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THE AFRICAN UNION AT 50: THE PATH FORWARD

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

MR. KIMENYI: Okay, good morning. My name is Mwangi Kimenyi. I'm a senior fellow here at the Brookings Institution and the director of the Africa Growth Initiative and I'd like to thank you for attending this session on the African Union.

We are talking about African Union, but actually there are two organizations that we should be reflecting on. The A.U. is actually a recent creation. The initial attempt to bring Africans together on African agenda was what we called the Organization of African Unity, which was established in 1963. That was just a few years after many countries had attempted independence and many others had still not attained independence. So, that agenda had a quite a bit of motivation or motivated a lot by the colonial experiences, the issues of independence particularly for the countries that were still under colonial rule.

But things have changed. Through the 50 years, and 50 years is a long, long time. I think we can appreciate and a lot of things have changed. So, OAU transformed to African Union. We remember a lot of leaders that have been involved in this process who are seeking to unite Africa and a lot of the history that we read about this people like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, people like Haile Selassie they had the real goals of seeing one continent that is united politically and to be able to deal with the external world as one.

Of course, there have been a lot of challenges. The continent has come a long way. It has changed in its mission and focus, but it has also been challenged in many respects. We know that we have moved from an era of real dictatorships. At one time, Idi Amin was the chairman of the African Union. So, we had these characters that have been in charge of A.U. That has changed and the continent has actually moved on.

And there is also a focus on the economic agenda as we will be discussing.

So, we are very happy that we have a real good panel to discuss these issues with different perspectives and experiences. And, so, we are looking forward to really having a good discussion with them.

So, I'd like to take just a few minutes to introduce them and we have agreed with them that I'm just going to use one sentence to introduce them. I think the bios are available and then we will open this to discussion after they make their initial remarks.

I'll start with my neighbor here, Dr. Reuben Brigety II. He was appointed deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of African Affairs on November 14, 2011 with the responsibility of sovereign African and major security affairs from December 2009 to November 2011, he served as deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, and I had some discussion with him and he's someone who knows Africa very, very well.

Then the next panelist in the middle is Professor Gwendolyn Mikell, is a professor of anthropology and foreign service at Georgetown University, where she has taught since 1976. She served as director of the African Studies Program in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown from 1996 to 2007. Again, someone who is pretty experienced on African issues.

Then we have our own from Africa, her Excellency, the ambassador of Botswana, Tebelelo Seretse Mazile, who has been an ambassador to the United States since February 16, 2011. From 1999 until 2004, she served in the government of Botswana. She was minister of Works, Transportation, and Communication from 2002 to October 2007 and has served in several other capacities in industry, wildlife, tourism, so,

she's someone who has not only served as a diplomat, but knows the continent very well.

So, what I'm going to do is to first of all welcome the panelists. Thank you very much. I'm going to ask them to provide us with their own perspective of this attempt to unite Africa with the Africa agenda with the OAU and A.U. and I have already told the official, my neighbor here, that it's a public event, so, everything is on record. So, I'll start with you.

DR. BRIGETY: Sure. Well, thank you very much to Brookings Institution for hosting us. It's always a good day when I'm on the same stage as my good friends Dr. Mikell and Ambassador Serestse, and thanks to all of you for coming out and showing so much interest in "The African Union at 50."

The government of the United States is particularly thrilled to be a partner of Africa, to partner with the African Union, and to be part of the celebrations for this historic milestone.

As many of you know, the African Union will be hosting its summit in Addis Ababa next weekend, in which in addition to the normal business of the summit, there will also be a number of events to highlight the 50th anniversary of the OAU. We are very pleased that the United States will be represented by Secretary of State John Kerry, who will be there. It will be the first time that a U.S. secretary of state has attended an A.U. summit and we should also say that it's consistent with our long partnership with the A.U. The United States is also very, very proud to be the first non-African country to have an ambassador accredited solely to the African Union as opposed to splitting his or her duties between the African Union and the bilateral relationship with Ethiopia.

So, we are thrilled with this historical milestone. We think that it's

important to note the tremendous progress that has been made in Africa over the last 50 years. When the founding fathers of the OAU, Nkrumah, Nyarrah, Haile Selassie and others created the organization with the vision for promoting and further strengthening unity of a continent. I'm sure that they would be pleased to see just how far the continent has come, not the least of which I would hope that the founding fathers would be pleased that the successful organization that they created is now led by a leading mother, Dr. Dlamini Zuma from South Africa.

We have watched with great interest as the A.U. in particular has served as an increasingly important mechanism for developing consensus on a continent on a wide variety of issues both in terms of political governance in strengthening norms for democracy and good governance of a continent, castigating suspending even those countries that have where there have been unconstitutional seizures of power, transfers of power such as Mali last year that was subsequently reinstated in Madagascar, et cetera. And also the extent to which the African Union is increasingly taking charge for not only Africa's responsibility for its own security, but in doing for Africa's destiny. African solutions for African problems, which is the general approach of the United States, supports vigorously perhaps one of the most important examples of that is the fact that the African Union for the first time in its history actually assessed financially its own members to help pay for AFISMA, the African-led, integrated mission in Mali, which is not only being supported by other countries, but indeed, as I mentioned, is being supported by the African Union itself.

When Dr. Dlamini Zuma visited the United States this past November for a high-level strategic dialogue with them former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, the two leaders had a private meeting in Secretary Clinton's office in which I was one of the few

people there and Secretary Clinton said to Dr. Zuma that Madam Chairperson, I just want you to know that for in my time as secretary, the United States will commit to signing a strategic memorandum of understanding between the United States and the African Union elevating our partnership to one of a strategic partnership and we will get that done before I leave office. Right, Reuben? Yes, ma'am. Right, roger that.

And we made it happen and it was literally one of the last acts of office that Secretary Clinton performed on February 1, signing this memorandum of understanding, elevating the partnership between the United States and the African Union to one of a strategic partnership which means in effect that in addition to holding senior regular high-level meetings between our leadership and the leadership of the continent, that there will also be technical working groups that will be meeting on a regular basis to deepen and strengthen our partnership on issues of mutual understanding.

