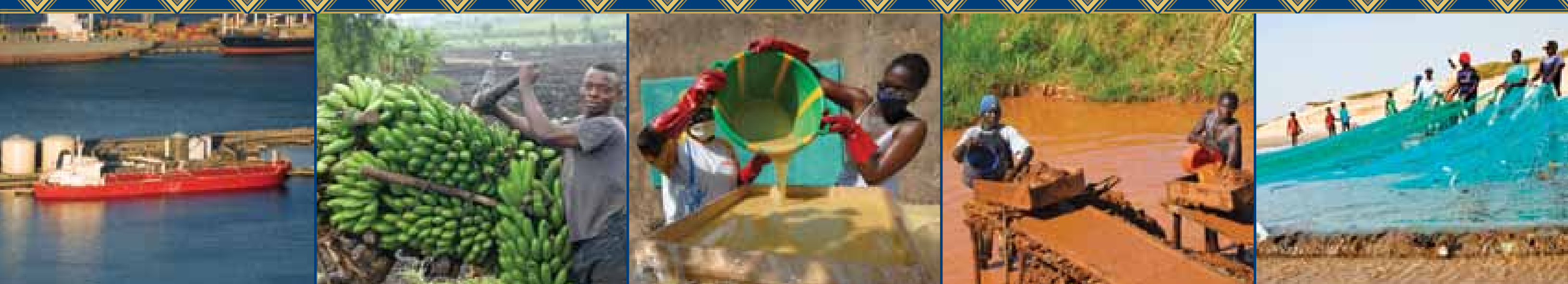
Africa Growth Initiative
at BROOKINGS

The Africa Growth and Opportunities Act: Toward 2015 and Beyond

A Synthesis of Stakeholders' Views on the Future of U.S.-Africa Commercial Relationships



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Introduction

This paper has been prepared as part of the Brookings Africa Growth Initiative's contribution to the discussions on improving the commercial relationships between the United States and Sub-Sahara African (SSA) countries. Since 2000, the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) has been the centerpiece of these commercial relations. However, currently all parties involved are in agreement that the time and circumstances are ripe to reform the act. Even though they may have different perspectives on reforming the act, all the stakeholders are optimistic that the upcoming June AGOA Forum in Lusaka, Zambia will be a very important event for kick-starting the process of redefining these commercial relationships between African countries and the U.S.

Earlier this year, the Africa Growth Initiative at Brookings (AGI) initiated a series of activities—including a conference in April on the future of AGOA—aimed at building consensus on what needs to be done in order to create commercial relationships that are universally acceptable, mutually beneficial and sustainable. This paper is a synthesis of these efforts. It draws from the opinions expressed by participants from the U.S. and African governments, regional organizations, businesses associations, civil society organizations and academia during the April conference on AGOA hosted at Brookings. The paper proposes a set of policy and program recommendations for consideration by African trade policymakers and their U.S. counterparts. The hope is that these recommendations will help map out a way forward toward maximizing AGOA trade and investment opportunities in the remaining period before the act expires as well as formulate more-encompassing proposals that would take U.S.-SSA commercial relations to the next level.

Section1 provides a background on AGOA and the consultative process that informed this paper. Section 2 analyzes the gains achieved and setbacks encountered during the last 11 years of AGOA's existence. Section 3 discusses the different perspectives by various stakeholders concerned with AGOA. The perspectives of U.S. government representatives, SSA country officials, private sector players, civil society actors and scholars are presented this chapter. The experiences of other stakeholders with established commercial arrangements with Sub-Sahara African countries are reviewed with a view to drawing lessons that would inform future U.S.-SSA relations. Section 4 focuses on the justification for a transformational development strategy for Africa. The roles of the various stakeholders in achieving this strategy are highlighted. Finally, based on an analysis of the present AGOA program, the opinions of the stakeholders and the mutual development imperatives, a set of policy recommendations and a road map are presented in Section 5.

The authors of this paper wish to thank all the stakeholders from African and the United States, who made time to discuss with the AGOA reform process. Special thanks go to Stephen Karingi (UN Economic Commission for Africa), Healey Mweemba (AGOA Forum Secretariat, Zambia), and Emmanuella Hakizimana (East African Community) for organizing the regional consultations.

Section 1: Background on AGOA and Convening the Stakeholders

The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) is a part of the Trade and Development Act of 2000, passed by the U.S. Congress. AGOA extends duty-free and quota-free access to over 6,400 products from the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) into the U.S. market and also promotes development and economic cooperation between the U.S. and SSA. The act empowers the president of the United States, through the provisions within executive initiatives, to direct the U.S. secretary of state to annually convene the AGOA Forum either in the U.S. or in one of the 37 AGOA eligible countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In June 2011, the AGOA Forum will take place in Lusaka, Zambia. The forum usually provides the U.S. and SSA beneficiaries with an occasion to review progress and identify bottlenecks that need to be addressed in order to allow the AGOA program to achieve its purpose. The forums also act as a useful opportunity to convene political leaders, business representatives and civil society actors.

The upcoming June AGOA Forum has attracted more interest from diverse groups than has been the case in the past. This is partly because the third country multi-fiber provision expires in 2012 and the act itself expires in 2015. This situation is worrying for all the stakeholders interested in the AGOA program, especially since the program already been criticized for the extent to which it has been able to achieve its objectives. There is broad consensus that AGOA has played a very important role in the revival and nurturing of the U.S.-SSA commercial and strategic relationship. The impact of AGOA on the economies of SSA has been largely positive, at least in some of the eligible ones. Nevertheless, there is also agreement that AGOA could have done much better.

The supply and demand side constraints are well documented and appreciated by all the stakeholders of AGOA. There is urgency among the stakeholders to address, at the very least, the more pervasive of these constraints so that more widespread benefits can be realized. However, there is an emerging dimension that has triggered broader and deeper interest in the AGOA program. Whereas the philosophy and conditions that informed AGOA at the end of the 20th century were undoubtedly plausible at the time, those conditions have changed substantially and its philosophical outlook must follow suit. While it may be worthwhile to work within the AGOA framework to improve it, many are becoming more convinced that the time has come to put in place a new platform for the promoting the future of U.S.-SSA commercial relationships.

The Africa Growth Initiative at Brookings (AGI) has been researching the issues pertaining to AGOA for quite some time and the initiative has published several research papers and policy briefs on many aspects of the act. In the run-up to the June 2011 forum, AGI used its substantial convening power to build consensus on the future of AGOA and U.S.-SSA commercial engagement. The initiative held high-level consultations with

U.S. and African government officials, the private sector, civil society organizations and other non-state actors, as well as regional organizations promoting economic development in Africa. In partnership with the Corporate Council on Africa, a U.S.-based civil society organization, the Africa Growth Initiative co-hosted a Congressional briefing on AGOA with U.S. Congressman and Ranking Member of House Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights by Donald Payne. The briefing was also attended by two trade ministers from Africa and senior officials from U.S. and SSA governments.[1] AGI also organized an inclusive, high-level conference at Brookings in April, where the major concerns of AGOA and the future of the U.S.-SSA economic relationship were candidly discussed under Chatham House Rule. A contact list of the key people involved in the process is appended to this paper (see Annex 2). The conference also included a public event that attracted well over 150 participants, including U.S. and African government officials, scholars from Brookings and other academic institutions, the diplomatic community, business people, civil society groups and private citizens.

