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

MR. COULIBALY: Good morning, everyone. Good morning, everyone.

AUDIENCE: Good morning.

MR. COULIBALY: All right. That's more like it. I was beginning to suspect maybe our coffee is not strong enough. But, really, thank you for joining us, especially in this rather cold D.C. weather.

I'm Brahim Coulibaly, senior fellow in Global Economy and Development, and the director of the Africa program. So, again, Happy New Year, and thanks for joining us, including those who are joining us online. You can join the conversation on Twitter using #ForesightAfrica, and also ask your questions.

So, this is usual time of the year when we get together to really, among friends and colleagues, to discuss and share views on the priorities for the continent over the next year and beyond. And this is a special Foresight, because it actually marks the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the program, which was created in 2008. And then since its inception it has really strived to become an independent voice, and a neutral partner for policy discussions on Africa's social economic issues, as well as on U.S.-Africa relations.

So, for this occasion we've actually put together a brochure capturing some of the milestones which you could find in your copies of Foresight. So, for all the accomplishments of those past 10 years, I would like to express our gratitude to the staff that has worked hard, and also to past AGI directors for the leadership.

Ernest Aryeetey was the first director, now a chancellor at the University of Ghana. And then Mwangi Kimenyi was the second director, and special thoughts go out to him, because unfortunately he passed away in 2015. And the third director, Amadou Sy, who is actually here with us, thank you for all your leadership in helping AGI through those years.

And we also think Brookings and Global's leadership for their support and commitment to the Africa program, and the all the funders as well, especially the Gates

Foundation, for having put upfront the significant amount of the seed money to get AGI started, and have continued their support to us to this date.

And then last but not least, to all the stakeholders, and the policymakers, members of civil societies, all the readers of our products, and who made comments on that over the years, and participants to all our events. Thank you for your engagement, your comments have been helpful in shaping the program, and we hope to continue seeing more engagement from you.

So, anniversaries are also the time to plan ahead in terms of what we are going to focus on, so you'll find in the last page of Foresight a slightly updated strategy of AGI, and as part of the strategy we are going to do more to solidify our presence on the ground. So, beginning actually this year we are also going to be launching Foresight in Africa. So, next week the team and I will be at the African Development Bank in Côte d'Ivoire, and then also in Kenya, Nairobi, in partnership with KIPRA and AERC. So, for those who are in Abidjan and Nairobi, we'll coming near you.

So, in the remaining time, before I turn it over to the moderator, let me basically provide a broad overview of Foresight. As we began to think about the theme for Foresight -- if we can get the first page up -- as we began to think about what theme we should emphasize we've settled on going with leadership, because we are thinking, development where the leadership is everything. Everything starts with leadership, it ends with leadership.

So, the theme for this year is basically one of Africa as leadership stepping up and guiding the continent to tap into its strength to unleash its potential. So, that's actually captured here somehow on the first page. So, this is somewhat coming in, and somewhere along the way tapping into your strength, and then you're unleashing your potential.

If it doesn't look obvious (laughter) to the artistically challenged, you're not alone, it took me some hard looking to come to terms with it. Just keep staring at it, it will come to you.

So that's why for the very first chapter we are grateful and honored to have been able to have President Kagame, who is represented here by Rwanda's ambassador, to provide a contribution on really what the African Union is going to be doing differently, through the reform that have been undertaken under his leadership.

And in that same chapter, which is unleashing Africa's strengths, institution, policies and champions, we also have contributions from the presidents of the African Development Bank, and also from you UNECA. So, AU, UNECA, African Development Bank, are the three main continental institutions, so they have a big role to play in Africa's development. So, it was good to see the leadership there stepping up, and they're taking bold measures to position those institutions to deliver more for the continent.

And unfortunately, too, on the continent there are still some countries struggling with post-crisis recovery. So, we were also very honored to be able to have contribution from President Ouattara of Côte d'Ivoire, whose leadership has really helped that country come out of the crisis, and is continuing to consolidate the recovery. And we are also honored to be joined by the ambassador from Côte d'Ivoire here, representing His Excellency. So, thank you for coming.

And the in the second chapter we decided to cover financing. So, what is the good development plan if you don't have the financing? So that is critical. And in this particular chapter we are highlighting the importance for Africa to look a bit more inward for resources, for the resources, and we know that the domestic resources have always been the most important and reliable form of financing.

But in this chapter what we are emphasizing is that it has now become imperative, because external financing conditions are now going to become more difficult, and we are in a condition also where the debt level in the region is rising a bit rapidly.

And just to acknowledge that we are also honored here to be joined by a distinguished member of our group, Ngozi. For those who don't know, Ngozi, while she was

here at Brookings, was quite detrimental and inspirational in actually getting an Africa Program started here at Brookings. And she has continued to lend her mentorship to the program ever since. So, thank you for coming.

So, in the third chapter what we've decided to do then is to bring the conversation, move the conversation a little bit away from too much focus on headline growth, because you usually hear how much the country's growth rate is, but we wanted it to be able to speak a bit about, how is that growth translating into improvements in livelihoods, right, because growth itself is not an end, it's the means toward improving livelihoods.

But in Africa there seems to be a slight disconnect between strong growth and poverty alleviation, for example. And one of our -- the David Rubenstein fellow here, Landry Signé, has an essay that is actually looking at some of the reasons why growth has not translated into significantly more reduction in poverty, for example, and then he's proposing some ways in which we can do better. And then the chapter within this also touches a bit on the hotly-debated migration issues, to kind of set some facts straight.

So, the fourth chapter is about: rethinking Africa's structural transformation, the rise of new industries. So, structural transformation is an economist's word really for modernization of the economies, right. What we are noticing in Africa is that it's becoming difficult for them to industrialize for reasons that are perhaps due to Africans themselves, but there are reasons also global that are not within their control. For whatever reason, it's just becoming difficult.

So, we are seeing, basically, activities move from agriculture straight into services. So, what does that mean for the likelihood of Africa becoming developed if it cannot industrialize? So, a Senior Fellow of our group has some ground-breaking work that's actually identified some new industries in which Africa has comparative advantage, but that has the same features as manufacturing sectors that have delivered development for East Asia, and he's suggesting that Africans can indeed focus on those industries and develop them, and then

they have a chance then to also become a developed nation.

In the fifth chapter, we are exploring here the potential for technology. We know that mobile penetration has been really great on the continent, but then how do we move next then to thinking of the technology, the mobile as a platform to deliver on many other development kind of challenges?

And one of our Advisory Board Member, Former Governor of the Central Bank of Kenya, Njuguna, has actually done an assessment of some of these sectors that are now ripe in Africa for digitization, and what that could really mean for the continent. So that's quite exciting exercise.

And then, finally, we wondered here what Africa's global partnership would mean, Africa versus the external world. We know that there's been an evolution in the natural partnership with the emergence of other emerging-market countries, particularly China. And then we are now also in the world where the cooperation, and multilateralism that have been really the hallmark of global governance structure is now being challenged. So, how does Africa position itself in the midst of this changing environment?

So, those are basically the themes that we touch in the chapter. And we will you much look forward to your engagement, and to your questions, your commentaries, and to a really great discussion. So, with that I'll turn it over to our Moderator, Carol Pineau.

(Applause)

MS. PINEAU: Thank you so much. And, you know, we should really give a huge round of applause for the Africa Growth Initiative turning 10 this year. It's an amazing accomplishment; that you have been a part of, and Sy, and NGozi, it's a great thing. (Applause)

You know, about a week ago I was doing the usual thing that one does at the beginning of the year, trying to keep your resolutions, and one of mine was getting more organized. And I was going through cleaning things off of my desk, and I found my notes from last year's event like this, of the Priorities for Africa, and it was really amazing. You know, I was

sitting in the audience, like all of you, reading through the notes and seeing them, and how much this really came true. This really is a crystal ball, what we need to be paying attention to, where we need to go, and advice for policy makers.

And I think that, you know, we all know, Africa policy often doesn't come in the first wave of policy initiatives, it doesn't always come in the second wave, even the third, but having an institution like this, that is pushing for the policies that really matter is so essential, and especially an independent agency, and I think it's a great thing. So, I am very proud to be here.

We have an amazing panel today. And I'm going to introduce them in a moment, but first I am going to talk to you about a poll that was done. I don't know if you all saw the poll that was on online.

Did anybody vote in the poll? All right so I am -- I actually did, I don't know why I didn't raise my hand. So, I'm going to start out, I'm going to name off the things, and remember I'll tell you them all, and then we'll all vote just as an audience, and then I'm going to tell you what actually was the one that people voted on.