Those four technical working groups mirror the four pillars of cooperation that were articulated in President Obama's presidential policy directive for Africa that was signed on June 14 of last year. Those four pillars in order are one, support for democracy and democratic governance. Two, support for private sector-led economic growth, trade, and investment. Three, conflict support for conflict prevention, mediation, resolution, and stabilization. And fourth, development in human opportunity. Those four areas were sort of jointly agreed as priority areas in which we felt that we could work together on for not only for our mutual interests, but for mutual prosperity and we expect to see more concrete proposals coming out of those working groups after the first that they meet this summer in June.

But let me also just say briefly for yielding the floor that the United States

has been committed to the future of Africa. We are bullish on Africa for a variety of reasons both for the profound economic growth that is happening.

As you all know, 7 of the 10 fastest-growing economies in the world are in Africa. Half the continent's population is under the age of 30. It is a very dynamic place, but it's also a place that as we all know still has challenges. Some of those are security-related, some of those are governance-related, some of them are economic-related, but we believe that with pockets of excellence around the continent that are increasingly growing, we are pleased to see African countries sharing their experiences with each other on how to provide for their own security and prosperity, holding each other accountable, and we continue to look forward to ways in which the United States can be partners with Africa and the African Union in particular at this next historic phase of Africa's development. Thank you very much.

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you. Thank you very much.

Just before I go to the next speaker, I'd like to note that the A.U., because you talked about the ambassador, we have Ambassador Amina is actually a very good friend of our program, but she is back in --

SPEAKER: (off mic)

MR. KIMENYI: Yes, so, it's notable, but we work with her, so, and very good. So, Prof, yes.

DR. MIKELL: Thank you. It's a real pleasure to be here. I sped over from Georgetown University. It's our Tropaia Day and our students are walking across the stage and we're turning out Africanists and that's a beautiful thing for me.

I come to this perspective on the A.U. from my position as an anthropologist, a political and economic anthropologist. Somebody interested in how

Africans have interpreted their relationship with the wider world, especially with the U.N. and as someone who is interested in hearing what people have to say about this relationship between the A.U. and its global partners, such as the U.N. And, so, that's the perspective I'm going to be taking.

As a researcher, I've had an opportunity to kind of do a lot of research on Africa over the years to have many conversations, interviews, conferences with people who worked within the U.N., Africans who represented their countries within the U.N., and the goal was to see how they assessed the phases of this relationship with the U.N. And, so, I want to kind of outline what I see as several major transition points that have occurred in the OAU-A.U. relationship with wider world particularly with the U.N.

I want to start with that early period and I don't think there is any way for us to overestimate the importance of the African Union as a focal point for collective action on the part of African countries. The entry of the African states one by one during the '60s and '70s into the U.N. gave a greater dynamism to the group of '77 to the newly emerging independent countries within the U.N. and began to alter the dynamics of how the U.N. dealt with the non-west.

Now, I said "began to alter" those dynamics because it was important to realize that the U.N. in the '60s looked very much like the world of the post-war period and I've heard many people, Brian Eckhart said the U.N. wasn't really designed to deal with the challenges that were facing it, being brought to it by the African countries, and certainly this was a major challenge and Africa's presence pushed those changes forward, but likewise I have to say that the participation of Africa with the U.N. also posed challenges for democratic development for the emergence of mechanisms that would enable African countries to deal both nationally and collectively with the problems that



they were facing in the late '60s, the '70s.

So, I think it's significant for us to remember that the majority of the peace missions that the U.N. undertook have historically been in Africa, and of course during the '80s and the '90s, in rapid succession many of those peace missions came up.

One of the impacts of that was that the Africans got to see fairly early the desire of the U.N. to participate in peacekeeping and all of that, but the inadequacy of the resources that the U.N. could or would -- we can debate this -- contribute to the peace enterprise. And, so, one of the repercussions was the awareness that African countries, that African regional organizations, and that the A.U. had to further develop its mechanism for conflict resolution.

And, of course, when the U.N. could not or would not supply the resources that were needed for conflicts such as Liberia early on or Sierra Leone, then we saw Nigeria enable ECOWAS through ECOMOG to perform those peace and conflict resolution duties that had to be performed. This relationship then between U.N., A.U. sometimes tense also served to develop the relationships. I'm not saying it was a conscious effort to. I'm saying the repercussion was that Africa developed a lot of internal strengths that would serve it well in the period that followed.

The second phase I think occurred in the late 1990s, as African civil society representatives rallied with their global partners and pushed back against reforming states. States that had gone through the structural adjustment period, states that had been weakened and many people have argued been deindustrialized as a result of that experiment, but states that emerged and struggled toward greater economic growth during this period. Here, the U.N. played another critical role.

I have to say that this is a back and forth. The UNECA, some of you will

remember that under Boutros-Ghali we had Professor Adadagi as the executive director of UNECA and he was an advocate for African initiatives, working with Boutros-Ghali on the African Agenda for Peace and African Agenda for Development and pushing the Lagos Plan of Action, but the U.N. was not at that point open to the kind of dialogue on economic change on economic reform that Adadagi put forward.

We saw under Kofi Annan, as Kofi Annan came in, that's a whole different dialogue, but as Kofi Annan came in as secretary general, we saw him empower Kym Woko to begin the discussions on the big table talks that took place between the African economic ministers and the African foreign ministers and the European finance and foreign ministers and out of that, push as they might, grumble as they might, the Africans moved sometimes hesitatingly, often grumbling how dare the U.N. impose on us plans that we did not construct, but they moved in a way that internalized and actually claimed those plans for themselves so that the outcome, NEPAD, the outcome of that, the program on African development was essentially a major step forward for the continent.

Now, we know that a lot of discussions and competition went on in the shaping and the claiming of NEPAD, but out of it came a major initiative for the continent to move forward. So, you have the continent moving forward on the security front and you have the continent moving forward on the economic front and governance remained the thorny nut to crack. But what has been interesting is that during the second period, we saw the important role that women took in this development. Women with their NGOs, women leaders, women mobilizing civil society, women providing a lot of the inspiration that gave a message to civil society that the state must treat us as citizens rather than subjects. And, so, this second period is a very significant one.