This paper synthesizes the discussions from these meetings and activities on AGOA. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to the design of the commercial relationship between the U.S. and Sub-Saharan Africa that commences with the Lusaka AGOA Forum in June.

[1] U.S. Representative Bobby Rush, Congressman from Chicago, sent talking notes in lieu of his personal attendance to the briefing session.

Section 2: Eleven Years of AGOA

As of December 2010, 37 out of the 48 Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries were eligible to benefit from the AGOA program. The act opened up opportunities for African countries to increase their economic cooperation with the United States by granting them duty-free and quota-free U.S. market access for the 1,835 designated products, in addition to the 4,600 generalized system of preferences (GSP) products designated for duty-free treatment for least developed countries (LDCs). The act also provides assistance in trade capacity building to help AGOA-eligible countries take advantage of the available opportunities. AGOA was initially planned for a fixed term of eight years, but it was subsequently extended to 2015 after the Word Trade Organization granted a waiver to the U.S. for a non-reciprocal preferential trade regime under AGOA, in effect until September 2015.

The Purpose and Objectives of AGOA

The purpose of AGOA is to foster economic and political development in Sub–Saharan African countries by expanding access to U.S. trade and investment markets, thereby leading to long run prosperity based on free markets and more democratic governments in African countries. The specific objectives of AGOA are to:

- promote increased trade and investment between the United States and Sub–Sahara African countries;
- promote economic development and reforms in Sub–Saharan Africa; and
- promote increased access and opportunities for U.S. investors and businesses in Sub–Saharan Africa.

AGOA has become the centerpiece of U.S. trade and investment policy for Sub-Sahara Africa as well as an important plank of U.S. foreign policy toward Africa. The act offers opportunities that promise a wide variety of economic and welfare effects, and it is the onus of eligible countries to create enabling environments to strengthen and expand trade and investment prospects.

AGOA Eligibility

For a country to qualify for access to the U.S. market under AGOA, it must meet a set eligibility criteria. The thrust of the eligibility criteria is that the African country must demonstrate that it has established or is making continued progress toward establishing:

- a market-based economy that protects private property rights;
- the rule of law, political pluralism and right to due process, fair trial and equal protection under the law;
- elimination of barriers to U.S. trade and investment (including national treatment of foreign investors and the protection of intellectual property rights);

- economic policies to reduce poverty, increase the availability of health care and educational opportunities;
- a system to combat corruption and bribery;
- protection for internationally recognized worker rights, including the right of association and the right to organize and bargain; and
- non-engagement in activities that fall under U.S. national security/foreign policy interests and opposition to acts of international terrorism

The 37 Sub-Sahara African countries that are AGOA-eligible are listed in Annex 1. The AGOA program has witnessed the eligibility and subsequent disqualification of countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Madagascar, Central African Republic, Eritrea, Côte d'Ivoire and Mauritania. Countries that are removed from the program are only re-admitted when they again fulfill all the eligibility criteria.

Summary the Benefits of AGOA

Eleven years after the enactment of AGOA, and four years before its expiration, the benefits of AGOA are fairly clear at the aggregate level. These benefits are summarized below:

Increased access for goods produced in SSA countries into the U.S. market

Through the GSP/AGOA provisions, the volume, diversity and value of goods entering the U.S. market from SSA countries has increased remarkably. In 2000, the U.S. imported $7.6 billion worth of duty-free goods from AGOA eligible countries. This figure had risen to $81.4 billion by 2008, an increase of more than 10 times.

Spurring two-way trade and investment relationships

Two-way trade and investment relationships have been established and nurtured between the U.S. and Sub-Sahara African countries and their businesses. According to the U.S. International Trade Commission's DataWeb**,** 2008 was one of the best years in the of U.S.-SSA commercial relationship. Goods worth $98.7 billion were traded both ways, up from $23 billion in 2000, an increase of 328 percent for the period or an average of 41 percent per year. U.S. exports to Sub-Saharan Africa in 2008 consisted primarily of motor vehicles (accounting for 11.9 percent of total exports); oilseeds and grains (mostly wheat, accounting for 8.7 percent); and petroleum and coal products (accounting for 7.6 percent). Other significant exports included: aircrafts; oil and gas field machinery and equipment; construction and general purpose machinery; industrial chemicals; navigational, measuring, electro-medical and control instruments; grain and oilseed milling equipment; and communications equipment.

However, the bulk of SSA countries exports to the U.S. were made up of energy-related products, mainly petroleum and gas. Energy exports make up more that 90 percent of the Sub-Saharan African trade to the United States. Minerals and metals, chemicals and related products, textiles and apparel, and transportation equipment are the other key products that the U.S. imports from SSA countries. Yet, if one were to exclude energy-related trade, the U.S.-SSA balance of trade would be skewed in favor of the United States.

The increase in trade between the SSA region and the United States has been accompanied by increased foreign direct investment (FDI) in Sub-Saharan Africa. At the time when AGOA was enacted, U.S. companies were leaving SSA at an alarming rate. The trend has, however, changed with U.S. FDI to SSA countries increasing by over 50 percent between 2001 and 2007.

Diversification of exports from AGOA

The AGOA program offered SSA countries the opportunity to export a much wider range of products, thereby leading to greater diversification of product lines and concomitant diversification of their economies and attendant linkages. Under AGOA, sec-

TABLE 1: Summary of U.S. exports to and imports from the SSA countries in U.S. dollars

Item	All Sectors	2008	2009	2010	2009 YTD	2010 YTD
1	Exports	17,239,730	13,873,144	15,576,280	13,873,144	15,576,280
2	Imports	81,438,075	43,949,867	60,530,634	43,949,867	60,530,634
3	AGOA + GSP	66,258,828	33,709,298	44,269,935	33,709,298	44,269,935
4	GSP Imports	9,885,178	5,658,980	5,605,128	5,658,980	5,605,128
5	AGOA Duty-Free Items.	56,373,651	28,050,318	38,664,807	28,050,318	38,664,807

tors, such as textile and apparel manufacturing experienced exponential growth until 2005, when the Multi Fibre Arrangement expired. Nevertheless, it is estimated that AGOA-related business has created 300,000 jobs in SSA, including 40,000 for women in the textile and apparel sector alone.

