

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION
FALK AUDITORIUM

FORESIGHT AFRICA:
TOP PRIORITIES FOR AFRICA OVER THE NEXT DECADE

Washington, D.C.
Wednesday, January 15, 2020

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. COULIBALY: Good morning, everyone.

AUDIENCE: Good morning.

MR. COULIBALY: This is a new year, it's a new decade. I was expecting more enthusiasm. So let's start again. Good morning, everyone.

AUDIENCE: Good morning.

MR. COULIBALY: All right. That's more like it. So, I'm Brahim Coulibaly. I'm the senior fellow and director of the Africa program. Happy New Year, and happy new decade, and really, thanks for joining us for the launch of Foresight. And to our distinguished guests, including some ambassadors are here, with all protocols observed, we are very honored by your presence.

Our apologies to really those who tried to sign up to attend the event, but could not, because it filled up very quickly, we wish we had a much bigger room to accommodate. But I think on the positive side it attests to the importance of socioeconomic development issues in Africa, and how everybody is looking to really get good content on it.

But hopefully, you're able to sign up online to follow us, so to the hundreds of people around the world who sign up, and are following online, our greeting extend to you as well. You can join the conversation on Twitter, using the hashtag ForesightAfrica.

So, we're very excited about this year's edition, because it looks at the priorities for Africa over the next decade. As we see this decade as being one that is very promising and a very defining one for the continent. So far, if you look at the economic growth through at least the first half of this decade, growth will continue to outperform other regions. In fact, seven of the world's 10 fastest-growing economies will be on the continent.

And collective action among Africans and global policymakers, under the blueprint of the Sustainable Development Goals, and the African Union Agenda 2063, is creating shared energy and excitement around the continent's potential. Business environments are improving, regional integration underpinned by the Continental Free Trade

Agreement is progressing well, and the transformational technologies of the Fourth Industrial Revolutions are spreading.

So never before has a region been better primed for trade, investment and mutually beneficial partnerships. Accordingly, we are observing an unprecedented interest of an increasingly diverse group of external partners looking to engage with Africa.

But despite the continent's promise, clearly there are some challenges that would need to be overcome over the next 10 years, and key among them will be the creation of large-scale formal sector jobs, particularly for the young people. And there's also need to close the gaps in good and inclusive governance, and also climate change, as well as state fragility, really threatens to reverse the progress made over the past years.

But I'm hopeful that Africa will rise to these challenges throughout the decade with renewed determination, and a great sense of urgency. So, Foresight Africa highlights the triumphs really of the past years as well as strategies to tackle the forthcoming, but surmountable obstacle to a prosperous continent by 2030.

As I mentioned earlier, this is a special edition of Foresight, because it marks the beginning -- 2020 is also the beginning of a new decade. So, we decided that maybe taking a step back from year-to-date coverage which we usually do, but to look at some underlining trends that would affect the continent on its journey towards the SDG completion point in 2030, and how policymakers could take advantage of some of those trends, as well as how they need to navigate and manage some of the risks that come with those trends.

It is an exercise that is not often done, because it's admittedly difficult, but we thought it was very necessary, and our experts have really dug deep, very deep into their expertise to provide us with some thoughtful analysis that would inform the conversation for the years to come.

So let me go into then the content of the report, just summarizing it briefly, before turning it over to the moderator and the panel. But before we get there, one of the

fun parts of working on Foresight usually is coming up with a design cover page that kind of summarizes and captures the theme for the year.

And this is the cover page that we came up with, I am tempted to quiz some of the participants in the audience to interpret this for us, but I don't want to expose anybody who might artistically challenged. (Laughter)

So, let me then briefly explain it as it was explained to me. So, each of those rings represents a year, and that goes all the way through 2030, and we start in 2020, so we have then Africa in the middle, so the notion being the policies and challenges facing Africa both in 2020 and the years beyond will reverberate throughout 2030. And in fact those rings actually (inaudible). So, there you have it.

I see some puzzled faces. I mean, it is not apparent, close your eyes and envision it. It has worked for me. But we came up with really the following overarching themes. The first one is on achieving Sustainable Development Goals, and the state of play, and policy options.

So, we are already one-third of the way toward the completion of SDGs, which, as you know started in 2015. So we thought this was an opportune time to kind of take stock as to what is the state of progress. Where are there challenges, and where do policies need to be re-calibrated to put countries on track?

But the overarching message is that there's some progress but it has been uneven across countries, across goals, and across targets. And there are too many countries for our taste, a little bit off-track, and too many targets, and policies would need to basically be recalibrated and adjusted to put them on track.

We also highlight the case of the country, Rwanda, notably, that has done some really good progress so the Finance Minister has a contribution sharing with us, what did they do that can serve as a good lesson also for other countries looking to emulate.

But one important constraint that our experts continue to highlight is: How do you finance SDGs? That is really an overarching, big challenge. So there's a

contribution in there I authored myself, that takes stock as to what should be the financing needs for the African countries: what do they have, and what are the gaps, and what strategies, importantly, can they follow to close that gap?

And the second chapter is about deepening good governance, inclusion, democracy and security. This cannot be emphasized enough, and as we've said here in the past, economic development begins and ends with good governance and good leadership. If you have those, you may still not be able to succeed, but you've given yourself the best chances.

But if you do not have that, it does not matter how much you might have in terms of resources, they will be squandered, and you will not achieve your objectives. So, in this chapter the authors look at the state of democracy, and note that there's been notable progress, particularly since the 1980s, but we are observing that that progress is now beginning to stall a little bit.

And importantly, there continues to be too much tension around election times, and there continues to be too much temptation toward third-termism. In other words, leaders looking to stay another term while their term is coming to an end, and modifying constitutions for that purpose, and all that generates tensions that doesn't bode well with the progress on democracy.