So, the choices are: and you can only vote for one, governance and leadership, economic development and trade, health education and poverty, peace and security, financing for development, gender youth and inclusion, or other.

So, we are going to all vote on what is the top priority for the continent. And you have the same view I have, if you can -- we'll determine which one has the most, from our view. All right, governance and leadership, who thinks governance and leadership is the most important? That's a lot. Economic development and trade, health education and poverty, peace and security, financing for development, gender youth and inclusion, and other? No lonely people out there in the "other" category.

All right; well, I think we have a slide. Don't we have a slide? So, these are the results. Pretty much exactly what we had here: governance and leadership way out ahead;

economic development and trade, and health, about even; and then waning off: peace and security, financing for development, gender youth and inclusion.

And I think one of the things to remember when we are looking at this, and one of the things that I love about the report, is it really makes the point that it's not just one -- you know, it's not either governance or economic development, it's all of it. And we need to look at all of it, and all of it is interconnected.

So, with that, I am going to bring up our panel. Today we have some amazing people. Can we have people come up and take your seats? And I think we will just get everyone mic-ed up and be ready. So, while we are getting everybody mic-ed up I'm going to go ahead and introduce everyone.

So, we are, starting to my left: David Mehdi Hamam, who is the Special Advisor to the Secretary General of the U.N. on Africa, and he has just come down from New York to be with us today. Thank you.

MR. HAMAM: Thank you. Good morning, everybody.

MS. PINEAU: And we have Florie Liser, who is the CEO and President of the Corporate Council on Africa, and the Former U.S. Trade Rep on Africa. And Ambassador Arikana Chihombori-Quao, who is the African Union Ambassador to the U.S. And Brahim who we all know; and Thione Niang, who is the Founder -- Co-Founder of Akon Lighting Africa, and is the Founder of the -- what was it -- the Give 1 Project. I know you so much from Akon Lighting, but we have to mention the other, the Give 1 Project. (Applause)

So, thank you so much for all being here. And I think that it's really interesting, we have sort of all the different elements; the international element, the African Union, the African's Institution element, the private sector, and also individual initiatives that are happening. So it should be really interesting hearing from all sides.

So, we are going to start with each person giving some remarks. We'll have about five minutes for each person giving remarks. After that we will have a discussion up



here, and last, we want to hear from everybody on your questions out here, and also for the people who are listening.

And I think for everybody, I would encourage everyone to weigh in on Twitter, it's #ForesightAfrica, and join the conversation. If you are in the room, please do. And if you're outside, we are very happy to have you, and we hope that you will join us on Twitter.

So, with that Ambassador Chihombori-Quao, if we can start with you since this is all about African institutions coming in and leading the charge. Let's start with the AU and here the AU perspective.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: You have to put me on the hot seat. That's okay. Africa is a big continent; we have to take the hot seat. Well, as you all might know, erroneously, we are not the Dark Continent that we have been painted to be, if the truth be told the sun shines brightest on Africa, and so to call us a Dark Continent is a serious misnomer.

Let's also look at why the continent is painted in the manner that it is painted. It takes us back to our colonial masters who set out a strategy that started with the Africans themselves, not respecting and believing in themselves and that which is uniquely theirs. A program that was sealed and implemented during the Geneva -- the Berlin Conference, rather, of 1885, and that is when they divided our continent, and chopped it up like a piece of pie, into some of the smallest economies, clearly designed to make sure that the continent cannot survive on its own.

Small countries like my sister here from Rwanda, we have Togo, we have Burundi, and all by design, a system that then proceeded to teach, let the Africans think that everything that is African and uniquely ours was bad, and that everything that's Western, and particularly British at that time, and French, was better.

They proceeded to implement that program of divide and conquer, and sadly, I wish I could tell you that centuries later the African has woken up and realize what has been

done to the African. Creation of OAU in 1963 was an attempt by our Pan African leaders to regroup and undo the damage that was done to the African, because Kwame Nkrumah and others realized that for Africa to take its rightful place on the world stage, the gutter of the mind that we have lived in for centuries, must be cleaned out.

No amount of education, nor have a degree can save Africa unless the legacy of colonialism, and for those African children who were brought outside Africa in shackles, the legacy of slavery, we must recover from all that. I have sat in many meetings, and I've listened to scholars and those who claim to understand Africa, quite often sometimes they are not even African.

Some have been to Africa a couple of times, and suddenly they are gurus on Africa, and everybody is talking about the monkeys and the squirrels in the room, but no one wants to touch the 10,000 pound gorilla in the room, and that is our thinking, of the African people. How much do we understand our Africa? Why is it that the richest continent on Earth, is painted as the poorest?

And I am not going to mince my words. The truth of the matter is the world needs Africa. Africa does not need the world. (Applause) We have everything we need on earth, we could paralyze the world economies, take a simple thing, like we decide DRC can no longer export its coltan, that alone can paralyze the world.

So, rather than us Africans concentrating on the issues that matter, concentrating on issues that we need to take home, like telling France that 500 billion you are taking out of Africa every year, no more. France needs to be the third world developing country, not Africa.

We've got some serious issues to deal with, but I call that housekeeping, because these are issues that need to be addressed by us, the Africans, and in order for us to begin to deal with all those issues, it starts with an African who understands, who gets it, because the Africans must take what is rightfully theirs, but it starts with us getting our act

together.

So, I appreciate the platform, and I hope to hear more about how we can all come together, but more importantly, the Africans, we must wake up because we, too, must take our Africa back. Thank you. (Applause)

MS. PINEAU: Thank you so much, Ambassador. So David, if you can give us the U.N. perspective?

MR. HAMAM: Thank You Madame. And thank you all for being here. Good morning, everybody. I would like to take the opportunity to congratulate the Africa Group Initiatives, and my dear friend, Brahim, on this 10th Anniversary. The good quality of the report that we have before us, it really illustrates the good work, and the excellence, and the commitment to do so for the next years, and for strategic analytical thinking for the next 10 years or more.

The theme of today's session provides a big opportunity to cover a wide variety of issues considering, or starting by considering the Africa's regional agenda, as well as the global agenda, there is much to talk about, actually there is a lot to talk about.

Just to give you an example, the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development has 17 goals and about 169 targets. The 2030 Agenda, the African Union's Transformative Agenda 2063, is much broader. It has about 20 goals and 256 targets, so you can just imagine the priority that we have for these two agendas. The both of them are extensive and literally cover all the sectors that we are talking about.

So, the question today, it's which issues Africa should we focus in; which priorities are the priorities for 2018? So the path, according to my own opinion, is to really focus on the priorities on the sector that would have a multiplier effect. The sectors and the areas that for one dollar spent would generate many dollars in different sectors. The report has many areas that we can focus on, but I will just focus on three, given that time that I have which, namely: regional integration infrastructure development, manufacturing-led into

economic transformation; and finally youth, youth empowerment and youth unemployment.

And all of these have a multiplier effect, as I mentioned, on trade, unemployment, on job creation, on income, and would be vital for African priorities. Let me talk about regional integration. The free movement of goods and services and people is vital for African development, but unfortunately the numbers are not there. The intra-Asia and the intra-African trade today, stand at about 12 percent of the continental trade, the total trade.

In comparison, the intra-regional trade in North America and in Europe is about 60 percent, it's about 40 percent in Asia, and about 20 percent in Latin America. Regrettably, based on these figures we can see that Africa doesn't trade with Africa. Africa rather trade with the rest of the world, one ocean away, one border, one country away, but definitely not with Africa.

I'll give an example. If a South African supermarket chain wants to import products from Zambia -- wants to export, sells products to its stores in Zambia the import permits alone cost about \$20,000 a week, to just -- to send one truck across the border, the same chain, supermarket chain, has to provide 1,600 documents, so to just give you how far, difficult it is and what are the challenges that are facing Africa.

The same thing for intra-regional, in addition to that the intra-African travel is very difficult, and constrains business travel; it constrains also tourism in Africa. And here the challenges are big, every barrier to trade, every barrier to travel costs billions of dollars to Africa every year, and this is subsidizing, actually, the rest of the world. And the Continental Free Trade area is vital for Africa for these purposes, and has a trickle-down effect, and has trickle effect on the rest of the continent.

Let me move, because of the time constraint let me on the manufacturing, which is the second area that I would want to focus, the numbers are there. African, the total manufacturing total GDP, the share of the manufacturing of total GDP is about 10 percent over the last decade. It represents 1.5 percent of the total output production in manufacturing.

Compared to Asian countries, it's 20 percent, so it shows you the difficulties.

