was 25 years ago. And at that time, everyone was worried about rule of law, you know, the ability to protect your IP, et cetera, et cetera -- security, the whole thing.

And then, in the '90s, later in the '90s, I was in our plastics business, and we put a plant on Nansha Island, which was up the river from Hong Kong, instead of the mainland, because we wanted to ship by boat, because the mainland was a mess. There was no roads, there was no rail. And then one of the five-year plans in the late '90s, the Chinese said, "We're going to do infrastructure." They built a hundred airports, they built all of the highways, the rail -- and boom.

That's what unlocked China, was the ability to move, and make them manufacturing. And all that manufacturing could get out of the country. And Bob highlighted the issues you have.

For us to put a manufacturing into a country in Africa that you can't get goods out of the port for two to three weeks, and then it takes however long to get delivered, or you can't make sure your goods get delivered to your customers, you don't have any security of electricity supply -- that's an inhibitor to investment around that.

And until those things get fixed, it's going to be hard. Because I talk to a lot of heads of state, "Well, we've got cheap labor rates. We ought to be able to complete." And all that ability is degraded by the infrastructure deficits that are there.

And so, as a result, Africa becomes one of the highest-cost areas to manufacturer anything. And I think that's the dynamic that's got to flip. And that's where infrastructure investments, I think, are going to really help out.

MR. COLLYMORE: I mean, I absolutely agree with Jay about the need for infrastructure. But I think there also needs to be a bit of a will. You know, again, I'll come back to my friend Mo, this morning, who said that Africa has more mobile phones than America, but doesn't manufacture any. Actually, manufacturing doesn't seem to be a glamorous thing. And, by and large, people don't want to move into manufacturing. But if you don't move into manufacturing, you're not going to create jobs.

The opportunity for Africa to become the next factory of the world is absolutely there. Because China is beginning to -- come back to this whole China-America debate -- China is doing two things. One is, they are investing in infrastructure across Africa. And, secondly, they're saying, if we can invest in infrastructure, then we can start to do manufacturing in China [sic]. And they've got very successful factories in Ethiopia, for example.

But I don't think there is the will. People don't look at manufacturing as a being a glamorous thing to get into. The big energy kind of investments is where governments tend to focus.

But if we don't get into manufacturing, we aren't going to provide jobs.

MR. DERVIŞ: Strive, any comments on the role of manufacturing in the future of Africa? Or is the whole question becoming kind of the wrong question? Is the line between manufacturing and software -- you know, we all talk about, the iPad example is a typical example. What kind of a product is this, you know? Is it the manufacturing product, or is it really something quite different, I mean, from the old type of -- even modern cars, when you look at what kind of cars are going to appear on the market 10 to 15 years from now, a lot of the value-added will be in the programming, in the kind of software of cars. I mean, there still will be -- what do you call it "steel-bending?"

MR. IRELAND: Metal-bending.

MR. DERVIŞ: Metal bending -- but that whole part, of course, is becoming more and more important.

So, maybe there is some kind of leapfrogging possibility there, too, that Africa will, in some sense, do less steel-bending than Asia did, because the nature, the very nature of products and services in the world are changing.

MR. MASIYIWA: Well, look, I'm not in manufacturing, and I would be wary to challenge Jay on what he has to say from GE. But if he's moved from 1 billion to 2-1/2 billion in three years, something must be going right in Africa for him. (Laughter) That's pretty good growth anywhere in the world, you know.

So, you know, give us a break. We are working very hard to improve governance, to improve leadership, to improve infrastructure. Some of these things take time. But I believe the fact that we are able now to buy power plants from GE, and have options, of course, to go to China to buy some of this stuff, we will begin to address some of these infrastructure deficiencies.

There are policy issues that we have to address. You know, we are just like everybody else, we have issues to grapple with, with education. I haven't come across any society where they say, "We're all happy with our education system."

We have challenges. Half of the world's children that are not in school are in Africa. The youngest population in the world is African.

But we are not looking at this with despair. This is our hope, and we are going to turn this into our dividend for the future.

MR. DERVIŞ: This is a great --

MR. COLLYMORE: Sorry. Let me just jump back in again.

MR. DERVIŞ: Sure, sure.

MR. COLLYMORE: Because you asked the question, it's a very good question, you know, are we looking at just metal-bending? It's not just about metal-bending. And I was sitting next to Cordys Africa. And, you know, the guys there are saying could we do coding in Africa on behalf of --

And so there's also, you know, some intellectual stuff that we could be doing. And, you know, he's got, he's sitting there, you know, he's got tons of people. I don't know the number, you told me a moment ago -- tons of people who could be doing this kind of stuff, which currently is being done in Asia. And it could very, very effectively come into Africa.

MR. IRELAND: to that point --

MR. COLLYMORE: So it's not just about metal-bending.

MR. IRELAND: No -- yeah, and what we're looking at is trying to take some of the engineering graduates that are coming out. And why can't we do -- you know, it's kind of the old drafting, and the basic levels of design, where you do things there. And we're looking at that in Ethiopia and a couple of other countries.

And I don't want Strive to think we're not, but we are investing -- we announced today we're going to invest about \$2-1/2 billion into Africa, across localization, assembly facilities, and manufacturing. So we are doing it -- but over the next five years. And there's also skills-building.

So, you know, we're very optimistic in that. And I think it's just a question of, again, keeping up with the growth, because that's really the dynamics, what's great about Africa.

MR. DERVIŞ: I think we'll -- Fernando, do you want to add --

MR. DE SOUSA: I just wanted to come back to, I think sometimes when we look at China or India or Brazil, we need to be very careful not to make this comparison directly.

And I think, Jay, to your point around infrastructure, you know, when China put a five-year plan to build infrastructure, it was one government building infrastructure in one country. And it was measured on the relative success of itself versus itself. In Africa, we have such a variety of success and, you know, benchmarking. Some countries in Africa have better governance than others. Some countries have better infrastructure than others. Some countries actually achieve levels of success.

The challenge is that everybody's investing in "Africa." Okay, let's invest in a country in Africa, and enable that country to build its infrastructure. I would bet you that that country would surpass China very quickly.

But, no, because we see this billion-and-a-half, or billion-whatever people, we invest in "Africa." So, it's almost spreading peanut butter. We try to be very democratic with our investments. Just put a big lump of peanut butter in the middle and let it go. Perhaps that would create a different scenario.

MR. DERVIŞ: Well, I think there are some questions from the floor, right?

Yes, Miriam, why don't you start. We haven't mentioned trade, so I am sure you will say something about trade.

Miriam was the deputy trade representative in the U.S., and we're lucky to have her.

MS. SAPIRO: Thank you. Miriam Sapiro, from Brookings.

This morning Mo made an impassioned plea for a single economic entity in Africa. And each of you have operated companies across borders. And I think even Fernando and Bob mentioned some of the challenges with tariff barriers, non-tariff barriers. So, maybe this is the jelly approach instead of the peanut butter.

But my question is: Given the variety of regional organizations, regional economic organizations that are growing in Africa right now, do you think there is the possibility of much more unity in the economic trade and investment sphere? And, if so, where to you see the potential success coming from?

I mean, not to have ECOWAS compete with EAC, or any of the other growing organizations, but what's your sense, from being on the ground, as to which would be the most promising, and potentially most useful?

MR. DERVIŞ: Anyone -- yes, Fernando?

MR. DE SOUSA: No, Jay probably.

MR. DERVIŞ: Jay?

MR. IRELAND: Well, I think, you know, the aspect of regionalization is absolutely going to be key to growth. And to the point that we've heard, it is 55 countries.

And there's no way that Microsoft or GE is going to put in 55 Microsofts or GEs. And we need to, if you will, regionalize. So, if you take East Africa as an

example, you know, you have Kenya, at 40 to 50 million people, Ethiopia at 80, Tanzania at 40 to 50. But if you put them all together with Rwanda and Burundi, you've got 200 -- and Uganda -- 200-and some odd million people, maybe more. And, all of a sudden, you have scale.

Now the ability, then, to do something that you can then serve those countries, that's where you're going to, I think, see a lot of potential from that standpoint. And I think you have -- you know, there are ECOWAS, EAC, SADC, COMACE, they have all got different things that are positives.

So, right now, it seems like the EAC is probably the furthest ahead. They are doing things on the borders, at least, physical borders, not necessarily the tariffs. But, I mean, it's starting to happen.

But it's a tough road. Because every country you go in wants to be -- I've been into five countries in the last six months in West Africa, and everyone has told me that they're going to be the main supplier to the West Africa power pool, and everyone else is going to off-take from them -- or the gas pipeline.

And those are the things that it's got to be, the little countries have got to have some kind of wins as well as the big guys. And I think that's the balance.

It's an interesting dynamic on -- we've talked about inter-Africa trade and stuff, earlier this morning at thing we had, Aliko Dangote, a Nigerian, he says, with the exception of ECOWAS, he needs 36 visas to travel around Africa. He goes Americans can go, typically, and get visas at the airport. So he says it's not even equal within Africa.

So those are the kind of things that are things that I think can be broken down a little bit, from the standpoint, and really encourage this inter-Africa trade.

MR. DERVIŞ: There was a question there -- yes? With the lights, I can't really see over there. So somebody has to help me.

Yes, go ahead.

MR. COLORINA: Thank you. Rob Colorina, AIAC Investment.

I think, Fernando, your comment about sort of the energy with entrepreneurs was interesting.

If you could take it further -- and perhaps, Strive, you know, comment a little bit as well -- how do you take the entrepreneurs into sort of the disruptive type of class, in terms of those that are going to be scalable, those that are going to be investable. I mean, the prior panel talked about private equity and venture capital. But that is, you know, that is a smaller funnel.

I'd be curious as to the dynamics to that competitive advantage.

MR. DE SOUSA: So, it's an interesting question, because I think there is the balance between the risk of investing in Africa because of the nature of the African risk, or the risk of investing in a technology start-up or a manufacturing plant, which is essentially equal anywhere across the world. And those risk assessments get done more on the basis of what is it that you're investing in, what is the infrastructure availability, what is the policy, and so on.

And I think perhaps there is a very high tendency towards thinking of investing in Africa being risky because of Africa.

And perhaps, I think, if we start to change that a little bit, and start to move the needle towards understanding that the basic premise is a business investment, or an infrastructure investment, then I think perhaps it will change the conversation between the potential entrepreneurs, or the entrepreneurs on the ground, and those that have money to invest or are looking to create growth.

Because if we look at it from the growth perspective, I think we would all agree, this is paradise. The growth rates in Africa are huge. I mean, it has been sustained for quite a period of time.

So, I think sometimes the paradigm with which people look at investment is something that we need to worry about.

The second point, just to close, is the nature of the investment. And there's a very big gap between seed capital and angel investment, and then the venture capital and institutional investment. And that gap needs to be bridged.

And there's, I think, an opportunity with the African diaspora. There's an opportunity with looking at ways of bridging that gap, and putting some -- a venture capital fund, or investment of \$5 million is very difficult for most African start-ups to consume. There isn't the liquidity, and there isn't the size in the market. But if that's the U.S. standard, there's a mismatch. And so we need to probably look further down and understand that.