Then the second aspect of governance that's important is inclusion. Particularly the inclusion of young people, and women, and there also we are noting some progress, but that a lot remains to be done. And for women inclusion, it's not just a matter of equity, right, it's good economics. So, our offers kind of quantify how much economic gain can be had by achieving inclusion of the women in the labor force. And the gains vary, and as high as 50 percent of GDP in the case of a country like Niger.

And then the final contribution is looking at the security situation, and noting that there are some key trends that are going to be affecting the typology of security, its nature itself, and therefore the way in which policies needs to respond. And those trends

are climate, the demographic, and then urbanization. And the policies clearly need to pay attention to how those trends kind of intertwine, interlink and then unpacking those would become very important in understanding the best solutions that we need to address the security situation.

The third chapter is on leveraging demographic trends for economic transformation, job creation, skills development and urbanization policies. Clearly, Africa's demographics outlook and situation, is one of the most consequential global mega trends. By the turn of this century Africa will be home to close to 40 percent of the global population, and 40 percent of the global workforce.

But there's a prevailing misconception in some corners that because we have rapid demographic growth then it follows that you will have a strong economic growth, hence the demographic dividends.

Others said, true, but not guaranteed, and there are some preconditions that need to be met, among those large-scale formal sector job creation is critical, skills development for the 21st Century, and then improving urbanization policies so that rapid urbanization contributes to poverty reduction, not poverty-increasing.

And on those three subject areas, we have some projects ongoing, multi-year projects that we've rolled out in 10 African countries on the issue of creating large-scale formal sector job creation. And then our colleagues in the Center for Universal Education are also working on some skills developments suited for the 21st Century.

And we have an ongoing project with the millennium challenge cooperation on thinking about how urbanization policies can be made better in Africa. So the contents also reflect some of the preliminary findings from those projects. But the authors also emphasize the need for Africa to control the fertility rates, which continues to be among the highest in the world, and uncomfortably too high.

The fourth chapter is on the issue of climate change, and there we emphasize an urgent call for comprehensive global and local action. So, climate change I

think is very much real, and no matter what anyone might say. It was reported just last week by *CNN* that 2019 was the hottest year on record, and the second highest was 2016.

In fact, if you look at the past decade, it was the hottest decade on record. But for countries like Africa and other low-income countries that are dependent a lot on the primary sector, agriculture, forestry, fishing, it's very detrimental even though Africa contributes least to global warming it bears the brunt of climate change.

In particular, there's an existential threat for a lot of those areas in the low-elevation coastal zones, and it also poses a significant food security -- food security challenges. The authors document that a city like Abidjan, for example, can stand to have about 42 billion in assets, that could be exposed if climate change does accelerate along this path, and is able to cause that much in economic loss. Just to let you know that is the amount comparable roughly to the country's GDP.

And the fifth chapter is on capturing the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Africa missed out on the First Industrial Revolution, it missed out on the Second Industrial Revolution, it missed out on the Third Industrial Revolution, and we are saying, basically, Africa cannot afford to miss out on the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

So the chapter explores how Africa can position itself to capture this Fourth Industrial Revolution. And they're emphasizing three key criteria. The first one is the development of digital skills, and so it's very critical because Africa is lagging significantly.

And then investment in technology and research and development is also highlighted as a critical area. But then importantly, investment in digital infrastructure, connectivity access is critical.

The World Bank has an agenda that it's leading, and we are happy to have Albert here with us, called the *Moonshot Program*. It's an \$80-100 billion program aiming to close Africa's infrastructure, digital infrastructure gap by 2030. So, the Vice President has a contribution on how they plan to go about it, and it's a very, very critical element in terms of capturing the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Our final chapter is on bolstering Africa's role in the global economy, the importance of regional integration. The small scale of the African economy is clearly, make regional integration an important aspect of the ability to really define the next decade. And it's centered particularly around the African Continental Free Trade Agreement, but there are also some other aspects of integration that the continent has been making a lot of progress on.

So, the chapter explores some of the commercial opportunities that the CFTA is going to generate, and then it highlights in particular, that given an increasing importance of digital economies, Africa needs to put an emphasis on registration and protection of Africa's intellectual property, as aspects they're going to take on in the next phase of the CFTA negotiations.

And as Africa has been making progress toward empowering itself from within, there's also a need to think about how does a unified Africa engage with the rest of the world, and our contributions also, there's a touch on some of the strategies African can use, to make sure that the global governance system, works well for Africa

And the point that is emphasized there is that in a world where China and U.S. are emerging as the two dominant superpowers, one may have a global geopolitical landscape dominated by those two G2, possibly a G3 if Europe can speak with a unified voice.

But what does Africa have to gain in all of this, and which systems should Africa support? And again, given the small-scale of the countries, the recommendation that is addressed should always advocate for the rule-based governance system, that is one that is more fair to the countries that do not have as much leverage, as much power on the global stage.

So that concludes a bit the overview of the chapters. So just let me take this moment to acknowledge some efforts that went into this.

It would not have been really possible without the hard work of our scholars,

we are really challenged to think long term, and I believe they've delivered; and our dedicated staff, Christina Golubski, Dhruv Ghandi and Payce Madden; and the support also of our partners and, importantly, also the commitment of the Brookings leadership to the Africa Program.

So, after today's launch, as we've done in the past, we'll travel across Africa to also launch it next week in Kampala, Kigali and Dakar. I think one is on the 23rd, 24th and 27th. But she knows, she just tells me where to go.

So, we look forward then to your engagement, and commentaries throughout the year and the decade, and for this special edition we have a special panel, and a very special Moderator, which we'll introduce shortly the panel.

But by way of introduction, the Moderator of the event is Travis Adkins. He's the Lecturer of African & Securities Studies at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He's an international development leader with two decades of experience, working in government, civil society, humanitarian affairs in over 50 nations across Africa and the Middle East. And is also the host of your podcast *On Africa*.

So, with this, let me turn it over to Travis, and welcome the panel to the podium. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. ADKINS: All right, so while he's mic'ing everybody up, I'll go ahead and get started.

