

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA WASHINGTON CENTER  
KENYA IN TRANSITION:  
A CONVERSATION WITH VICE PRESIDENT STEPHEN KALONZO MUSYOKA

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**PARTICIPANTS:**

**Introduction:**

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**Featured Speaker:**

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**Moderator:**

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## P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. KIMENYI: We are in a different location so some people may be going to our normal Brookings facilities and then coming back so we expect that we will get some more as we start.

Your Excellency, the vice president of the Republic of Kenya and Minister for Home Affairs, Honorable Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka; Parliament Secretary in the Office of the Vice President and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dukadia Chara -- Your Excellency, Ambassador of the Republic of Kenya to the United States, Mr. Elkanah Odembo; all other ambassadors. And I would like to welcome his Excellency from the Embassy of Rwanda. Honorary members of Parliament accompanying the vice president. We have Honorable Yosuf Hassan Abdi and Honorable Philip Kaloki, senior officials of the U.S. government, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

My name is Mwangi Kimenyi. I am a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and director of the Africa Growth Initiative. On behalf of the Brookings Institution and my colleagues of the Africa Growth Initiative, I welcome you all to this event. I am privileged to welcome the Honorable Vice President and members of his delegation from Kenya. The Africa Growth Initiative at the Brookings Institution seeks to articulate informed African voices on policy matters leading to the impact of development in Africa. We collaborate with leading think tanks in Africa in our efforts to impact policy here in the United States, in Africa, and indeed, globally. We believe that this is Africa's century and with the appropriate policies and strong institutions, Africa will indeed claim the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This requires forging partnerships that make it possible for Africa to exploit the immense potential to achieve high rates of economic growth. But it is

our responsibility as Africans to come up with those policies that will lead Africa on a long-term sustainable and inclusive growth trajectory. This is the primary mission of the Africa Growth Initiative.

As part of our activities, we seek to engage senior policymakers from Africa and other countries in exploiting development challenges and opportunities that our African countries face. It is therefore my pleasure that the Africa Growth Initiative is hosting His Excellency, the Vice President, Honorable Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka, for a conversation on development in Kenya, and in Africa in general. He has a long bio and I'm going to abbreviate it so that we move on.

The Vice President has been in government for quite a long time. He is a lawyer in training. We went to the same institution but he was doing it while I was doing something different. And then after establishing a law firm, he has been involved in government, establishing political parties. And I'll just mention that he has actually, in addition to being involved in politics, the political party system, he has been a leading member of the Kenya policy community. He has been in government for quite a while and he has earned some of the most important or what we call the key ministries in Kenya. He has served in the Ministry of Works and Physical Planning, in Foreign Affairs, in Education, in Environment. So he has been all over. And he has also been a deputy speaker of the Kenya Parliament.

I would like to just mention some -- in addition, of course, he is the vice president of Kenya Ministry of Home Affairs. I personally know him, at least the time I knew him more, you know, close was when he was the Minister for Foreign Affairs. And during his tenure as the Foreign Affairs minister, he played a significant role in mediating

peace in Africa, and especially in Southern Sudan and Somalia, culminating in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement we all celebrate, the CPA, for the Sudanese and interim government for the Somalis under the auspices of the (inaudible). So we all know that Kenya played a major role in the South Sudan peace process and he was one of the leading persons at that time. So he will be making a few comments.

And I'll introduce my colleague, Witney Schneidman, who will moderate this discussion. And Witney, again, I will not go through the bio. I will say that the most important thing is that he is associated with the Africa Growth Initiative, but in addition to that he has served during the Clinton Administration, Dr. Schneidman served as deputy assistant secretary of state for African Affairs where he was responsible for economic and commercial issues in sub-Saharan African and has had the responsibility for Southern Africa. Witney is working with us and he knows Africa well. He started at one point at the University of Dar es Salaam, so he should know the terrain fairly well.

Now, the way we are going to do it is the vice president is going to make some remarks for about 25 minutes and then 20 to 25 minutes, then Witney will sort of moderate the discussion. So Kalonzo Musyoka.

(Applause)

MR. MUSYOKA: Thank you. Thank you so much, Professor Kimenyi for your kind introduction.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to speak on the subject, Kenya in Transition, a conversation regarding my own country and perhaps the region. It is so nice to be present with you this afternoon and to see in your midst somebody who probably knows a lot about my country. I'm referring to Ambassador Mark Bellamy. It's

so nice to see you, U.S. ambassador to Nairobi. And I'm sure some of the staff that I'll be talking about may sound familiar.

Allow me to thank you for your kind invitation to come over here. And I've been actually hopping across the great United States of America. And we have enjoyed the traditional hospitality of the American people, the Land of the Free. And wherever we have gone, Kenyans have been able to sing both our national anthem as well as that of the United States. We started this in Boston. It was my first time ever to go to Boston and as we were leaving Boston we were reminded of what happened on September 11<sup>th</sup>. And then we were able to fly into Dallas. We found Kenyans, a community of Kenyans studying, living, and working in the United States. And then onto Atlanta, the capital city of CNN, and other places. I missed out on Kenny Rogers. I love country music and I was told he was in the neighborhood. And then we were able to move onto Minnesota, Minneapolis, from whence we have just arrived. And so literally one night per city, sometimes waking up at 2:00 in the morning. So if you find me incoherent, you will understand why.

But it's so nice to come again to Brookings. I think I've been once at this wonderful think tank institution. My friend Witney is saying it's not so much the tanking as the thinking. And so, please, feel relaxed as I take you through some, a few comments about Kenya in transition. And I'm so happy that my colleagues, members of Parliament, were able to find time to be with us and, of course, our good ambassador to Washington who has been part of our delegation wherever we have been. It's also important to notice that even as I talk about Kenya, it's very easy to forget about Kenya and talk about East Africa. We are so exacted. We formed a community. We made the mistake in 1977 of

just allowing a disintegration of what was perhaps Africa's most viable regional economic grouping. But we since realized our mistakes. Because of bad politics in the region, conflicts at that time were all a manner of contradictions, including the east-west politics at the time, the Cold War, and things. Scientific socialism, as it then was and, you know, in 1965, Kenya took a deliberate step to say we wanted to be in the middle ground. And so we fashioned a document that was able to steer the affairs of our nation at least in terms of political orientation in some direction. And that way we were able to avoid the kind of harm that befell so many of the African nations because I'm sure all of you will have had one military coup after another.