I'm going to speed up a little bit. But I think that a third period occurred during Kofi Annan's last term, during that period between 2001 and 2006, and in that period it was clear that he has acted as a norm entrepreneur and all those things that he brought Africans to the table grumbling about were and had been internalized to a significant extent. So, all of the criticisms at the beginning about the U.N. using an African to impose upon us global norms had been transformed and now those norms were increasingly being implemented in the governance strategies.

In my interviews with Kofi Annan, and I've interviewed a lot of them, so, this came to me from a number of corners, but my interviews, he said yes, governance was the thorny one. We didn't really have a clear mandate on how we were supposed to deal with that particular set and you saw UNDP and to some extent UNECA begin to set the parameters for that, but I think during this last period, the real movement forward that had already occurred was a maturation during this last period and we saw that within Africa were all kinds of institutions within South African, within Nigeria, within Senegal, all over the continent African-led institutions that were pushing back against the state on issues of governance that were supporting African peer review, that were supporting the integration of APRM into the workings of the African Union and we began to see a closing of the gap between the norms being pushed by the U.N. and the norms that are being accepted and utilized and operationalized by the A.U.

So, I think this is a period of florescence. I am enormously pleased. I think this back and forth has deepened and enriched Africa's capacity to do its own work, and, so, African solutions for African problems, that notion that was often tossed out to evade responsibilities, financial responsibilities for the work that had to be done has now been turned around so that Africans themselves have the institutions, have the capacity,

have the training, have the bright, young people are pushing for the kinds of education and opportunities for these young people that will further grow the institutions of governance for the continent.

I'll stop there.

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you, we'll come back.

Ambassador.

AMBASSADOR MAZILE: Thank you.

Let me invite the people who are standing at the back, there are still seats here which are available if they want to sit down.

But thank you very much. I am very honored to participate and to learn because learning is a continuous process.

But we bring to you Africa which has changed. Today, we are talking about the A.U. celebrating 50 years. I think we need to note that a lot of the African countries themselves are not even 50 years. So, that is something that we need to underline, it's something that we need to underscore.

Secondly, when one looks at the overall objectives for which the institution was established for which amongst others include improvement of human life, improvement of government, improvement of security and of foreign relations, these are not static. We talk about these as if they are a once of event. Today, we see major countries, major democracies which have been independent for over 100 years still struggling with these issues. So, Africa as a continent is no exception, but we are very happy and very proud to represent Africa which is on the move.

We are very happy and very proud to represent Africa which has improved faster than any other region. Today, when we talk about the emerging markets

and we talk about the growth of the middle class and fast-paced, growing economies, this did not come by miracles, they came because of sacrifices, they came because leaders are doing the correct things, and they continue to do the correct things and monitor themselves.

There are quite a number of challenges that Africa is going through. I think the biggest challenge is treating Africa as a country. People may be sort of very surprised at this position, but to treat Africa as a country, it's one of the greatest and biggest challenges that we continue to experience.

In a lot of countries, including our host country, good news is no news. So, that's the biggest challenge, also. (Laughter) That whilst there are good news coming out of Africa, this news goes by unnoticed, unreported, with a lot of bias. So, one sits and says as Africans, how do we easily deal with that? We are currently challenged by not having the resources because we are dealing with bread and butter issues, of having to pay \$1 million for a 1-minute advertisement in CNN, in FOX News, in whichever media that we think people would want to listen to.

So, today, I share with you the Africa which is the Africa of good news and I have used this period to say I will be your CNN for the good news. (Laughter) The goods news which is coming out of the continent is that today, Africa is the leader in terms of women empowerment.

You take a country which is the global leader such as Rwanda, a country ravaged by the west genocide we have known in modern times. How does a country such as Rwanda be the leader, global, world, number one leader of women empowerment? That is important because nowadays Africa, we are no longer talking about democracy, we are talking about participator in democracy and that participator in

democracy to us means involve everybody, involve this large, untapped resource in women who are endowed with multitasking, who are endowed with mothering everybody and mothering presidents. These are just folks that you can't understand.

Today, I bring you the news that when you look at the index of doing business globally, the world leader is malicious. How does that happen? It's not by miracle.

I bring you the good news that when you look at baseline profitability index, my own country, Botswana, is number two in the world. I think number one is Hong Kong.

I bring you the good news that when you look to travel the world, and now you have this man how is called Mr. Google. I don't think it's a woman. (Laughter) So, the good thing is that you can now go to Mr. Google and verify and check all these things.

I bring you the good news that when you look at the world map of safety to travel of where you see the red zones, of where you see the yellow zones, you will see a country such as Botswana having the green like the United States. That is good news coming out of Africa.

And I also bring you the good news that when you look at global peace index which measures how peaceful the country is, you will find Botswana ranking as number 30, 3-0, and you'd find the U.S. ranking as number 88. (Laughter) This is the good news that you are not going to hear from anyone, but it is good news to us, showing you that gone are the days when you asked African leaders Mr. President, when are you saying goodbye to your people, the president answers and says oh, where are they going? (Laughter) When, in fact, somebody was saying Mr. President, you are kind of

overstayed or something. I bring you the good news that the majority of the African countries now have a two-term presidency. Our terms, they may be five years or six years or four years as the case may be, but the majority of those countries are pushing and have two-term presidents.

I bring you the good news that in the last 2 years, we have seen over 20 elections in Africa and out of those, we have the bad news of Ivory Coast, which got it right, and Kenya this time was quite calm, but these stories of elections, they are not just coming out of Africa, you would think the mature democracies would not have issues following their elections, but we see in certain countries people who are not able to accept the position of the people have spoken. They do it in different ways than Africans do it, but we observe these and say that what is happening and is this the test of democracy.

The rule of law that we were traditionally told in economics that when you have good governance, the rule of law, transparency, lack of corruption, FDIs would automatically fly into a country. We look today and we keep looking back and where are the FDIs? But we see the FDIs going to unstable regions and we see declaring of corruption being very high against African countries. We want to see declaring of corruption saying who are the corrupters and what action are we taking against the corrupters? If we are to read and read corruption, we need to look at both sides of the equation, the corrupters and those who have been corrupted so that we can see a continent on the move.