But the problem here is that African growth has largely been driven by capital-intensive extractive industry will level little value addition, and that the growth has not been accompanied, had not been driving job creation in the continent. As a result, the continent has growth that is not inclusive, and wealth and economic opportunities are just left between few hands. Therefore, strengthening, promoting labor-intensive manufacturing, with labor and with the value addition would have a multiplier effect allowing more inclusive growth and shared prosperity. Every job in manufacturing is estimated to create at least two more jobs in the other sectors.

The last part, if you allow me, is youth. The numbers are staggering, 75 percent of the population is under 30. Africa has the fastest-growing labor force in the world; youth represent 37 percent of the labor force and make up 60 percent of unemployment. So, these are the numbers; and about 12 to 15 million new entry to the labor market every year.

So, we shouldn't consider youth as a problem to be resolved, but as resources to be harnessed. Then the estimates being made that, in all, if we create this 12 to 15 million jobs the growth, GDP growth in Africa will double, and that failure to address the youth employment -- and I will stop there -- is not only an economic concern, but has peace and security implications.

We'll take Boko Haram, we'll take the Shabaab, it's because unemployment is so high that we have people that are accepting \$40 a day to detonate a bomb either in Somalia, or in Nigeria, or in Mali, et cetera. So, the three priorities that would have trickle-down effect on the rest of economy are the priority that I consider are good for Africa. Thank you very much.

MS. PINEAU: Very good. Thank you so much. (Applause) It's hard to fit in all the priorities that need to be put out there. Florie?

MS. LISER: Yes.

MS. PINEAU: If we can hear from you with the private sector perspective.

MS. LISER: So, first of all let me congratulate the Africa Growth Initiative, and the fact that there are thought leaders here at Brookings who, thanks to those, like Dr. Okonjo-Iweala who helped to establish it, or making sure that there is a spotlight and focus on Africa, which is warranted. I think all of us here know that.

So, you know, when we talk about for the private sector looking at the priorities for 2018 CCA, which is a leading of Business Association focused solely on Africa, and promoting business in Africa between U.S. and Africa, and we have about 140 member companies, large and small, African and U.S., U.S. and African. And so I'm delighted to be here to talk a bit about that.

2017 was a tough year for business, and doing business in Africa, especially from the U.S. side, there were uncertainties about the new U.S. administration, and whether and how it would focus on Africa. There were continuing issues with commodity prices and the fact that so much of Africa's GDP is still dependent on primary commodities, with truly not enough value addition. And my history, as you know, working on promoting trade in Africa and its ability to produce non-oil exports, you know, there were those issues.

There was political uncertainty also on the continent, there were elections in various key countries, Liberia, Kenya, Angola, et cetera, so there were those uncertainties. But I think 2017 there were also some positive things that were happening on the continent. There were -- announced some very major investments in African infrastructure, in rail and road, some of which U.S. companies like Bechtel are involved in.

There was a report from The World Bank of increased -- doing business improvement across the continent, the Africans had some of the best reforms, in terms of the doing-business environment. And, again, there was also some reporting of improvements, it's from a very small base, but improvements in African non-oil and services exports.

But for 2018, I'd like to just highlight three things that we think at CCA, its members who are collectively invested in Africa's most promising sectors, including

agribusiness, energy, finance, health, infrastructure, tourism and trade. Three areas: one, is improved environment for investment in trade in business on the continent, on the U.S. side we would like to see U.S. institutions like OPEC, EXIM Bank, TDA, USAID and others, fully funded and functioning so that U.S. businesses can compete more effectively with the many other companies from around the world that see Africa as an important and strategic growth market.

On the African side, further reductions in red tape, effective one-stop shops for investors, implementation of laws and regulations that facilitate business, that's important.

The second area in priority would be expanded markets and business opportunities driven by African regional integration and the removal of barriers to an intra-African trade, which has already been mentioned. Small African economies and markets merging together into larger regional markets that offer economies of scale will certainly spur more investment, not just from the U.S. but from everybody, including Africans, by the way, and it will make it possible for Africans to participate in regional and global value chains.

And the third area is to make progress on significant business transactions and deals. Frankly, beyond supporting a supporting environment and framework for greater U.S.-Africa trade and investment, there has to be real progress in closing deals and completing transactions. So that's the transactional focus. We have a framework, but we also have to make progress on specific transactions, and often this takes too long, and often requires the involvement of African heads of state.

So, this is why, from CCA's perspective, we are working with you UNECA, having an event in about two weeks on the sidelines of the AU Summit, where we are focused on how to promote specific improvements in African business and investment in some key areas.

And we invite you to come and be a part of that if you're there for the AU Summit and, again, we just think that progress has to be made, and that these priorities are really critical for business, and again not just U.S. businesses, but African businesses to thrive

in 2018. Those are the priorities we see. Thank you. (Applause)

MS. PINEAU: Thank you so much. So, Thione, we have heard about the importance of the multiplier effect, nothing is more of a multiplier effect than getting power generation out there. Please, talk to us about Akon Lighting and your work.

MR. NIANG: Thank you very much. Thank you, Brookings and Doctor for the invitation. I bring you the greetings from the people of Senegal. I just landed this morning from my home country, and just from the airport, I just came straight up here, so I might look pretty rough and sleepy. I basically changed my suit from the car outside, because with the traffic I couldn't make it back to the house. But, yes, thank you for having me again.

This topic is very dear to me, because as she talked about in her introduction, the Ambassador, they call us the Dark Continent, and we are the Dark Continent, unfortunately. 600 million Africans live in the dark today, half of the continent; it's the biggest in the world. If we don't do anything, nothing will happen.

And without energy you can't do anything. Right now, I'm talking to you but as soon as the electricity, if it was cut off in a minute, or you go home and there is no electricity or warm water, you'll be fussing and calling on somebody; because that's something that you're used to, you know, something that becomes so accustomed to your daily lives. But my friends I'm here to tell you, that in my home continent, in my home continent, in Africa, 600 millions of those people never know what light is about, they never seen electricity before.

I grew up into those conditions. In my grandfather's house, I had to wake up early in the morning at 6:00, 7:00 a.m. so I can catch the sun again to finish what I didn't finish on studying the night before. That's why the work we are doing is very personal to us. You know, all across the world there is always a generation that came and dream and pushed the limits in this great country that we are today, in the United States.

There was a young president named Kennedy who dreamed of the impossible, to go to the moon, and drove his country to push the limits. A young man like Dr. King did it



here, to allow people like President Obama and myself to do the things we did not imagine in the '60s to happen in this country.

A young man in Singapore did it, Lee Kuan Yew. When Malaysia left a country with no natural resources, today is a model of nation building. So, I'm here to tell you that my generation, the generation of Akon, the generation of Samba Bathily, the generation of Dangote Chung Yung, and his generation.

We know nothing about slavery, we know nothing about independence, even though we acknowledge the work that our Founding Fathers have done, I know, and I know that. Nkrumah was dreaming about the unification of Africa. When Patrice Lumumba was talking about a change in the control of our economic models in the continent, and Senghor finished school in Europe and go back to liberate our countries in Africa, such as Senegal my home country, I knew they knew they will not finish the work, and I knew they knew the sacrifices they were making were not for them. It was for another generation to come. It was for their children and their grandchildren.

Their grandchildren -- is here, I'm here, we are here, and I'm here to tell you that this generation will transform the continent. We know the challenges, we've travelled the world we've seen it, we've traveled the world we understood the world, we've traveled the world, we know how nations are built, and we are looking for partners like you who will come to our continent in a win-win situation.

But a new leadership, a new wave of change is floating on the skies of the continent, and it will become the best of the best, and nothing but best. This is why Akon and I are sacrificing to make sure we bring energy in the continent. This is why, in my JeaufZone Project, yesterday at this time I was in my farms with young people helping me to play our part in making sure that we feed our people.

We have 35 percent of arable land in the continent, yet we spend USD 35 billion importing food in our continent. I want to do something about that, and my generation

will change that. (Applause) I am here to tell you that we are concerned, but we are optimistic, because the challenge is high, but we'll really take on the challenges.

And as our Founding Fathers, we know if we don't finish to see what we are working for, the young people that I am training through Give 1 Project, the young people that Tony Elumelu is training through The Tony Elumelu Foundation, the young people we are training through Solar Academy, Akon Academy, and et cetera, et cetera, and et cetera.

I am pretty sure they will take on the fight and they will change the continent. But for now where we are, we are doing what we can, and what we can't, and to invite the Diaspora to know that Africa will not change without them. Their expertise is needed in the continent, until we come to do our part it will not be the Africa we dream about.