And we thought we had actually put an end to that until recently you hear stories about Mali. And what is even more depressing is I saw news that the interim president was attacked by people. They just went in and fought him and injured him and he had to go to the hospital. So we thought we had put behind us this problem of military coup d'états because by their very nature they are undemocratic and their integration into the kind of past that we want to put behind us.

Be that as it may, East Africa -- and I'm so happy to see the ambassador of Rwanda here -- is actually doing well. We have a customs union. We are doing well. We are thinking of even a political federation. Those days, the leadership in the region included Malim or the late Malim or Julius Nyerere, political sage literally and, of course, Idi Amin, with whom he later fought to overthrow him. And then we had Jomo Kenyatta, the founding president of the Republic of Kenya. And all of them are their own advisors. Sometimes misadvisors. And so we have since been able to pick up the pieces. I was privileged to be the chair of the first ministerial committee meeting that was able to begin

the process of integration. Again, the process of integration in East Africa.

But let me today restrict myself to Kenya because I think that is why I have come specifically to tell you that I'm so excited about my country. It is an issue to find something exciting when there is so much deprivation, when there is so much strife and hunger and poverty. But the reason I'm excited is because I'm able to now see a little light at the end of what has been a very long tunnel. Kenya became independent from Britain in 1963. We fought hard. We killed a lot of British people but they also injured us significant. In fact, we have taken them to court for reparation and there were more fighters and other people because it was a terrible conflict, the struggle for independence. So we were never given independence on a silver platter. We fought for it. We shed blood.

What has been very depressing is so many years after that we killed each other because of an election. I was actually, just for the record, one of the presidential candidates in the last general election of 2007, 2008. I was around third but then I draw a little satisfaction from the knowledge that when a South African judge by the name Johann Kriegler was asked to come and find out what actually happened, he said there was no winner. It was difficult to point out who the winner was. Therefore, I refused to accept that I was a loser. (Laughter)

Of course, on a lighter note, I got close to a million votes. I believed a lot of them were mishandled. That is just to put it mildly. And so we had -- part of the reason we had to fight politically between the president and the prime minister and myself was because in 2002, after the elections of 2002, Kenyans were judged widely as the most optimistic people on earth. I don't know who actually carried that opinion poll but it

was something because we wondered. Kenyans are very outgoing and they love to receive visitors, for instance. And when it was an occasion, because we have elections after every five years since independence. But this election was different because it was the first time that the founding political party panel -- and I served the same one time as national organizing center of that party for 13 years. And then we disagreed with President Moi over the mode of party nomination on who was going to run as the party's presidential candidate. And that was the beginning of something very exciting. At the end of it we unanimously agreed that President Kibaki was going to be the compromise candidate.

And so we had a beautiful election. And so thereafter we said the sky is the limit until we quarreled over a constitutional referendum. You see, we all signed onto some document that said within 90 days we will bring about a completely new constitution. We failed to do that. We not only failed but we quarreled until we had to go to a referendum on a document that I personally opposed as did a few other colleagues. And it was payback time. I was fired as the Minister for the Environment. And so as a prime minister I was holding some other portfolio. And so then it was clear the stage was set for the 2007 general election. And, of course, the country was divided between some fruits -- those who wanted the new constitution where we are given a banana as the symbol, and those who are against it were given an orange. I was an orange. And so was the prime minister. And the president was a banana because went around saying we didn't want a banana republic. And so they must have had other things about oranges.

It became very difficult for Kenyans to enjoy those wonderful fruits



because you see him eating an orange. People didn't like it. Or eating an orange. I mean, or a banana. At the end of which we, after we defeated the bananas, we chose to make the orange a political fruit. We then formed the orange democratic movement. I used to say at that time loudly that the future is orange. Until we also disagreed with the prime minister and he kept one orange and an orange and a half. And we went on then to have those elections. The president won but then that was disputed and then the country was up in arms.

The reason I started by saying I'm excited is because we have learned from those mistakes. Today you cannot recognize. You see the president, the prime minister, and the vice president sitting together at cabinet meetings. You cannot imagine for a minute that they were at each other and that their country almost blew up. This time around we got it right. The three of us vehemently campaigned for a better document; one that I believe holds the key to the future prosperity of Kenya. And in fact, we want to commend that document to many countries that are struggling in Africa to find an answer to proper governance. I think the current Kenyan constitution -- I'm myself a constitutional lawyer. I hope the view that it is probably one of the best documents when it comes to constitutions anywhere in the world. Very strong on human rights. Very strong on the bill of rights. And therefore, that's why I said I'm very excited. We are in the process of implementing that constitution. I serve as leader of government business and parliament. I have had to get some special leave to be away and I still follow what is happening. It's so nice to belong to this new era where you can follow what is going on back at home, many miles away. And I can tell you one of the members here serves as deputy speaker, the Honorable Professor Kaloki. The 10<sup>th</sup> parliament, because that is

the addition we have since independence, we have had elections after every five years. So the current parliament is the 10<sup>th</sup> parliament since our independence. It has had a great -- I told them, I told all of us we have a date to destiny in terms of implementation of our new constitution which is overwhelmingly approved by Kenyans at the referendum.

Therefore, under its terms, for instance, you find that it is not possible to have a president who is a dictator anymore. In fact, under the new constitution, like is the case in America, it is possible to impeach a president. We went back to a bicameral kind of legislature, which is what we had in the first place when we gained independence from Britain. But then during that period that followed we went back to unicameral legislature. We are back to it. We have a Senate and one of the functions of Senate is to deal with the important matter of impeachment of a sitting president. Therefore, balance of power literally is now guaranteed and there will not be, in my view, a future president who will never be able to abuse their position of privilege.

We also have to reform our judiciary. The chief justice, our new chief justice, brand new actually, I think visited Washington just about two, three weeks ago and he will have shared with -- some of you may have met him -- that what is going on in the judiciary is absolutely fascinating. For the first time we have had to set up a vetting board dealing with the matter of having to look at all the judgments a judge, a magistrate will have done. And if there are some that seem to be offensive -- I'll give an example. One time we had President Moi fighting it out with Kenneth Matiba, who at one time was minister. In fact, Kenneth Matiba was minister for works at some stage and I was his assistant minister. But because he suffered a stroke, one judge was able to rule that when his wife brought a petition, an election petition and the law required that you have

to sign in, sign the petition, and because Kenneth Matiba could not sign the petition, the judge who was then sitting on that matter ruled in favor of President Moi. And he said unless you, Mr. Matiba, cannot sign your petition, then it cannot be admissible. And you can see the implications of that.