The biggest challenge we suffer from is lack of knowledge about Africa and I want to emphasize and I cannot overemphasize it that the treating of Africa as a country, a continent so diverse in culture that all of us learned in history and I know you

also did that it is a backward continent, it's an uncivilized continent, that it is so rich in culture, so rich in humanity that it's not taught but a part in a culture of the people. That is the good news Africa that I want to share with you.

We see an Africa that is talking about intraregional trade, that let us trade with each other. If you look at countries like Botswana, which are landlocked, which suffer from peculiarities of landlocked country, we are grateful to the authors and the researchers who take these differences and highlight them and look at the LDCs and say what needs to happen there and look at the middle-income countries and see the problems differently from region to region, that we are happy today to be singing ECOWAS and to be flying the ECOWAS flag. We are happy to be flying the SADAG flag, we are happy to be flying the East Africa Community flag, we are happy to be flying the COMESA flag. Not only that, we are happy to see these institutions talking together and saying let's be one so that we'll reduce the barriers to trade, so that we do things in a similar way, so that we have predictability, so that the science, when I read the science and I'm in Maputo, Mozambique, and I'm a tourist the same science in Maputo would mean the same science in Botswana.

We are looking today and seeing the Africa which has hotels of very high standards, which have rooms bigger than Europe, which have the luxuries that the tourists are looking for. We are today looking at the Africa which requires environment impact assessment studies before projects are carried out, for it means they are alive to conservation, it means that they are alive to using to using the resources and thinking about the future generations.

Well, they've said I've talked too much. (Laughter) So, I knew when I saw it coming. (Laughter) But in conclusion, therefore, we African ambassadors



represent a positive Africa and we invite you to the Africa of our world. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. KIMENYI: I'm sorry. I'm going to come back to you, Ambassador, because I want to bring all those good things within the context of OAU and A.U., so, I'll come back to you with a question on that.

I'll do very quick questions to the panelists so that we open up for a discussion and I'll start with you, Brigety, and the question I have is: What do you see -- I mean, I think a lot of us have been concerned by A.U. on security matters within the continent. Now, we see the French coming all the way to come to Mali.

DR. BRIGETY: Right.

MR. KIMENYI: And we have our own A.U. and we see indecision in many countries. We don't know what's happening in Congo and all that, and I'd like to know what is your perception on A.U. in terms of U.S.-A.U. engagement, particularly in, for example, supporting military A.U. or the intervention idea? What do you see as missing?

DR. BRIGETY: Well, let me speak broadly and then touch specifically on the issue of the French in Mali, since you raised it.

The good news, I think, with regard to the African Union and addressing security challenges on the continent is that there's a great deal of political will in the union itself, in the regional, economic communities, in individual states to address these challenges. Time and again, what we often find is the issue is not will, the issue is resources. So, whether that's the ability for airlifts or the ability to sustain forces in the fields or assess to surveillance ISR assets so you could sort of see the battlefield better, those are all challenges. We know that we are working with the so-called African

security framework and the regional brigades to help them be responsive, but, frankly, most of them exist only in paper and barely beyond paper.

So, the ability to actually develop the resources for the continent to provide for its own security or increasingly provide for its own security is a challenge and it's a challenge one hopes will be able to address more as a continent grows economically and becomes more prosperous. But this poses, I think, a really quite interesting dilemma, which I think is sort of the subtext of your question, which is there are real security threats to the continent, I mean, real challenges that affect the lives of other Africans and it also because of the pockets of Islamist extremism also affects real interest and real lives of other non-Africans.

So, on the one hand, as I say, most African states are willing to intervene, but they don't have the capacity, but somebody has to address them. So, in a case like Mali, we all know challenges of claims of neocolonial intervention by the French. There have been other situations where that has been claimed, but let's just sort of revisit this situation.

Bamako was in danger of falling to Islamic extremists who had the road clear all the way to the capital, and if that had happened, it would have been a disaster not only for Mali, but for everybody else in the region. The French, I don't want to speak for them, but I will speak for them in this case. (Laughter) But just for the sake of argument because I don't see any sort of -- are there any representatives of the French government present? (Laughter) Hearing none, my understanding of their view of the situation is that the Islamic extremists threat in Sahel, in Mali in particular, posed an existential threat to France itself with the ability of people to be able to sort of travel to France to conduct terrorist operations there, and, thus, they felt the need to respond.

And from where we sit as a governmental partner not only of France, but of Mali, thank God they did. Because they created the basis on which AFISMA and other ops forces could actually hang on and just go forward.

So, but this is a challenge. We're going to have to address the capacity challenge and do it even in this sort of framework of sensitivity and neocolonial intervention. I think the best way to do that obviously is to have clear and open dialogue with our African partners on issues of a mutual security concern.

MR. KIMENYI: Okay, good. I think my question was whether for a foreign -- "foreign" meaning outside Africa.

DR. BRIGETY: Right.

MR. KIMENYI: Forces going to Africa need to consult the A.U. before they do so or that's one, but at least you answered. I don't disagree about the issue.

DR. BRIGETY: Right.

MR. KIMENYI: That it was critical then. But it looked like the A.U. was somewhere outside --

DR. BRIGETY: Well, let me just sort of say on that former president of the A.U., President Yayi of Togo, in his valedictory address excoriated his own African colleagues for not being able to respond in a timely fashion. So, this is when we get to this challenge. I mean, we would like nothing more than for the continent to be able to have its own rapidly deployable capability to address these issues, but, frankly, sometimes like in the case of Mali, you have time, critical time, sensitive issues where we try as best we can to coordinate but the enemy is not interested in according itself to that timeline. So, this is a long-term proposition I think we have to address in an issue of mutual respect.

MR. KIMENYI: Excellent, great. Let me ask you, this topic that came with Ambassador Battle, you didn't really touch on it. You mentioned it in a way when you talked about NEPAD. This is on regional integration. Yes, so, I'm going to ask you, I'm going to come to Ambassador with a tougher one. (Laughter) The regional integration agenda, Africa, right now, the idea is that by 2017, we'll have a continental free trade area, we'll all be moving, whatever. What do you see and what do you see as the main challenges to achieving this?