Capacity building intervention

Although AGOA was not conceived specifically as a technical assistance program, the USAID Trade Capacity-Building database estimates that the United States provided over $3.3 billion in trade capacity-building assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa between 2001 and 2009. The U.S. makes significant contributions to trade capacity building through the Millennium Challenge Corporation. USAID also implements the Africa Global Competitiveness Initiative (AGCI) to help promote export competitiveness of African enterprises. The initiative's aims are diverse and include improving the business and regulatory environment for trade and investment, providing knowledge and skills, helping with access to financial services and making infrastructure investment. The AGCI has opened four regional global competitiveness hubs managed by USAID regional missions in western, southern and eastern/central Africa to provide information and technical assistance. These hubs provide much needed trade assistance in these African regions (Suruma and Lewis, July 2010).

Reinforcement of the economic reform agenda

The economic reform agenda has been reinforced and several SSA countries have improved their trading and investment climates. Today, the economic outlook for SSA countries is good and heralds positive prospects for reducing poverty and increasing stability. SSA countries are taking a new approach and demonstrating real commitment in embracing the agenda of regional integration. Furthermore, through such initiatives as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the SSA countries have taken the lead in ensuring rapid social and economic growth that is transparent, accountable and yielding positive impact on the living conditions of their citizens.

AGOA's Impact on SSA Development

A critical review of the AGOA program reveals that the collective scenario does not tell the whole story. Indeed, the gains from AGOA to most SSA countries are minimal, at best:

- Only a handful of the eligible countries are actually benefiting from the program. Very poor countries have been experiencing declining and even negative fortunes over time. In fact, 18 SSA countries (48.6 percent of the total eligible) did not export anything of significant value to the U.S. in the 2010 trading year.[2]

- The balance of trade for the majority of eligible countries remains largely in favor of the U.S. Over 90 percent of total exports

[2] Significant value is regarded as: goods and services exceeding $1 million per year.

are comprised of energy-related trade. This means that benefits from the AGOA program mainly go to oil-producing countries that would not have had any problem selling the sought-after commodity in the first place. It is little wonder that Nigeria alone accounts for over half of the total trade receipt on the AGOA account.

- Supply-side constraints have not been addressed in a concerted way, if at all. Yet, these constraints, though subsidiary to the AGOA agenda, render African economies uncompetitive and therefore unable to access the U.S. markets.

- The AGOA program is prone to economic shocks originating in the U.S. domestic economy. Exports to the U.S., for instance, declined sharply in 2009 and 2010 in the aftermath of the U.S. economic downturn . No provisions or safety nets have been developed to cushion the fragile SSA economies from such shocks.

- The AGOA program has failed to spur U.S. foreign domestic investment to the continent in a significant way. Sub-Saharan Africa remains the least favored destination for FDI.

- The act is also said to be undemocratic in so far as it provides for unilateral expulsion of a country by the U.S. These circumstances impact negatively on private long-term investment decisions, especially those that are motivated by exploitation of duty-free and quota-free opportunities. It is also inimical to regional integration efforts because of the stringent rules of origin that are built into the Act itself.[3]

- Furthermore, eligible countries continue to export primary and semi-processed commodities, undermining claims that AGOA has spurred diversification and value-addition. Moreover, of the approximately 6,400 product lines that are AGOA/GSP admissible, SSA countries utilize about 50.

- AGOA is susceptible to U.S. political dynamics. Temptations to open up similar preferential arrangements with other regions of the world are real. This would in effect lead to the collapse of the AGOA program with serious repercussions for those SSA countries that have organized their economies to be AGOA compliant.

- There are several non-tariff barriers including lengthy standards and compliance requirements that add to costs and a concomitant reduction of benefits.

- The U.S.-AGOA relationship is unilateral, not contractual. This makes the SSA countries the weaker party in the AGOA arrangement.

- Lastly, there is no strong African mechanism for coordinating AGOA-related issues and following them through with the U.S. counterparts.

There is, however, broad agreement among active stakeholders that AGOA was never meant to be a panacea for everything that constrains Africa's development prospects.

Summary of AGOA

The AGOA program was a bold move at the time it was conceived. It has made a welcome, if incremental, contribution to the development of a number of Sub-Saharan African countries. In spite of AGOA and other complementary initiatives, however, SSA remains a peripheral player in

[3] The expulsion of Madagascar, for instance, had significant negative spillover effect on almost all the economies of the SADC member states that were supplying input to its fledging textile and garment industries.

global trade, accounting for a meager 1.83 percent of total world trade. Much more would have been achieved had the criticisms listed above been addressed. The AGOA program has only four more years before it lapses. The AGOA third country multi-fiber provision expires in 2012.

The next high-level forum to review AGOA is scheduled to take place in Zambia in June. The forum will have to make major shifts in policy and program focus in a bid to provide a firm foundation to the Obama administration's response to the development aspirations of SSA countries that are radically different from the time AGOA was first enacted. In the upcoming forum, it is imperative to investigate the various options for the period preceding and immediately following the lapse of the AGOA rather than just addressing the known constraints.

Section 3: Different Perspectives on AGOA

The key players in the AGOA program seem to hold somewhat different perspectives on it. This has given rise to confusion in terms of expectations and differing opinions over the gains from the AGOA program.

The U.S. Government Perspective

U.S. government representatives rightly view AGOA as a tool designed to help exports from SSA countries become more competitive in the U.S. market. Whereas the program may not have realized its full potential, the U.S. government is convinced that it has made a measurable difference. There has been significant expansion and diversification of products that Africa exports to the U.S. These include apparel, footwear, processed agricultural products and manufactured goods. The U.S. effort has provided trade capacity-building assistance with the objective of promoting new, non-traditional and value-added exports from Africa. The four regional hubs managed by USAID are aimed to expand utilization of the AGOA facility.

According to U.S. government officials, the AGOA program has been criticized for failing to accomplish what it was never meant to do in the first place. Trade in energy was never meant to be a major focus of AGOA, although energy remains the main commodity traded through AGOA, because it also happens to be SSA's leading export to the world. The U.S. government argues that the AGOA program excludes only a few products that are subject to tariff rate quota, such as tobacco and sugar. Most African countries have been unable to fully exploit their allocated quota for these items. The U.S. also believes that it applies the AGOA eligibility criteria fairly and in the best interest of ensuring observance of best practices. The values embedded in the criteria are widely shared with the beneficiary countries as reflected, for instance, in NEPAD. Countries that have been removed from the program have been expeditiously re-admitted once they have put their houses back in order. The U.S. government also maintains that there is tendency to confuse standards (including sanitary and phytosanitary measurers) with non-tariff barriers. The USAID-managed regional hubs are working to assist SSA governments and producers meet U.S. standards in an expedited manner. Finally, while the call for an extension of both AGOA and third country multi-fiber provision is reasonable, making the preference regime permanent would create the impression that SSA is consigned to the periphery of global trade competitiveness. The U.S. government is committed to working with SSA governments, the private sectors in both the U.S. and Africa, and civil society to strengthen the U.S.-Africa economic relationship through trade and investment.