So this judge many years down the line has now had to appear before the vetting board. And the vetting board found him unfit to continue holding office as judge of the Supreme Court, of the Court of Appeals. So this is what is now ongoing. And all the judges have to go through this vetting process. It is an exciting time and I think that Kenyans are beginning now to have faith in their judiciary once again.

I can tell you that legislature itself is supreme. It's already beginning to develop capacity to bite. They have to vet most of the presidential nominations and appointments. Before I came we had a big struggle over a nomination by three names nominated by the president in consultation with the prime minister to serve as commissioners responsible for the fight against corruption. We did that. Parliament approved that. And of course, civil society then went to court. This is exciting, the checks and balances that you have been crying for over time is really a reality in Kenya. Not even action by Parliament cannot be final, not when it comes to citizens' rights.

And I can also tell you that the executive is strictly held to account. This is the new country that I'm talking about. And I tell you, in terms of transparency and governance, even as we talk of what you have given ourselves as Vision 2030, when we hope that Kenya will have attained the status of a middle income country with a high quality of life for all our citizens. Because right now the biggest challenge you're facing is that of poverty and unemployment that is not even quantifiable. I had somebody give me

the figure 46 percent. Even that I doubt because we have a very young nation. Over 65 percent of Kenyans are aged today below 35. Now, you can see how young that nation is. We want to be able to top that potential and be able to have every Kenyan, young man or woman, able to realize their full potential.

So Vision 2030 then is a very important thing and we have some flagship projects to help us quickly attain that vision. And I here have in mind; I want to give you an example of what you're proposing as our second port. Those who know about Kenya will know that our deep sea port of Mombasa is actually congested. And friends from Rwanda have always complained that when goods designed for Rwanda and Burundi take forever before they're able to get to their designation. Now, we're thinking of setting up another port at Lamu and a project that you have called LAPSET. That stands for Lamu-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSET). President Kibaki was joined by President Salva Kiir and Prime Minister Meles of Ethiopia as they did the groundbreaking ceremony to begin this project. It will require in excess of some \$20 billion USD in capital to be able to realize that project. But we are determined because it is important. In fact, when we did it, it was also aimed at assisting people of South Sudan to be able then to have an outlet to the sea and they will be able then to export their crude oil or refined oil through the Port of Lamu because then that was going to provide the shortcut to the Indian Ocean.

When I went in to see President al-Bashir over the conflict, and I think Professor Kimenyi just said that we had some rule to perform with regard to achievement of peace that led to the world's newest state. But they have been having disagreements over the border, the border between the north and the south and you have seen through

the media the controversy they had over some oil well known as Heglig. At that time we had, because South Sudan decided to shut down these oil wells and then we could see the possibility of resurgence of conflict. So we agreed that we had to talk to them. And when I saw President al-Bashir, he told me, because we knew that they were not very comfortable with this lopsided project. He said, "Mr. Vice President, we're not worried about Kenya, what you people are doing at Lamu because in any event, you know, the Nile doesn't flow that way. It flows in the opposite direction. So we can imagine the pumping costs." I've never been an engineer but I could very easily in my lawyer's mind begin to visualize what he was talking about. But that was the subject that took me there.

But since then, we have struck oil. And I'm told that the oil that you have found in the northern parts of Kenya in the Turkana region is of some good quality. Of course, you are trying to establish the commercial viability of that oil find but we are very optimistic, cautiously so. And that oil is given a name of one of our livestock. That's where the name comes from. They like to keep camels. It's called Gamir. Gamir well. And according to Tullow, the company that was able to discover this oil, it's probably one of the most productive oil wells anywhere in Africa. So we are very optimistic.

So that's why again there's a reason to be excited. But even as we, because I must now conclude my few remarks, even as we share in this excitement, I am aware of tremendous challenges that lie ahead for Kenya. The most important has to do with the next election. You had me mention as a presidential candidate, it is obvious that unless something drastic happens I'll be yet again a presidential candidate. And this time for real and hoping to win and win big time. But I'm having to face up to the challenges. And so as we now look at -- take a very hard look at these upcoming elections, I know

the world joins Kenyans in being a little bit cautious. And ask ourselves. I'm sure we'll ask ourselves will this election be free and fair. Do we have an independent electorate commission able to deal with the challenge of administering a proper election this time? And I want to tell you that I'm very confident that the current commission is able to undertake this responsibility. The chair of this commission I think was also recently in Washington and he must have met up with some of you along with one or two commissioners, one of whom was ambassador here in Washington. Ambassador Dumba's successor. And I know that they are getting thoroughly prepared. They wanted quite a bit of financial support and Parliament was not able to give them exactly the figures they were looking at. The numbers were prohibitive but I think they came down and we are trying to make sure that we will not have to face an election about which we will feel pained, the outcome of which will again cause despair to Kenya. Because Kenyans have since taken a different leap in the right direction and they're very, very optimistic again. But I want to assure you that Parliament and all of us are very clear in our minds. We since have passed -- under the new constitution we've been able to pass subsidiary legislation which is going to make it possible for the country to have free and fair elections.

For instance, one of them is the new political party's act and members of Parliament will have gone through all the pages and the footnotes and the commas and will have satisfied themselves that I think now we are actually opening up that country the right way. Political party funding, for instance, is an important matter. Kenyans are now clear that you cannot expect foreign funding for your own political party. And this is how transparent we have become in that country. I'm confident on the whole that Mr. Hassan,

the chair of the Independent Electoral Commission, together with his team, will be equal to the task that is an all-important task because we know if the next election is judged to be free and fair and free of violence, then that country will be able to in new times begin to look at the possibility of achieving Vision 2030 objectives. And so I want to suggest to you that we are onto a serious recovery part with regards to this matter.