MR. COLLYMORE: I think that's changing. I mean, I spend a lot of time speaking to international investors, particularly here in the U.S., and, you know, the success stories are speaking for themselves. And Strive has a very successful business running out of Zimbabwe. We are running a very successful business. If you'd invested in my company two years ago, it was worth about \$1.6 billion, and today it's worth \$6 billion, two years later. So there are success stories, we need to talk about.

And investors are happy to come. You know, my shares are heavily oversubscribed. And people are going past that "African risk" thing. It's a bit of yesterday's story.

MR. MASIIWA: You know, we are active in some 17 African countries.

MR. DERVIŞ: 17.

MR. MASIYIWA: Yes. We have people, we have offices, we have boots on the ground. We're Africans. We don't see a lot of these problems. That's not to say they're not there.

But I think the way we look at it is, is it easier for me to invest in Nigeria than Russia? Nigeria, any day, any day of the week. You know, and it's a perspective. It's a perspective on risk, it's a perspective on the issues. We're long term.

So I'm not concerned about currency in Burundi, or the CFA in Ivory Coast, because we are there as Africans, for the good.

Regional integration, it's happening -- not because of the politicians, because Africans are beginning to invest with Africans. Today I see more Nigerians in Johannesburg, and in Lomé, doing business than my fathers could ever have dreamed of. And it's Africans. And that's what will drive the policy changes.

So, if you want to do business in Africa, find African partners, and work with Africans. I think that probably works in Brazil, too. But I'm only talking about Africa.  
(Laughter)

MR. DERVIŞ: Yes, there's a hand up.

SPEAKER: There's more over here.

MR. DERVIŞ: Yes, I can't see them, unfortunately.

MR. IRELAND: You have a bias. You have a left-hand bias.

MR. DERVIŞ: So somebody has to help me.

SPEAKER: I'm going to take the opportunity.

MR. DERVIŞ: Fernando, maybe you can help me.

Anyway, okay, that's the last I'm going to go from that direction.

MR. WILSON: My name is Leroy Wilson, Jr., and I'm an attorney from New Rochelle and Botswana.

I think that it seems to me that one of the reasons that the perception of Americans into Africa that it's an entire continent is so skewed is because our media doesn't really cover Africa on a fair basis.

And so the question is, is there anything that one can do about that?

And, if so, what?

MR. DERVIŞ: Okay. Maybe we'll collect two or three questions, and then -- can you help me here.

SPEAKER: There's a (inaudible) right in the middle here.

MR. JOHNSON: Hello, I'm Mark Johnson, from Astra Capital Management. And we're an emerging technology investor in both the communications space and in growth companies in America with international aspirations.

I see there's a lot of partnership between large businesses and sort of countries and entrepreneurs on the ground in Africa. But could you speak a bit about the opportunity for growth companies with great ideas, particular in the communications space, that might be more ready partners for M-PESA, or Strive, and different businesses in Africa that they could kind of partnership with and help facilitate growth in the communications world.

MR. DERVIŞ: Maybe we'll take those two, the media question and this one.

MR. COLLYMORE: So, a very vibrant market. I mean, I can give you a couple of examples.

M-KOPA -- M-KOPA is one of my favorite products, and it's a simple product -- right? So, we work with a very small company, a couple of guys, Jesse Moore and Nick Hughes. They came together, and they developed a product which has a solar panel, it has some LED lights, it has a lithium battery, and it has M-PESA on a SIM card.

And now what we're delivering is we're delivering renewable energy right to the grassroots at an affordable rate of about 40 or 50 cents per day. And there is a guy who -- you know, when they first came to me, and I said, you know, do you want to scale up? How much money do you need from us. And he said, no, no, I'm good. And it was very easy for him to find the funding.

And there are lots more of those companies around. You know, the starter companies, the IT companies, working with the big partners like us, and also with GE. You know, GE, first of all, didn't have the confidence coming onto the continent and investing, and putting in senior guys like Jay. But he knows that he can't do it on his own, so he's working with lots of, you know, people like Seven Seas Technology, for example - - so lots of smaller companies.

The opportunity is there.

The media thing -- maybe -- you're American, you answer that.

(Laughter)

MR. IRELAND: I also used to be in the media business.

I think it's a question of really understanding Africa, and people -- you know, when people come, they see what it's like. It's a perception. Some people think it's all, you know, grass huts, and others think it's nothing but big cities.

No one understands the size. People ask about, you know, I've been questioned, "What about -- has Boko Haram impacted your business in Lagos?" I said, that's the same -- Boko Haram's in Maine, and Lagos is New York City -- maybe even further south, maybe New Jersey or Maryland. I said, "That's the dynamic." And they go, "Oh, really, yeah?"

That's the issue. And everyone that comes and visits -- and we typically will, they'll go to Lagos and then they come to Nairobi. They get on the Lagos to Nairobi

flight, which is five hours. And they'll go, "Geez, it's like flying across America." It's like, yeah, no kidding. It's a long way between these countries.

And so what happens in one doesn't mean it happens in the other.

And I think, you know, Bob talked about his company, and the success stories. There's an unbelievable amount of success in companies, in people, you know, in innovation that's occurred. And that doesn't necessarily get selected for stories.

I think, hopefully, this week it will. Maybe that will change some of the perceptions by some of the media. You've already seen some of them in the press pre-event over the weekend and stuff, where they're focusing on the positives. And so, hopefully -- and we try to help. I travel back here quite a bit, and my sole goal is to change the perception of investing in Africa.

MR. DE SOUSA: Well, I think, Jay, we have to take people into Africa.

MR. IRELAND: Yep, absolutely.

MR. DE SOUSA: And, you know, Strive was sharing with us his thoughts about taking Americans into Africa to show them what it looks like. To come to Washington to talk about Africa actually doesn't make a lot of sense.

And if you look at -- I won't name the media houses -- but, you know, they don't have much in the way of local bureaus in Africa.

MR. IRELAND: No, they don't.

MR. DE SOUSA: And so that will never change, unless they come into the continent.

MR. DERVIŞ: Let me add one -- we were talking with Strive -- Strive, go ahead first.

MR. MASIYIWA: You know, I was just going to say, on the media side, for us as Africans, we're perhaps at the moment more concerned about Africans'

developing their media than talking about themselves -- things like we're more excited about what's happening with social media, the interaction amongst Africans, amongst our young people, to one another.

Look, I can't speak for what people write in China or America about Africans. And I guess if you came to an African newspaper you might think the same about what they write about America.

So, you know, that's the world we live in. And I'm not going to prescribe to somebody what they observe or not observe. We get onto very dangerous territory.

I think what is important now is that you have a very confident Africa beginning to talk about Africa, an energetic youth communicating about their lives, with or without the international media.

MR. DERVIŞ: Well, Strive and I, we were talking before the meeting, and I just want to add that dimension, which I've observed -- you know, I've been all over the world, working on many economies around the world, and many societies.

But there's one thing that strikes me, and I wonder whether, you know, you would agree with that, is the pragmatism and the forward-lookingness of African elites, business, young people, and so on.

And, you know, I mean, I don't want to say anything negative about anybody, but there are places in the world now who are justifying current battles and killing by referring 1,400, or 1,200, or 800 years back. And, you know, some of them in the Balkans were like that, you know.

So, whereas in Africa, there are problems of course -- ethnic tensions, and there are all kinds of tensions. But it seems to me that it's a very future-oriented culture.

Is that correct?

MR. MASIYIWA: Well, I wouldn't call it a "culture."

MR. DERVIŞ: I mean, or --

MR. MASIYIWA: I wouldn't go that far.

MR. DERVIŞ: Or approach to life, let's say.

MR. MASIYIWA: You know, but I've seen an index which says that the happiest people in the world right now are Nigerians. (Laughter)

MR. DERVIŞ: That's Carol Graham from Brookings.

MR. MASIYIWA: So, look, there is an energy in Africa today. There is, if you go into the bars and the coffee shops, wherever you are, young people -- there are more young people discussing about the future, and the things they are doing, and want to do. And that you only have to go -- you know, I asked one of our people once about the growth of our data consumption, as Bob would probably attest with me -- broadband is the fastest growing part of our businesses.

And I said, you know, "What are they doing with the data?" And came back a report in front of me, said 60 percent is social media. Okay? They are interacting, and talking, and sharing ideas.

That's not to say we are not confronted with all the other challenges. And we have to deal with all the issues of terrorism, just like everybody else, and the challenges of leadership, and corruption, and many other aspects.

But, yes, there is a greater sense of energy, and the future, coming out of Africa. And it's a good thing for the world, because half the world's youth will be living in Africa over the next 25 years. And, you know, it's a great feeling to feel that the youth are busy.

But I think we have to invest in this (inaudible). Jay is right to talk about skills, but we also have to think that the skills may not be the skills of the past. We want

to learn about China. We are observing China, and Brazil, and everything else -- but we are not China, and we are not Brazil, we are Africa. We will go our way. But we will learn the good things that other people have.

Because 20 years ago, everyone was saying "What about Japan?" And before that, they said, "What about the miracle of Western Europe after the war?" and so forth. And we can go on and on about this. But we will learn the good things.

As a good friend of mine likes to say, "Eat the meat and throw away the bones." So we will pick up what's good, and we will try and learn those lessons and take our people forward.

MR. DERVIŞ: Fernando, yes?

MR. DE SOUSA: So, perhaps on this point, just the testimony of the recent Young Africa Leadership Initiative, where the U.S. was looking to invest in 500 young people, and received more than 50,000 applications across Africa -- 50,000 young people in Africa believe inherently that they are a leader, that they are a future leader, and they will have a future impact on the continent.

And that has essentially resulted in the government, the White House, USAID, has gone out and raised more investment for Africa as a result of those 50,000 people on the continent. I think that that's that energy that you feel.

MR. IRELAND: I think the strength -- I mean, I think the biggest resource of Africa is its people, because the optimism, the continued perseverance, and patience, and really getting things done has been unbelievable.

And I can tell you, for me, personally, in my office in Nairobi -- you know, this is kind of an anecdote -- but we threw a '60s costume party for Christmas, and all these people, all our office guys came, and they all had, I would say most of the stuff came from their parents' closet that they were wearing. So the next day I said, so -- or

Monday I said, so -- pulled everybody together, wished them well for Christmas, et cetera. And I said, so how many of you people were born in the '60s? Two, one of them was me. And then one of them was my CFO, who was born in December of '69.

And so I go into work, and I'm with these young, dynamic -- I mean, the whole office is that way. Our average age is, you know, maybe 29, 30. And, you know I don't find that when I go to Schenectady, or Fairfield, or any of the other locations we have. GE's been around a long time. And, you know, they all look at me, and they can't believe I've worked at GE for 34 years, because I'm 10 years older than they've been alive -- or 10 years longer at GE than they've been alive.