DR. MIKELL: I think that goal is a wonderful one. I think that one of the major problems has been the absence of the capacity of goods to move, for goods to move, for trade across national, across regional boundaries on the continent. But while that is the goal, there is something else that is still standing in the way and that is the bigger question about what African unity supposed to mean and how unified the continent needs to be and whether it needs to be unified economically, whether it needs to be unified in terms of political, should we all have passports that take -- does it need to be really unified militarily? That whole notion of a pan-African continent of really an A.U. like there was in E.U., that's an issue that's still deeply divisive.

I was at the Ninth Summit of the A.U. in 2007 and it was called "The Big Debate," and "The Big Debate" was on whether we really could have this kind of integration. If you're in an economy like Botswana and you're doing well, do you really want to open up to some of the problems that might be just across the border? How is Rwanda to deal with DRC? These are still major issues because there is varying levels of rationality in the economic, in the law, in the legal constraints on the economy all across the continent. So, I think there is a lot of work to be done, but the movement is in the direction of greater unity. And I don't know how long I'd give it. I

would hope by 2017, some of these would be sorted out, particularly on the issue of trade. I kind of think it will be if only because I think many of the African countries understand that there is a competitive advantage, that they have to achieving that kind of unification, that they'll be able to deal with the Asian countries to a greater extent, and, so, I'm hopeful on that.

MR. KIMENYI: I think that 2017, my view is that it's a good thing, but it's a bit idealistic.

Ambassador, you talked about very good things and I wanted to bring this in context of the African Union, the unity issue, and you talked about particularly the improved governance in all these countries. We know Botswana, for example, has cost the highest in terms of good governance, transparency, and so on. So, I've got a question because one of the things that I am concerned about the A.U. is we still seem to be, as you say, looking at different countries. We are quite different.

So, your president sits in the same group with the president of Angola, and the president of Equatorial and they are talking about all these good things. What kind of conversation do you think your president has with -- (Laughter)

AMBASSADOR MAZILE: He did warn me.

MR. KIMENYI: What do you think he would be pushing or what type of conversation do they have with Santos, for example, the Santos?

AMBASSADOR MAZILE: Our presidents, all of them have challenges. So, I think if this was the president of Equatorial Guinea and this was the president of Botswana, it would be dear colleague, we are challenged with youth unemployment. Do you have the same challenges in your country and how do you think you can combat it?

In our country, for instance, we have introduced the Young Farmers

Grant. When we introduced it, we didn't think the youth are taking it up and the youth are taking it up. That would also be amongst others talking about the global security.

The global security like I want to emphasize, it's not just a challenge to A.U., it's a challenge globally because when you talk about security, you are talking about people who have an agenda which is always higher and faster and in front of the law. When we introduced computers and they came to us, even though we were sort of reluctant for change, we saw that there was no contracting out, but we were talking about literacy of the computers. We didn't know that now after you introduce computers, you have to be worried about cyber security and some other type of security. So, it's always a moving goal and that is the nature and the character of governance and the others which affect the United States are no different from the issues which affect us as individual African countries.

The difference is that in the United States, they have educated people. We are still struggling about free education, about sending the children to school. Not only that, what curricula to teach them of the modern century. Are we still teaching the skills which the market out there wants? We'll be talking about what resources we have and whether, in fact, we shouldn't go back to the old economics of barter trade. You give me the oil; I'll give you the diamonds. So, I think they have quite a lot to talk about.

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you. (Laughter) A diplomat. You are quite a diplomat. (Laughter) My answer I thought was I thought your president would be telling the president of Guinea you have to shape up. (Laughter) You are pressing those people too much; you are stealing too much money.

Okay, so, I'm going to open this discussion and I would like us to try and focus on the A.U., OAU issues, and be very brief. And, so, I think this gentleman here

and the gentleman opposite. Then I'll go backwards. These two, these two.

Please be very brief. If you can make it very brief. We have about 30 minutes.

MR. PATTA: So, my name is Samuel Patta and I'm originally from Ghana. I work with Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

My question is, I mean, we all know that the Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945, the goal was to form a United States of Africa. It's been more than 50 years and we don't have that and we know in economics economies of scale benefits the whole. Fragmentation creates inefficiencies. So, I wanted to respond to the fact that given what Africa has seen over the last 50 years, given the fact that we still fragment it and we haven't been able to pool our resources, what do you think would happen or would have happened if the 1945 goal would have been achieved and has there been any studies at all to look at that perspective versus the current existing perspective?

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you. Give it to the next gentleman just opposite. I'll take about four questions.

MR. WHITMAN: Thanks. I'm Dan Whitman with American University, was with state.

I believe that the African Union has a policy of not changing borders and I believe it reluctantly made exceptions for Eritrea and South Sudan. Will this ever happen again?

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you very much, very good. The lady there, the lady over there, yes and then -- yes. Please.

MS. RAFFEL: I'm Helen Raffel with Resources for the Future and I'm very concerned about global warming, increasing drought in Africa, and large movements

of population away from the food shortage, drought-stricken areas into our nations across borders and how is the African Union going to cope with this increasing shortage of foods and mass migrations?

MR. KIMENYI: Last one, the gentleman behind, next to you, and then I'll go to the other one after. I think we'll start with --

SPEAKER: My name is (inaudible) I was the director of Economic Corporation of Adadagi. And what Adadagi did was to prepare the long-term view or vision on Africa, the five economic community and the African economic community covering the five and the process of economic growth within this, but what I would like to ask --

MR. KIMENYI: Hold that, yes.

SPEAKER: Hold the mike, please.

SPEAKER: What I would love to ask to the Ambassador is what do you think about African economic corridor? We see the junction between the electricity and the mineral resources in the valley, valley in Africa. We have about 15 and there is a massive clump to develop those economic corridor. What do you think about this because I believe the idea came from South Africa and, so, from SADC, and I think this seem to be the solution of everything in Africa.

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you very much. Okay, could we take those very quickly and we want to go to another round of questions.

Could I start with the Ambassador?

AMBASSADOR MAZILE: Yes. Thank you very much.

MR. KIMENYI: Be brief, yes.