And I know you're telling me the time is up, but I wish you'd give me 30 more minutes. Thank you so much for the introduction. (Applause)

MS. PINEAU: Well, thank you, everyone. And, you know, it's so interesting listening, and I'm thinking as I'm listening to you, and all of you, and the passion that you bring to this, how important it is, you know, historically if we look back 20 years ago there weren't as many Africans that were brought into the space on development. Africans wanted to but they were kept out, and having Africans in means that it's personal, now the development, it matters on a personal level and the passion is there.

You know, Ambassador one of the things that really struck me in President Kagame's article that he wrote for the report, was he talked about the importance of speaking with one voice, of Africa coming together, that after colonialism Africa was very separated, and that that made it more difficult to develop, but that now with the African Union, and with other vehicles, Africa is really coming together, and you see this throughout Africa, all the regional institutions that are happening.

One thing I thought was very interesting, I think the AU is really stepping into that space of being the spokesperson, if you will, the spokes institution for Africa. We saw that

last week with the events that happen in the U.S. And I would love to hear your thoughts about speaking with one voice, of Africa speaking with one voice and putting -- unleashing the power of 1.2 billion people into that voice.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Absolutely! Well, I have to say I just feel so proud. Right now I'm flying a few feet above the ground. This is what we are looking for. So, when I said Africa does not need the world, the world needs Africa, you hit the nail in the head, my son.

We have so much expertise in the Diaspora, and all we are doing is saying, the children of Africa come back home. But my sisters like Florie here, whose grandparents were brought in, in chains and were promised 10 acres and a mule, I often say that 40 acres and a mule, I'm in Africa waiting for you, just come home. Yes.

Because we have everything we need. When you take our resources on the continent, and our people around the globe that's all we need to complete the puzzle. So, I just feel so wonderful sitting next to you.

MR. NIANG: Thank you.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Going back to the African Union, I will start by saying, 1963 our Pan-African leaders came together to regroup, and recreate, and take back what was taken away from us. Today fast-forward, 54 years later we are still work in progress, but be it as it may, it has taken us a long way to get to where we are today.

Everybody understands, my brother here mentioned it, why is it that we don't trade with each other? Something that simple we are unable to accomplish it because when you go to that boardroom table with a colonized mind, your thinking is colonized, the outcome is colonized.

It is sickening. Even as I sit here speaking as an Ambassador but also speaking as an African, to see the obvious situations, a brick that needs to be moved from point A to point B. Well, guess what it's got to go all the way to Z and then back before it gets to B,

and you want to say: "duh" what is wrong with this picture?

It goes back to the mind. The African mind must change. We need more people like this young man here, because what is happening in Africa today is unacceptable. We can take care of ourselves, we have the largest arable land on the continent, and yet in some countries we are importing food.

I sit in some meetings, I will be very honest with you, I am embarrassed when you look at the things that we are doing as Africans, it's unacceptable. So, yes at the African Union level, we are talking about regional and continental integration, the buzz is there, we all know what needs to be done in order for Africa to move forward.

I know there are others who talk about corruption. Oh, yes we know, we've got corruption within the country, but while we are working on corruption within our continent, we must also ask for that corruption that has always been there, that is coming from outside, because that's another corruption that nobody is talking about.

They all make it look like: oh, corruption in Africa. Yes, we have corruption, but there's even more connection coming from outside. I mean some of you, if you ever have the opportunity to fly low, above DRC, or some of the Central African countries, you'll find tarmacs in the middle of the jungles. Those are the things I'm talking about, nobody ever talks about.

Flights, 37s are flying right into the jungles of DRC, picking up the minerals and flying right out, in the areas of the Kasai nobody can get to; who is talking about those thieves; nobody. There is so much more of that corruption. I was a tourist in Kimberley, South Africa, and flights were flying in and flying out, and I thought I was at the international airport. I asked our Tour Guide, I said, I didn't realize Kimberley in South Africa has an International Airport. She said, no, no, no, no, these are planes coming out from outside to pick up the minerals.

I'm like, what, where are they going with the minerals? She said, oh, London Stock Exchange. I'm like, wow. So, how does South Africa, how do they gain, and she said, oh, no, no, no, they get royalties.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the monster in the room. So, while we try to work on regional and continental integration, those outsiders with ulterior motives are coming in quietly creating conflicts. If it looks like these Africans are beginning to get it together, next thing you know, there's an uprising, there's conflict here.

We, too, the Africans must now wake up and smell the coffee, and see what is being done to us, and stop it in its tracks, and that's what we are doing from the African Union level. (Applause)

SPEAKER: Bravo!

MS. PINEAU: That's wonderful. You know, you remind me, Ngozi had once said to me, and I thought it was -- it really changed my thinking. We talk a lot about corruption in Africa, but Ngozi, you had said to me: there is the taker, but there's also the giver. And we have to think about both sides in corruption, and you're really spot-on, with talking about the planes coming in and out. There's another side of corruption, and we have to look at that side.

Brahima, I would love to hear from you talking also about intra-African trade. I thought it was fascinating in the report the focus you put on the Continental Free Trade Agreement, and one statistic, if I may, that I thought was amazing was, we are always talking about added value and the importance of manufacturing, how that will create jobs, it's crucial for the youth bulge, and economies in Africa, and that intra-African trade is 41 percent of manufacturing goods, exports are just 14 percent.

So, if Africa wants to look at manufacturing and growing its manufacturing base, it's clearly intra-African trade that's going to get it there. So, I wanted to hear from you about the Continental Free-Trade Agreement, the importance, it sounds like very dry words: oh, that's just an agreement, that can't be that interesting, but when you really delve into it, it's fascinating.

MR. COULIBALY: Yes it is. So, before I get to the continental trade, let me say as we were putting together the panel, in the AGI, the discussion came up, and we are like,

we need to really have a young person, at least, on the panel, because we talk about youth inclusion, and we talk about women inclusion, that inclusion has to also start with us, and I'm really pleased that we have a balanced panel in terms of gender, and we have a young and very capable young person also on the panel.

In fact, when I talk about Africa, and what gives me hope is really the energy and vibrance of the young people. I was at a conference, at the G20, or T20 in Berlin, and it happened to be around the time also where they had a Y20, apparently, that's the version of the G20, but for young people. And I ended up spending more time exchanging with the young people from Africa, and actually enjoyed that perhaps a bit more, admittedly, than I did the conference itself for which I was in Berlin.

And just to give you a couple of examples, a young lady she must be in her early 20s, from East Africa, has given up everything else, set up a website, went around the rural areas in the country to just collect the voices of women, and bring that into the political and social discourse.

And I met a young guy who was actually handicapped, but from Côte d'Ivoire, and he set up an NGO that is expanding across West Africa just to educate their fellow young people about the dangers of migration, and bringing in some who have tried and failed, and now have horror stories to tell, to come and speak to the young people who are thinking about taking on the dangerous journey.

So, when we talk about the future of Africa it's really about the young people, and one development agency came to me to discuss ideas so they can update their own strategy, as it really pertains to the continent. I told them, if there's one thing you're going to do, just find a way to enable access to, say, cell phone, and Internet connection for as many young people as you can. And then it's going to be the role of government to actually enable them, but if they can't, just to stay out of their way. The young people have so much courage and so much energy that they can bring about changes that are quite amazing.

On the Continental Free Trade, my surprise is: why has it taken us so long? But the progress on that has been quite encouraging, and the African institutions they are really pushing it, so the expectation is that coming up in three months or so, they are going to sign that Continental Trade Agreement.

And estimates kind of vary but it suggests that it's susceptible to boosting really the country's trade, almost double the country's trade if they knock down all the barriers to trade. I think it was long overdue, and it's something that's going to contribute greatly to the prosperity of the continent.

MS. PINEAU: You know, can I have you just talk a little bit about what that will mean, what will it look like on the ground when that agreement has come through?

MR. COULIBALY: What agreement that has come through, and let's say it's implemented in all of its forms because often what we do see is a little bit of a gap between the policy design itself and its implementation, but if it's really implemented the right way, what we are going to see is much more easy movements between countries, without some kind of tariffs, whether they are explicit or implicit, infringing on that movement of goods and services.

And that's going to allow neighboring countries to be able to share more of their expertise in terms of production. And then effectively through that trade you're going to begin to see more labor movement as well, because those are also some of the secondary beneficiary of a high trading, and then you're going to begin to see more integration, de facto, along other dimensions that are not even just trades of goods and services.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Let me just make a comment on that as well.