Both private sector and civil society in the U.S. support the sound foundation of AGOA. They also appreciate the important contribution that AGOA, together with other U.S.-led programs, have made toward the growth of trade and investment in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, the stakeholders believe that the U.S. may have lost some of its leadership in supporting a mutually beneficial economic relationship between the U.S. and Sub-Saharan Africa. Developing a vibrant private sector in Africa is a key priority. The strategy for doing this lies in fostering creative linkages between businesses in the U.S. and small- and medium-sized businesses in Africa, which will in turn create a stable and expanded middle class that is the basis for taxation and political stability. Much more would need to be done in the areas of infrastructure development, education and skills enhancement, cross-border and regional trade, as well as removal of barriers to trade. A spirited drive in Sub-Saharan African countries to attract foreign direct investment from the American corporate sector has also been lacking. Indeed civil society organizations lament the fact that the U.S. has not internalized the vast opportunities that doing business with Africa would bring to the U.S. economy. It is worth noting that no U.S. commerce secretary has visited Sub-Saharan Africa in 10 years.

The Beneficiary Sub-Saharan African Countries' Perspectives

The beneficiary SSA countries, especially those that are able to exploit opportunities available to them, view AGOA positively. Expectations, however, have been higher than the program has been able or was designed to achieve. SSA countries expected to receive much more aid for trade in order to address the supply-side constraints. They also expected higher levels of foreign direct investment from U.S. firms and U.S. government support for increased synergy between SSA producers and U.S. market players. SSA is concerned about the low number of African countries accessing the U.S. markets. The region is even more concerned by the fact that exports from Africa are comprised of mainly extractive products (oil, gas, minerals, metals and forest-based), and raw or semi-processed agricultural products but very few manufactured goods. Furthermore, SSA countries believe that some products that are currently quota restricted or are inadmissible under AGOA would make a real difference for them and give them a comparative advantage. Such products include groundnut, tobacco and dairy products.

SSA countries appreciate the fact that extending trade preference in perpetuity is counterproductive to the development vision for Africa. They require stability and predictability in the Program so that existing and potential investors can base their decisions on known variables. Finally, SSA countries would want to see the U.S.-African economic relationship structured on a more contractual, as opposed to unilateral, basis.

Experience from Other Key Stakeholders of African Trade and Investment

This section interrogates the existence of north-south as well as south-south development initiatives that serve similar as well as competing objectives as AGOA.

World Trade Organization

The World Trade Organization was established in 1995 to supervise and liberalize international trade. The stated mission of the WTO is to promote free trade and stimulate economic growth. The institution deals with the regulation of trade between participating countries; it provides a framework for negotiating and formalizing trade agreements, as well as a dispute resolution platform aimed at enforcing members' adherence to WTO agreements. The agreements are signed by representatives of member governments and ratified by their parliaments. The WTO has 153 member countries, representing more than 97 percent of total world trade. There are an additional 30 observer countries, most of whom are seeking membership.

The WTO establishes a framework for trade policies, but it does not define or specify outcomes. Rather, it is concerned with setting the rules of the trade policy games. WTO operations are based on five key principles: (1) non-discrimination; (2) reciprocity; (3) binding and enforceable commitments; (4) transparency; and (5) safety valves. Most of the issues that the WTO deals with are derived from previous trade negotiations, especially from the Uruguay Round (1986–1994). The organization is currently struggling to conclude trade negotiation, referred to as the Doha Development Agenda (or Doha Round), which was launched in 2001 to enhance the equitable participation of poorer countries. The negotiations are, however, bogged down by disagreement between exporters of bulk agricultural commodities and countries with large numbers of subsistence farmers on the precise terms of a 'special safeguard measure' to protect farmers from surges in imports. The future of the Doha Round is precarious indeed.

The WTO is accused of widening the sociological gap between the rich and poor countries. Critics contend that smaller countries in the WTO are peripheral players, especially in political realms. Consequently, rich countries are able to maintain high import duties and quotas on certain products, thus blocking key imports from developing countries. For example, there has been an increase in non-tariff barriers such as anti-dumping measures allowed against developing countries. Rich countries continue to maintain high levels of protection for their own agricultural sectors and needs while poor nations are pressured to open their markets to exports from rich countries. There has certainly been a failure to develop negotiating capacity among the developing countries to allow them to participate effectively in WTO negotiations. The WTO decision-making process has also been criticized as ineffective and inefficient.

Despite these criticisms, the WTO remains an important organization that sets the rules of engagement while establishing and implementing commercial relationships. Current and future forms of U.S.-SSA trade and investment relationships must be consistent with WTO principles, provisions and rules. This relationship must also be cognizant of the bottlenecks that have frustrated the Doha Round negotiations.

European Union

The European Union and countries of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) regions celebrated 50 years of development cooperation in 2007. The European Development Fund (EDF) was created in 1957 as a vehicle for granting technical and financial assistance to the beneficiary countries still under European rule at the time. More significantly, however, the European member states expressed solidarity with the colonies. The EU-ACP development cooperation brings together 15 European Countries and 78 ACP countries.

The EU-ACP development cooperation has been executed through successive cycles and agreements, each laying emphasis on cooperation themes that are topical at the time. The first cycle was designed for a period of five years and took effect in 1959. It was renewed in 1963 with the advent of independence in most of the countries in the regions. The group of developing countries that signed the final agreement was granted preferential trade arrangements (PTA), such as the duty-free access of specified African goods into the European market. The agreement was subsequently renewed a number of times and each time was expanded to cover a whole range of interventions, such as financial and technical assistance, investment and capital movement. The structure established in Yaoundé in 1963 remains the framework for many aspects of ACP-EU cooperation in place today.