Good morning. Happy New Year to all. I've heard there's some controversy over how long you can say Happy New Year, two weeks into the year, but I'll start there.

As Coul mentioned, my name is Travis Adkins, I'm a Lecturer of African & Security Studies at Georgetown University. And so honored to welcome you all to this exciting launch of the 2020 installment of *Foresight Africa: Looking at the Next Decade on the Continent*.

I wanted to start briefly just with a few notes of thanks. First obviously to Coul, and to Christina, and the African Growth Initiative Team, all of the brilliant scholars

who contributed to this work, and also to Brookings' President John R. Allen, who has made it a pillar of his tenure in his leadership to be transparent and to increase inclusion and diversity in these national security spaces, which helps to give us the beautifully diverse panel that we have today.

And on that note of diversity and inclusion, I would feel personally remiss if I didn't mention that though we will celebrate him as a nation on Monday, that today January 15th, is actually the 91st birthday of the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King who gave his life to improve our society, but who in fact was an Africanist, and advocated long and hard for the freedom, and the agency, and the well-being of African people. And so I just wanted to close on that, because that's why we're here today.

Before I go into the introductions of the panel, I would like to turn to the results of an online poll that was taken on the African Growth Initiative's blog. And this poll was really about what you all see as the key priorities on the continent over the next decade.

So that slide should come up here in just a second, and you'll be able to see the results along with me, as I read them to you, and I will talk as slow as I can until it shows up on the screen. And there we have it.

So, as you can see a great majority of respondents believed, at a clip of about 48 percent, that issues of governance and inclusion are the top priority for the continent over the next decade; coming in at 36 percent of respondents believe that job creation and skill development for youth was a second priority of importance.

Third on the list, improving health and education outcomes, about 24 percent of respondents prioritized that in that fashion.

Fourth, capturing the Fourth Industrial Revolution, about 10 percent saw that as a leading indicator of where we'll be over the next decade and then to close out combating the effects of climate change, about 9 percent of respondents achieving regional integration, about 7 percent, and then strengthening external relations, 1 percent of respondents.

So we thought that that would be a fantastic way to get a little bit of your perspectives, your participation, and to see, in fact, how these priorities will color the conversation from our panelists, as well as your inputs when we move to the Q&A.

And so from there let me jump right into the introductions of our wonderful panelists. Immediately to my left beaming in her regalia is Beatrice Pacunega Manano, the Chief of Policy, Analysis and Monitoring Branch of the Office of the Special Adviser on Africa at the United Nations; Mr. Armando Manuel, who is the Alternate Executive Director at The World Bank representing Angola, Nigeria and South Africa; Brahim Coulibaly who we've just heard from; Mr. Matt Rees, who is the Interim Coordinator for Prosper Africa at USAID; and Ms. Viola Llewellyn who is the Co-Founder and President of Ovamba Solutions, Incorporated.

And so each one of them will give a set of five-minute opening remarks sharing with us their views on where the continent is and is going over the next decade. And I will start immediately to my left with Beatrice.

MS. PACUNEGA MANANO: Thank you. Thank you so much, Travis, and good morning to the audience.

I would like to start with apologies from the Under Secretary General and Special Advisor on Africa, Madam Bience Gawanas, who was supposed to actually have been with us this morning, but due to some very pressing matters she couldn't make it. And she asked us to thank Brookings and all of you here for showing so much interest in African issues, and for taking part in activities that will help shape Africa's priorities in the next decade, that the UN is referring to as the decade for action.

Indeed Africa is a region with the greatest development challenges as was just presented by the Director and a lot has to be done to work with Africa in pushing it forward. The report that we have before us today rightly refers to a number of key priorities that should spur action on the side of Africa and development partners to meet development challenges and advance economic growth in Africa which is socially inclusive and

environmentally sustainable.

A growth path that is sustainably managed and through the mega trends that we have including the youth bulge, urbanization, the Fourth Industrial Revolution, regional integration, infrastructure development, to mention but a few.

And as I said, the United Nations will be celebrating its 75th Anniversary this year, and the focus is on how to make the SDGs be achieved. That is the decade of action, that is the message of the Secretary-General that she presented at the beginning of the year and which will be echoed throughout the next 10 years.

And in reflecting on the topic of discussions before us today I have five key points to raise: Firstly, eradicating poverty will continue to be Africa's greatest development challenge in the next decade, and in its -- the overarching objective of the Sustainable Development Goals is at the heart of this, and the shared promise of agenda 2030, and agenda 2063 of the African Union, which strives to ensure a dignity for life and that nobody is left behind, we have to strive hard to ensure that these goals are achieved by 2030.

The SDGs -- the SDG Report of 2019 indicated that out of 736 million people, it says 736 million people lived in extreme poverty in 2015 worldwide, more than half of this figure or about 413 million lived in Africa, while 232 million lived in the rest of the world. That remains a great challenge.

According to a recent data by The World Bank the concentration of global power shifted from East Asia in the 1990s to South Asia by 2002, and to Sub-Saharan Africa in 2010. It also estimates by various sources that 700 million Africans lack access to improved sanitation, and 300 million lack access to clean water. This is a grave challenge given that we're already one-third gone in implementing the 2030 Agenda.

Over the past decade African countries achieved remarkable economic growth, as was laid out by the Director in the report before us. However, much of this growth has to be translated into reality, people on the ground have to feel and achieve these benefits of growth. These achievements were supported by sound socio-economic policies

implemented by African governments, which contributed to growing exports and foreign direct investment flows to many African countries.

However, a challenge remains in translating this growth into meaningful reduction in poverty, African countries need to sustain and build on the achievements made over the past decades in socio-economic progress.

Secondly, strengthening regional integration is a key enabler of growth and prosperity, and these features vary prominently in the report before us. The financing needs for implementing the SDGs in Africa are massive, investment stream for us to finance the SDGs in Africa is estimated between 600 billion to 1.2 trillion annually.