MS. PINEAU: Please.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Just to emphasize the point the Continental Free Trade Area, by all analysis business communities should be excited about it, outsiders coming to do business in Africa, just like you listed the issues to do business in Africa,

but guess what, there are already countries, our trading partners, that have already voiced their concern about the Continental Free Trade Area. Figure that out. That's my only comment.

MS. PINEAU: Yes?

MR. HAMAM: Thank you, madam. I just want to build on the comments on the Continent of Free Trade Agreement areas. To mention that some regional economic communities have actually already their own agreements within the area, and actually, trade has already been increasing, for EAC, for example, ECOWAS, et cetera.

So, it's already taking place at the sub-regional level, and now it's just matter of putting all at the -- harmonizing the standards, harmonizing the laws, harmonizing the regulation, harmonizing the institution take some time.

So, it is in the making but regionally and sub-regionally it is on the right path, and putting together about 1.2 billion market, it's a large market with economy of scales would be important, and having a possibility to cross the borders without any problem, that I mentioned earlier, is the GDP about, the combined GDP about \$3.3 trillion, which is compared to the big countries in the world.

But that said, I just want to mention that Africa, even though Africa might not trade with Africa as I mentioned earlier, Africa has put together, and is putting its act together. I'll give you one example, I mentioned earlier in my introduction the SDGs, the Sustainable Development Goals, and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. And at the same time I mentioned the 2030 Agenda -- the 2063 Agenda -- both of them more or less coherent and harmonized, and there is a good actually synergy between them.

It's not that the SDGs, it's not that the 2030, '63 is reflecting the SDGs, but all the way around. And why is that? It's because African countries have actually developed and put together the common African position to negotiate the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. As a matter of fact, all the goals, all the targets that are in the 2030 Agenda are already reflected in the 2063 Agenda.



So, Africa has a common position, not only for this particular negotiation, but also on climate change, on financing for development. So, the African has already understood that it starts sometime by having this regional or international agreement that we can have a common position. And it's the only region in the world, and let me mention it; it's the only region in the world that has a common position on a variety of issues.

Now, talking about corruption, and I agree with you, madam, and Brahim, corruption Africa is sitting on \$50 billion dollars of illicit financial flows, that is coming mainly, 70 percent of it comes from tax evasion, tax avoidance of multinational corporations, that are producing in Africa. Just capturing that \$50 billion dollars a year is already the equivalent of the official development assistance in Africa; so, just to give you a rough example.

Another issue is the fact that the value addition, if we look at cocoa, and where African produce about 60 percent of the world production, for every chocolate that is sold in the world the farmers in Africa capture only 7 percent of the final price of it, 7 percent while they are the ones who are producing most of the cocoa.

Then Nestle has sales, total sales bigger than African countries, and that you have to -- how it has to be negotiated. So, all of it, if we take into consideration the products, and the extractive industry, and capture the value addition, the global value addition, and capture the illicit financial flows, in addition to that Africa is sitting on about \$300 billion of pension funds.

If these funds are invested in Africa and repatriated in Africa where, by the way, the rate of return is double the rate of return of investment in Africa is double of the rate of return internationally. If all of it comes together, the illicit financial flows, if we go to the global values chain, if we have all these resources of pension funds, in addition to that the sovereign funds which are about 160 billion, are invested in Africa, there will be no youth unemployment, there will be no problem of youth insecurity, there will be no problem of industrialization, and Africa would trade with Africa. Thank you very much, madam. (Applause)

MR. NIANG: I want to add on to that.

MS. PINEAU: That is incredibly inspiring. You know, it is amazing we hear about, you know, sort of money under the mattress, Africa has enough for its own development and we just have to, again, unleash it, and have it come out.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: But also trade with Africa fairly.

MS. PINEAU: Yes.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: You see, that platform of equality is what's missing.

MR. NIANG: Can I jump onto that?

MS. PINEAU: Please.

MR. NIANG: Okay.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Because we are treated as underdogs, and we are there to be exploited. We must be treated fairly, and that's where we should begin.

MR. NIANG: Thank you, Ambassador. Our friend from the United Nations, the SDGs are good, those are very good plans I think for the world, but there are some fundamental things that Africa don't have today that, unfortunately, we are racing to catch up with you, leapfrogging is good, but you've got to -- there are some steps you cannot leap frog, you have to go through them.

For example, we didn't have home telephones in many of the African homes, because we went straight up to cell phones. Today the United States, and Asia, and recently the United Emirates, were able to build their fundamental infrastructures, and before all of that you've got to be able to feed your people, you've got to be able to educate your people, you've got to be able to go to the hospital when you're sick and find a doctor there.

In many of our cities in Africa, if you go, including my home city, Dakar, if you're sick you go to a hospital, if you don't have money, you're dead. This is serious. I just come

from because my aunt was sick, in three weeks I had to get \$12,000, when the majority of Africans, Senegalese, are making 70 to \$80 per year.

We have a huge population of young people, 400 million young people in the continent under 30 years old today, no jobs, no training no future whatsoever. Last year we lost more than 3,000 young people dying on the ocean to try to go to chase a dream that doesn't exist in Europe.

Are you following what I'm trying to say here? Our education system is crumbling, until today in 2017 the majority of young Africans, if you leave the rural areas, are living under the tree to study a day, and the school is under the tree. So, so how can we skip those fundamental things? We don't have a good education system, we don't have a good health care system, we cannot feed ourselves, but then we want to build the buildings, and highways, and trains, and talking about the SDGs, and then how we can do free trades with the U.S. and Europe.

You've got to care of the -- it's like a building without a foundation, it doesn't stand. This is where my concerns are, how we can make sure we have a strong foundation first, because we are like 50 years behind, but we cannot skip that foundation and start building floors, when we don't have a foundation. And all these things from energy, to education, to agriculture, those are the three points I believe we need to focus on, before we talk about anything.

And agriculture is tied into health, because what you eat is who you become. We used to eat bear in Africa, that's why I'm into agriculture, training young people to go back in the land to feed our people, because now we are buying food from Europe, and all this food is refrigerated, when they come they are selling it to us, and most of the people in Africa getting sick today of cancer, all kinds of stuff we didn't have.

But all of these things, it cannot be done without leadership. It brings me to the next point. And you touched on it. If you don't have leadership, you cannot implement the

change we need in the continent. In Africa, the richest people in my continent are politicians, the biggest and the most beautiful homes in Africa are owned by politicians. If you want to be wealthy, you become a politician. They're the ones travelling across the world; they're the ones that control the country.

And I think until we talk about the issue also of leadership, where we have leaders who lead in the intention to serve their countries, who can make the country dream and get them to work. And not wait for anyone, anybody, to come and change this continent. I have not seen any country in the world that The World Bank has changed or the United Nations. I don't see it. (Applause)

Maybe my friend, Ambassador, from the U.N. can tell me. I have not seen any country in the world that those international organizations had come and change it for them, but I've seen some countries that was changed by the children of those countries.

Israel had the same issues that we have, they had genocide, they don't have the natural resources we have. How come Israel, in less than 50 years, 60 years is where they are today? It's hard work. You believe in yourself, you use the human capacity and you work. But we depending on you, Europe, Europe, and you the United States to come and change Africa. And I know you ain't going to do it, because even if you give me a speech to make me believe that, yeah, we are coming to help you change Africa.

I know you're coming for your pocket. It's normal, it's business. (Applause) It's okay. I want you to come for your pocket, but I'm just warning you here, that when you come under our new leadership, under this new generation, you'll come like you're coming America. I don't see any foreign leader coming to the U.S. breaking the laws trying to do business, you end up in jail.

I see businesses that come to Africa don't even respect the corporate social responsibilities, they are coming in with cash, buying politicians. You do it in America you end up in prison. But those, to be able to implement those policies you need leadership, and this is

what I'm working on to train young people to education and training through my foundation, for them to understand our responsibilities, and what are we carrying on the legacy of the great Nkrumah and Nelson Mandela.

If it wasn't for leadership, I don't think Nelson Mandela would challenge the status quo of those dark nights in South Africa. But I knew he knew that he had to lead even if it means to sacrifice. Those immigrants that was coming in America, with no lights, no nothing at those times, taking the waters from Europe, when it was hard in Ireland, there was nothing going on in Europe, they looked to come here and find new land with nothing, in less than two hundred years they built it.

Well let me tell you this to close though, in my land we have 30 percent of the world's natural resources, more than anybody in the world, so if we cannot succeed, I cannot blame always the past, well, because of slavery, because, no it's excuses. I mean, come on. We've got to change it, period. And I'm not talking to you, I'm talking about any young African watching me from wherever you are in the world, stop blaming everybody for our problems.