Finally, we cannot achieve Vision 2030 objectives if in the neighborhood we live under fear. If in the neighborhood we have a neighbor who is in distress -- I'm referring to Somalia. I'm sure you'll have since discovered that our men and women in uniform crossed the border into Somalia. To be able to deal with the definite challenge that was caused by an al-Qaeda related terrorist group referred to as Al-Shabaab. Since we moved in, I think that everybody does appreciate the fact that our men and our women have been able to stabilize to a large extent, Somalia. In fact, to the extent that the first commercial flight into Mogadishu happened and that was by Turkish Airlines. And we are not through yet with places like some of the major cities, like Ishmayu, which I think is within reach. But you don't want to move in that direction yet because our men have to do (inaudible) and flag where that stands for African Union Mission to Somalia because close to 5,000 of our men are out there. And believe you me, wherever they have been, they've been able to be able to work with the TFG soldiers. TFG stands for Transitional Federal Government of Somalia. And I think that Somalis now are able to breathe a sigh of relief.

But we have not received the kind of support mainly from the United States of America as we would have expected. I remember I came to the State Department during my last visit and everybody there was very skeptical. I hope they

since have changed their minds because there is an African nation with such a (inaudible), able to undertake some of the most difficult explanations. And this particular, it's not easy. And I can tell you that they have done it with such professionalism and with such precision that everybody else stands in awe. And those African countries that have not even committed their soldiers to support this African initiative, I hear a lot of them now coming in, signing in. Most recently, Sierra Leone.

I went into see President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria because Nigeria had hoped -- had said they were going to send in their troops. But because President Goodluck Jonathan was facing an election it was obviously a very risky undertaking. I hope now, although there is the challenge of terrorism in Northern Nigeria, I hope that Nigeria can join up with a country like Burundi. A country like Burundi recently emerged from a very serious instability, civil war, and they're able to send their men to Somalia. Uganda, of course, took the leadership. Now, Kenya was able to come in. Ethiopia came in. They are able to pull out for strategic regions. Djibouti are also engaged. So what countries in East Africa in the Horn are saying is that we need to resolve the Somali problem once and for all.

And I know the American people see this operation was it to restore hope or (inaudible). Restore hope. I know that when the media highlighted what happened in the streets of Mogadishu, American public opinion shifted heavily against any type of involvement in Somalia. I want to suggest that because times have changed significantly, that even American judged the rest of us in trying to restore peace in that very important strategic African nation because instability in Somalia is instability everywhere, particularly when you are dealing with the threat of terrorism. I still hold the



view that if the world acted decisively after the Nairobi bombing of the U.S. Embassy in 1998, perhaps September 11<sup>th</sup> could have been avoided.

So I think we should not sit in Washington and think that Somalia is far away from Washington, a god-forsaken place, because it isn't. And that we have nothing to do with it. So it's a challenge to us. We are on assignment as Kenya. We are on assignment to Somalia. And we hope that we can -- our efforts there will be crowned with success.

Thank you for listening to me. I don't wish to continue beyond that.

Thank you.

(Applause)

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Okay, Mr. Vice President, thank you very much for that very fulsome and canted assessment. I think your excitement is not only palpable but it's infectious in the best sense of the word.

We have about 30 minutes and we'd just like to really hear your questions and hear your thoughts. And I know you have some to share with us. But let me take the prerogative of the chair and ask you the first question. Many issues are on the table but I think, you know, really as you said, Kenya learned from 2007, from the elections there. Let me just press you for a second and ask you to elaborate on exactly what it was that you learned, what it was that Kenya learned that really let the constitutional referendum be successful and that will, you know, that bodes well hopefully for the elections in I gather March 2013.

MR. MUSYOKA: Thank you, Witney.

First of all, we used as a country to have this forced notion that we were

an island of peace in a sea of turbulence. We allowed that to get into our heads. And so we never for a moment assumed anything could go wrong until it actually did. Therefore, you can see our sense of national pride was hurt. We lost so many Kenyans. Even as I talked to you, we are trying to resettle those Kenyans who got uprooted from what they used to call home. And for the first time Kenyans had physiology like IDPs, internally displaced persons -- 650,000 of them. We lost over 1,500 people. Dead. And then we realized, goodness, everything has gone wrong. That is why we quickly were able to put our pride aside on our part, on my part along with my own political party we chose to join with President Kibaki and form the first coalition in order to stabilize the nation state because it was fast-sinking. And I think that actually did, even before the arrival of African personalities led by Kofi Anan, at least managed to stabilize Kenya. And other colleagues also and the orange democratic movement eventually came onboard and then we moved onto make even some constitutional amendments. Came up with Africa's first grand coalition government. Zimbabwean friends also learned I think from us.

And I can tell you that a grand coalition government is not one that I would recommend to anybody anywhere in the world because it doesn't seem to be, in my view it's not the first -- because what we need, what Africa needs in all of us, it's a strong government and a strong opposition so that as I did talk about checks and balances, a system of checks and balances, it becomes realizable.

So I don't think I've answered your question. I hope I have but we learned. We learned that we can kill each other as indeed we did. Kenyans who took pangas. We call them machetes. We call them pangas and then killed each other. And neighbor rose up against neighbor and we had bloodletting of a type we've never

witnessed. And so we said why is it that first of all we shed blood trying to defeat the colonial masters and then after nearly 50 years after our independence we are killing each other. What is it that you are trying to do? But I'm happy to tell you that all of that is now behind us. We are promoting national healing and reconciliation. And I hope that you'll be able to succeed.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great.

MR. MUSYOKA: At least before the next election which is later, maybe this year or early March next year.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great. Thank you very much.

Well, let me turn to the floor and I would just ask you to direct your question to the vice president. Identify yourself and keep it short so we can get a lot of questions in. And I think, Your Excellency, I'll take three questions at a time so we can make sure that we get a lot of people involved. Why don't we start over here, sir.

SPEAKER: Thank you very much. My name is Ambassador Donald Bonga of the newborn nation of the Republic of South Sudan. I'm only 25 days here. So very new. Thank you, Your Excellency, for this wonderful briefing. And also I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Kenya government, Kenya people and you personally for the wonderful role you are playing to bring peace to my beautiful new nation.

My question is not very far from what my colleague mentioned: the issue of ethnicity. The politics of ethnicity in Africa. In 2007, a lot of things happened there. And when I see President Moi and seeing you there, seeing my cousin there, Ordinga, so it seemed indirectly there is ethnic politics or representation. Now, with this, what happened in 2007 to Kenya? What did Kenya learn from that? And what advice can you

give us as a newborn nation, South Sudan, and also to East African countries and Africa in general about issues of ethnicity or politics or ethnicity in Africa? Thank you.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Right next, Amira.