This is a surmountable task but which is achievable if we put our minds to it, and if we pull all our strength together, and if we implement the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on the Third International Conference on Financing for Development.

The entry into force in May of 2019 of the Africa Continental Free-Trade Area marks a new chapter in African collective efforts to strengthen trade and investment exchanges as key engines of inclusive growth and development.

Intra-Africa trade, as many of you are aware, is too low compared to other regions, it accounts for only 17 percent of African exports compared to 59 percent and 69 percent in intra-Asia and intra-Europe trade respectively. The operationalization and effective implementation of the Free Trade Area will continue to be a key priority for Africa over the next decade.

According to ECA estimates the Continental Free Trade Area is projected to increase the value of trade -- intra-Africa trade by 15 percent, that is towards about 50 billion, or 25 percent that is about 70 billion that is depending on the rate and efforts made at operationalizing it by 2040.

The African Development Bank's High 5 Strategy, focusing on energy, food security, industrialization, infrastructure development, and regional integration is exemplary in this regard in mobilizing finances.

The third is preventing and managing conflicts and crisis, and addressing the root causes in the context of the area's flagship initiative on, Silencing the Guns by 2020. We've just seen the results of the polls to show that governance, and peace, and security remain a priority of Africa in the next decade.

This is one area where I will not belabor much. Many of you must be aware that the AU, in 2013 the African Union Heads of States declared Silencing the Guns by 2020 as its priority. A lot has been done in moving towards silencing the guns in Africa, but a lot still remains to be done, and we should work with all our partners to ensure that this happens as soon as possible.

Fourth is achieving the cross-cutting objective of empowering women and promoting gender equality in Africa, including in the context of the African women's peace -- women's decade. Many of you must be aware that 2010 to 2020 was declared the African Women's Decade, the stock is being taken now to find out: how much has the African woman come along, how much has the African woman been empowered, have we actually made the last decade, 2010 to 2020, an African Women's Decade? That's part of the discussion we shall have.

It also comes at a time when we are looking at 25 years since the Beijing Declaration and Platform, and also 20 years anniversary of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, on women peace and security.

I see Travis already looking at his time, so I'll not go too much into the details, but we'll discuss a little more on this later.

Fifth and lastly is aligning development partnership with Africa's development priorities. To make the decade 2020 to 2030 a truly decade of action across the economic social and environmental pillars of sustainable development, these partnerships should further align the objectives with the actions that over the decades have developed should help in implementing the First Ten-Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063 and the SDGs.

And we have to strengthen partnerships in international cooperation to in particularly curb illicit financial flows out of Africa. This remains a scar through which domestic resource mobilization cannot do enough in implementing the SDGs. There is definitely need for concerted international cooperation on that front.

At the UN level the UN has gone into partnership with the African Union. As many of you are aware the UN Secretary-General, and the African Union Commission Chairperson, Moussa Faki, signed in April 2017 and January 2018 the AU-UN Frameworks on peace and security, and on implementing the Agenda 2063.

These two frameworks are currently being implemented to ensure that the AU and the UN don't work in silos, but work together and side-by-side in implementing Agenda 2030 and Agenda 2063.

The Office of the Special Advisor on Africa will continue to advocate for and mobilize international support for Africa's priorities in all its analytical and advocacy work. As we speak, the office is preparing the Fourth Biennial Report of the UN Secretary-General on review of implementation of commitments made towards Africa's development.

And this report which is a biannual report will be presented to the 75th Session of the UN General Assembly later this year. It looks into the key areas of challenges on implementing Agenda 2063, and will focus on three themes, including tackling inequality through quality education with a focus on STEM, that is science, technology, engineering and mathematics. That should help us move towards making African youth and people get involved in the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

And it's also tackling promoting regional integration through trade and Silencing the Guns in Africa which will remain a theme for the office throughout this year as the AU theme was to Silence the Guns in Africa by 2020.

And lastly, Moderator, the Office of the Special Advisor also usually organizes what we call the African Dialogue Series in New York every year. It's actually replaced what we used to call the Africa Week, where African priorities once again are

discussed.

So we look forward to all of you taking part in the African Dialogue Series in May this year, in New York, where once again we shall have discussions on these priorities as we work towards ensuring that the next decade is actually a decade of action.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you very much, Beatrice. Thank you very much for that. We're going to move on now to Armando Manuel for his five-minute presentation, and to help us to expedite ourselves to our conversation with the broader panel. Thank you.

MR. MANUEL: Thank you, Travis. I will summarize the five priorities here into two, two that are interrelated, strong institutions and the human capital of caliber. Those are the constraints for Africa. When we look at the statistics, and I'll build on the topic of my colleague, we have made significant progress in lowering poverty, but unfortunately Sub-Saharan Africa is still not reducing significantly the poverty, if we consider that in the last 15 years a growth of 95 percent in population reduced the share of the poorest, only in 13 percent.

In other words means that the number of poorest has increased obviously the continent is so diverse, those are concentrated in five countries, Nigeria, Sudan, LDC, Ethiopia, Mozambique, we have also good stories happen in other -- in other countries but let me pick up the 10 fastest-grown economies that we see now.

If we look carefully all of them are almost low-income countries, except the two low-middle-income countries, Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire, I believe so. Yes. The first question is what we can learn in the last decades, the drivers of growth, were completely different pattern of the economies, the rich-resource economies.

And if we look carefully to the African countries the rate of discoveries of natural resources in Africa is so high that the countries can easily turn as middle-income countries. But the problem is that when they become middle-income countries they reach the trap, facing constraints of growth, facing constraints of income distribution, perhaps this should be the question what we can learn from those fastest economies, and what we can

prevent to ensure that they can continue to have a sustained economic growth.

Handling poverty should be done on an inclusive basis in a labor-intensive way. What we had for a number of economies, we had good macroeconomic prospectus, but on micro economic basis there was no inclusion at all. Second, the practical way to tackle poverty if we put aside the supply side providing good health services, education and so on, we need to look to the demand side and ensure that we have a jobs, provided jobs.