MR. DERVIŞ: But I think there's --

MR. IRELAND: So, it's kind of fun.

MR. DERVIŞ: There's the additional point that these young people are thinking about 2020, 2025 --

MR. IRELAND: Oh, yeah, they're optimistic.

MR. DERVIŞ: And not about 1500, or 1914.

MR. IRELAND: They know what -- they see what they can get to. They're using -- to Strive's point -- social media, et cetera. They're excited, they do whatever. It's really great.

MR. DERVIŞ: We have one question from Twitter, kind of on governance, but maybe we'll take one more from somewhere where I can't see.

Okay, the lady here maybe I can see. And then we'll have to close.

And the Twitter question is really the quality of governance: Do we see an improvement, less corruption, less -- you know, more transparency? I mean, you know, we have problems with that all over the place in the world, but any comments on that?

But -- yes?

MS. THOMPSON: My name is Kate Thompson, I'm from Deloitte.

And for all the reasons that all of us in the room, and you on the panel, know, I personally believe that until we see women as fully productive members of the real economy and governance, and social change-agents, and social media, and civil society, we won't really see that transformation that we've been talking about across the continent.

So, I guess, a question for you and your organizations, and your sectors, what are you doing, and what are you seeing happening to bring women and girls into your sectors, and into your organizations, on really on equal footing to men and boys?

Thank you.

MR. DERVIŞ: All right. So those are the two questions: the governance, and the very important question of the role of women in Africa.

MR. DE SOUSA: Okay, so let me have a go first.

MR. DERVIŞ: Okay.

MR. DE SOUSA: Because governance is still a challenge. And it was nice to hear Mo Ibrahim say this morning that he was seeing an improvement over the past 10 years, but it's still not good enough. It still has a long way to go. And it takes big companies like us. You know, if we're not doing something about it, nothing is going to get done. And, you know, we're doing quite a lot of work to do that. I sit on the U.N. Global Compact Board on driving ethics and integrity across business, across the continent.

On women, it's a very good question -- right? So, you know, I have some of the brightest women working in my company. And I say that without hesitation.

And they're not even watching, because they're probably in bed now back in Nairobi. So I'm not saying it for their benefit.

But something like 36 percent of my exco are women. I spend more on developing the level below than I spend on men. I have a creche in the office, because women have to deal with this whole double-shift stuff.

But we're going beyond that. So we're going back into the primary schools, and explaining to children, and bringing them into the workplace to show them what can be done.

And why is that important? You know, next door to me is a bank, a big bank, international bank. And I take Jeremy to my office, and I say, "Jeremy, you look at my workplace, and you look at your workplace, and if you're hiring an accountant, who do you think she would work for if you paid the same salary?" She'd work for me, because I have a more conducive environment.

And because we work children right away, from the primary school, right away through secondary into university, and we bring them in -- not because we necessarily want to hire them, but because we want to create a larger pool of women. And African women are some of the smartest and the most fearsome women, I have to tell you. (Laughter) Some of the most fearsome women that I have had to work with.

And it makes my company a much better company to work in, and to serve our customers.

MR. MASIYIWA: you know, as you mentioned in your opening remarks, I chair the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa, which is an organization promoting agricultural development and food security through small-holder farmers.

So, here are the statistics: Over 70 percent of the food grown in Africa, eaten in Africa, is produced by women. So the African farmer is a woman. She doesn't own the land that she's farming. And she's poor. And she's getting older.

If we are to replace her with her daughter, her daughter is smart, she's not going to go onto that land and do it. And her son is not on the land either.

So, how we address this, how we empower women, how we give them access to credit, ownership to land, these are the heavy-lifting items that need to be addressed by this crop of African leaders.

We have made strides on governance. When Nelson Mandela came out of prison, only five or six African countries were having regular elections. Today, less than five or six African countries are having regular elections, and the debate has moved on to the quality of the elections, and the quality of the governance. This is important.

The next generation of African leaders is alive to these issues, and we will continue to push to try and address the governance issues. So it's not something we're going to hid under the table.

And, of course, you will not be able to -- you know, just like with Asia, there's a difference between Myanmar and Singapore. Remember, we have talked around here that those who know Africa know that it's 55 sovereign countries.

So, you're going to see a differential in the pace. And those of you who are keenly interested in Africa will appreciate that we're not going to be able to clear all the issues, but one thing we can be optimistic about is that the African woman is resilient, and she's very clear that she is not going to allow us, the young men, to occupy this space.

Speaking for myself, I run an organization in which the majority of my top management, over 60 percent, are women.

Thank you very much.

MR. DE SOUSA: I like the way he said, "us, the young men."

MR. DERVIŞ: "Us, the young men" -- yes, I noticed that, too. That's good. That's good. That's good.

MR. DE SOUSA: Perhaps I would offer one other comment, which is: The ability to look at best-practices, and take role models, and learn from those is something that I think hinders, especially when it comes to gender equality. Because I think, when we look around the world, there's probably woefully very few countries, regions -- you know, Asia has been very successful economically, but I think we could argue about the rights of women, or the ability for women to be equal partners in those economic developments. Latin America probably suffers from the same, and perhaps even the United States still has a way to go, depending on which state in the union you want to look at.

And so, again, I will come back to the strength, the resilience, and the capability of African women. They'll figure it out, because they know how.

And I think we, as perhaps multinational organizations -- yeah, sure, we apply corporate American standards, we apply gender equality, we apply diversity rules. We apply governance and transparency business rules, of course. We do that, and we are very consistent in how we apply them across every single government that we deal with.

So that's important. Because that level of consistency must remain in place.

But I think that when it comes to gender equality, I agree with you, let the women in Africa, they won't let us get away with it.

MR. COLLYMORE: But, they can't -- I mean, you make a good point about American -- Fortune 500 companies, the number of women who are sitting on boards, who are CEOs, who are the chairmen, you know, it's shockingly low. And that's not a benchmark that, in Africa, we should be following.

MR. IRELAND: You need to give access, as Bob said, and, you know, have programs, et cetera, and role models -- all the things you guys have said is absolutely key.

On the governance thing, you know, we operate in about 160 countries around the world, and corruption is not an African, or bad governance is not an African issue, it's more global. And I think it's a combination of -- and it takes two.

And so, you know, everybody thinks it's always, you know, you say no, you don't do that, then people understand that. We're fortunate, we're a big company, that we can do that. I think it's very hard on smaller entrepreneurs that are trying to get through the system, if you will, the bureaucracy, where a lot of that might occur.

But what I have found is that, fundamentally, if you work the process, push, but don't try to get overly aggressive from the standpoint of speed -- because once you try to push the process faster than it really wants to go, then you're opening yourself up. And I think that's the -- and so there's this balance.

And I think the good news, from our company's standpoint is, you know, there's no order, or sale, or anything that's worth saying yes to a bad thing. It's "no" -- and you've got to train people continuously.

And you have to understand local customs and all, as well. But, you know, I think as more people get through -- and I think the one thing I've seen in Africa, the press now, the press is really getting focused on at least government tenders, and things like that. So that's always helpful, as well.

But it's improving. It's got a ways to go, as Bob said. But, you know, we're continuing to see an improvement on that.

MR. DERVIŞ: Well, Jay, Bob, Fernando, Strive -- thank you so much on behalf of the whole audience here.

A round of applause for our panel.

(Applause)

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Good afternoon. In April of this year, Nigeria rebased its economy to become the largest in Africa, overtaking South Africa's economy in terms of GDP. Several weeks later, Boko Haram seized headlines worldwide by abducting nearly 300 school girls in northern Nigeria. In June, Kenya's \$2 billion offering drew \$8 billion in orders, making it one of the most successful bond offerings by any government from Africa ever. Days later, militants launched terror attacks against civilians in Lamu County, threatening to make the world heritage site of Lamu Island a no-go area and damaging Kenya's vitally important tourist industry.

Last week, a leading U.S. newspaper, which shall go unmentioned for right now, ran a story about the traffic problems that might be caused in Washington due to the Africa Leaders' Summit, and then quickly pivoted to quotes from a federal official assuring Americans that the Ebola outbreak in West Africa poses no significant risk in the United States.

These paradoxical developments reflect the challenge that Americans have in understanding Africa. Once dominated almost exclusively by notions of war, extreme poverty, and health crises, today many people in the U.S. increasingly see Africa for its business opportunities, its technological innovations, and amazing tourist destinations. However, it is important to ask whether American perceptions of Africa are really changing, and what more can be done to accentuate the positive news coming from the continent. At the same time, how do we sync American perceptions of the continent with African efforts to address development challenges while the African middle class continues to expand? Also, how can Americans work to end the various conflicts on the continent and to eliminate extreme poverty while not perpetuating outdated or inaccurate views? And finally, what is the role of youth in Africa and the U.S. in changing how Africa is perceived?

My name is Witney Schneidman, and I am a nonresident fellow at the Africa Growth Initiative at Brookings, and senior international advisor for Africa at Covington and Burling, LLP. And I warmly welcome each of you to this very important, and I hope interesting conversation.

AFRICA-2014/08/04

To help us sort through these complex issues, we have a most distinguished panel. We have Amadou Mahtar Ba, who is a cofounder and chairman of All Africa global media, known to most of you, I hope, as AllAfrica.com.

We have William Wallis, who is an Africa affair specialist at the *Financial Times*, and for six years, the *Financial Times* Africa editor.

Next to me is Helene Cooper, who is the White House correspondent for the *New York Times* and author of *The House at Sugar Beach: In Search of a Lost African Childhood*, which was a *New York Times* bestseller and National Book Critics Circle finalist.

We also have John Prendergast, cofounder of the Enough Project, a best-selling author, and a renowned human rights activist who has worked for peace in Africa for over 25 years.

And we're also pleased to have Akon, the five-time Grammy-nominated recording artist and philanthropist, who established the Confidence Foundation, that benefits underserved children in Africa and the United States.

Before I turn to our panelists with some questions, let me note that the event hashtag is #americasummit, and that those following along on Twitter can submit questions under the hashtag. And once we've had some initial comments and some back and forth, we will open up for your questions.

So the title of the panel is "A Changing Dynamic: Africa's Image and U.S. Perceptions in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century."

And let me start with Amadou of All Africa, and ask you, Amadou, from the African perspective, what's your role of how Africa is being covered? What's your view of how Africa is being covered here in the United States? Do you think we're getting the right story? Are we stuck in images that emanate from the Cold War? Or are we able to understand the new Africa that is emerging?

MR. BA: Good afternoon, everybody. Thank you for the question.

Look, we've got to start from the premise that indeed Africa is complex for anybody who is African, from Senegal. I mean, I'm from Senegal, so (inaudible) totally different. Now, the realities of the question about complex (inaudible) So for anybody to really be an Africa specialist, so to speak, and understand all the complexities of a 30 million square kilometers over a billion people now, this is very difficult to do.