AMBASSADOR MAZILE: You know SADC has the different areas of



concentration, mineral, mineral, beneficiation, energy, and there are countries which have been appointed to lead in the financial sector. But one should not lose sight of the fact that when you look at incomes or monies, banking, loans which can do those projects, we are still challenged with the ratings which are applicable globally so that it is not as easy for an African country to raise sources even though a project may be viable. But when we see the move, for instance, in SADAC of developing the bridges, of saying who has access, supply of energy to help another country, I think it is a move in the right direction.

The question on global warming and droughts, we are happy to see that especially the United States, we are seeing the growth of the agricultural sector in overall Africa coming and filled by the farmers here who have basically sort of almost run out of land. We don't think it is going to be an immediate solution, but we think that it is going to be some solution.

You see, drought and global warming, those are acts of God. There isn't anything and anybody who can do anything about it. We can't contract out of them. They are going to be there. It's not just Africa which is suffering from this phenomena, it's other countries also which are also suffering from that. So, it needs a global approach. This is why it is called "global warming," and we would hope that we will see other countries who have more capacity assisting to say how best it could be dealt with. We are concerned because especially the women and the children become the first victims of that.

Fragmented Africa, the first question, I don't think so. I think the African Union has made quite a lot of progress, and, as I said in my introduction, these things are not events, they are ongoing, they are processes, they would come and looking at the various efforts that are there and regional integration which we are starting, I think we are

moving in the right way. Africa should not be judged as if we are looking at established democracies of 100 years or more. We should not punish ourselves unduly, but we should see are we progressing in the right direction? And, yes, I think the answer is in the affirmative. We are moving in the right direction.

MR. KIMENYI: Any --

DR. MIKELL: Several things.

First on the United States of Africa and what would have been the benefits had that happened earlier, my goodness. It's a whole different world, but it didn't happen and it didn't happen because of the persistence of colonial divisions, it didn't happen because of the division between North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, it didn't happen because of the differences in ideology. We have begun to move past all that. The African countries are moving past all that, but I think there still is something that one sees within the A.U. that is significant and it is a real cautiousness about taking on some of the differences that remain as a result of that earlier fragmentation.

Let me just use Darfur, Sudan and Darfur as an example. Yes, yes, the A.U. really wanted to be able to do the peace mission in Darfur, but it did not have the capability to actually do that, and, so, there had to be a joint hybrid mission, but one of the major problems was the agreement within or disagreement within African countries about how that was to be implemented and about how strong a position one should take against the government of Sudan, about what relationship they should have with Bashir in the process. And a lot of that was about sensitivity, having to do with Muslim versus Christian, a lot of it had to do with sensitivity early on about Gadhafi's role in supporting member countries of the A.U. paying dues and all of that.

So, these kinds of things still -- they're lessening, they're lessening. I do

think the Mali situation has brought to everyone's attention the importance of getting past some of those old fragmentations in order to work collectively against Islamic radicalism, and, so, I think the stage is being set for a greater set of agreements on many things in terms of security.

MR. KIMENYI: Okay.

DR. MIKELL: I didn't talk about the economic. But in terms of security, I think they're getting there.

On global warming droughts, I have to say this one thing and I'll stop. Back in 1997, I was talking with Julius Nyerere, and he was then heading the Great Lakes talks. And he was at the Council on Farm Relations, and I was senior fellow. I had been senior fellow.

One of the things I asked him was, and this was before he got up to talk, what on earth could be done? How do you think this is going to be resolved? And what he said was do you mean within existing borders? And I stopped because what? I said, well, no, you don't have to just talk existing borders. He said good because I don't think that there really is a way for us to deal with the security issues we're confronting, with the economic issues we're confronting because the security issues are economic until there really is the kind of freedom of movement across the continent that will allow people to move to areas where resources are greater, where populations are less and resources are greater, and of course what he meant was that the Rwandans, the movement across the border between Rwanda and Tanzania was a logical move. In fact, the camps were there, but it could not easily be accomplished because of sovereign differences and he was talking about the opening up of regional and continental.

Now, I said that because with the global warming that we're now having,

we really are seeing shifts of populations to different areas, and, so, this becomes an even more important question how will the continent respond to the needs of people to move to new areas? Well, of course, we're talking about region. Now you have to go through at the passport areas and you can go through your regional, show your regional document and you can go through.

We really do need to have that happen on a continental basis. That has economic implications and many countries are worried about the economic implications, but I think it has to happen because the shift of resources, fish are now moving. In the paper, what was it yesterday or today, fish are moving to cooler climates. What that's going to do is to absolutely alter the possibility of coastal populations being able to sustain themselves. And, so, you are going to see movements of people who have certain livelihoods from one part of the continent to another. How will the A.U. begin to deal with that? I think it's really important.

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you very much.

DR. BRIGETY: Just very briefly, the question about changing borders, let me stipulate or start by saying that, obviously, these are sovereign questions mainly for these countries and also the African Union. So, as a representative of the United States, we obviously sort of work very closely with them, but recognize the sovereignty choices.

As an observer, obviously, the respect of the borders that independence makes a great deal of sense because were it not for that admonition, there is no logical end to where those borders ought to be withdrawn. And I think that what we see from the cases of Eritrea and also in particular of Sudan and South Sudan is that in order to move away from that norm or create an additional exception, the cost in bloodshed and turmoil

is extremely, extremely high, and I can tell you that American diplomacy has been very heavily engaged to try to work with movements just like Mali. Mali is the latest sort of case example. And the MNLA, one of their great demands, obviously, is creating of sort of a Tuareg state and we think that the first principle of the resolution of the crisis in Mali is that Mali must remain a unified state. Similarly in Somalia, the Somalilanders are insistent that if it takes them 100 years, they will have a sovereign state. Our position has basically been to support the unity of all Somalia. If at some other point that was decided to be differently, we certainly would not move in advance of any consensus either by the parties themselves inside Somalia or by the African Union. But the price to cross that border is extremely, extremely high and we think it's better to work things out in the context of existing borders.

MR. KIMENYI: Okay, thank you very much. I'm going to the people in the back.