The agreement, however, expired in 1974 and was succeeded by a new convention that addressed the weaknesses of the previous partnership regime and incorporated changes in the European political framework. The convention, dubbed the Lomé Convention, was signed in 1975 after 18 months of protracted negotiations. The relationship between the European Union and the ACP group evolved over time. By the 1990s, the ties based on colonial history had substantially weakened and the Cold War had ended. As a result, EU development cooperation shifted dramatically in favor of former socialist Central Europe and away from the ACP. The prevailing arrangements were also undermined by continued incompatibility with General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)/World Trade Organization provisions. The Lomé Convention was replaced by yet another arrangement in June 2000. The Cotonou Agreement is the latest of the PTAs between the EU and the ACP group. It is designed for a period of 20 years and is based on four main principles: partnership, participation, dialogue and mutual obligations, and differentiation and regionalization. The Cotonou Agreement has several additional dimensions, including respect for human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. It also recognizes and defines specific roles for civil society and the private sector in the process of fostering economic development. The most radical change contained in the Cotonou Agreement was the establishment of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), which were scheduled to take effect in 2008. EPAs are a scheme intended to create a free trade area between the EU and the ACP group of countries. They are a response to the criticisms leveled against the non-reciprocal and discriminating preferential trade agreements that have been obtained between the two parties, which are inconsistent with WTO rules. The key elements of the EPAs scheme are, therefore, reciprocity and non-discrimination. The EPAs scheme involves phased out removal of all trade preferences as well as the progressive removal of trade barriers between the partners. This arrangement would ultimately terminate the special status enjoyed by the ACP countries for the past half century. The EPAs scheme has been criticized for, among other things, exposing the ACP countries to a trading partnership for which they are ill prepared. The scheme entails lowering of customs and budget revenue, competition with imported products, exerting pressure on ACP competitiveness and compromising food security. It is also argued that the EU intends to open up the ACP countries' markets further to European companies to the detriment of ACP economies. Critics also contend that the EPAs are founded on the wrong premise by attempting to align the EU-ACP commercial relationship to the WTO rules, which are already skewed in favor of the most powerful players. There is fear that the scheme would lead to a division between the ACP countries, thereby weakening their negotiating power as a bloc. Besides, a country-by-country negotiation is inimical to the regional integration agenda. Moreover, the ACP countries lack the capacity to effectively negotiate with the EU on a complex scheme of the nature of EPAs. For these reasons, the EPAs scheme has been rigorously opposed by the ACP countries.

The European Union has, therefore, had a long and encompassing partnership with African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. Europe remains one of Africa's most important export markets and a significant source of investment capital. The EU's share of Africa's exports has, however, slumped from more than 50 percent in the early 1990s to just over 30 percent currently. There are, however, a number of lessons to learn from the EU-ACP economic relationship based on commerce and trade: (1) it is tenacious (2) it is based on negotiations; (3) it is contractual; (4) each cycle builds on the past one and embraces changing circumstances.

Brazil, Russia, India, and China

The aggressive entry of Brazil, Russia, India and China (the so called BRIC countries) into the Africa trade and investment scene is of particular interest to the architects of the new development partnership between the United States and SSA countries. In April 2011, South Africa formally joined the BRICS cooperation platform. It had formidable statistical economic standing, comprising a combined population of 3.8 billion people, 40 percent of global GDP growth, 18 percent of world production and 15 percent of global export trade. Since 2000, China has adopted one of the most aggressive commercial strategies toward Africa. As a result, the Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was established and launched in October 2000 to serve as a vehicle for promoting friendship and cooperation. The forum hosts annual review conferences, held alternately in China and African capitals. Due to its growing influence in subsequent years, China declared the year 2006 as 'China's Year of Africa'. In January 2006, the Chinese government, for the first time, issued an African Policy Paper. Since January 2006, Chinese President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao have paid friendly visits to at least 10 African countries. According to an African Development Bank (AfDB), Africa's trade with China is growing while Africa's imports and exports with other major global markets are either flat or on the decline. In 2009, China overtook the U.S. to become Africa's largest trading partner. Africa-China trade represents more than 10 percent of the continent's total trade. In value terms, it represents $114 billion ($52 billion in exports and $62 billion in imports)[4] and it is expected to triple to $300 billion by 2015. In addition, China is aggressively investing in Africa's infrastructure. Chinese investments in Africa have increased yearly by an average of 46 percent over the last decade, mainly targeted at water, transport, electricity, and information and communication technologies.

Russia has demonstrated keen though unstructured interest in Africa, signing mining and oil extraction contracts with several African countries. Recent investment initiatives suggest that Russia will scale up its economic engagement with the African continent in due course.

Brazil has emerged as a vocal proponent of the south-south cooperation. It is eyeing Africa for markets to sustain its industrial own growth momentum and in search of raw materials, mainly oil. Former Brazilian president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, visited over 20 African countries for bilateral meetings prior to his retirement. He was instrumental in the creation of the trilateral Forum or G3 (bringing together India, Brazil and South Africa) as a platform for coordination and cooperation. Trade flows between Brazil and African countries improved from $2.4 billion in 2003 to $10.2 billion in 2008 as a result of these initiatives. Over the years, India has had strong and well-established links with the African continent. The Africa–India Forum was created for the leaders of the two regions to meet regularly to consider modalities to foster wholesome cooperation. India is hoping to sign a free trade agreement with South Africa or the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) to further enhance trade and investment relations. India and South Africa have set a target of achieving $10 billion in two-way trade by 2012. Indians are major investors in Kenya and the Eastern African sub-region. Overall, India's trade with African countries doubled from $5,493 million in 2002 to $11,822 million in 2005, with sharp rise to $18,538 in 2007.

Increased engagement between Africa and the BRIC countries has sparked a debate in development circles. There is one school of thought that espouses the aggressive entry of these players as important in re-establishing Africa as a source of valuable commodities for the global market. They further argue that the entry has also helped to refocus attention on why the continent remains poor. Others are convinced that increased engagement with Africa by the BRICs is no different from previous engagements in which Africa was largely consigned to supply cheap but abundant raw materials and a market for cheap manufactures. One issue that is agreed upon across the board is that these new players have supported cooperation programs in African countries without conditionalities, like those attached to the AGOA and similar initiatives. The other lesson is that investment in infrastructure and private venture in Africa is a risk that these new players are more than willing to take on.

[4] African Development Bank (AfDB) report, Chinese Trade and Investment Activities in Africa.

Section 4: A Transformative Development Strategy for Africa

The political, economic and political situation in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2011 differs vastly from what it was 11 years earlier when the AGO was first enacted. Back then, many of the countries were operating under regimes that were inimical to good governance, transparency, accountability and sustainable development. A couple of the countries were under virtual dictatorships. The prevailing economies were fragile. Average annual GDP growth rate hovered at around 2 percent, with a few countries even experiencing negative growth. Macroeconomic indicators pointed toward volatility, corruption was rampant and foreign investors largely shunned the region. The regional integration agenda was not advancing beyond political rhetoric. Poverty was widespread and the ability of governments to deliver vital services, such as food, health, education and water, was in jeopardy. The situation was exacerbated by, malaria, cholera and the HIV/AIDS pandemic, among other public health-related crises. This gloomy situation in SSA has changed to a new era of hope and determination. Consequently, interventions that were designed to address rather hopeless circumstances need to be revisited and attuned to new emerging realities.