The past is the past, there's history about it, okay cool. But now we are grown, and things need to change. How come Emirates, I was just in Doha the other day, and I'm looking, it's like: oh, look at this, they have only few natural resources compared to everything in Africa, a desert, and it's nothing, and look at how they've changed it in less than 40 years. We can do that in Africa. We can do it.

MS. LISER: Can I comment.

MS. PINEAU: I think you've sparked a lot. Wait, actually, Florie, I think you --  
(Applause)

MR. NIANG: You can clap, it's okay. (Applause)

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: No. I want to just add a couple of points to what he's saying.

MS. PINEAU: All right.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Going back to what I was saying about, no amount of education can change you unless your mind is in the right place.

MR. NIANG: Mm-hmm.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Can you imagine if we can just have a few more Africans like you, and that's what we are talking about. That we need Africans who get it, a leader is as good as the people he is leading. So, I am challenging the Diaspora to say, don't just sit back and shoot out complaints. Don't be an empty bucket that's making noise, you've got to get involved. So, the Diaspora, if you're listening, we need you to go home and participate in the process.

MR. NIANG: That's true.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Because the truth is for true change to come to Africa, it has to be brought by the Africans. So, thank you we need more like you that's what I'm talking about.

MR. NIANG: Thank you. Bravo! (Applause)

MS. PINEAU: Florie? I think, let me just bring Florie into this.

MS. LISER: Maybe I'm the lone voice in this bit, but I actually, I mean, Thione, and I haven't had the opportunity to meet you before, but I've met a lot of people like you.

And I don't think that Africa is bereft of really smart, entrepreneurial people with talents, I feel like I've met lots of them and that there are many more that are already there. So, I mean, not to say that we don't need more, I'm just saying that we do have more. And I think that on leadership, maybe there are other views but, you know, long ago when I started focusing on Africa, and doing business with Africa things were very different on the continent.

And through the years, in my opinion, and documented by lots of other organizations, and the Mo Ibrahim Index, and so forth, we have pockets of issues in terms of governance on the continent, but as a whole, I think that the trajectory has really gone in the right direction.

I've been privileged to sit with President Kagame, who is Incoming AU Chair, also responsible for the whole reform effort at the AU, and I personally believe that, not just for 2018, but going forward, that there's a future, a bright future for Africa, you know. It's really not even a bright future, there's already a powerful base of good leaders across the continent who are doing the right things.

And I think that, you know, to the point I want to get to, I think that's why there are so many business people from around the world who look at Africa. And, yes, maybe there are some there to do good, but I think most of them are there to do well, and actually you don't have an issue with that because every country in the world that is developed today is where it is because others, from the outside, including the U.S., have had people who have come and invested, folks who have seen the opportunities to build railroads and, you know, auto industries, and manufacturing, and services sectors, all of which have driven industrialization, and economic growth all across the world.

And so, you know, I've had the privilege of visiting probably more factories in Africa than probably anybody. I love doing it I love seeing it; from factories quote/unquote with, you know, "10 people" to factories with, you know, 5,000 people. And I believe, I was saying earlier to the group, one of the things I was noticing in the report was this concept that Africa will, sort of, leapfrog manufacturing.

And, yes, we all know that services contribute more to African GDP today than probably anything else, services, finances, telecom, et cetera. But, you know, forgive me for being a bit irreverent, but the people who say that, you know, Africa isn't going to have, you know, an industrial revolution, as most other developed countries in the world have had, here's my question, here's what I've said to Africans: until all of us are walking around with no clothes on, no shoes on, men don't wear ties, you know, nobody needs fabric. Everything, you know, the chair you're sitting on was made in a factory somewhere. You know, this tray here was made in a factory somewhere, these chairs we are sitting in.

So, you know, forgive me for being a bit irreverent, but I don't buy that we are going to skip Africa as one of the factory, four places of the world and go straight to services, and that all of the; you know, hundreds of thousands of jobs, millions of jobs that could be created on the continent, producing the things that everybody needs, we are not going to be in a world where we don't need, you know, telephones.

Everybody, I see people with their phones, and so forth, so until we are in a world where we don't need physical goods, we don't need clothes, we don't need shoes, then maybe we talk about skipping Africa in the manufacturing and industrial revolution. But I personally, having visited lots of African factories, many with youth and women in those factories, in fact most of the people in those factories are our youth and women; I'm of the view that there is a bright future that we are already seeing evolving on the continent.

And I'm not against services and other sectors that are important, but I'm just saying I don't believe that Africa is going to miss its turn. Everybody else in the world, every other region in the world has had its turn to produce the products that we need and, you know, I believe that we are going to see an Africa that will produce more automobiles, and more white goods, you know.

I don't know if you all remember this, and then I will stop but, you know, back when I was a little girl, you would go to Delancey Street in New York, and all the stuff that was produced there for, you know, party favors, and all the little junky stuff, and trinkets, said "made in Japan" it did. But, you know, eventually the Japanese got out of making those kinds of products and, you know, now they're making the automobile.

So, why do we think that Africa won't be able to evolve along similar lines? I mean what's the reason why they are incapable of, you know, being a part of that whole process, and evolution on the continent? As I said, you know, maybe I'm just naïve, but I don't buy it, and I think that, you know, we need to be attracting investment into, and I see it happening, into sectors that go beyond petroleum, and raw commodities, and so forth, and



supporting Africa, and being a part of global value chains, where they are producing, maybe not the final product, but the inputs for products.

And, you know, you may not be the country that produces the -- manufacturers the final, or assembles the final automobile, but what if you were the country that produced all of the mirrors, you know, and everybody knew to go to X country in Africa for the mirrors in automobiles that's what, you know, that's what happens now. You take apart a car and you've got products from, you know 15 different countries in there.

So, anyway, I'm challenging that, and I'm also saying that I think there is a bright future for Africa that already has a foundation, that if you go to the right places, visit the right spots, you will see, and represented by people like Thione, here. (Applause)

MR. NIANG: Thank you.

MS. PINEAU: We need to go to audience questions. I love these conversations where the Moderator becomes superfluous, where everyone just has so much to chime in with, it's fantastic, but we do want to let all of you have a chance. So I think what we'll do is, we'll take three at a time. I see the gentleman in the back. And I think that we have microphones that are going around, so maybe somebody can come back to him, and the two of you, here. So can we get -- whoever gets the microphone first, we'll go with that.

QUESTIONER: Thank you. Hi. I'm with Corps Africa, which is a private effort to create an African Peace Corps Program. And I'm I agree with everything it's a very -- it's wonderful panel. Thank you so much. Is there an effort, a focus on philanthropy in Africa to match the effort, so that Africans own their own development, along with the investments and the focus on the business, private sector? Is there an effort to get more, Aliko Dangotes, Mo Ibrahims, Tony Elumelus, is that group growing? Is there an effort to promote philanthropy as a legitimate sector and part of the solution for Africa?

MS. PINEAU: Thank you. Go ahead. We'll take three questions, and then we'll have some discussion, and we'll take another three. Right, we are going to go here and

then you.

QUESTIONER: Thank you for your speakers, speakers thank you for your perspective. Kansey Pacuto from Chris Consulting and KP Empire. As you mentioned energy and vibrance of the African youth leaders is one of the greatest assets the continent has to offer, and we must use it as such. Yes, it is important to have plans and projects that are attainable, and have potential to be well developed, but for these projects to really work, and really be successful as we hope, it is essential to appeal to other Africans, especially the youth.

As a group that presented at the African Development Bank, it has to be important to appeal to the youth, to make them say: yes, I want to do this; yes, this is cool, yes, I am proud to be African. So my question is: what is your take on how I can instill this pride? And I mean pride to be an African, and to my fellow other Africans, abroad, or in Africa, or in France, (Speaking in foreign language), my brothers and sisters, how we say, how could we instill this pride in others?

MS. PINEAU: Thank you. And we'll take a third question.

QUESTIONER: Okay. My name is Dr. Bella Hatietus. I represent the global Diaspora group for GPS, by GPS we mean good governance, progressive, prosperity, sustainable security and development. And one of the things we are concerned about is the future of Africa in terms of the leadership of young people; 80 percent millennials, 51 percent what we refer to "divine feminines" I'm happy to see three women there, and see young people there, but some of the challenges we have in Africa is about vision, in terms of image,

We just heard from our President here calling Africa what you think Africa is, and this is a prevailing opinion. And to change that paradigm we need what I call, to retire the global, greedy, geriatric male goons, who actually own or usurp 90 percent of the global resources, and create man-made, and human disasters, or natural disasters around the world, and Africa is the best place for that.