I would like to mention about the non-variability of borders. I think I would disagree with the U.S. or any other person's position. The OAU said that borders cannot be changed, they will keep the colonial boundaries. And I don't think that's a principle that is consistent with liberty, which is something that U.S. upholds, and I wrote a small monograph some time back where I said that was actually a stupid principle from the OAU's point of view, and, in fact, it was very clear that Sudan would never remain as a single country.

So, to talk about holding it together was actually not a very good appearance for it to happen. So, I think it will be nice, but they have to be managed because it can be really chaotic and if you think about Somalia, I think Somaliland, it's important to think about Somalia at a fairly independent level and I think, so, those issues

are very important when you're comparing liberty versus arbitrary boundaries and so on.

So, let me take a few questions and please be very brief so that we get the responses. We're almost there, but the gentleman in the back --

DR. BRIGETY: Make sure we get a lady, yes.

MR. KIMENYI: Yes, oh, I haven't -- yes.

MR. FANUSIE: Thank you very much. My name is Yaya Fanusie. I'm with the United States of Africa 2017 Project Taskforce.

The coauthors by saying they're going to have the free trade area in 2017. What I want you all to focus on is very important. There will be a United States of Africa, a federation, and that referendum will be held 2017. And if I have my way, it will be called a Songhai Federation.

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you very much. Oh, the lady in blue there, then Julius --

MS. BOTSU: Hi, my name is Murnie Botsu and I'm from Ghana, and my question revolves around A.U. relations with China and basically African countries in China because our new headquarters was built by China and I know America is not too happy about that. So, I wanted to know your -- I know the U.S. is not too excited about the Chinese in Africa, but they are bringing in the needed infrastructure development that we need, although on terms that could be altered a bit. So, how is the A.U. dealing with this and the U.S. or anyone else? Thank you.

MR. KIMENYI: Very good. Julius --

MR. AGBOR: Julius Agbor, Africa Growth Initiative. Two suggestions on how the A.U. can push its continental integration again. Number one, it has to start working on a transcontinental language. We learned from Nelson Mandela, when you

speak to a man in a language he understands, it entices him, but when you speak in his language, it goes straight to his heart. There's a possibility of that, Swahili, which is a combination of Bantu and Arabic structures, can become such a language.

Number two thing is that when the A.U. has to start working on some commonality in respect to governance issues and one key area, you just have to start at some stage. Say that henceforth, our constitution mandates each president to not spend more than two terms in office and that's a good step to start from. Thank you.

MR. KIMENYI: They may just increase the number of years, but they are very shrewd. (Laughter)

The two gentlemen in the back.

They are very shrewd. (Laughter)

MR. WALKER: Thank you so much. My name is Eli Walker. I'm with the State Department at Qatar Program.

I know you were asking the panelists about the African Union and the French intervention. I do think that the African Union and ECOWAS have not been given enough credit for the successes they've recorded in peacekeeping operations in Africa. Don't forget the whole concept of United Nations and peacekeeping actually started with ECOMOG and ECOWAS, as the panelists highlighted.

So, I do think there is a perception out there -- I just got back from Abuja, Nigeria -- that the way the French intervened in Mali and (inaudible) ECOWAS in Côte d'Ivoire, remove the concept of African solution for African problem. So, I do think that ECOWAS and Africa have the capacity to lead just like they are leading now with AFISMA in Mali. Perhaps, the international community and the United Nations or perhaps United States might provide incentives for the African Union and ECOWAS to do

this job rather than French because of colonial relationships coming first to intervene before the African has because of financial issues getting to do the job first. Africa is going to do that as early as in 30 to 60 days. Thank you so much.

MR. KIMENYI: Okay, and let's finish with the gentleman right over there and a quick one, yes.

SPEAKER: I'm from DRC and I want to ask you a question to know while you are saying that the issue of borders could be seen in regard to liberty and that we should let the border disappear, the African Union stand for the colonial borders that we have inherited.

My question will go to the Secretary. Regarding what is happening in my country, Rwanda, where is the United States standing and reconciling that with the African Union? Because we talk about the success of Rwanda, but the success of Rwanda came on the back of 6 million deaths in the Congo. Women raped on a daily basis, trained by the U.S. Army, where are we going?

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you very much.

This gentleman here. You have a tough one now. There. If you could do it very quickly, I'll ask --

MR. BREMAN: Matthew Breman, International Youth Foundation.

The question is 70 percent of youth under 30 on the continent, we heard the conversation between Angola and Equatorial Guinea and Botswana presidents around youth employment. My question: What is the A.U.'s role and what is the vision you have, the Pan-African University? What does all this look like for the future?

MR. KIMENYI: Margo. Margo, yes, final question from --

MS. SULLIVAN: That was actually my question, but let me adjust it.



First and foremost --

MR. KIMENYI: Would you introduce yourself?

MS. SULLIVAN: Margo Sullivan, I'm from the Office of Congress Member Karen Bass. And thank you very much for informing us things morning.

You spoke about the role of women and I know that the Chairperson Zuma had very much identified, ensuring that women have a role and a greater role to play in the A.U.

If you could perhaps talk a little bit more about that. Thank you.

MR. KIMENYI: Very good. I'll start with you. Two minutes each, we'll wrap up.

DR. BRIGETY: First on the A.U. and China, let me be clear on this. The United States is not interested in recreating some sort of postmodern, neocolonial scramble for Africa with China or anybody else. We are recognizing increasing Chinese engagement on the continent. We think there is a lot positive about it, as you said, with regard to their engagement and infrastructure.

In our talks with our African partners, we welcome and encourage them to be partners with whoever they choose. We think that as with all partnerships, with all sovereign countries, it's important to take a look at what the real content of those partnerships are and what happens as a result of it. So, we congratulate the Chinese on the fabulous, gleaming, new headquarters building they built for the African Union. (Laughter) And but, again, we think that there are some very important things that the United States government, companies, NGOs are bringing to the continent that other partners don't necessarily do.

On intervention, my colleague from ACOTA, it's good to see you.

ACOTA is one of the programs that reports directly to me. So, I'm very pleased to hear your opinion on the subject.