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Sure, there are some challenges that the continent faces, and sometimes those challenges, you can find them on different parts of the continent which are the same. But also at the same time, a lot of (inaudible). Now, the reality is there is a difference between the reality and the perception we have. Now, Africans themselves have also sometimes a difference between the reality and the perception they have of not only their country but also neighboring countries. So I won't blame an American or a European or a Chinese if they don't have the right perception of what's going on in Africa.

Now, the reality also is all this has been changing gradually. Not there yet in terms of like really getting to the details of the complexities, but the needle has been moving. And you've got to say -- there's a proverb in Africa we say, "Until the lion knows how to tell its side of the story, you know, the tale will always glorify the hunter."

So now, adversely, if you tried to transcribe it in today's reality, what it means, Africans also need to know how to tell their stories. Let me just give you an example. Here we are. Everybody is saying this is a great event this week in Washington D.C., all these heads of state, all these delegations here. Now you would have to count who are those heads of states who have actually framed their story before coming here. Almost nobody did. I think President Debosa sent us an OpEd, but that's about it. You know, you can't imagine President Obama going somewhere without giving an interview to that country. Okay? It's all about framing the story. And we've got to actually frame the story, the narrative of the continent more and more.

The good news is, and I'll just lay it down there, so the good news is you have more and more professional media houses on the continent. Some of them are actually represented here. I (inaudible) media group, for you guys who follow Africa, (inaudible) is around here. My friend (inaudible) also.

But the second aspect is actually the social networks. I mean, you have young, dynamic people. Not even young, per se. You have the young people, but not so young, who are actually on the networks putting out their Africa, and not the Africa which is perceived from here, or from China, or from somewhere else.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Helene, let me turn to you. You grew up in Liberia but you've been here in the United States for a long time. You cover the White House for the *New York Times*, one of the

AFRICA-2014/08/04

preeminent journalist positions in the United States, so you know Africa intuitively, intimately, instinctively on the one hand, and you're working for a major newspaper. How do you think about African stories when they come to you? Do you feel a certain pull -- I should report it this way because I grew up there? Or I just have to get it out? How do you wrestle with that?

MS. COOPER: I've been thinking that I'm probably going to be your worst panelist today because in part I feel like I have so many different identities and so many different roles. And when you started talking about the way the western media portrays Africa, I get defensive because I'm with the western media. But I also have so many frustrations with the western media and how the western media portrays Africa because I'm African and I'm also American. So I've been like all over. Just listening to your introduction was like a case study in three different personalities for me. It's a really -- I think when you start talking about the whole issue of western perceptions and the perceptions particularly in America of Africa, it's such a complicated story. I moved from Liberia to this country. We moved to Knoxville, Tennessee in the 1980s, and I remember the first couple of years being so incredibly hard because at that time, as far as the kids in the high school I was in were concerned, Africa was a country. They were constantly pissing me off by asking me questions like whether or not we used to live in a tree, and I had the worst attitude possible because it was completely inconceivable to me that I knew as a Liberian everything you could possibly know about the United States, and these Americans didn't know anything at all about Liberia. I didn't understand the why of it. And I remember seeing *Out of Africa* won the Best Picture Award and I got pissed off because it was about white people and not about Africans. And then to make matters worse, *Cry Freedom* came out and it was about my hero, Steven Biko, but it wasn't really about him. He was reduced to a bit part in his own murder. And it actually turned out to be about Donald Woods, the white reporter who reported it afterwards.

And I think we've come a long way since then. You've seen almost like a cultural revolution. There's been a renaissance. You see, instead of the African literature, for instance, being solely the province of, you know, Alan Paton and the white South Africans, or even Karen Blixen. We see this new crop of African writers. You see Chimamanda Adichie, you see Taiye Selasi, who are telling a very distinctly African story. And I think that gets to Emma Do will say about Africans being able to tell our own story, and that's a challenge that we need to take up as Africans. But I think we're getting there.

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I also though think that the media and the western media of which I'm a part, has a long way to go. You brought up the Ebola story in the Times last week. It's amazing to me that this has been going on since March. By the time we got to July, a thousand people have died of the disease in Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Liberia. It wasn't until two American missionaries caught the disease that it exploded onto the front pages and on the evening news here. And that's a question -- that's something that I think the western media has to wrestle with ourselves about how we cover Africa and this need we have to constantly Americanize every African problem and issue, that it's not relevant to us until we can find a western face to put on it. But I think it's also a challenge for us as Africans to figure out our own way to tell our own story.

(Applause)

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Akon, let me turn to you. You're unique for many reasons, but from my point of view, being a native Wolof speaker and being born in St. Louis, and probably there's nobody better on the planet who understands image and perception and reality and how to shape image. So when you look at how Africa is portrayed today, and given your intimate knowledge of the continent, what do you see? And your work with various artists, your own work, what are your thoughts about how we should change Africa's image or how to go about getting a more balanced perspective? I know you're not a news person, you're a recording artist, but what can we learn from your experience in that respect?

MR. THIAM: Well, I think ultimately, no matter what you're involved in, the system doesn't change. The thing about Africa is that we have a history that's untold. Even though it's told, it's been told in so many ways and has been told from the likes of others who have marketed themselves to become leaders in their own universe. So when you look at a place like Africa that has so much history, so much resources, so many, like just, as the culture of it, everything out of Africa has been adapted everywhere else to build there. But we've never utilized what Africa has to build Africa.

So it's almost to a point where as -- because we have -- even though I was raised in St. Louis, my mother and my father and all of my family are Senegalese. And were born and raised in Senegal. We were the only generation that came to the U.S. You know, my dad made sure that we were all born in the states so that way we wouldn't have to deal with immigration issues like how he dealt with it trying to get over to the states. So surely, after we were born, he sent us back to Africa, and then

AFRICA-2014/08/04

Senegal is where I was raised up until later elementary and then moved into junior high, middle school, and from there just stayed in the states and frequently came back and forth. But I noticed that the more I went back, I could never understand that after so many years spent in the U.S. and then I would go back to visit, that nothing would change. It was kind of mindboggling for me that I would leave a place for five years, come back in the same corner, and that same Coca-Cola bottle is sitting right by that sewer.

And it made me think a lot about advancement and what advancement actually means. And one thing I've realized as I was going forward, is that as Africans, we can allow ourselves to be in a position where we're comfortable. Because what happens is Africa has this aura that's just so loving and it's one of those environments where you're happy because everything around you just feels good, so it's almost like when I was a child and I was running around, playing soccer barefooted, you know, living in straw huts, what we call (inaudible), and I was happy. No electricity, no water. I was completely content and happy with what I was, you know, experiencing. Until I got on that plane and came to the U.S. and saw that there were better.

So it all boiled down to more of the education of what was being installed in the minds of the youth going forward, because ultimately what happens is when you have leaders who are used to being in office for like 25-30 years, you're not going to get a chance for the next 25-30 years because that's only one mind and one vision. So I always felt personally that democracy itself is going to be one of the key things that helps Africa move forward because unless you change the line of power every so often, the mindset is going to be the same as the person who is leading now. Ultimately now, when you're swapping out these leaders, a new person will come with a new vision, new attitude, new environment, and new experience, and through that new laws will be built out, and more than anything, new bills will be written out. But more than anything, especially in Africa, the people have to focus on the youth there. I mean, as I'm moving around I hear it a lot. Yes, Africa, we have got to focus on the youth. We have to focus on the youth. We have to focus on the youth. But anything major that's coming apart that's related to Africa, there's never no programs for the youth.

Sixty-five percent of Africa is built and ran by the youth as we speak. The population is more youth-friendly than it is adult-friendly, and they're in a position where they see the change. They see what needs to happen. But we're constantly being pounded with the history, which keeps holding us

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down.

And it was a funny thing. I was having a conversation with a group of friends and we were talking about how we teach our children. And a gentleman mentioned how important it was for his children to know their history. And I kind of contradicted to it. And he couldn't understand why. Well, you're raising your children wrong. They should know what our people went through, this, that, and the other.

One thing I realized as I was growing up in the United States in the early '80s, everything was blamed on the white man. If nothing happened for you or you couldn't get a job or you couldn't get an opportunity, the white man is holding us down, this, that, and the other. But yet you have a continent that's free and clear, wide open for business, wide open for opportunity, and you could be treated equally without the headache of what you think is holding you down. But yet you don't even take the time to explore what's over there because of the fear that was installed in you. And not even realizing that you can get there -- it's the same distance from New York to L.A. as the same distance from New York to Senegal. And possibly the same ticket price. And yet you still haven't been there. You don't even know what it's like. You don't even care. As a matter of fact, the more, I'll say, negative news that comes from the continent that's exposed, the more it keeps you away. So the media actually plays a bigger role than anyone thinks because what we put out there is what comes out to the people. And ultimately, the people naturally believe what they see and hear on television. So the responsibility of anyone related to the media is so much bigger than they can ever imagine ultimately.

So when it comes back down to the marketing, it all comes back to what we want people to see. When I came in as an African, no one could believe that an African was a rapper or a singer or a R&B artist that was an A list artist in the same lines with the Whitney Houstons and the Michael Jacksons and the Lionel Ritchies, and so on and so forth. They were like, "Impossible. He's not African." And it was a strategy because I had to conceal the fact that I was African up until the point where I got so ahead that they couldn't stop me anyway. But that was the only way that I could actually advance, because when I first came out and put a record out for the first time, I wanted to inherit my African roots. I wanted to let people know that I'm African and this kind of talent actually exists on the continent. But I realized that no radio would play me. BET, which is Black Entertainment Television, told me that I wasn't urban

AFRICA-2014/08/04

enough. Then MTV said, well, I'm too urban. So where do I fall in the middle? How do I adjust?

So I just said, okay, well, I was born in the ghetto, I've been locked up, and I'm from St. Louis, Missouri. And it worked.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Let me just pivot to John here and play off that for a second because, John, you have -- you spent virtually your whole career on the African continent. You spent a fair amount of time in the headlines, on 60 Minutes, working with media a lot, and projecting a lot of what's happening on the continent, and your focus has been on conflict resolution. And you also work with some of the most identifiable people in the world -- George Clooney, Ryan Gosling, and others. And how do you -- how do you balance sort of your work, your vital work on conflict resolution, whether it's Sudan or the Congo or Uganda, and in terms of the larger message coming out from the continent?

MR. PRENDERGAST: Well, first, let me just say how weird it is to have been listening to the iPod this morning and then sitting next to the guy who I was listening to.

(Laughter)

MR. PRENDERGAST: He's even smarter than the lyrics, which is weird, because usually somebody else is going to be writing the lyrics. But it was definitely him.

But I think -- I was even thinking about the origins of this U.S.-Africa Summit. It isn't just that President Obama went over to Africa and sort of had an idea, let me just -- there were years and years of organizing by constituencies in this room, perhaps watching this on the webcast, and outside, and all over town, and all over this country, and in Africa. Years and years of people building constituencies in support of a deeper and broader and more respectful and equal relationship and engagement between the United States and Africa. I think about constituencies, the NGOs obviously, but the private sector has played a huge role in this. Church and faith-based groups in general have played - student groups that aspire to a better relationship and a deeper engagement than the United States in Africa.