MS. WOODS: Good afternoon. I'm Amira Woods with the Institute for Policy Studies based here in Washington, D.C. I'm from Liberia, another newfound oil country. And I guess my question relates to that. The question is especially given your background as environment minister, already with Liberia there are some troubling signs, the challenges of oil contracts going awry already even before the oil flows. The question is on issues of accountability and transparency, what lessons Kenya has learned or is putting in place to do things differently so that the oil is not a curse. And given the BP blowout, one of the cities you mentioned experienced it directly here in the U.S. and the environmental damage that it caused. What precautions, given your background as environment minister, are you anticipating, recommending, and potentially if you're in a role of president, implementing to make sure that the curse of oil is minimized?

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great. And one more right there.

MR. KABERIA: My name is Timothy Kaberia. I'm from Kenya. And my question relates to the renewed U.S. business interest in Africa. And we have observed in the last couple of years that Kenya and, of course, a few other countries in the region, have tended to go east. So how do you plan to reconcile the renewed U.S. interest, business interest in Africa and top both the U.S. and Chinese capacity, like Tunisia is doing? Thank you.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great. Thank you. Good questions.

MR. MUSYOKA: Yeah. Well, amazing. First of all, the challenge of

politics of ethnicity. And we congratulate you. We continue to congratulate you, Mr. Ambassador, for having achieved independence on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July. And so we will, as a region, you know, South Sudan, the Republic of South Sudan has actually applied to join the East African community because that is a natural neighborhood. And we are all very excited.

Please try and avoid any manner of conflict between the major communities that the Dinka and the Nores in your country. I can tell you what you have done in Kenya. We've even legislated against ethnicity. And all of us are now, like I've been meeting Kenyans on this trip. I met them in Boston, in Dallas, in Atlanta, and as I said earlier on, in Minneapolis. And all of them are unanimous. And the ambassador here has been doing a tremendous job trying to get Kenyans living in the Diaspora to set the example in terms of saying no to negative ethnicity. The thing called a tribe in Kenya has been a big problem, and I get the sense that young Kenyans are actually taking up this challenge head-on. And are determined to make sure that when the next election comes it is not going to be fought on the basis of a tribe a presidential candidate comes from.

One of the things I intend to do is to go to Kisumu where you say your cousin, the prime minister comes from. And open a serious office there of my own party. We have actually been saying let us crisscross. Let everybody feel free to visit any part of the country. Well, because legislating against ethnicity may not be the answer. I think we have to change drastically the way we do business, which is called politics. It is still a challenge and I'm sure that you're going to overcome. I have no doubt at all that Kenya this time is going to be different.

Before I came I signed a charter and I challenged my colleagues to do the same, where political leaders are now going to say they are not going to encourage people to vote for them along tribal lines. They are not going to incite Kenyan youth to violence, get them to get stones and throw stones, uproot (inaudible) lines as happened after the last general election. That we are going to have to commit ourselves to a violence-free election which will also be free and fair.

And so we have to continue that challenge. The example of Tanzania is exciting. In fact, one of the greatest legacies of (inaudible) Norelli was to Tanzania and the region was that it tribalized Tanzania. They have more tribal groupings in Tanzania than we have in Kenya. I think he went to school under Islam and you can bear me witness. But Tanzania's thing, first of all, as Tanzanians. On this mission I've also been telling Kenyans to put the interests of Kenya beyond self. And so we've come up with that clarion call of Kenya Kwanza. Kenya first. And I think we are making progress.

Madam, congratulations for discovering oil in Liberia. Now, it has often been said that this comes with a cost. I think we must also again as Africans determine that we refuse anything negative. When President Sarkozy lost the election in France, allow me to say I personally celebrated because he went to Dakar and said the trouble with you Africans is you believe in witchcraft and therefore you believe in practices that are retrogressive. And how do you expect to develop? That was offensive to a majority of us in Africa. So, when he lost I said, wow, it looks interesting. It's poetic justice here. I'm not a Frenchman, just a reaction by somebody from the East African coast.

And so we have to refuse that oil comes with a cost. Now, before hitting this oil in Northern Kenya, I can tell you that as trained as a country is in the services

sector and we are telling our people that first of all, it's important that we feed ourselves. We have this problem with drought and famine, and now because of climate change the matter becomes compounded by rainfall that comes late. And when it comes it comes gusto. We have actually recently in parts of my country, flashfloods. People went into a beautiful national park that Ambassador Bellamy will remember, Hell's Gate. I think we gave it the wrong name. And they were just washed out by water. Water that came from absolutely nowhere according to them. And so this problem of climate change is a real issue. And even as we look at how to use our oil resources, I think it's important to look at this issue globally. Personally, I would like to see a properly negotiated success agreement to the top Kyoto protocol on these issues.

And so we are saying to Kenyans we must feed ourselves agriculture. I'm so happy that President Obama announced in the presence of African ministers for agriculture and I think two or three heads of state, including President Kiketa, just the other day that the U.S. is going to come up with a policy on agriculture for Africa. Well, we do not need American people to come and tell us to feed ourselves. Before that comes, if it comes, it comes. It's a bonus and we appreciate it. But it is our responsibility, first of all, to commit ourselves to feed our people, to lift ourselves out of poverty. And when oil comes, as it sure has come now to Liberia and hopefully to my country, we will then commit ourselves to dealing with it transparently.

We have examples in Kenya of clean energy. I think that (inaudible) camel wells have been a very good example in Kenya and generating a lot of electricity. Of course, we also discovered other minerals like coal and we are doing something about it. So we do not have to spoil our minds with oil. When I recently visited Abuja and then

flew into Lagos, they have a long wonderful coastline. I would have expected that beautiful coastline off Lagos to have wonderful hotels. And when I asked I was told, you see, Nigerians grew up thinking there's so much wealth because of oil that they didn't even develop sufficiently their tourism sector. We have to look at holistic development of Africa because I hold the view that the 21<sup>st</sup> century if properly handled is essentially for Africa. I'm very optimistic about that.