Let me say that, again, it's very important to take a look at the timeline. The United States, as you probably well know, was deeply engaged in supporting ECOWAS and the A.U. to come up with a deployment plan to deploy troops to address the issue of instability in the north in support of an overall political reconciliation to Mali. That plan was at least 12 months away from actually deploying troops to the ground. The enemy, Al Qaeda and the AQIM and its affiliated forces was not interested in waiting until the negotiation, the deployment plan was in place before they decided whether or not they would march on Bamako.

The French intervention, notwithstanding everything we said about the challenges of neocolonialism in Darfur, was the only option available in order to stop Bamako from falling, which would have been a disaster for everybody and to their great credit, the French are eager to withdraw and to turn the entire operation over to AFISMA and to what we think in short order will actually be a U.N.-hatted peacekeeping operation.

On the issue of A.U. and youth, from my conversations with her, I know that engagement with the youth is the number one priority of the chairperson for the A.U. We think the Pan-African University Concept has a great deal of merit.

I personally am eager to figure out what more the United States can do to be an active partner in that regard and as President Banda of Malawi said, the youth are the future, the youth are the present, and we need to figure out ways in which we can help to harness their enormous potential for their prosperity and stability and security of the continent.

MR. KIMENYI: Did you answer the question on DRC?

DR. BRIGETY: Yes, thank you very much. Thank you very much for -- no, it's a critically important question.

The United States has been clear repeatedly publically that no outside parties should engage or support rebel movements inside the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Our public stance I think it's fair to say has been accompanied by some really intense, vigorous private diplomacy with all parties to ensure that there is a political solution free of external interference. We are supportive of the Kampala Accord. We are also deeply supportive of the U.N. Special Envoy Mary Robinson in her attempts, her nascent attempts to ensure the accords are applied and to be sure that there is peace in the region.

I have been to DRC multiple times. I've been to the east, I've been to Goma. I can tell you that my heart breaks by the amount of suffering, the sexual violence that has occurred there, and on a personal level in addition to my position as a government official, I deeply want peace for the people of DRC and peace starts with the political solution free of external interference from all parties.

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you very much. So, you get about one-and-a-half to final concluding statement, also.

DR. MIKELL: I thank you, Reuben. I think I appreciate your comments there.

Just to add on the French in Côte d'Ivoire or the British in Sierra Leone, who had the capacity and the willingness to move as quickly as they did to resolve the issue? And I think speed was of the essence in doing that. And, so, the British stepped in to Sierra Leone and the French stepped in, but none of them want to be there for any length of time. And, so, the real issue is enabling the capacity of the regional military

forces to do what they need to do. I wish it were more than Nigeria and Ghana, but those appear to be the major ones. And South Africa appears to be the major one.

So, but, okay, on women in the A.U., I was really pleased with Chairwoman Zuma's comments. I think it was last week about the 50th anniversary, but one of the things she mentioned was that the A.U. is moving forward and most continue to move forward, and she referred us to I believe it was the 2002 declaration on women that the A.U. had adopted. So, there is a commitment to working harder on women's issues. There is a commitment to making sure that security council resolution 1325 on the role of women and peacekeeping and all of this, the A.U. has increasingly begun to internalize that and I think that's a positive sign.

MR. KIMENYI: Okay, Ambassador.

AMBASSADOR MAZILE: When it comes to me, he makes the time even shorter. (Laughter)

But I think for Chairperson Zuma, one of the easiest things is to enforce already what is in there. If you look at SADAC, for instance, they have the 50 percent quota. All she needs to be pushing and ECOWAS also has something, all that that she needs to be doing is to push that agreements that had been put in place must be implemented and not just remain on paper.

About the youth, one of the things that we are ignoring I think is the fact that the youth have become a bigger issue not only because they are the majority of the population, but because now overall Africa is a continent, they are educated, they are making more demands, they are looking for employment. So, that is the little bit of positive that you can get.

If we look at the so-called Arab Spring, for instance, I think all of us didn't

give credit to the fact that people are using technology to that extent, showing that now people are educated, the youth are also going to be demanding for governance and better structure. When it comes to peacekeeping, we should never also forget that in all this U.N. peacekeeping missions, you have African forces in there. So, we should take into cognizance that when it comes to peacekeeping, Africans are also involved if not through ECOWAS or through SADAC than through the U.N.

The issue of language, that is a challenging issue. You have two Nigerians coming from Nigeria, having to communicate with each other in English because they don't know the other person's tribal language. So, it is not -- I mean, if you look at our individual countries, you look at Botswana, we probably speak about six, seven languages and we are amongst the few compared to the rest. Yes, it would be ideal, but let's look at the history before us. Europe, they tried to euro, the financial crisis. So, it's governance, challenges which continue to plague any and every country.

In terms of two terms, all of us are moving.

In terms of China, China is an investor everywhere. When countries are downgraded, the first country which is going to say are they going to be able to pay us is China. So, China is going everywhere and looking for pockets of opportunities.

What I need to say is that as Africans, we must make sure that the extraction policies of our minerals is good so that we have long-term plans for rehabilitation, that the minerals are not taken. They don't rot. So, if we are not ready, let's just keep them underground so that only after we put the correct infrastructure, the correct governance structures then we go for the minerals. But you are not going to stop people who see an opportunity, investment anywhere. They are going to be coming. So, let us take caution and make sure that the policy is there to put there.

In conclusion, I would think that anyone ignoring Africa, they are doing so at their own peril. (Laughter)

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you very much. Yes?

DR. MIKELL: A question. How about this --

SPEAKER: (off mic)

DR. MIKELL: It's supposed to be helping --

AMBASSADOR MAZILE: I'll take the question.

DR. MIKELL: No, no, about the A.U. policy on those minerals, I agree with you wholeheartedly. What discussion is happening in the A.U. on this?

AMBASSADOR MAZILE: What we need to do is to individual countries to entrench mineral rights in the state. We should not be having countries where mineral rights rest on individuals or on companies. If they rest on the state, the benefit of the overall populous from the extraction of those is going to be what is going to get us forward.

MR. KIMENYI: Thank you. Thank you very much. Join me in thanking the panelists. (Applause)

Yes, hold on, I have an announcement. Could you hold on a second, please? Again, thank you very much for this and I'm sorry, Ambassador, for rushing you. But I'm really appreciative for the participation of everyone. I think it's a great conversation at this time.

\* \* \* \* \*

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