And of course, as part of all that, celebrities play a huge role. I mean, we have a culture that is very, very interested in what people like Akon is going to be eating for breakfast. So if he and some of the people you mentioned and many others become interested and engaged with what's going on in Africa, it will bring more and more people into at least contact with some of these issues. That

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AFRICA-2014/08/04

doesn't necessarily mean they're going to learn the right things, but it gives them -- it opens doors.

And I think back also to what moved the needle, what changed the course of human history here in our country, and it's always been popular movements. You know, the Civil Rights Movement, the Labor Movement, the Environmental Movement, the Women's Movement, LGBT, all these different -- and then that's just for domestic purposes. But also, popular movements have helped internationalize social change when Americans connected with South Africans on the frontlines of apartheid in the anti-apartheid movement to help transform that situation there where Americans helped link with people in West Africa and Sierra Leone and Liberia and even Angola during the blood diamond years to help bring about some change there.

So popular movements are really where things are rooted. So I think that's where those folks that have a high profile that have distinguished themselves in their artistic endeavors and have an audience and the light is coming, like it's coming at us right now with those spotlights, the light is coming at us and people like Akon have taken the mirror and just shifted it and said, "Okay, look at this. Look at this issue. And listen to these people." You know, I think that's when I've seen it most effective is when a celebrity goes into a country that they often know very little about -- and I'm talking about some of the Americans that I've traveled with -- and they're learning and learning and learning. But instead of saying, well, this is what the history is, oh, let's have this person tell the story from that country. So really giving a platform to Africans to tell their own story that they wouldn't otherwise have in the international. They have a voice. It's just amplifying that voice.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: William, you spent six years as Africa editor at the *Financial Times*, so you got to decide what's in and what's out. Right? How did you make your decisions? I mean, granted, it's a business newspaper, but still, how did you make your decisions over what stories you wanted to tell?

MR. WILLIS: Well, I think because it is a business newspaper, and for an audience of policymakers and businessmen essentially, there's a need to cover a real breadth of stories from all sorts of parts of the world. So you can't ignore the politics. You can't ignore security issues. And you certainly can't ignore business. And you certainly can't ignore the economy. So actually, in a way, the *Financial Times* has kind of modeled to cover different parts of the world in a fairly similar way. The problem with

AFRICA-2014/08/04

Africa has been, in the past at least, that the *Financial Times* requires a bit of scale. You want billions, you don't want a million, in terms of the actual money that's moving. You want market moving stories. So in the past, for example, a lot of our business coverage perhaps in somewhere like Nigeria was focused on oil. More recently, the key has been to identify trends. So because not every deal is huge, although you're getting some really big deals now happening, you need to identify the trends in order to cover the business on the continent.

But I think one of the big challenges is -- and I think this applies to all the media -- is actually how few journalist we have on this enormous continent. You've got 55 states, and we're working with four bureaus if you include Cairo. And it just simply isn't possible to cover the ground. And there's a flipside to that, too, which is in the age of the Internet, you have a huge array of different sources of information potentially on the web and sites, but actually, it's very deceptive, because there are some journalists, there's a kind of homogenization of news because one single wire reporter in a country, say in Bangi in Central African Republic, or Kinshasa in the DLC, can really set the whole news agenda because he may be one of two foreign correspondents. This is obviously changing because the African media has developed so much, but it's still an issue. The news can be set by so few journalists.

So in terms of deciding what we cover, I mean, if there are big crises, it's very hard to ignore them, particularly when they're in strategic states. So that tends to soak up resources. If there aren't, then there's a lot more scope for what we can do. So, I mean, I think the FT has had quite a blend of stories. I think a lot of the western media, however, is still kind of hard wired to cover conflict on the continent and crises.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Right. So how do we get to the -- how do we get to where the positive story, I guess, sells? Isn't that what it comes down to? What's going to sell newspapers?

MR. THIAM: Sorry about that. What it boils down to is that conflict is what sells.

MR. WILLIS: It's partly that, but I think it's also --

MR. THIAM: The economy is just one big business. MR. PRENDERGAST: But see, this is what we're trying to push back against because if that's what sells, that becomes the image. So how do we get the other stories? How do we get the news story out?

MR. WILLIS: I slightly disagree because I think it's also an issue of which voice is the

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AFRICA-2014/08/04

loudest. And if you take this country, and it's fairly similar in Britain as well, the voices that are loudest on Africa have tended to be the faith-based groups, human rights lobbyists, and NGOs, and the very effective and noisy character on my left, John. And because their focus has tended to be conflict resolution, then you've got a lot of focus on that in the media as well.

Equally, I don't think there's a voice yet in this country that is really effectively pushing the business story in Africa that's talking about the real transformation in the continent's relations with the outside world that has taken place over the last 15 years, largely as a result of China's --

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: So one of my perceptions of this summit, the African Leaders Summit, is that trade and investment is going to move to the forefront of the U.S.-Africa agenda. Obama had that meeting in Tanzania last year with COs. He's doing it again for a daylong event tomorrow. It's going to be one of three items on the agenda. Wednesday, with the head of state. So it seems to me that the dynamic is shifting.

Helene, is this something that can really get reported about and written about?

MS. COOPER: Up to a point, yes. But I think the trade story has been for more than a decade now the only other story that there is outside of conflict in Africa, and you know, let's face it, it's not just Africa. The news media, we cover conflict. That's what we do. It's not news if it's like -- we don't like good stories. People call me up and bitch why are you just focusing on the negative? Why don't you write this? I don't even hear them. It's just noise.

So, I mean, news, that's the definition of news. So we're always going to flock to the conflict story. And in a lot of ways we should because that's not just because it's what sells, but it's also oftentimes this is what is important and there's usually some underlying cause there that needs to be reported.

That said, the trade story, I used to work for the *Wall Street Journal*, and trade was my beat. And I always was constantly looking for, you know, because at the Journal they basically said you have the entire world. Just go out there and write about trade stories. And so I would get Cambodia and China, and you name it, I was writing about trade spats, you know, in this place and that place, and I really wanted to do, you know, an Africa trade story, and there was nothing coming. I couldn't see anything. Every time I came up with a proposal they were like, oh, it's too small. It's too much small

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AFRICA-2014/08/04

money. It's not the GAT Agreement, it's not the China WTO where you're talking about billions and billions of dollars. You know, maybe Victoria Secret is going to open up a factory in Madagascar. I actually went to Madagascar. I finally got my story. But it was, always, at the Journal, it was, even though they wanted to cover it, they didn't like -- the fact that the money was so small flipped us into writing about it as a quirky little type of offbeat story, and you end up oftentimes relegating these stories. Isn't this a fun, quirky little feature story about this, that, and the other, and it loses the import. I think things are definitely going to be changing now because there's just so much more money and you're talking -- it's not just Nigeria with oil. You've got it spreading around the continent and things are getting -- but I think it's still going to be a long time before you see the type of robust coverage of trade and economic development in Africa that you see of trade in say China or Asia just because Africa does not have that kind of money. You don't have the number of people. It's very hard for African countries to compete with the Chinese on a lot of these type of products. So it's viewed in a different way. And if you're looking at a newspaper, like the FT or the *Wall Street Journal* or the *New York Times*, they're at the end of the day going to be looking for the bigger dollar numbers.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Right.

Amadou?

MR. BA: Well, I just would like to agree with two things. First is yes, bad news sells. You don't need marketing for that. And the second thing is, indeed, if you only base this on numbers, you know, you don't have a compelling story necessarily because even with Nigeria rebasing its economy, I mean, the continent is about 1.4, 1.5 trillion GDP. I mean, that's about France's GDP. You know, so the numbers do not necessarily -- I'm not necessarily comparing, but there is an underlying story which is a worse thing. I mean, all the human story which is there.

Now, where I really think that there is hope is that people need to realize more and more that you know, the mirror is not the perfect mirror. You look at the mirror and sometimes you see things there which are not true. But sometimes you see things which are ugly, and maybe it's because, like, you know, if you are ugly, then it gives you that picture, too. So it's not a perfect mirror.

But at the end of the day, I think we cannot change anything as long as we Africans do not frame our narrative, and that's really what it would boil down to ultimately. You've got to frame the

AFRICA-2014/08/04

story. And again, I'm not happy about the fact that our heads of state and others didn't frame the story of this summit, and the second thing is we've got to get the chance to all the people out there who are on social media and others and who are doing a lot of work, sometimes even better than the media itself.

And the last point. You know, when you really think about it, Africans, you know, many of them look at the United States. And, you know, in the heads of many, there are also a lot of stereotypes. Bribes, a lot of it; prostitution, a lot of it; you know, gunshots. And they can't comprehend. So at the end of the day, this is also embedded in human nature. And we've got to give it a chance for this movement which has started to grow and that infuse everywhere. And the media has its role. Citizens have their role. But our leadership also needs to do its job.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Let me ask Akon, and then John I'll come to you, about the African culture. And in your work and in the media outlets that you see, do you see an increasingly accurate reflection of African culture? And I'm thinking music and art and fashion, and other modes of expression?

MR. THIAM: With the human eye I do, clearly, because I'm out there on the ground and I can clearly see the advantages and the inspiration that inspires the rest of the world. You know, but getting back to the media aspect of it, you really can't blame them. They're just the messengers. They report what they see. And us, as humans, we have to evaluate that information and work with it. How does it benefit us? How does it not benefit us? But ultimately, we as a human race will never go forward if we put business and corporate gain before the factor that you're human first. Period. Like people will sell any and everybody out for a dollar. There's no human value anymore. And that's what it boils down to. Because as much money as the corporations and the media for itself, even what they report, I mean, corporation reports, they do foundations. They try to give back, so on and so forth, but even in that game, it's more funneling funds back on how they can gain more money.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Yeah, but one of the things that we're seeing in Africa when some of our major corporations invest there is that they're creating jobs and they're creating skills.

MR. THIAM: That's what they say.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Well, that's --

MR. THIAM: Where are the jobs?

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Procter and Gamble has created like 2,000 jobs there.

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AFRICA-2014/08/04

MR. THIAM: There's almost a billion people in Africa. Two thousand isn't doing nothing.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: You've got to start somewhere, right?

MR. THIAM: But think about it. Right? Let's say every year we say we have to start somewhere. Then I got here. When I can literally employ tens of thousands, I employ a couple hundred. Can you imagine -- I don't even blame them because as Africans, we shouldn't ever have to reach out to build our own country. There's enough money in Africa itself.

You know and let me give you an example. And you can check the statistics. Every week there's a new millionaire coming out of Africa. Every six months there's a new billionaire. It's clear there's a lot of money in Africa. Liquid cash. If we just bank in Africa. You know what? Let's not even help nobody in Africa ever again. All the rich billionaire, millionaire Africans in Africa -- no, from Africa, in Africa, just bank in Africa. That alone will help build our own economy. Do you follow? But we don't even go that far. And that's what hurts me more than anything. Because it's like we're so dependent on our neighbors to help us when all we need is just each other.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Do you see that changing at all?