And this is creating -- enabling environment for private sector. Again, we come back here strong institutions that can deploy good policies to ensure that the private sector acts, and we create an increase in jobs.

How to finance SDGs? The estimative of Brookings Institute is 24 percent of the continent's GDP, a number pretty high, looking to the potential resources that can be mobilized today.

The resources from IDA are the main source of development for low-income countries in Africa, when we look to the low-income countries in Africa they mobilize internally resources around 14 percent of the GDP, while the middle-income countries mobilize resources around 19 percent of GDP, comparing to the OECD country is 24 percent.

There's still room to mobilize additional resources will imply good policies, extend the capacity of the tax administration, to some extent, look to the domestic capital market opportunities. In a number for African countries insurance is not significantly tapped, Social Security patients are not significantly tapped, that are resources that could have been using. Obviously, though we have here the issue of strengthening, the debt management capacity to ensure that those countries continue to tap external resources, while on the other side we have also some issues related with the monetary policy.

In a number of African countries, monetary policy (inaudible) in a way that we squeeze the so-called excess liquidity to prevent the inflationary pressures, but those are the resources that we need, the approach should be, create instruments that can drive those

resources, boost the credit and support development.

I understand that there is a time constraint, but those are indicators at the beginning that will lead us how to tap on more resources in our specific realities. Thank you.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you so much for that Armando, and even though there are these time constraints we'll get to these in our broader conversations. So, I'll jump down to Matt Rees from USAID for his five-minute presentation.

MR. REES: Thank you, everybody. It's fantastic to be with you here this morning, and fantastic to be up here with my esteemed colleagues and panelists. And thank you for the opportunity to participate. I really, for lack of a more descriptive word, enjoyed the report. It was fascinating, and the degree to which the authors were able to touch on those five key -- six key areas but also provide some concrete policy examples and suggestions for a way forward. As a member of the donor community, I found it incredibly helpful.

There's also a very daunting task to choose one of the top six as what should be the predominant priority. I voted about a thousand times, so you can see my outcome of my results up there, and the heavily-skewed line for the sector focused on demographic trends, and mobilizing labor force.

And not because the others aren't important, certainly, the Sustainable Development Goals, no one will argue that. But I viewed a disparity between the six areas which will help explain my answer. I saw some of them as objectives that simply must be achieved, the Sustainable Development Goals, global climate change, these are all objectives that are globally worthy for the betterment of Africa, for the betterments of all of our economies, and all of our prosperity.

But also something that are very hard for a particular policy, or a particular driver of an outcome to achieve individually or autonomously. So I put those aside and then started looking at the demographics, started looking at the fourth iteration of global trends, started looking at regional economic integration, and it came down to something that my

colleagues have already touched on, and that's: How the heck are we going to pay for it?

It came down to finance for me finance. Finance in light of the most daunting demographic trend, I think that all of us here in this room would agree to, is that's by 2050 the population of Africa will double. Not only will a double -- it gets more important - - where they will be located, urban areas. What will they be doing? That's the big question. What will they be doing?

The doubling of the population, shifting from aggregate -- agrarian to urban based, underemployed, not employed, looking for work, out of work; if governments and more importantly -- and this is where my whole discussion is going -- the private sector doesn't step up to solve that, to solve that together and to collectively, so that there's sustained economic growth that can employ the urbanizing population.

That can begin to pay for the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals, that can begin to guide policies and investments that lead to more environmentally-friendly outcomes, that can begin to hold governments accountable for transparency, for inclusivity, and allow people to vote with their economic powers rather than their demographic powers, or their kinship, and how people are aligned demographically.

So, for me the policy priority and the priority of not only African governments, but perhaps the donor community should be thinking collectively about how do we, in working with the private sector, position the private sector through policy, de-risking, enabling environment, and co-investments to sustain pinpointed assistance and partnership with African firms so that they can employ the African population.

For us at the Prosper Africa Initiative, it's a policy piece of the United States Government that is dedicated to doing exactly this, to change our relationship with Africa from one that has been a sustained approach of humanitarian assistance, partnership and relief, to letting our first foot in the door to be one of investment and private sector partnership.

It's not to say that the incredible work of USAID, and all the other agencies

of the United States Governments, working hand and foot, together with African governments and each other to advance the Sustainable Development Goals in Africa will go away, that will continue.

But Prosper Africa is a fundamental shift to say, let that not be the beginning of our conversation, let the beginning of our conversation be about investments, private sector partnership, U.S. companies working with African companies, African companies working with U.S. companies.

And that begins to make the achievement and the financing of what we're all talking about here, of employment, of financing of sustained public services, or what have been largely viewed as public services, as water, education, sanitation begins to solve those questions, or at least propose answers that are more achievable rather than taking on more debt.

I'll say that again, rather than taking on more debt, right, from either international development banks, multilateral banks, or unsavory characters who not only tied people with debt but also don't invest in labor, don't invest in sustainable outcomes, don't invest in maintenance and upkeep, don't invest in any of that knowledge and capacity transfer that U.S. relationship does.

So I won't go on more, because I'm really excited to hear from the rest of the audience and the rest of our colleagues. But for me my priority is clear. Achieve the objectives of Sustainable Development Goals and climate change by facilitating investment, creating policy environment for that investment, and enabling, and deepening regional economic integration so that labor and factors of productivity can move appropriately, and that Africa begin feeding and trading with Africa under the Continental Free-Trade Agreement. Thanks.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you for that, Matt. Viola, would you do the honor of closing out this session, please?

MS. LLEWELLYN: I just need to tell Matt off, first.

MR. REES: He let me go first.

MS. LLEWELLYN: No. You have me nodding my head fit for whiplash. Loved what you had to say. (Laughter)

It really feels like a career-high to sit here. I did not think that I would ever have an opportunity to be in such an esteemed environment, with a wonderful group of people to speak to here.