If you see, at the leadership in Africa, they are all geriatric male goons about 70

years of age, and I'm a physician I can tell you after the age of 50, you can remember our Obama President, he started at 44, by the time he was 50 he could not even lead. That means physiologically, anatomically, functionally we are not able to lead after 50, whereas most (laughter) -- whereas --

QUESTIONER: It's the truth. Our young people who are very intelligent, talented, especially the women, I'm saying go from kindergarten to universities, in every place in Africa or around the world, the top 10 places are held by women. These young women have no future because the geriatric male goons are not going to give away.

So, my question is how do we retire these geriatric male goons that are really creating havoc in Africa, one. Here in America and around the world, and perhaps even putting us at, you know, at a breaking point of a nuclear war, and in the African setting our young people, the most talented, intelligent ones are going into the Mediterranean Sea and dumping themselves into the Libyan slave trade.

I mean, we need to change this, and I believe, and the question I have is really there is something called digital cryptocurrency that uses compound interest-based, blockchain technology. From what you told us, the money and resources are being stolen by the middle people. Can we get the latest digital currency, call it African Coin, maybe, so that African people will own their own property, and not give it up to other people? And I thank you.  
(Applause)

MS. PINEAU: Thank you very much. I can see, that Ambassador, you are chomping at the bid for that one.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Let me start with sister, and remind me again, your quick question?

MR. NIANG: Humanitarian, if the humanitarian can do it.

MS. PINEAU: Yeah. So, focusing on philanthropy, youth inspiring youth --

MR. NIANG: African pride.

MS. PINEAU: And retiring the geriatrics --

MR. NIANG: The politicians.

SPEAKER: The African leaders.

MS. PINEAU: And a Bitcoin for Africa. Okay. Please?

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Okay.

MS. PINEAU: Very diverse questions. Let's try to wrap them all up into one answer.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: Let's start with the image of Africa. Remember young man, the image of Africa that was created during the Colonials' times was designed for specific purpose. Sadly, and I'm going to put it right back at us Africans. In some cases, we are the worst enemies when it comes to promoting our own Africa. We are quick to fight.

You will not find an American, and I can assure you, you go outside Africa, and you run into an American they will not allow you to put down America. So, why do we allow ourselves to engage in conversations with non-Africans and who are putting down Africa? No country is without faults, and yet when issues occur in Africa they are put on a pedestal. The same could be happening here.

I'm going to share with you, I was watching CNN years ago, *60 Minutes*, there was this White American doctor who was going around the gutters of Harlem, taking care of these homeless people who were down and under. And I mean that was filth, that was everywhere, but the pitch was the good Samaritan doctor. These were horrible living conditions for Americans in Harlem.

The next segment was about Lagos, but the spin this time was on the leadership, but they were the same people in the gutters, in Lagos, but the spin was: how could the Nigerian Government do this. There are people in the gutters, people are -- but the conditions were the same. When they were in America the spin was the good American

Samaritan doctor, but the same conditions prevailed in Nigeria: oh how can the government do this?

A man in the gutter is a man in the gutter, no matter where we find them.

There are things happening in this country that are not given the highlight, they are getting the high light that they need, but they don't define America. So, why are similar situations in Africa given a platform and highlighted as if it is happening all over Africa?

A simple situation happening in some little corner of Africa somewhere in a country, but it is painted as if it's happening throughout Africa. We, the Africans must defend our Africa viciously; (applause) because there is a lot of good news coming out of Africa that is not spoken.

MR. NIANG: Mm-hmm.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: And yet all we do is highlight the negatives. We, as Africans must take a position and viciously, and I mean viciously defend our Africa, because if Africa is in the gutter, guess what, you're putting it in the gutter. And as an African, you have a responsibility to do something about it. That answers your question. Not in terms of: how can I be proud of my Africa? You need to be proud of Africa, know your history, know where you come from, and stand up on the highest mountain and proclaim to the world, who you are, a proud handsome African man. And nobody needs to tell you that.

Now, if you get out of bed and you need somebody to tell you how beautiful you are, and how important you are, and how powerful you are as an African man, then you've got a problem, and you need a serious conversation with the image in the mirror. (Applause)

MS. PINEAU: David?

MR. HAMAM: Okay. Yes, thank you, madam. I just want to build on your word of wisdom, that if you have an act of violence somewhere in Africa, it's right away a terrorist. You have an act of violence, and one killed one person, the other one killed 50, in Africa it's a terrorist, and here it's an alleged killer, or an alleged potential person. And that's

the problem that we have.

Madam, I agree with you, but the communication starts from home. We don't sell the stories. We don't sell that now there is more transitional and democratic countries elected governments in the continent than ever before. We don't sell that for the 20 election that took place in Africa, all of them, there was a transition of peaceful; there is not one single drop of blood that has, that in Zimbabwe, for example, a few months ago. We don't talk about it.

We are not strong enough, we are not aggressive enough. And I agree with you that Africa should have a fair trade, but in order for Africa to have a fair trade Africa should be united; 1.2 billion people would face any block in the world, including China. Two, if we speak in one voice, and only one voice, we don't have to tell them for fair trade, the fair trade will impose itself, and we'll have strategic partnership all over the world. It's not demanding or asking for ODA, it becomes a requirement. The requirements will come when we have a large market with 1.2 billion people, and a very large GDP.

Now, to be proud of Africa, look at what's happening in the street. Look of Tunisia, seven years ago the street spoke and put Ben Ali out of the country, seven years later they came and asked the new government to be accountable. And what's happening? There's turmoil everywhere, everywhere in the country they are asking to take stock of what's happening.

And if the people of Tunisia have died, they wanted to have actually the results and the impact of seven years ago. And that is trickling down in all African countries. You have it Burkina Faso, you have it in Mali, you have it. So, be proud of Africa because the leaders are aware of that, and more of them are leaving out, and it's not sustainable. Because why? Because the youth are connected, what's happening in Tunisia is happening in Mali, and right away it's in South Africa, and right away it's in Zimbabwe. So they know what's happening virtually every minute in the world.

In addition to that, they have an alternative, the alternative for migration is now, the borders are closed. The ceilings are not actually glass ceilings, it's concrete ceilings, but they know that they have extremists, that they can knock at the door and they are willing to accept them.

So, would the leaders, if there was enough, if they know that their future is important, would they want to allow it to be together, go to the street or the extremists, and therefore it's not sustainable. I agree that there's gerontocracy, but it's not: it's five years, ten years from now.

Let's not forget that Africa has lost decades, the decades have been imposed, most of the policies; public policy has, unfortunately, been imposed by outsider because they are donors, but now with African taking the control, Africa has developed its own agenda, African is the leader, Africa is managing, Africa is mainstreaming more and more, in their budget, in their plan, their own policy.

Let me give you an example, look at the malaria. The malaria pandemic has lasted a few months, and Africa, we are resilient enough to be able to tackle that issue. Look at the financial crisis, the financial crisis has not touched as much as Africa, because African has well managed their macroeconomic policies.

African, according to some international institution that I would not want to talk about the names, have said that African countries were much better managed economically than some European countries. So, be proud of Africa because of these results. Malaria one example, HIV/AIDS also, African has actually controlled the spread of HIV/AIDS. Be it also that African has managed better the financial crisis, and the aftermath was much more resilient to it. So, be proud because you're African.

Now, about the term limits, I think the gerontocracy will not last, it's phasing out more and more. There is term limits in the constitution of the countries, as you have seen in some countries when the presidents want to move and change the constitution to actually take

off the term limits, there is regional and peer pressure for Africans to actually get back to that. In addition to that, more and more peace and security, popular issues, have been tackled at the continental level. They don't ask the NATO, we don't ask the European Union, or we don't ask the U.N. to resolve, internally, all peace settlements and peace problems.

So, with that, be proud of Africa, and the gerontocracy is not sustainable, and to the young, I think the future is bright because the highest GDP in the world is in African countries. We have, as I was mentioning, the illicit financial flows, 50 billion, if we can go and get that 50 billion we are not longer depending on the ODA. In additional market, Continental Fair Trade that is being launched is 1.2 billion, that's the largest market in the world, with about 500 billion -- 500 million middle class people. Thank you very much, madam.

MS. PINEAU: Thank you.

AMBASSADOR CHIHOMBORI-QUAO: I'd like to answer the doctor.

MS. PINEAU: We have to -- unfortunately, we are getting --

MR. NIANG: I want to, before we close --

MS. PINEAU: We are already going way over, so I think, Florie --

MR. NIANG: I'm going to answer that. We are going to need five minutes.