MR. THIAM: It's going to happen with the youth.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Getting better or getting worse?

MR. THIAM: I think the youth is the only thing that can do it. I don't think that this generation or the generation before us can make that happen. It has to be the generation following, and we have to be able to teach them kids moving forward on how to not allow the history to hold you down and move forward because ultimately, if we continue to do what we're doing and follow our leaders in so many words, we're going to be right back here. It's like a 360 never-ending cycle. And someone has to take a stand and just do what's necessary, more for the fact of you being human first.

And it goes right back to -- let's say a prime example -- and this is not quite exactly related to Africa, but the scenarios don't really change -- the conflict in Gaza. It's clear that Palestine don't even -- they can't afford a military to fight back. They don't have the resources that Israel has. So from the human nature, like the human part of it, you can't sit here and literally kill women and children and think it's okay because you think one rocket is going to kill or be sent out. To avoid two or three people dying, you're killing thousands of people. There's no human rationale to that to me. So as people,

AFRICA-2014/08/04

we have to think us first. Everything will come naturally if we just do the right thing among each other.

Do you follow what I'm saying?

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Fair point.

Let me pivot to John. You wanted to get involved in this? If you want to jump in.

MR. PRENDERGAST: Well, maybe build on two points on this ongoing discussion.

The first one is, from our side of the equation, this idea of generating more development through keeping -- retaining that money in Africa is a compelling one, and part of the equation, perhaps, is all of the work that is being done on the continent of Africa and with its partners on battling corruption. And corruption being a two-way street that so much of the money that has come in and corrupted certain elites in African governments have been as a result of huge investments, very untransparent investments from the United States and from Europe, and certain Asian countries, and the move now increasingly towards more transparency, more accountability for money that has been diverted away from state budgets that would go into health and education and all forms of social welfare, capital development, and infrastructure. And so I think that's one piece of the puzzle as well that we need to talk about.

And secondly, on the media stuff, you know, everybody is correct. We're going to keep -- the world is going to keep focusing on -- if it bleeds, it leads, no matter where you are. Whether you're in St. Louis and you watch the nightly news in St. Louis, they're going to cover who got shot that day. And the world news is going to cover where the bang is blowing up the loudest.

But here is the point. You can cover these stories in a way that changes people's perceptions. Usually, when we see sort of a nightly news version of an African conflict, they're going to run straight to the one white aid worker and interview them because, well, our audience has to be able to identify with the story. Whereas, the truth of every crisis response in Africa is that it's led and staff and organized by Africans. You think about the humanitarian assistance infrastructure of responding to all the emergencies that we see. Ninety-nine percent of the people that are working in these crises, in these very difficult situations, very dangerous situations, are Africans putting their lives on the line. When you look at the park rangers who are protecting the wildlife from being poached, it's Africans. When you look at who is on the frontlines of human rights struggles and pro-democracy struggles, it's the Africans in the streets saying we want to see change in our country. And the healthcare workers, even in West Africa

AFRICA-2014/08/04

this week, you can see who's really bearing the brunt of the horrors because of the public health crisis there.

So I think covering a story -- they're going to cover those stories, but covering it in a way that values and demonstrates that Africans are at the core of the solution, not just the problem, that would be very helpful.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: So Amadou, the nightly news in Nairobi, is it reported in the same way? Does it lead with who was shot today or what bank was robbed? Or is it different? Or in Takhar?

MR. BA: I mean, it's probably different. But, you know, at the end of the day, John, if you are here, you live here within the United States, and the nightly news, you know, the anchor is reporting for an American audience for God's sake. The identification is done by, you know, the American doctor victim of Ebola flown back here. That is where the empathy is more than like the Liberian doctor who saved hundreds of lives and who ended up dying. That's just the plain reality. You know, and everybody knows in the news you're also competing to have viewership. So it's natural, and that's why we have to go back to basics. Let's make sure we have the professional journalists and let's make sure that we have the infrastructure, which enables Africans to tell their own story so that if you're in the United States of America and you're interested in what's going on, the story of that doctor in Liberia, you can get it. That's where I come out of this, you know, so.

MS. COOPER: I don't know. I think that's taking too much of the onus away from what people in the western media can be doing. I don't see that sort of looking for the American angle when people are writing about China or when people are writing about -- you know, when we write about Pakistan, and we write about Afghanistan, and we write about anywhere else except for Africa. I think we tend to --

MR. BA: I think it's there.

MR. WILLIS: I very much agree with you.

MS. COOPER: We tend to do it with Africa. Africa, we've got to find an American angle. I don't see us doing that with anywhere else.

MR. BA: Why is that so? We have to ask ourselves, why is that so, and find the answer.

MS. COOPER: And I think the answer would probably be that we still see -- "we" this is

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AFRICA-2014/08/04

now "we" Americans still saying "we" Africans.

MS. SCHNEIDMAN: You're moving around a lot in that chair.

MS. COOPER: We Americans still see we Africans as complete -- as very foreign and different.

MS. BA: We are.

MR. WILLIS: But if you were a historian in 100 years' time looking at trying to figure out since the millennium and you used the western media as your gauge, you would actually miss the story. You would think the continent was racked by conflict. You wouldn't realize that actually there's been this extraordinary transformation going on. And that is something very specific to the way Africa is reported because it's certainly not the case in Asia. You've got a much broader, better picture of what's actually happening.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: You tell a vignette in your book, *The House at Sugar Beach*, about when you were working for *Wall Street Journal* and you came to Washington and you were going to go on Ron Brown's trip to China and you gave your Liberian passport to the Commerce Department and the woman came back to you and she said, "I've never seen one of these. Is this real?" And I can only imagine how you felt. You said at the time it encouraged you to get your American citizenship and passport. But has it gotten any better. Do you think we know Africa at all? Would that happen again today?

MS. COOPER: Yes and no. It's definitely gotten better. This was in the '90s when Liberia was in the middle of the civil war. And so Liberia right now is 50,000 times better than it was in the '90s when we were in the middle of a civil war with child soldiers, with so many -- I mean, the carnage was unbelievable.

That said, it's still a very rare thing. I was traveling with my sister a few years ago. We were on a train, an overnight train going from England -- no, we were going from Paris to Florence, Italy, and I don't know. Don't ask me why we took the train. I can't even remember. But I had my American passport and my sister still had a Liberian passport. And it was the middle of the night and they stopped the train when we got to the border and came into the cabin we were in and dragged her out there with her Liberian passport. And the border immigration guys were just basically like examining her passport

AFRICA-2014/08/04

again as if it was some kind of exotic thing that they had never seen before and shining the flashlight. And I remember cracking up that night when she finally came back into the compartment an hour later, pissed. I mean, she was furious but it was like that was sort of par for the course. But I think, I mean, even that was before -- that was still right around the end of the Liberian Civil War. I think things are very different now and I think it's become a lot more -- I'd like to believe it's become a lot more sort of normal and usual to see people from all different countries in Africa moving about far more freely.

But I will tell you, one of the reasons I became an American citizen was that I didn't want the visa hassle anymore. Just having to fill out a visa to go to every -- there was not a single country I could go to except for the (inaudible) ones where I didn't spend two weeks at various embassies in visa hell. And that's a really horrible reason to become an American citizen.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: The reasons in the reasons. Good outcome.

One last question before I open it to the floor, and that is does anybody think that the African Leaders Summit is going to change American perceptions of Africa?

MS. COOPER: No.

MS. WILLIS: I agree with Amadou. There's been insufficient framing of this story by the African political leadership coming in. But I also think that it's a real marker that this summit is taking place and there's a real buzz about it.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Yeah. Very much.

Amadou, do you want to add anything?

MR. BA: Great it's happening. I don't think it would change much. I mean, the change happens what, you know, all of us individually do on a daily basis. Not because of the summit, which is a great summit, by the way.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: John, you see it from both sides -- inside government and outside government. Does this change?

MR. PRENDERGAST: So I think it marginally improves things that you get from President Clinton to President Bush to President Obama all investing some of their efforts of their presidency in enhancing a different type of relationship between Africa and the United States, more equal, more of a partnership. It's one very small step on a long road that needs to be taken.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Akon, what do you think?

MR. THIAM: Absolutely. I agree with John. But more so, I think that it's a way to pretty much make up for what could be done. That's how it feels, you know, because this is not the only place that a summit like this was held for Africa. Six times a year. Everywhere -- Ghana, Ethiopia, you name it, Gabon, here, Saudi, Qatar, Dubai. But we can have a million summits. If Africans themselves don't rebuild their own country, there's going to be a million more summits.

(Applause)

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: So let me open up to some questions here. I met last week a Mandela Washington fellow youth leader.

MR. GURU: Thank you very much.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Please say your name and where you're from.

MR. GURU: My name is Cherin Guru. I come from the United Republic of Tanzania. I've been attending the Obama's Washington Fellowship for Young African Leaders. I've been doing business and entrepreneurship track and I was lucky to receive the USDF (inaudible) grant.

In so many ways, my story is a story of so many other young people in Africa, not just in a struggle of trying to reshape the image of our continent, but to also push for growth and prosperity. And just to hint a few is where older people, older generations say that this is how it's done, we say it can be better. Where we start our own businesses with the new energy and focus. We're optimistic than the pessimism that exists with the older generation and the international community about Africa. We make 75 percent of the population. We're waking up to the realization of how much we can actually change the politics, the businesses, and actually drive tangible change.

The question I want to throw back to the panel has to do with the U.S. Africa relations, and basically, the United States in Africa has a reputation of having permanent interest and not permanent friends. So for some of us who are attending the summit, you know, I've been constantly receiving warnings, "What are you doing there? What are those Americans trying to put in your head?" And I constantly have to remind people back home that I am making friends with the United States. I am trying to be in international relations, which is in the best interest of the continent. But I'm not selling out my country.

So the question to you is what is the United States doing to get past this reputation? We've been talking about media here. A lot of people back home don't buy a lot of stuff that's been discussed here because they think that you pick stories. You pick angles that work best for the American and the international interests than the local (inaudible). We think we have a lot of good stories. We are the first generation to access high tech now. We don't just download Akon music -- by the way, I'm honored to meet you -- but we also share our stories. So we tell our American friends that Africa is not only jungle and diseases and wars. We have happiness in cities like Dar Salaam, Nairobi, and Lagos. That is a positive aspect.

So what I'm trying to ask here is what is America trying to do to get past this bad reputation? And even more importantly, to what extent is American willing to treat Africa as equal and avoid bad branding or punitive measures when Africa decides to act in its best interest? Thank you.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great.

John, let me turn that to you from having worked in the White House and the state department.

MR. PRENDERGAST: Well, one of the things that isn't really being featured a lot in this summit but is one of the things that I think the United States has invested a lot in in the last few years is in crisis response and the crisis response capabilities of African institutions. We look at peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations that the United States is investing quite a lot in, building up the capacities of African militaries that can be the first responders to some of the worst crises. You look at some of the peace -- I mean, in every conflict in Africa today, the principal negotiators, the principal peacemakers are Africans. And so I think the United States has, instead of trying to bigfoot that as we might have during the Cold War and the period thereafter, the U.S. has I think hopefully worked in support of African solutions for some of these conflicts and built up the capacity of not only the African Union and its peacemaking abilities but also the sub regional organizations -- ECOWAS and EGAD in eastern Africa, and the Southern African Development, SADC. I always forget what the C standards for.