But in my capacity as the Founder of Ovamba, it is documents from the Brookings Institution, and many other illustrious publications that those of us that shape the private sector begin to figure out what it is that we want to do in order to shape Africa's future. So I'm speaking to you today from the backdrop of what we thought we knew in the last 10 years, and how that affects the trickle down studies, and investigations that we read as we go to work with the very nitty-gritty business of actually doing, or enacting some of the things we read in some of these publications.

And I have to say that 2020 priorities in Africa, the way we see it working with the informal sector, is that it has to be the decade whereby policy tech and policy development is approached from a standpoint of supporting it with the private sector bringing up the rear and trying to lead the charge.

We believe that enabling a strong business ecosystem is going to be absolutely the underpinning for our success in the decades to come thereafter, and use these positions to address the vulnerabilities that could affect the next economic downturn. Africa is often not the cause of some of these things, we talked about climate change, but we often do bear the brunt, and unfortunately the narrative in popular press makes it look as if we just don't know what the heck we're doing.

We do not always have the voice, or the narrative, or the platform, to be able to speak up and advocate for ourselves, and it will be a priority in 2020 that especially amongst the Diaspora to completely change the narrative in how we're seen, and the spaces that we create for ourselves to effect these policies, especially at the Central Bank level,

especially with finance, especially in the ways in which we conduct and instruct the rest of the world to do business with us on a human-to-human basis.

It's all very well to talk about what governance ought to do, but I really do believe that the challenge in 2020 will be the human beings on our continent, and the human beings in the rest of the world, because we are one unit, figuring out what is the new way to do business with Africa in light of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement and the opportunities that that represents.

We need to, as a continent, promote business products, services, and solutions that meet the needs of a digitized Africa. And by that I specifically mean using our natural resources to make products that are produced and designed by our youth sold to each other on a cross-border basis using our own currency. We have more than enough resources in the ground, underneath our very feet, to sustain our own money monetary units, our own currency.

There should be no excuse in the future. And this isn't just about a nice to write about, talk about, and sit in a lovely room like this, this is about the individuals being pushed and urged to carry out the micro activities that will make this happen. Cross-border trade should be a top priority. I can't live next door to Nigeria and not be able to exchange products, goods, without some policy being developed to prevent versus to enable. That has to happen.

Having African trade with each other and together is good for business, and it's good for the rest of you outside of our borders. At no point in the history of humanity have you ever heard of anybody creating spaghetti outside of Italy and then coming to sell it to a bunch of Italians.

However, on our continent we grow all of these trees, export it, and have to buy the bloody thing back. This needs to stop. This is common sense. You do not need to be educated to understand the basic elements of economics, as to why that's bad for everybody, not just all of us on our continent.

Central banks will need access to trade tech and FinTech solutions that will promote and increase lending, financial inclusion, and create smart finance for the informal sector. That means we need to create very clever instruments, and be very specific as to how that distribution of capital and wealth happens, for the very reason that it is incredibly dangerous to make a large amount of money available, resources, access to capital, to individuals who have not had the opportunity to be trained on how to hold on to it, and to make it grow.

So at some point in time, we, Africans, and us business owners need to take responsibility for training our customers so that we can de-risk the continent on a very sustained basis. It's not enough to just say we need more money, not everybody should have their hands on that money, but everybody should have the democracy of opportunity to be taught how to take care of these resources responsibly.

Manufacturing and products made in Africa, I mentioned that already, African investment and inviting partners to do business with the human beings. At some point in time we need to stop seeing foreigners showing up to say, they only want to do business with the Vice-President of some nation. Nobody walks in and say they want to do business with the Vice-President of the United States. It makes no sense. We should discourage this sort of seeking of opportunity and advantage ahead of the individuals who've lived there century after century, and that means that the Diaspora needs to step up.

If it is possible for a nation to go and seek a contract to come and fix roads, and it goes to Germans and Chinese, I'm sure there is an African Diaspora member who actually knows how to throw down aggregate and throw a bit of concrete on top, there should be no excuse.

This is a priority, right down to the human level, we need to monetize and manage our African IP, this is a secondary industry that can bring a lot of revenue into our own hands, and education needs to be completely overhauled from these classical subjects of maths, chemistry, physics and science.

We all know the story of the over-ambitious African parent who wants all their children to be doctors, lawyers and engineers. There is some value and pride in being a rap star, an artist, a painter. In every other industry and human race sector, whenever you see the arts becoming important, it is usually an economic indicator that capital is available in surplus, or in the ability to buy those things at a concession rate.

We have the same things, and they are part of an industry that helps to diversify away from other things, and of course we've already covered climate change.

But in closing, because I do believe in five minutes -- (laughter) -- I will read what I was scribbling earlier. Oh, and we will talk about that Fourth Industrial Revolution 10 percent thing, that's not cool.

We must not ignore the human experience and the impact of technology and access to finance. We have to figure out how to get the informal sector and those who have historically been left behind, to have aspirations, expectations, and be capable of owning and managing assets of value.

It is an opportunity and a huge challenge that must not be underestimated because to have more than one-third of the world's population actually standing on majority of the world's resources, but not have the technology, the innovation, the psychological will, the spiritual truthfulness, the power strength or experience to manage it all successfully, is very expensive for the world to have to deal with.

We should be writing a check to you, and is supporting you, versus seeking help and support time after time. It means that we're developing a generation of youth that don't want to help themselves, and they should be able to help you. That is what I believe.

Generations of families have not had the benefit of clear ownership of property with successful transfer of ownership. Transfer of ownership and property in Africa is a challenge and an issue, wealth disappears after one or two generations, and then we all have to keep starting all over again, especially in regions where clear transfer of power and governance is close to impossible, and I do mean the bit in the middle with the very old man.