MS. PINEAU: No, I'm going to ask Florie.

MR. NIANG: I've got to say something. Just give me four minutes; I'd like to answer that.

MS. PINEAU: I'm going to still bring you in.

MR. NIANG: Thank you very much.

MS. PINEAU: I'm going to have Florie, and then you, and then Brahim you will, you will close it out for us. So, please, go ahead.

MS. LISER: You know, I'll save four of my five minutes, and just say briefly that, again I think there are enormous opportunities in Africa, and the African market, and I think that U.S. companies are there, and there more who are anxious to be there, and for good



reason.

MS. PINEAU: Wonderful. Thank you. Thione, please?

MR. NIANG: Oh, I can get in? Thank you very much.

MS. PINEAU: Well, because you've so inspired us, so I wanted to bring you in, you know, for those final wrap up kind of things, you know.

MR. NIANG: I just want to makes sure that, for the first, I really hear the questions, the first question that you had about being proud of Africa, and how we can get the young people from the Diaspora to be proud to come home. I always believe that leadership is not about speeches, it's about action.

And Gandhi clearly taught us that you have to be the change that you want to see. In the words of President Obama, change will not happen if we are waiting for others to do it. You know, what's wrong in the continent, we can sit here and talk about it all day, you have to take something that you can do, and you get into it, and just make it happen.

When Akon and I met here in Washington, D.C., and we knew that we have to step in, we focused on energy and bring Akon Lighting Africa in the continent. Didn't stop there, because when we came to the continent we saw that many of these young people are not qualified for most of the jobs in the energy sector, then we launched the Solektra Academy in Mali, which now we are taking young people from around the continent to take them to Mali to train them to be able to install and maintain the solar products that we are putting in.

And when they finish we hire them to work for us, today more than 5,000 young people in the continent are working for us directly. The same thing for agriculture, when I saw that it needs to be done, I didn't say, well, I need to be proud. No. I went back to the land and I used social media to show young Africans, especially Senegalese, that agriculture is actually cool, because if we are followed, I've got more than 130,000 young people follow me on Facebook that can fit it to a million.

If we can use it well, we can inspire them to do the things that they thought

wasn't cool. Because many young people in Africa don't do agriculture because they think it's something very old. So, it's to tell you that yes, it's possible, but you don't have to wait for anybody to tell you how great you can do for the continent, especially if you're from the Diaspora. What you acquire here is knowledge, but you can build a project at home.

For my friend in the back, interesting point, I won't use the words that you use, but I feel you, because we are at the point where, at a crossroad where we need change in leadership in many African countries, but that change is you, it's me, it's on everyone concerned. And I've learned in American politics, living here for a while, the power is not given, there's nobody who like you enough to just say, you know what, you're my friend, come on in and take this position for me, you know. You can become President, and I'll just sit in the side.

We don't see that in Africa. If you want power, you have to fight for it. These people are there for years because there's not enough people challenging it. That calls for new generation of leaders who will make the sacrifices to leave their comfort in America, to leave their comfort in London and in France, for those who are watching from Europe, just like our Founding Fathers did. They left their comfort after school, and went home and sacrificed.

But many of our people in the Diaspora will tell you, oh, no, I'm not living the comfort here and going there with this crazy stuff. I'm not doing it. As soon as they come home they are already planning to get back after two weeks. And most of us are doing nothing but just criticizing on Facebook and Twitter.

We have a lot of activists over there, but we have very few people coming in the continent and making the work happen on the ground. That's where we need you guys the most, because if you have enough people coming in, change doesn't take many, it just takes one, two people who are dedicated can drive the change we need.

Mandela was only one of a few who made the sacrifices, today you see what he's brought to the continent. So, you guys are the change we want, we need, today not tomorrow. You've got to come on the continent and build the projects so we can help move this

continent, and change it forever, because I dream every day of what's possible here.

When I go to the small villages and see women like my mother's age, who at night can't go to the doctors. If you're having a baby in the middle of the night, there's no roads to take you anywhere. There is no health care system in the continent -- in the country.

Many people are dying every single day of small things like malaria. There is no energy anywhere. Education, millions of young people are desperate, they don't know what to do with their lives. This is, this is heavy in my heart, this is personal; these are my people. And I can't wait for The World Bank to come and change that (laughter), because it's not their role. It's my role, and it's your role, our responsibility.

If we think we are comfortable here in America enough, to just leave our people live in those conditions, and then we are blaming the past, or somebody's making some comments in the U.S. about who we are, and we can go out in the streets and actually protest about it, because the President is telling us who we are, whatever he is making of us is not my problem, because my problem is, I want to fix home.

It doesn't matter what you say about me. If you tell me -- you're White, you can tell me what all day, but if you look at me, you know I'm not white. Because I don't have -- what are they saying, because they said it clearly, (Speaking in foreign language). A tiger doesn't need to say, well, I'm a tiger, but let's talk honestly, we have some serious problems in the continent that need to be fixed, and it will not be fixed until the children of the continent be aware of what's awaiting for us, as everyone else has done in every part of the world.

This is my struggle. This is my fight. And this is what I took on, and I know there are sacrifices, but I know me and my generation, and those who think like me, as you said, you met, are ready for that. And in a few years, we'll change it. (Applause)

MS. PINEAU: Thank you so much. Brahima, do you want to just say some closing remarks. Unfortunately, we are out of time for audience questions. I apologize for that. But I also had a million questions I didn't get to ask. So, it's just such a dynamic discussion it's

hard to get in there. So, please, go ahead.

MR. COULIBALY: Yes. And I'll be brief, so I won't stay in between you and lunch. So, I think it's been a quite fascinating discussion, as someone has remarked that, look at Africa, the whole continent itself looks like there's quite a few paradoxes going on, and that the continent itself is shaped like a question mark and Madagascar is just misplaced. That's another paradox about it.

And I think in the discussion here we've highlighted a couple of them, there many more, for example, why is it that we have 50 percent of the world arable land, yet we import roughly \$35 billion dollars' worth of food, right. And why is it that Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana control about 60 percent, or so, of the cocoa market, but yet the farmers in those countries make less than 10 cents on the dollar in terms of what they produce.

So, those are just some of the paradoxes, and the answer to all of this again comes back to the central theme of this Foresight, is about leadership, and the leadership to actually lead the way, or then to empower those who are capable of doing it. And with the energy and vibrancy of the young people, as illustrated here by Thione's interventions, now clearly that's an asset that needs to really be harnessed, and as well as the harnessing the potential of women is also very critical.

Something that's less known about Asia's development model is that it wasn't just about bringing the rural farmers into industry, but also bringing women into industry. So, all of a sudden, you had to wage earners, and that was really important in being able to quickly transform the country. So, certainly inclusion of women, and the young people, empowering them, and giving them the platform to really unleash their creativity would be critical for Africa's future.

But I'm quite optimistic, because as somebody once told me, I'm a structural optimist so, and I really believe in the potential of the continent.

MS. LISER: I join you.

MR. COULIBALY: And it's good to see leadership, continentally, now coming together as illustrated by the contributions from the head of the main three continental institutions, and the reaction to some statements made about Africa was quite swift, and I liked the spontaneity, and then the unification Africa showed in responding to it.

And to that, I would basically say: that's been one of the positive things that's come out of all of this. But ultimately, I think Africa will not be defined but what anybody else says, Africa will be defined by Africans, and leadership is what's going to take us there.

(Applause)

MR. NIANG: That's great. Beautiful!

MS. PINEAU: It's been a fascinating discussion. And I think, you know, this theme of unleashing is really important we've heard about African institutions unleashing their power, the power of international institutions supporting that and working with them. The power of the private sector in partnering, and then the power of individual initiatives and what can be done.

And what I want to encourage everybody in the audience, and joining us online, is thinking yourself about how you can unleash your own potential to be working with Africa, to be partnering with Africans to make this, to help unleash even further. There is a multiplier effect in what we all do. And with that, I want to just close with what you had said, which I thought was so beautifully put: dream every day what is possible. And that is what we should all be doing on Africa.

MR. NIANG: Thank you.

MS. PINEAU: So, with that, I want to thank all of the panelists. This has been fascinating. I loved listening to all of this. I want to thank Brookings, and especially the African Growth Initiative, and Dr. Brahim Coulibaly who has brought this all together. It's really been amazing to bring us all together. (Applause)

This is not the end. We are continuing the conversation on Twitter and on

blogs. Please don't forget, #ForesightAfrica. Continue the conversation. This is a fascinating one that we all didn't want to end. So, please, continue it on Twitter. Thank you so much.

MR. NIANG: Thank you. (Applause)

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