So I think that's part of a less told story that the United States -- they don't really get anything out of it. I think a lot of the trade and investment stuff, the U.S. benefits greatly and it's an incredibly important agenda and I think a lot of people wonder, well, why is the U.S. trying to invest in

AFRICA-2014/08/04

this? They're curious and perhaps even concerned about what American corporate interests might have in Africa. But there is a whole other element of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and humanitarian response, public health development, education support, all these kinds of things that the United States is involved in as well that I think hopefully will lay a stronger foundation for the relationship between the United States and the African continent.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great. That's great.

Let me take some more. Over here. In the back there. Why don't I take two?

MS. THOMPSON: Hi. I'm Kate Thompson from Deloitte.

Going back to the question about Africa's own journalists, I believe that storytellers shape our world, and when I look at the journalism in Africa, I look at it as a supply problem and a demand problem. The citizens don't demand better coverage from their journalists, and journalists don't have access to information from their governments. And in some cases, they don't have perhaps the professional training or skills to analyze some of the information and the data that they're receiving.

So the question is to the *Wall Street Journal* and *Financial Times* and others is what are we doing to help African storytellers, African journalists, African media tell their own story that you've all sort of mentioned? What are we practically doing to help that? Why doesn't the *Financial Times* hire more African journalists, for example?

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great. Let me take -- over there. That was a great question.

MS. JEFFAN: Thank you very much.

My question is Africa is --

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Can you identify yourself?

MS. JEFFAN: Heather Jeffan, consulting firm.

Africa is a very rich country and should attract tourism. Not a single organization in the United States promotes African tourism. And believe me, I went there, invited by a friend of mine in Kenya. It's fascinating. I mean, I have never seen anything like it in Europe, Asia, or Latin America. But why don't we promote tourism? And that's really what gets Americans to know Africa and to know the culture. And all you have to do is promote tourism and then work on making it safe for them to come and enjoy being in Africa, enjoy the beautiful continent.

AFRICA-2014/08/04

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: I can tell you, I can answer that one right there. I know a number of travel agents that would love to take you to Africa. So see me afterwards and I'll give you their names.

Over there, please.

MS. COFIELD: Hi. Yes, my name is Natalie Madeira Cofield. I'm the president and CEO of the Greater Austin Black Chamber of Commerce. One of the things that I did want to mention is that Texas is actually the largest exporter to Africa from a Brookings report that was done, with more than \$5 billion worth of exports to the continent. And so as we're talking about reframing and recreating a narrative about what it means to do business in Africa, I'd love for us to kind of really push back on some of the comments that I've heard about the fact that there is a lot of coverage being done about trade because there's not. There's a lot more coverage being done around aid to Africa. And I think if I change the conversation to look at Africa as a growth opportunity, as a market opportunity, as why aren't you investing in Africa versus why you should invest in Africa, I think it would really do our country a service.

And so with that being said, my question is Austin is obviously one of the fastest growing technology centers in the country. Africa is one of the fastest growing technology continents in the world. How do we continue to keep pushing this conversation about trade and entrepreneurship on the continent looking at it from a tech perspective in this instance? That's a great story.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: That's a great question.

And was there one more? Did I see one over here?

Betty?

MS. MINOR: Thank you very much. My name is Betty Minor from Kenya. And I have two comments about this.

I went to a meeting last week on Friday. This absence of pop-up presentation of Africa I think does a lot of disservice to American investments or potential investments, and part of the conversation, it was mostly a couple of business people, their perception is that Africa is not open to them for business because it has been taken over by the Chinese because they don't care about human rights. The other narrative was they don't do business in Africa because the Europeans bribe. But that's not true to start with, but if the American media doesn't change its perception of Africa, it's only going to be to the loss of American businesses. The panel before, I think we had General Electric say that in five years

AFRICA-2014/08/04

their orders have grown from \$1 billion to \$3 billion. So there are some people who are doing great business in Africa and may not be able to tell the rest at least to be able to change the perceptions. So I think it would also be interesting to see whether the American media sees itself as having a role in changing that perception. It could be the role of African leaders. I agree. But I think there is also a lot to be done by the American media to actually change this perception and make sure the American people are aware of the dynamics in the continent.

And having said that, I think the panelists all said, "Is the Africa Summit going to change anything?" You all said no. Well, actually, there's been a lot more debate, certainly in my part of the world, there's been a lot more conversation about this summit than about the Europe-Africa Summit that happened in April. There are more people from my country here in Washington this week than went to Brussels, so there must be something to be said about all the hype and the conversation about this because I think certainly the levels of conversations and debates and write-ups says a lot more about this summit than what happened just four months ago. Thank you.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Yeah, great. Thank you for that.

William, first question to you. Why doesn't the FT hire more African writers or train African writers?

MR. WILLIS: Well, first of all, they should. Second of all, there is a slightly complex issue which is quite often it is actually better to have a foreign correspondent who is actually a foreign correspondent. So for example, if we're covering West Africa, it's not a bad idea to have an English guy or an American just as it would be anywhere else in the world because you have that outside perspective on things. So that's one issue.

But it's true that we haven't hired that many African journalists over time, although we have hired some. So, there's room for improvement on that.

But the other part of the question, I rather disagree with the premise in a way that we should be helping the African media because actually it is evolving incredibly fast. And when I first became a journalist I worked for the BBC African Service, Focus on Africa. Tens of millions of people listened to it all across Africa. It was a vital daily news media. Now very few people don't listen to it. They don't need to. There's so many African radios, TV channels. So in a way I think the media is

AFRICA-2014/08/04

evolving incredibly fast in Africa. Not always in a positive direction. Some newspapers have deteriorated in quality, but generally, the landscape has changed massively and I don't think, you know, I don't think outsiders have much to offer really. It's doing it itself.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Amadou, what's your take on that?

MR. BA: To my sister, Betty, for my part I just want to qualify why I thought it doesn't change anything.

You know, for instance, if you take the France-Africa Summit, it's been happening for years. The perception of France towards Africa and Franco-Africans probably today is worse. I mean, you can measure it by the levels of gain of the (inaudible) or not, for instance (inaudible). Now, you know, it's great that many people are coming here, including from Kenya, but that's also because there is probably some promise in here. You know, it's new. This is the first, at this level, summit between the U.S. as a country and Africa as a continent. So there's a lot of hope in that.

The second point, I just want to say there has always been bad excuses for not going to Africa. I'm talking about businesses. And indeed, they are losing out. Look, if you actually take the China-Africa relation, it's not new. And of course, the (inaudible) is not new, but before today, American companies shall not going into Africa saying, well, everything goes to China. They used to say, well, everything goes to the (inaudible). So there are always bad excuses. This thing is, indeed, if you don't go, then you're in the losing hand of this. And it is probably public service for the media to actually also -- media from this side of the world -- frame the story for American companies to say, well, you know, what you can do better by going to Africa. So that's really what it is.

MR. WILLIS: Can I just add something to that?

I think one of the great ironies right now is that the great kind of frontier capitalism that built this country that is so American is actually the Chinese who are doing it in Africa. American companies really aren't getting in there, getting their hands dirty, building railways. It's the Chinese who have inherited that.

MS. COOPER: I'd like to just insert something though on this great Chinese and Africa story that we consistently hear. I don't think it is necessarily all roses. I think that we get that here because we're constantly, you know, we're told, you know, the Chinese are beating the Americans, and

AFRICA-2014/08/04

they are in Africa, obviously. But I think that comes with a lot of damage, societal damage, and it comes with a lot of cultural damage.

I have an anecdote I just want to fling out there. I spent much of last year in Liberia. I was working on a book, and the Chinese -- I mean, Liberia was founded by freed slaves from America. Liberia should be the ultimate American story. But China is big-time in Liberia. There is this whole narrative that China has completely overtaken, and in many ways they have, the United States in Liberia. But the Chinese government and these Chinese companies were working on a fourth or fifth university. It will be part of an adjunct of the University of Liberia just outside of Monrovia, and they built what they billed as this beautiful campus, dormitories and all that, and you know, the University of Liberia is very overcrowded. And for the bathrooms, the Chinese built -- there's this big controversy in Liberia because they built these outside toilets that are basically just holes in the ground, and the Liberian students refused to use them. And there was this big deal with why did the Chinese build these toilets? They aren't real commodes, not real toilets, they just built these things and it was basically, yeah, well, this is Africa. People should be used to going to the bathroom with a hole in the ground. It was this huge controversy. And for two years now these dorms are sitting there empty, not being used by a ravenous population because you have this sort of cultural conflict there. And anybody -- I remember getting into a fight with a Greek friend of mine who was, like, this is insane. Why are the Liberian students, you know, they don't have schools to go to. Why are they not -- and I kept trying to explain, "But you don't understand. They feel insulted." There's a lot, I mean, they spent millions of dollars building this. Why couldn't they just put in proper bathrooms? And there's a lot -- often these disconnections between these cultures that we don't -- we don't see these sorts of stories here in the United States. But all I would say is that I was just struck by how --

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: It sounds like a good story.

MS. COOPER: It would be a great story. I don't write about Liberia for the *New York Times*. Yeah, it's quirky story. But it's very much a case of when we're here looking at it, it looks as if, you know, China has completely taken over. And I just think all of that comes -- it comes with a lot of -- there's a lot of prejudice right now between Africans and the Chinese on both sides of the issue. There's a lot of suspicion. It's not -- I just think we shouldn't whitewash it when we talk about it here. We should

AFRICA-2014/08/04

have -- our eyes should be open when American companies and American organizations go to these countries, we should also be aware that it's not as if, you know, it's not as if other people don't have issues as well.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Right. Right.

MR. THIAM: I'm sorry.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Go ahead.

MR. THIAM: I think in any situation there's going to be a good and a bad to the situation. Like I just left China, and I went into a facility where their bathrooms were holes in the ground. So that's their culture. It wasn't that they did anything disrespectful. That's their culture. Now, the Liberian culture and the Chinese culture are similar when it comes to history and family and stories. They're kind of similar. But the way of how they live, their diet, things of that nature is kind of different from ours.

So I think a lot of times always a misunderstanding or miscommunication because we don't communicate enough as a human race. So ultimately, anywhere you go in the world, there's going to be parts of cultures that you may not be, you know, experienced with. Me, being in America, and learning here, I realize just how much I need to know because when I first came to this country, I spoke fluent French, spoke fluent Wolof, and came to the U.S. and learned English. But I was so busy learning English that I lost my French because no one speaks nothing here but English. The only reason why I still speak Wolof is because we spoke Wolof at home, but I don't see how you can be in a position where everything is catered, like that's the only thing that I think the U.S. can expand on, and I think be better with, is educating Americans to the outside world. And I think Africa has always been one of those continents where it's almost like if there was even remotely close conversation about education to Africa, they shut it down. You know, there's a lot more to Africa that needs to be learned, even in the schools. Because even when you look at American history, Africa has played a huge role building America, but you would never even know that. You know, so it goes all the way back down.