This is the most dangerous form of trickle-down impact, the world cannot afford to write a check for an impoverished Africa. In 2020 we need to start the process of becoming self-sustaining. And it starts with common sense in design of our policies so that they enable and don't just crush and destroy because the older generations don't understand what things mean.

Stabilizing our markets, growing manufacturing, changing and the education system, addressing health and renewable power, trade and finance, and transitioning old Colonial ties to trading and business relationships and collaborations that are built on respect and fairness, and I do mean amongst the private sector primarily.

That's my hope and my dream for my continent, it's this hope and dream for the world, and in 2020 we've got 10 years to make that a permanent solution. And those are my opinions.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you for that, Viola. Thank you for that. So what I'll do is I will curtail some of my questions as part of the Moderator's prerogative, so that we can hurry up and get to you all. But I'll start by posing the panel to the question on the notion of good governance, and to hear from you all about: What do you think it means? What does it look like in Africa over the next decade? What are the challenges that it faces? And what are the opportunities that you might see for more openness and agency among citizens on the continent?

MS. LLEWELLYN: Where do you want to start?

MR. ADKINS: I welcome any one of you who would like to take a jump on that question.

MR. COULIBALY: I can start. So, I think good governance should have some really key ingredients, I think the first has to be inclusion, and the second has to be a governance that is able to take the African countries to a place where they're thinking now in terms of national identity, as opposed to a bit more ethnic or tribal identity, because that is indeed one of the important transitions over the past decades that Africa has still yet to

complete.

The other two being the transition from state-dominated economies, to market economies; and then the third element before them is basically achieving democracy. There's a misconception that perhaps because now you threw in a couple of elections here and there, you're a democratic nation. No, democracy has strong institutions at its core, and then the elections are basically just a process, and that process, to work well you need those strong independent institution, so that all of those trying to basically contribute to the leadership of the country, even when they don't win, at least they feel that it was the choice of the majority for them not to win, and they can accept the outcome.

But when it's not the case that's what sows basically the seeds for violence, or a feeling of exclusion that doesn't help them to contribute or to participate into the economic development process. If you look at the -- in the 1980, I think Africa had maybe about five countries classified as democracies, and then that number has risen to close to 20, but since the mid-2000s, it has stabilized.

But what we're seeing now instead, is that autocratic regimes continue to decline, but we're seeing an increase in what may be labeled anocracies, anocracies is basically governance system with a little bit of hybrid between democracy and autocracy.

So I think that needs to be really straightened out over the next over the next decade, and the issue of inclusion there's obviously a lot of progress, but more needs to be done. When you look at women participation in parliaments has now doubled since the early 2000, and it's close to where we are in the global, but the global itself is not -- it's lagging behind so there's still more progress obviously to be made, and we're now seeing increasingly more women who are now owners of different businesses.

So that inclusive aspect is coming along. On the youth side I'm not impressed, because there's a perception that you need to be at least 70 to be wise enough to lead an African country, and I think it's a misperception. If you just look at the age gap between the leaders and the population in the advanced economies --

MR. MANUEL: The population yeah (crosstalk)

MR. COULIBALY: -- forty-two years -- no, sorry, 12 years; for Africa it's 42 years. So we think that's absolutely, you know --

QUESTIONER: Not viable.

MR. COULIBALY: Yeah, that's not viable, particularly when the majority of the population is not youthful. You need some leaders who can relate to the young people, who can relate to their aspiration, and as I travel across Africa I can feel discontent among the young people, who are very confident in their abilities, they're confident in what they can achieve, and are frustrated that they're not being allowed to the platform to express themselves.

So two things could happen, either we can continue on this path, which I doubt, or we can make room for them because the alternative will be that they will rise up, and we may face a situation like the Arab Spring, that we've seen and another wave of unrest that would bring many of the young people back into power.

But possibly, then the world there might be whether they are sufficiently prepared to lead once that does -- that inevitable happens. So then the best way forward then is to gradually begin to open it up for them allow them the chance to gain experiences so then ultimately when they are now trusted to lead they can deliver good results,

MR. ADKINS: Beatrice, did you want to get in on the governance (crosstalk)?

MR. MANUEL: Allow me -- allow me to add --

MR. ADKINS: Excuse me. I'm sorry, I just want to get to Beatrice first, if she has --

MR. MANUEL: Okay.

MS. PACUNEGA MANANO: Yeah. I think what the Director said is absolutely critical, and like I said, the African Union priority, among other things right now, was silencing the guns in Africa, and that includes taking care of reducing conflict but also

good governance, promoting good governance.

And, yes, tremendous progress has been made but a lot still needs to be done, especially on the issue of inclusivity. And yes a lot of African women are in governance positions, I think more in Africa than in many other parts of the world, in Parliaments, ministerial, and all that, but we still have to take care of the youth, the youth need to be given more space in governance in Africa, and that is something that we need to work on very hard.

And it's true a lot of them are getting agitated because, I'm sure most of you have noticed most of Africa's leadership is not very young, and yet we have a very young population, and growing, so that is a challenge that we need to look at very critically, and even at the AU level, and the UN level, that is a priority, on how to sort that out.

MR. ADKINS: Yeah. It's actually one of the strengths I wanted to highlight about the report because many of these conversations turn on a kind of ominous notion of the doom and gloom of the youth bulge, whereas in this report we talk about leveraging demographic trends, and looking at this as an opportunity, rather than as a challenge.

Armando, did you want to come in on this?

MR. MANUEL: Oh, yes. Thank you. Strengthening integrity and accountability is so important, areas has a fiscal transparency that starts from the process of budgeting, forecast, reporting, it's very important to make sure that we have effective inclusion.

Allow me to mention as well the ability to better planning, and the risk analysis, for instance we have the African Union, the African Union risk capacity unit that pays out countries in event of drought, in the case of agriculture so far. We have today windows at The World Bank where countries can age a specific commodity in terms of revenues or in terms of expenditure, and ring-fence some shocks, it's very important in terms of good governance.