Now, Timothy, you're concerned about relations between Africa and the East Africa and the West. Let me tell you as my country's foreign minister twice actually I spend a lot more time doing diplomacy than doing environment and education and those others. We held the view when Africa and a lot of other countries of third world met in Bandung and Indonesia in 1945 and came up with a declaration that established an alignment, a lot of our countries stood by that declaration. One may be forgiven for wondering whether nonalignment is still a policy that can stand the test of time in the face of globalization. But a lot of us still hold the view that it is possible to be completely non-aligned when it comes to charting out our development agenda.

Therefore, as I speak to you, Kenya is neither aligned to the East, nor to the West. We are friend of all. So that, please avoid the temptation to think that we are about to become a colony of the People's Republic of China because we are not. Neither are we under the great nation, the land of the free, the United States of America. But we are anxious to develop our infrastructure. And I think that what companies in African need to learn to do is to act in competition because a lot of those Chinese firms are willing tenders to construct international airports. I saw one coming up beautifully in the city of Maputo. And if you come to the international airport in Nairobi, Jomo Kenyatta



International Airport, there is a Chinese firm that is actually also developing our international airport.

Now, we are in the process of also doing major highways. And I'm sure you know about Nairobi Thika Highway, for instance. African Development Bank gave us the money to be able to do that road. But then there was a section that was left and China came in and said we'll chop this up because two of their farms had one lease tender. This is purely business. I've learned something when I was here in America. I've seen it often repeated that in business you don't get what you deserve; you get what you negotiate. And I think Africa is learning to negotiate so that we cannot be accused of looking east or looking west. We are exactly what we are, friends of all. And there's no way, for instance, Kenya can divorce history from that of the United States. Since 1963, the famous Kennedy airlifts, Tom Mboya. The late Tom Mboya because of friendship with Senator Robert Kennedy, I think it was, the attorney general at that time, brought in so many Kenyans for capacity building here, as a result of which we have many, many Kenyans here who feel and really they are part of the American nation. So that is our reality. And when I was telling my friend, Whitney, it's like I knew, Timothy, you were going to ask that question because I decided to buy an easy shoe in Boston airport and I went to one of those market stores to pick up an easy shoe. And I saw one that looked beautiful. I bought it and then only to see "Made in China." Even American people, I don't think anybody can ignore the reality of an emerging economy that is China today. So I don't think it is fair to accuse Africans of looking east when all that they're trying to do is to do business and open business with the East, including countries like India, Malaysia, Korea.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great. Let's go over here. Ambassador Bellamy.

MR. BELLAMY: Thank you. Mark Bellamy, Africa Center for Strategic Studies. Mr. Vice President, it is very good to see you again. Welcome to the United States.

After listening to your remarks I think we all know who one of the presidential candidates will be next year. And many of us, as well many Kenyans, will applaud that and take that as a good omen. Would you be willing to share with us how you are sizing up your competition, who you think the competition will be, and how we should handicap them? (Laughter)

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: At least he didn't ask you to put any bets on anybody. Let's go over here to this gentleman who has had his hand up. Sir.

MR. DAIRE: My name is Patrick Daire. And my question to you is on a broad basis of the issue of political will. And how political will for me tends to permeate in a lot of things that seem to be issues. Again, I think this optimism, we are looking at the country, this light at the end of the tunnel and the glass is half full. But the problem, I think, is that this glass is being held by people that really are not stable and the water keeps spilling out of it. The political will we see has not helped let's say the settlement of the IDPs. This is four years later. Nothing has been done. There's still a lot of squabble.

Political will and personal commitment of the politicians of the good of the country still we see appointments of people by ministers that are cronies or maybe of the same lineage. We talk about ethnicity and we see the same thing that continues going on. Political will, we see MPs raising or trying to raise money for themselves. I mean, big, big salaries, and neglecting the plight of the common people. There's a high

percentage of unemployment. Political will is killing good governance where we still see, you know, corruption. We talk about the hospital thing and all that. That is, I think, something that I would like you to address.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Let me get one more question. There's one right back there.

MR. MACHARIA: Hi. My name is Moses Macharia. My question is about the root causes of the post-election violence. You've talked about the things that the country has learned. I'd like you to please touch on the root causes and whether there are any particular bloodlines, political platforms that caused PV and are being repeated in this election year. Thank you.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Mr. Vice President, let me just add a little bit to that. If you could also comment on how the ICC investigation is impacting sort of on the national outlook. How the average Kenyan sees that.

MR. MUSYOKA: Yes, thank you.

Well, thank you Ambassador Mark Bellamy. I wish you could help me comment on some of these worthy political competitors. I see the immediate former member of Kamukunji -- it's so good to see you in the house. And you know your successor is right here.

And so they will tell you that the field is looking not crowded but very interesting. We have people like Martha Karua, who resigned from the cabinet. She was minister for Constitutional Affairs and couldn't take all of it and she quit in a huff. And she leads a party which is the party that we all originally were in, the National Rainbow Coalition. One version of it. There was another National Rainbow Coalition. And we

have people like Peter Kenneth, an assistant minister right now in the Prime Minister's office, State Minister of Planning. And, of course, you have a prime minister. We have his deputy, who resigned from his party in a huff just about two weeks or three weeks ago. He set up his own party. And, of course, the deputy prime minister, Uhuru Kenyatta, who launched his brand new party, the National Alliance. And we have William Ruto. I'm sure you know all these names of immediate foremen or one of the -- not immediate foreman, Minister for Higher Education. But between we can link this up, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto have been mentioned. They went through the confirmation of judges of the ICC and I think that next month, June 12<sup>th</sup>, there will be a conference around that subject at the Hague, along with former head of the Civil Service -- Ambassador Francis Muthaura and Arillio Precenta by the name Arabsan.

And these four names are from an original list of 20. So one of the things Kenyans kept on asking me as I went around the United States is can we have the other names reviewed? Because Kenyans are very sensitive to justice. They wouldn't want to get people crucified on account of crimes they may not have committed and those who did the crimes get away scot-free because that situation is very, very interesting. So Kenyans are crying for justice. And I think they are also concerned about due process. And one of the cardinal principles of natural justice is nobody should be condemned unheard because there will be time to be heard hopefully. But, of course, if they appeal against the very important matter of jurisdiction over ICC succeeds and I think that the rest of the proceedings will fall flat. In the event that appeal does not succeed, what is most likely going to happen is that then the dates of the hearing will take place.