Sub-Saharan Africa's Development Prospects

Sub-Saharan Africa has made commendable progress in putting in place preconditions for stable and sustainable development over the course of the last decade. The number of countries that have held democratic elections has increased and regimes have seamlessly changed hands. Countries like Mauritius, South Africa, Botswana, Rwanda and Ghana have taken impressive steps in addressing barriers to doing business and addressing transparency.[5] The region is projected to see the fastest economic growth it has witnessed in decades and it is likely to become a location for foreign investment with some of the highest rate of return. SSA economies are growing at an average of 2 percent annually. The International Monetary Fund forecasts indicate that seven of the 10 most rapidly growing economies in the next decade will be in Africa. Most African countries have proposed long-range development visions aimed at achieving newly-industrialized country status and integration into the world economy in two to three decades. The regional integration agenda has gained renewed momentum. The Africa Union recognizes eight regional economic communities where at least a free trade agreement has been signed. It is broadly accepted within global trading circles that the East African Community has made very bold integration steps and even adopted a very ambitious program for attaining a monetary union and political federation in record time. Discussion for a mega FTA that would bring together members of EAC, SADC and COMESA are in progress under the tripartite commission. In addition, the regional economic communities have developed

[5] World Development Report, World Bank Group, 2011.

comprehensive master plans aimed at promoting inter- and intra-Africa trade. African leaders have also demonstrated increased determination to resolving political and natural crises that confront the region from time to time. Consequently, Sub-Saharan Africa is poised to transform itself into a major global player in the medium to long term.

Pathways for the U.S.-Africa Commercial Relationship to 2015 and Beyond

While AGOA has made a contribution toward improving economic conditions in Sub-Saharan Africa, there have certainly been missed opportunities and a scope for doing things differently. However, overall AGOA's role in advancing the U.S.-SSA commercial and strategic relationship has been positive. AGOA has another four years until it lapses. The third country multi-fiber provision will end in 2012. This situation is giving investors jitters because of the lessons learned from the expiration of the Multi Fibre Agreement in 2005. The future U.S.-SSA commercial relationship will have to be predicated on: consolidating the gains of the past; making opportunities more predictable; making the relationship more participatory/less unilateral; ensuring mutual benefits; being responsive to the transformative priorities of the SSA countries; and remaining supportive of the regional integration agenda. Any future engagement cannot afford to ignore the activities and approaches of other players, traditional or up-and-coming, pursuing similar or divergent agenda. Looking forward, the following pathways are considered plausible:

Improving room to maneuver within the current framework

This pathway encompasses the period preceding the lapse of the current AGOA framework. The thrust of this scenario is to remove the uncertainty associated with the impending lapse, especially for investors in Africa and those considering new investments in the continent. The impact of an AGOA lapse on growth prospects, employment and access to social amenities is painful to fathom. This scenario is, therefore, presented as one of consolidating the gains that have accrued so far. The recommended elements of this pathway include:

- The extension of third country multi-fiber provision so that countries, such as Mali, that have demonstrated the capacity to increase cotton production can benefit. The extension should be aligned to the new sunset period determined for AGOA itself so that those countries that have geared themselves to operate outside of the provision are not disadvantaged for too long.

- The extension and review of AGOA to the extent determined by stability and predictability. Proposals for setting the attainment of certain performance targets that will signal the end of AGOA as opposed to time bound goals are unlikely to resonate well with investors who base calculations for recouping capital on the basis of time. An extension of 10 years, together with the establishment of benchmarks is deemed as the appropriate way forward.

- In conjunction with other U.S. development agencies, international donors, regional economic communities and beneficiary governments, supply side constraints should receive priority attention.

- Admission of items that are currently not AGOA-eligible and the removal of quotas for others would make a positive contribution to beneficiary economies. A few examples suffice – tobacco (Malawi), peanuts (Gambia), groundnuts (Zambia), dairy products (Kenya) and meat products (Botswana).

- Fast tracking the regional integration agenda and directing real commercial interventions through the regional economic communities.

- Designing an effective incentive package complemented by intensive sensitization to spur U.S. foreign direct investment in Africa. The package should include incentives for companies importing non-energy and non-extractive raw materials from SSA. This action is a win-win option for U.S. companies and the beneficiary countries' economies.

- Designing a system of sanctioning errant countries without hurting the beneficiaries inside those countries and other economies to which they are tied. SSA countries should take a leading role in implementing the agreed-upon new system.

- Establishing of a permanent secretariat to coordinate and follow through on AGOA issues and the activities of other agencies.

The new cooperation platform
This pathway approaches prospects beyond the current AGOA program. Building on the gains from AGOA, the guiding principles for the design of a new cooperation platform include: mutual benefits; consolidating the regional economic communities' agenda; transforming the beneficiary economies; and building synergies with other commercially inclined players. An inclusive expert panel should be established to make concrete the content of the proposed platform. Among the critical areas for consideration by the expert panel are:

- Substantial investments in infrastructure (energy, roads, railways, waterways, ICTs, etc); social capital (education, health); governance systems (reduction in corruption, promotion of democracy and observance of human rights); as well consolidation of economic reforms.

- Support for the socioeconomic transformation agenda, including promotion of manufacturing, services and value-addition of agricultural products.

- Specific agreements that would hedge the risk for U.S. companies investing in SSA countries, including commitments to protect the companies from the activities of rent seekers and influence peddlers who tend to distort the business climate.

- Agreements for easing inter-Africa trade, especially to enhance the flow of capital, goods, services and people.

- Promotion of two-way reciprocal trade protocols devoid of the shortfalls associated with EPAs.

- Close coordination with other players, such as business associations, civil society organizations and the African Diaspora, in order to increase impact.

It is absolutely essential that the proposed pathways be considered and approved by the 113th U.S. Congress. Indeed AGOA and the new platform could be merged at some future time.

Roles and Responsibilities for the Key Stakeholders

The above proposals place crucial obligations on the key stakeholders of AGOA, including governments in U.S. and SSA countries, the private sector and non-state actors. The envisaged responsibilities include the following:

United States government
It is the responsibility of the U.S. government to ensure that the benefits of AGOA do not come to an abrupt end, but rather that they progress and are consolidated. The U.S. government should work toward bi-partisan support for the proposed pathway by exposing the real mutual benefits that accrue from U.S. economic engagement with SSA. First, the extension and improvement of the current framework and third country multi-fiber provision should be expedited. Second, decisions that seem to send negative signals to U.S. investors interested in Africa should be rescinded. These

include the move by USAID to terminate the Presidential Trade Development Capacity Initiative and the intention of the U.S. Commerce Department to close the foreign commercial offices in Accra and Dakar. Visibility is important. The U.S. government should step up the number and frequency of high powered business tours to SSA. An extensive presidential visit would also create needed momentum. The U.S. government is also duty-bound to create awareness, incentives and interest for the U.S. private sector to venture into Africa. This call for the U.S. government to purposefully direct U.S. trade support agencies to escalate their activities and offer practical solutions that would spur commercial transactions in African countries. Coupled with this is the important issue of investing in capacity development, including technology transfer. Furthermore, the U.S. should open dialogue with the SSA countries and regional economic communities to find mutually beneficial ways of forming contractual and sustainable economic relationships. Finally, the U.S. government should seek to forge cooperation with other players developing commercial engagement with SSA.