Now, getting back to China itself, the only reason why they feel like China is taking over Africa is because they really are. It's true. And I can say this because I'm a born American, so that makes me an American citizen. As we were traveling all through -- with my Akon Lighting Africa project, we've got 14 countries that we're locked into contract, you know, supplying smart homes, street lights.

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AFRICA-2014/08/04

But it's ironic that I'm an American citizen and I'm being funded by the Chinese. It's not that the U.S. don't have the opportunity, don't have the respect, don't have the manpower, don't have the experience to do it. I just feel personally that there's not enough interest in Africa yet for the U.S. to put their hands in there, because ultimately they have the power to do it, walk in right now and be out of there, and Africa could be amazing with that partnership because I think if the U.S. and Africa actually really joined forces and created the United States of Africa, this would actually empower and strengthen America a lot more, believe it or not.

I thinks he might have left, but she's absolutely right, not investing in Africa at this point will completely disable the U.S. in the future. Because what Africa has to offer that Chinese now are taking advantage of, and you see how fast China is building, but if they actually have Africa on top of what they are already building, they will become the world's new superpower. So it's a question of do you get involved now, or do you just wait and be very arrogant and allow that to happen and then come back later and realize, wow, we made a mistake. It goes right back to the music industry. And I like to relate a lot of things with the music industry because it's almost like it reflects reality.

The music industry was so powerful at one point. Everyone needed a record deal to be famous. Digital came on board, so it really wasn't a threat yet, because its digital and no one really understands it quite. How does it make money? We quite don't know yet, but just give it a minute. So while that's happening, you have a small company called Apple who is creating what could be the next music industry. They go to someone like a Universal, Sony, Warner Brothers, all these guys and say, "Listen, we have a new format that may work for you. What do you think?" "Well, we don't really understand that." "Okay. Well, how can we license your music and sell it in our platform?" "Well, you know what, you can just take it. Whatever helps us sell more records, we're cool. Have it." They give up the whole catalogue to Apple. Apple creates iTunes. Now, everything that you buy related to music, entertainment, movies, film, you name it, you have to go to iTunes to download it and actually own access to the content that Universal spends millions and billions of dollars creating so that they can get 30 percent of what Apple makes 70 percent of what they're making. So they literally came and took over the music business because they didn't see tomorrow.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Akon, let me just pivot for a second because we're running out of

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AFRICA-2014/08/04

time. I want to bring it back to Africa. And I want to convey a Twitter question that we've had. This is to you, Amadou.

What is being done to bridge the gap between Africans in the continent and those in the diaspora? And can media play a role in this?

MR. BA: Well, yeah. I think actually, you know, every day, and I'm sure Akon would do this, too, every day, being in the diaspora, I've been living in (inaudible) a very long time, you get news and information online from your own country every day. And the media is doing that. Almost every African country has one or two or three flagship websites, that's, of course, on top of all Africa. So the media is playing that role, and it would keep growing that way.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Yeah, okay.

Let me take -- I think we have time for just a couple more questions. Right here.

MR. DUFFY: Abadou Duffy, founder (inaudible).

This question is for Akon and Amadou.

I'm a technologist and we have an army of developers in Africa. We are constantly thinking about creating something to own that content and navigate it through. But because we are so bound into our technology mind we don't know what to do. What kind of focus -- what is the media focus we should be basically focusing on?

MR. THIAM: Well --

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Akon, let me take two more.

MR. THIAM: After? Okay.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Go ahead, over here.

MR. MALIKI: My name is Abdul Maliki and I'm from GCI.

My question to the panelists, and you kind of touched on it a few minutes ago but you didn't go deeper, the first FDI from Africa to the United States, the diaspora was here. And so far it's not utilizing to its full potential to change what you all are talking about as the narrative about Africa. We all in this room has been to (inaudible) leader of this country and when you get to the person in charge of Africa you see the American guy who has been on the continent or two times and wrote a book about it but doesn't have all the perspective that the diaspora people have here.

So how can we, people in this room, make that change happen that America can use the real African who is American who is here and can tell them what really happened on the continent or what really matters as a change that we are looking for. And I want an opinion from the panelists.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Good question.

And there is one more question over here.

JOSHUA: Thank you very much. I think my name is Joshua. I come from Kenya. I think we operate in a region where perhaps covering 250 million people within eastern, central, and southern African today.

I think my question is back to the panelists. I think Amadou and maybe Akon. Whatever the stories we write -- I mean, I'm a proud African. I live on the continent. We continue to run the race of transforming the continent today, whether you write differently. I think the question from the man who spoke on the last panel was around the technology revolution on data and voice. For 500 million people connected on the continent, shifting the conversation is happening today. A huge opportunity for investment. And we have a lot of American investors today we see in our markets -- capital markets, equity markets, debt markets. Is there a chance -- it is a complex continent, I agree, it's very complex. It's 55 countries. It's not one story. One is positive, is negative in another country. And it will be like that for a long time. Sometimes we want to say it's one continent, it's one Africa. It's not one Africa for us. Every single country, from Abuja, Zaire, it's different. Is there a chance to see -- and I love what Amadou is doing -- are we able to see, utilizing that technology platform, to shift the stories that transform the continent?

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: So we just have a couple minutes. So why don't we just go down the panel and everybody can respond to some of those questions and make some final comments on what we've heard.

Akon, we'll start with you?

MR. THIAM: Which question first?

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Well, there were several questions that were put to you. One about technology and how that can be utilized.

MR. THIAM: Oh, absolutely. On what technology you think we should start. Right?

AFRICA-2014/08/04

I would start with mobile, because right now mobile handhelds is the key communication for Africa. Anything that you can operate from your phone, you'll win. So create apps that you can actually use on dumb phones and smart phones, because a lot of the rural areas, they don't have smart phones. But there's a minimized type of technology that creates apps that can utilize, you know, technologies that actually work with smart phones, or more, just to be able to communicate in other words. But I think any business revenue that you have that can operate from a cell phone, you can actually win in Africa, for sure.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great.

John, do you want to respond to any of those or anything else?

MR. PRENDERGAST: I was just going to ask you if you can help me make this dumb phone --

MR. THIAM: You've got a BlackBerry, dude?

MR. PRENDERGAST: -- be a little smarter. I've got something to talk to you about afterward. But I'm one of those loyalists. I can't let go. I'm a dinosaur, the BlackBerry.

You're another one, too? Ooh.

Anyways, I was going to try to answer the diaspora question, only to say that in the 30 years that I've sort of been involved in politics in the American system and in policymaking on Africa, it is very powerful when African constituencies in the diaspora work together and come together around specific issues. I go all the way back to Somalia in the late 1980s where they helped dismantle the dictatorship of Sayed Bari. Now, they couldn't anticipate what came after that, but the power of the Somali-Americans working together in congressional district after congressional district made a big impression on me. And I've seen that replicated many, many times over the last 25-30 years. And I think about the trade agreement between the United States and Africa that needs to be renewed in the coming year and for Africans that come together for that name of which is --

MR. AKON: AGOA.

MR. PRENDERGAST: Coming behind that I think about the way the Lost Boys and other South Sudanese people were sent all throughout the United States in their reintegration journeys, getting asylum in the United States and how they're politically very important in each little congressional district

AFRICA-2014/08/04

that they live in now, and when they come together, they're very divided right now, but when they come together, the impact they can have on the United States foreign policy and peace in South Sudan can be incredible.

The Congolese-American diaspora and how much of an impact -- they were so divided for so long, but when the Dodd-Frank Bill came along and there was a provision there that said, okay, we just want American companies to divulge and be transparent about the investments that they're making in Africa, the companies that are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, just be open and honest about how you're getting your resources downstream in your supply chain, Congolese-Americans came together and had a big impact, congressional district by congressional district. So it's that unity really and diversity, the impact, the raw possibilities of that impact resides.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Right. You know, just to add a footnote, in 2008, the Obama Campaign, I remember we were going district after district talking to diaspora communities. And it didn't even matter if they were Americans or not, because even if they weren't, they knew somebody who was and they could get out the vote. And it was just incredibly electric, and I think that power can be replicated over and over again.

Amadou, let me come to you for a final though here.

MR. BA: Thanks, Witney. I just want to end by saying of course we hear all the time that necessity is a matter of invention, which is true, particularly in Africa because of all the needs and creativity. But at the same time what I usually say is desperation is a matter of action. And when you look at my brother there, what he was talking about, like you know, how to use American companies more in Africa or use people here, when they are stuck in the middle and know that the sheer knowledge and talent they can use to get them ahead, because they are losing ground more and more, they will do it. So when they become desperate, they will go to action. And I think, you know, the outlook for me is great. And I really want to end it there. The outlook is great for Africa. There is still a lot of work to be done but, you know, it's all of us in this room and our kids who will really ultimately finish it.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great. Thank you.

William?

MR. WILLIS: Just speaking about the diaspora, one of the slightly less told stories,

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AFRICA-2014/08/04

actually, is the number of Africans in the diaspora who are actually going back to take advantage of opportunities in places like Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Zambia. But I think to take it right back to how you started, this sort of complex picture that comes out of the continent, it's amazing that you've got that trend alongside this extraordinary kind of exodus where tens of thousands of people are marching across the Sahara Desert into, in many cases, a watery grave in the Mediterranean. And I think that kind of -- those two trends rather sum up what's happening on the continent today. There are still places where people are really suffering and desperate, but you've also got these tremendous opportunities which are bringing the diaspora back.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Yeah. An incredibly complex picture.

Helene, I don't know which side of the chair you want to sit on.

MS. COOPER: I'm going to sit on all three.

I think we had a question earlier just about the whole idea of how to get the African story across, and I think the western news media part of me says that we at the *New York Times* and the *Financial Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* and all these institutions, these news institutions, really need to do a better job of finding Africans to tell their stories. Ditto for Hollywood and for TV. And then the American -- the African in me says that we have to find a better way of telling our own stories as Africans and doing it ourselves. This is a job for us. It shouldn't be Africans relying on the *New York Times* to tell our story. We should be taking charge of our own destiny and telling the world what we have to say.

And then the American in me says that we also hear -- those Americans who have an interest in Africa should read those stories. Go out and buy Chimamanda Adichie's book, *Americanah*. Go and buy Taiye Selasi, *Ghana Must Go*. Read them. Support this burgeoning group of African writers who are fantastic.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Yeah. Here, here.

(Applause)

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Well, we've gone over our time. And before we depart, let me just say there's a reception after this immediately. Drew, where is it? Right next door. So please come and join us. And let me thank the panelists for your willingness to come on and sort of tackle a subject that's not often taken on and not easily discussed, but I thank you very much. And let me ask you to give them

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a hand of applause.

(Applause)

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