The ICC has been widely criticized in Africa. I think it's important for this think tank group to know that there are those African countries who feel very strongly that it looks like the main target of the International Criminal Court was Africa and its leadership. But I think that there must have been good intentions behind this. My country is a member of the ICC. The United States are not members, and Ambassador Mark Bellamy will remain always when his successor. I think it was Johnnie Carson came and he was trying to almost untwist me to grant exemption to Americans, to the provisions of Article 98 of the Rome Statute. These are some of the things that now with a bit of hindsight are very interesting. And I would want to know what this audience thinks whether a member country, a country that is not even a member of the ICC and wanting to seek exemption from the provisions of the Rome Statute, whether that's a matter of great justice to the world.

But that apart, that criticism has made Africa want to think in terms of setting up their own international criminal court. It's like an act of frustration. But I think if the ICC was able to come up with its first pronouncement, I'm thinking it was this warlord was taking children, young children as, you know, fighters in the DRC, and of course, Charles Taylor followed subsequently. There is need to refashion the ICC and in terms of delivery of justice so that due process, as well as what is actually happening in my own country, seem to be aboveboard. This is an important matter for Kenyans because you all know what happened immediately after the elections. During the post-election conflict, those who are calling for mass action, those who are saying without electing so-and-so as president there will be no peace. And as a result of which Kenyans fought and they're wondering why is it even those who think that maybe a sitting president could

subsequently also be subject to the ICC.

So they are very concerned. There is a lot of conversation around this subject, and I think they should be given the benefit of doubt, even as they discuss this very, very important matter. Two of those were supposed to appear before the ICC presidential candidates -- extremely popular for some of them. And, of course, I wanted myself to face all of them because you don't want to get the sense that if Uhuru, for instance, doesn't end up contesting, it will not look on the face of it, a lot of people in Kenya will say, yes, we are running the election but had Uhuru or Ruto been allowed to contest, the result would have been different.

This is the reality of the Kenyan political situation right now. And quite frankly I thought I should commend those to this audience. I hope I answered Ambassador Bellamy's question. Of course, I intend to wipe them out with my political party's democratic movement. And so it's a case of repeat performance. We know the rules. We know the game. We know the country. We are determined to be agents for change, particularly in the fight against poverty, bad governance, for real change. True change is coming to Kenya and with it great prosperity, not just for Kenya but all of us in the region.

Well, Tony, on political will -- is that the name, Tony? Patrick, on political will, I do see your feelings. They are written all over your face and I do not know whether you are Kenyan.

MR. DAIRE: I am.

MR. MUSYOKA: Very good. Now, it is possible at times to get frustrated with your own country, but never give up because help is around the corner.

When you say that absolutely nothing has happened to settle IDPs, I disagree with you point blank because even before I left the country we were able to get one group from (inaudible). That place, I like that name (inaudible) stays strong. And although the member for Naivasha (phonetic), my good friend Motudo referred that it was not the right place to locate these people but we have tried. In fact, we have relocated -- we have been able to settle about 80 percent amazingly. And there are even negotiations with regard to helping those who are evictees of Mau Forest, which is a very important water tower, as well as the evictees from Ambabud Forest in the Elgariot Maraquat County, a very important water tower as well. And I think before the end of this year, hopefully we shall have resettled all the internally displaced Kenyans. So you cannot say nothing has happened but I can understand your frustration. I think that it is only that you may not have gotten the most up-to-date information on this matter.

You're worried about corruption, and indeed, all of us are. And I can tell you we have given notice to corrupt persons in Kenya. As a country, we are able to steer straight into this situation. And so, but join. Let's all join in making sure that we fight corruption. I do not think that political will is only within the province of political leaders. It is all of us. And the civil society in Kenya is very active. When we took our position as parliament, you heard me say, to agree with the prison, the prime minister, and the nominees of the Kenya Corruption Commission, Civil Society took everybody to court and they were able to obtain orders restraining the swearing in of Mr. Mumu Muchamo. Of course, his rights also have to be (inaudible) and I think they will be fighting that situation.

So political will as to involve all of us as Kenyans, those at home and in the Diaspora. And as you know, for the first time, Kenyans in the Diaspora are going to

be voting. This is actually part of the excitement I was sharing with you, Witney, when I say that I'm very excited about the future of my country because now you cannot sit in Washington and fail to vote. What I'm hearing them saying is if in Boston and in Dallas and we are in Minneapolis, is it possible to get polling stations there? Because as it is, it's like the electrical commission has identified Washington, New York, and I think Los Angeles, and they feel this will work great injustice. In fact, to result in discouragement of democracy.

So these are some of the things. Because everybody wants to be part of their branding, the making, the transformation of a new Kenya. So don't give up. And so NHIF, that's a thing that is ongoing. When you mentioned -- I'm sure you talk about the appointments by Minister Kumunya, with regard to the Board of the Kenya Ports Authority, the relevant committee of Parliament is dealing with that matter. The beauty about what is happening in Kenya now is nothing. It's above discussion. And nothing is above challenge. And I think this is what to expect if we are to truly leave the spirit of a new constitution. The letter and spirit of a new constitution. So please, I invite you to join me in the excitement rather than the frustration that you have just shared with us.

Bonomugu. Root causes. Root causes. Yeah. I tell you, I think some of them, some of those courses we have already dealt with -- negative ethnicity. The fear of domination by some communities. But again, under the new constitution, it is not possible. We are going to come up with a direct provision under the constitution, which will make sure that those regions that have been marginalized in terms of development since independence will now be catered for. It's something they are calling equalization fund. And so, rather than communities fearing domination, you keep on



hearing a lot of talk about how can this community succeed itself, how can this community do A, B, C. I think we'd rather look at quality of leadership and not communities. That fear of domination -- I want to tell you is one root cause. And so in 2007, it's like 47 communities ganged up and said we don't want to be dominated by the (inaudible). And then (inaudible) became an issue. And that's why the country erupted. I'm sure you know that.

Now, this time around it's also important for people to empty themselves of prejudice. Prejudice in terms of who we are. I think it's important to recognize meritocracy in government appointment. Meritocracy even in leadership. If (inaudible @ 1:14:25) and he has status for president today just because he's of Somali descent, people say wait a minute, wait a minute. And yet, the time is coming when this great example of America. Who would have ever imagined that President Obama would have come to become president of the United States of America? We want to be able to give equal opportunity. Equal opportunity to Kenyans. And therefore, if we can overcome this problem of fear, the challenge of fear, I think we will be onto something absolutely phenomenal. I have no doubt in my mind that that is the way we are going.