Beneficiary country governments

The beneficiary SSA country governments must ensure that the conditions for promoting rapid economic growth are maintained and accelerated. At a basic level, SSA countries should try to overcome some of the negative perceptions of their governance institutions and economies, such as lack of transparency, corruption and insecurity, which mar their image as investment destinations. With the support of development partners, SSA countries should urgently address many of the supply-side constraints, including issues of productive and social infrastructure. SSA countries must also take the pledge of trading more with each other to the next level, beyond rhetoric and into action. Both tariff and non-tariff barriers should be addressed with renewed vigor. This is about the only way that they can exude confidence in order to attract others. Every effort should be made in order to get products to the market a lot faster. The regional integration agenda and trade corridors agenda should be invigorated. Furthermore, SSA countries are obliged to invest in relevant education systems, trade and investment promotion, and give targeted support to local business people.

U.S. private sector

The U.S. private sector must free itself from its inward-looking culture and institute a global outlook, especially toward the abundant commercial opportunities available in SSA. Private sector associations have an obligation to create awareness and provide the necessary information on available opportunities in Africa. U.S. financial institutions could also play an important role by lending investment funds that are not rated as high risk so as to send positive signals for relocating in SSA. The private sector could also contribute to the development of private enterprise in SSA by investing in the fields of demand-driven education, skills enhancement and international business practices in partnership with national and regional entrepreneurs.

Private sector in beneficiary countries

It is the private sector in the beneficiary countries in Africa that bear the ultimate responsibility for making the proposed commercial pathways work. It is absolutely essential to build a solid business sector comprising of large, medium, small and micro enterprises that are creating good jobs for citizens of SSA countries, and also for Americans. . The private sector in the beneficiary countries in Africa would need to undergo a complete change in the way they do business in order to embrace internationally recognized best practices. They should develop a wider scope in order to more effectively supply the bigger national, regional and international markets. They need to modernize their business processes, become more efficient and reliable, open up for capital injection from abroad and form strong associations that would lobby and advocate for the interests of the business community. Finally, the private sector Africa needs to subscribe to the principles of fair play, competitiveness and transparency when soliciting for business.

Civil society and other non-state actors

In this discussion, the term civil society and non-state actors is taken to mean all those stakeholders that are neither pubic nor profit-driven, but whose mandates impact commercial relationships. These actors range from the typical NGOs that advocate for issues, such as fair trade, green production processes, animal rights, etc., to business associations, business facilitators, academic institutions and think tanks. These groups play a principle role of ensuring that the other key stakeholders are doing their part. The U.S.-based civil society organizations and non-state actors are obliged to lobby and push for legislation from the United States Congress. National and international civil society organizations and non-state actors in the beneficiary countries should also play the same role at their commensurate levels. This should be followed by an orchestrated campaign to pressure the U.S. government to play its part and adhere to the set timelines. The civil society organizations and non-state actors should then follow through with the private sector to ensure that they are incrementally trading and investing in SSA. It is the responsibility of the civil society organizations and non-state actors to monitor progress and hold all the parties accountable. Academic and research institutions should continuously generate and disseminate the policy research that will drive engagement from all angles.

Section 5: Conclusions and Proposed Road Map

Conclusion

The U.S. government, AGOA beneficiary country governments, the private sector and civil society organizations from both the U.S. and SSA, analysts and other stakeholders are in agreement that the AGOA program was a bold and innovative initiative that has defined the economic and strategic relationship between U.S. and Sub-Saharan African countries in the first decade of the 21st century. AGOA has become the centerpiece of U.S. trade and investment policies for Sub-Saharan Africa as well as an important plank of U.S. foreign policy toward Africa. There is also no question that the program has delivered on its key objectives of promoting increased two-way trade and economic development and reforms in Sub–Saharan Africa. The AGOA program has also contributed to promoting investment between the United States and Sub–Saharan African countries and increased access and opportunities for U.S. investors and businesses in the African region. Together with other U.S. agencies, the program has extended significant capacity-building support aimed at enhancing the achievement of its initial objectives. For these reasons, the AGOA program continues to be appreciated across the board, especially by those Sub–Saharan African countries that have been able to access some of its components.

There is, however, broad consensus that the AGOA program should be reviewed with a view to addressing its well-documented shortcomings. First, it is both urgent and important to extend the timeline for the expiration of the third country multi-fiber provision and the act itself. The thrust of the extension should have elements of time and predictability, including well thought-out benchmarks that would signal the end of preferences. All parties would be required to redouble their efforts to address the practical and strategic constraints that prevent the majority of AGOA-eligible countries from meaningful participation in the program. A coordinating mechanism that would follow on the program's activities on a continuous basis needs to be established.

It is the strong view of most all the interested parties that the AGOA program be complemented and subsequently succeeded by a more encompassing program that is better attuned to the transformational development aspirations of SSA countries. The new cooperation platform would recognize regional economic communities and trading corridors as the focal points for future commercial engagement between the U.S. and Africa. The platform should seek to be informed by what is working for other players that are present in the African development scene, such as the EU, China, Japan and Brazil. Where possible, cooperation with these other players should be leveraged. SSA's transformation agenda is predicated on: (1) substantial investments in infrastructure; (2) development of strong and functional institutions; (3) promotion of targeted economic sectors such as manufacturing, services, ICTs, and value-added agriculture; (4) targeted incentives for companies investing in or importing non-extractive inputs from SSA countries; (5) support for activities leading to increased trade within SSA countries; and (6) establishments of contractual commercial arrangements that will result in a win-win situation.

Proposed Road Map

The 10th AGOA Forum in Lusaka, Zambia provides an appropriate opportunity to launch the two-pronged approach proposed for the future of the U.S.-SSA economic relationship. Specific and strong policy pronouncements should be made during the forum to emphasize the fact that future engagements will be for the mutual benefit of the African and U.S. economies. The broad content of the two-pronged approach should also be explained, along with the envisaged roles and responsibilities of the respective governments, regional economic communities, business sectors, civil society organizations and other non-state actors. The AGOA Forum would offer the most opportune chance for announcing the extension of the third country multi-fiber provision and commitment to an extension of the act, the creation of a secretariat, and the appointment of a panel of experts to comprehensively review AGOA and design a new cooperation platform.

Specific proposals should be presented to the 113th U.S. Congress, which convenes in 2013, and to legislative assemblies of the beneficiary countries in SSA, regional economic communities and the African Union as necessary. Private sector organizations, civil society organizations and thought leaders should remain engaged during the entire process. A high profile visit by U.S. President Barack Obama to Sub-Saharan Africa before the end on the term would be a major boost to the proposed strategy.