Some of the other issues, the root causes, because it's really bad governance, corruption, stealing of public funds. My friend, I always seem to be defending members of parliament. It's very easy for people to say they are giving themselves additional parks and then again they're condemned (inaudible @ 1:15:27). Nobody remembers that some of us had to pay our taxes promptly when we are served the notices to do so because the clamoring then was pay up. If you don't pay up, then you're demonized in the streets of Nairobi.

Now, the freedom to demonstrate is amazing. I keep on saying at this rate husbands are going to face up to demonstrations from the bedrooms because everybody has the right to demonstrate. And it is good that we allow this space so that nobody is going to have to suffer because of what they believe in. One of the brightest legacies by President Kibaki is not because everybody credits him with having come up with free primary education, universal secondary education, and development of infrastructure. All this is true but according to me, the greatest legacy by President Kibaki is in the fact that he has now presided over a nation which has now been opened up. We were never in the positive side like this without looking behind you to see Patrick who is actually listening. Yeah? Right now there's no freedom in Kenya. And I think this is what I commend, not just for Kenya but the whole of the African region so that we can unleash the potential of the great African people. Don't be afraid if we come and subdue the United States in the years ahead.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Let's save that for a separate decision.

I think we have time just for one or two more questions. And why don't I go over here, sir.

SPEAKER: Mr. Vice President, thank you very much. My name is Ifudu and I'm from Nigeria.

I would like to share your optimism about (inaudible) in 14 million people. You see a very difficult task. The thing I would like to talk about now is the issue of all your politics. You can see what it did to Nigeria. Before 1960, we had (inaudible) and cocoa. That was the mainstream of our economy and we were quite happy. But as soon as all you came, it destroyed Nigeria and it is still destroying Nigeria. Does (inaudible)

anything in place? You probably struck oil after (inaudible) anything that will help you manage oil and the (inaudible) of oil. Thank you.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: Great, thank you. Let me take that last, sir, go ahead.

MR. MORGAN: Good afternoon, Mr. Vice President. My name is Scott Morgan. I'm the editor of the (inaudible). I have a couple of quick questions for you.

First, a recent study of regional economies found that the defense budgets of both Uganda and Kenya were growing at an astronomically high rate compared to others in the region. My question is is there a reason for this? Are the tensions between Uganda and Kenya rising that no one is willingly discussing? Or is this dealing with an effort to help South Sudan defend itself in case of incursion from Bashir?

And the second part of my question is regarding the DRC. We know that some of the minerals that have been looted from the east have been shipped to the international market through Nairobi. What efforts is the Kenyan government making right now to inhibit this process?

MR. MUSYOKA: Sorry, I didn't get the last one.

MR. MORGAN: What efforts is the current government making to stop the process?

MR. MUSYOKA: What process?

MR. KIMENYI: Of conflict minerals from the DRC.

MR. MUSYOKA: Thank you. Very quickly. I'll be very brief this time. Maybe I can begin with the last question. I recall that the president of the DRC Congo came into Nairobi actually following up on this illicit trade. And I think some serious

investigation work was undertaken since not knowing the outcome. But clearly we will do whatever it takes to cooperate with President Kabila's administration to make sure that minerals from the DRC do not come through Nairobi and be part of clearly what is economic sabotage.

With regard to the defense budgets in both Uganda and Kenya, I don't think we need really to worry. You just mentioned South Sudan but right now both countries are involved in a war effort in Somalia because actually Kenya is at war with al Shabaab. And when I went to Nigeria recently I wanted to actually compare notes with regards to Boko Haram and the challenge in Congo and other places because this -- when we all realized what happened after the collapse of the Berlin wall, the world had actually expected that there was going to be peace and overwhelming development internationally until extremism took a center role. And this is a challenge of our times. It is not unique just to Kenya and Nigeria but all of us. That's why I challenge the United States and all of us to look at the problem. Resolving and fixing Somalia is in the best interest of all of us.

Therefore, please do not take us to task over a little bit of having to provide for that war effort. Not so much. South Sudan can actually deal with its problems with the North, but after 20 years I think they all agree that war does not resolve anything. That's why we are encouraging them. And I think President Kibaki is talking very harsh, very hard to President Salva Kiir to be able to sit together. And I went to see President al-Bashir, it was to take them a message from President Kibaki that there were needs to talk and the last time he told me, "Don't worry, Mr. Vice President, I'm meeting President Salva Kiir in Juba by the 17<sup>th</sup> of that month." I think it was April. Now, instead

of meeting, there was an eruption. And clearly, we are very concerned about this situation.

Our friend from Nigeria on oil politics, I remember the day when as foreign minister we went to New Zealand and the president of Nigeria at that time had just, I think, executed (inaudible) and these are issues. A sister from Liberia was raising about the health, the environmental challenge of production of oil and exploitation of that important resource. And I think we have to take that matter holistically. And then there has been a very big debate recently in Nigeria on the question of oil subsidies. I cannot even remember what the conclusion was. I think there was a very interesting recommendation by the committee that was dealing with it. Instead of oil benefitting Nigerians, it was benefitting only less than 100 big companies. I think the Nigerians are demanding justice.

Now, we need to learn from you even before we exploit our oil in Kenya in the region in Uganda so that we do not fall into those traps. I think they didn't have examples to go by and personally I think that is a way to move. Let's look at best practices anywhere. I think the way Norwegians handled oil, for instance, I think is classic. You may have to ask people from Norway to come and sit with us and tell us. I don't know how much oil the United States has. They seem to be always interested in other people's oil before they come to exploit their own. (Laughter). Yeah? Oil seems to be the -- oil politics is dominating. It's domineering everywhere. And so maybe you can also learn from the United States how to administer some of these oil finds.

And lastly, who was it? I think I've been able to --

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: I think that's it. That's it.

MR. MUSYOKA: Yeah, thank you.

MR. SCHNEIDMAN: I think we've come to the end of our time here together unfortunately. Let me just ask everybody please to remain in their seats until the vice president goes. But let me thank you, Mr. Vice President, on behalf of the Africa Growth Initiative at Brookings for making time out of your busy schedule and your travels around the United States to spend some time with us. We wish you the very best in your future endeavors. And we look forward to welcoming you back here. So thank you for coming.

(Applause)

\* \* \* \* \*

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