Annex 1: Listing of AGOA Eligible Countries as at December 2010

No.	Country	Effective date	Apparel Provision Eligible date	Special Rule For Apparel
1	Angola	Dec 30, 2003		
2	Benin	Oct 2, 2000	Jan 28, 2004	Yes
3	Botswana	Oct 2, 2000	Aug 27, 2001	Yes
4	Burkina Faso	Dec 10, 2004	Aug 4, 2006	Yes
5	Burundi	Jan 1, 2006		
6	Cameroon	Oct 2, 2000	Mar 1, 2002	Yes
7	Cape Verde	Oct 2, 2000	Aug 28, 2002	Yes
8	Chad	Oct 2, 2000	Apr 26, 2006	Yes
9	Comoros	June 30 , 2008		
10	Republic of Congo	Oct 2, 2000		
11	Djibouti	Oct 2, 2000		
12	Ethiopia	Oct 2, 2000	Aug 2, 2001	Yes
13	Gabon	Oct 2, 2000		No
14	Ghana	Oct 2, 2000	Mar 20, 2002	Yes
15	Guinea	Oct 2, 2000		
16	Guinea-Bissau	Oct 2, 2000		
17	Kenya	Oct 2, 2000	Jan 18, 2001	Yes
18	Lesotho	Oct 2, 2000	Apr 23, 2001	Yes
19	Liberia	Dec 29 , 2006		
20	Malawi	Oct 2, 2000	Aug 15, 2001	Yes
21	Mali	Oct 2, 2000	Dec 11, 2003	Yes
22	Mauritania	Oct2, 2000	Mar 6, 2001[1]	Yes
26	Mauritius	Oct 2, 2000	Jan 18, 2001	Yes
24	Mozambique	Oct 2, 2000	Feb 8, 2002	Yes
25	Namibia	Oct 2, 2000	Dec 3, 2001	Yes
27	Nigeria	Oct 2, 2000	July 14, 2004	Yes
27	Rwanda	Oct 2, 2000	Mar 4, 2003	Yes
28	Sao Tome and Principe	Oct 2, 2000		
29	Senegal	Oct 2, 2000	Apr 23, 2002	Yes
30	Seychelles	Oct 2, 2000		No
31	Sierra Leone	Oct 23, 2002	Apr 5, 2004	Yes
32	South Africa	Oct 2, 2000	Mar 7, 2001	No
33	Swaziland	Jan 17, 2001	July 26, 2001	Yes
34	Tanzania	Oct 2, 2000	Feb 4, 2002	Yes
35	Togo	Apr 17, 2008		
36	Uganda	Oct 2, 2000	Oct 23, 2001	Yes
37	Zambia	Oct 2, 2000	Dec 17, 2001	Yes

Annex 2: Persons Engaged in Brookings AGI Consultative Process

NAME	ORGANIZATION	TITLE
Regional Organizations and Stakeholders		
Emmanuella Hakizimana	East African Community Secretariat	Senior Export Promotion Officer
Agatha Nderitu	East Africa Business Council	Executive Director
Healey Mweemba	Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, Zambia	Senior Economist-Trade Department/ Head of AGOA Secretariat
Mary Lungu	Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, Zambia	Economist-Trade Department/ AGOA Secretariat
Dr. Francis Mang'eni	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	Director-Trade, Commerce and Monetary Affairs
Savior Mwambwa	Center for Trade and Policy Development (CTPD)	Executive Director
Luke Mbewe	Zambia Exporters and Growers Association (ZEGA)	Chairman
Dr. Stephen N. Karingi	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa	Senior Economics Affairs Officer
Atto Yared Mesfin	Ethiopia Textile Institute	Marketing Director
African Diplomatic Representatives		
Inonge Limbambala	Zambian Embassy, Washington, D.C.	First Secretary (Trade)
James Kiiru	Kenyan Embassy, Washington, D.C.	Trade Attaché
Alpha B. Konate	Malian Embassy, Washington, D.C.	Economic Assistant
Freddie Gaoseb	Namibian Embassy	Commercial Counsellor
Congress Briefing on AGOA-Key Presenters[2]		
Stephen Hayes	The Corporate Council on Africa	President
Donald Payne	U.S. House of Representatives	Congressman-New Jersey / Ranking Member, Subcommittee on Africa
Felix Mutati, M.P.	Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, Zambia	Honourable Minister
Witney Schneidman	Schneidman & Associates	President
Mwangi Kimenyi	Africa Growth Initiative, The Brookings Institution	Director/Senior Fellow

NAME	ORGANIZATION	TITLE
Notable Attendees to the Congress Briefing		
Dr. Hage G. Geingob	Ministry of Trade and Industry, Namibia	Honourable Minister
H.E. David Mohlomi Rantekoa	Kingdom of Lesotho Embassy	Ambassador
H.E. Steve D. Matenje	Republic of Malawi Embassy	Ambassador
H.E. Maria de Fatima Lima da Veiga	Cape Verden Embassy	Ambassador
H.E. Martin Andjaba	Nambibian Embassy	Ambassador
H.E. Mamadou Traore:	Republic of Mali Embassy	Ambassador
H.E. William V.S. Bull	Liberian Embassy	Ambassador
Staffers attending on behalf of the following Members		
Jim McDermott	U.S. House of Representatives	Congressman – Washington
Benjamin L. "Ben" Cardin	U.S. Senate	Senator -Maryland
Charles B. "Charlie" Rangel		Congressman– New York
Richard J. "Dick" Durbin	U.S. Senate	Senator – Illinois
Ann Marie Buerkle	U.S. House of Representatives	Congresswoman– New York
Karen Bass	U.S. House of Representatives	Representative– California
Brookings Institution Conference Speakers/Presenters		
Mwangi Kimenyi	Africa Growth Initiative, The Brookings Institution	Director /Senior Fellow
Stephen Hayes	The Corporate Council on Africa	President
Katrin Kuhlmann	TransFarm Africa Policy, Aspen Institute	Senior Fellow and Director
Florizelle Liser	Office of the U.S. Trade Representative	Assistant Trade Representative for Africa
Felix Mutati	Republic of Zambia	Minister of Minister for Commerce, Trade and Industry
John Page	The Brookings Institution	Senior Fellow
Whitney Schneidman	Schneidman & Associates International	President
Rosa Whitaker	The Whitaker Group	President and CEO

* Robert Chutha is a development expert with Pinnacle Development Consultants, Nairobi-Kenya.

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Footnotes

[1] Mauritania has experienced the highest rate of eligibility of all AGOA-eligible countries. It was restored on December 23, 2009.

[2] Congressman Bobby L. Rush, Chicago was expected to be in attendance and offer remarks but due to scheduled voting conflicts was not able to attend. His staff was in attendance and extended his apologies and delivered his intended remarks.

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