MR. ADKINS: Excellent. Excellent. One of the things that you mentioned,

Matt, and it's a question for you, but also for everyone. Was your distinction, in terms of how you ranked priorities? And so we talked a little bit about things like climate change, right, not being specific to Africa, but certainly being something that's even difficult for those in the so-called developed world to get a grasp of.

And so when I think about climate change in the continent in terms of governance, stability, natural disasters and food security, I'm curious as to how you all see that playing out over the next decade? And maybe we can start with you.

MR. REES: That's a great question. And something I kind of struggled with. It was in Nairobi posted there from 2011 to 2016, and certainly the realities of climate change affecting East Africa, primarily in agriculture and investment were coming to fruition then. I struggled a little bit with placing responsibility for climate change on the African continent, and that was kind of my response there.

Certainly there are great policies, innovations, inventions, technology, that can be applied in the African continent, in the African government, and private sector that would help ameliorate Africa's production of negative climate changing output, you know, emissions, livestock, and so forth. But I think more so in the climate change game, so to speak, Africa is a taker. And as such my concern about placing the responsibility on Africa governments, and Africans, to curb the stem and the tide of global climate change I think is not being focused on the right parties.

But that does not mean that certainly, in the development, both regionally and bilaterally, African governments should not be planning for climate change, I just want to be honest about who may have the biggest impact at ameliorating climate changes globally.

QUESTIONER: Yes, absolutely.

MR. REES: I think to that point we talked about the fourth industrialization, we talked about the role of the private sector, and we talked about demographics. I did not mean to portray that the demographics of Africa where the doom and gloom. I'm one of those that that kind of view it as, if we position policies and investments now, then that

demographic can certainly be the driving force of a very competitive economy on the global marketplace, going forward.

But I felt that the urgency in having to prioritize which was most important that demographic warrants both the urgency of needing to address now, but also the urgency of positioning resources and investments now, so that that trend is a positive trend, or that the outcome is a positive outcome.

MR. ADKINS: I see. Thanks. Viola?

MS. LLEWELLYN: I was going to say, I'm always talking from the lens of what it physically feels like to experience these challenges, and well-thought-through ideas as what we're talking about right now. I remember as a child knowing that -- I spent a few years in Cameroon where my parents are from -- the seasons have shifted, we're now, many years later, I'm not going to divulge my age at this point, but we've still got people burning wood for cooking. And then we've got Nigeria increasing taxes on solar panels.

They're very simple challenges. We are responsible for some of these ridiculous choices and bad decisions at the government level. Transparency amongst government means that we name and shame, and we tell the truth about what's going on, and that we continue to empower the private sector and the youth to create solutions and invent technologies that will circumvent the choices of some of the leadership.

It can be done. It is often done. It's just not talked about. We need a lot more women and youth even in those governments that try to create ministries for youth probably not run by actual youth.

MR. COULIBALY: Yeah. Almost never, right.

MS. LLEWELLYN: I'm being, yes, we've got individuals who are in charge of the Ministry of Health, they wouldn't know how to put a band aid on a dead cat. It's quite unfortunate but these are the things that we need to speak about openly and honestly, to say this is what I have experienced in building a business to resolve these issues and these challenges, and maybe we're speaking in a very highfaluting way, but there are some very

ground-level solutions that can be done.

As it relates to governance, transparency, climate change, I do believe that we can take steps to create those solutions internally. They don't all have to come from the outside. And we really do need to try to find a way to make a democracy that fits Africa's realities, we cannot import democracy American-style. It's not a hamburger. Okay. There's a version that works for us, we've got to find it.

MR. ADKINS: Excellent. The last question that I'll ask you guys before we turn to the audience is on this notion of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. And when Coul was giving his opening he talked about this idea of Africa missing these iterations, the first three, if you will. And one question I wanted to pose to you guys, is I would argue that, you know, it's not quite as if Africa had its bags and was on the way to the train station, and just so happened to miss, right, the Industrial Revolution but that there were many extenuating circumstances historically that caused the region to be -- to be passed over. And so I'm quite curious about what you guys think it'll take to make that actually a reality in terms of getting Africa on a right footing in the global economy.

MS. LLEWELLYN: May I?

MR. ADKINS: Please.

MS. LLEWELLYN: I read somewhere that in previous industrial revolutions, especially the third, what made the difference was the increased level of literacy that allowed individuals to read and study, and either depart and have the choice to be involved in mechanical industries, or be educated enough to develop and design mechanical industries, and all of those products and services that would allow those societies to capitalize upon that.

It also should not be forgotten that the continuum of our most intelligent and brilliant-minded were removed from our economies, a good 400-and-something years ago, during a most unfortunate Transatlantic Slave Trade. So there are various continuations of intellectual logic that are missing from us that we did not get to continue upon. But because

we have been able to leapfrog technologies some of it has caught up to some degree. That is the generally held idea.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution is going to pan out very nicely if we change our education system from a Colonial traditional education to one that is hands-on and is vocational, number one. And if we introduce the digital practice, similar to this the STEM thinking, into our youth and children.

Right now in our schools we literally murder creativity in eight and nine-year-olds by forcing them into secondary school to perform like little circus monkeys so that they can pass math early. You see it all the time, yet when I employ these people later on, even at the Master's level, their ability to figure out a creative solution that didn't come out of a book, is way below their counterparts in the Western world. This is a real problem.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution cannot be participated in on a wholesale basis if we do not close the creativity gap, and if we don't create an enabling situation around us where governments don't do stupid things like cut off the Internet, don't bring enough electricity, don't make sure that teachers are competent enough to teach.

Or, if we don't, like you said so beautifully, it's not all doom and gloom the opportunity to collaborate, to go back even to the idea of pen pals, but over a digital platform, for young kids to get to know other young kids in other countries, before they become racially biased, or confused about what does it mean to be an African. But to connect them at youth over digital platforms, they will become the business partners of tomorrow. That, I think, is one way in which we can take advantage of what we are standing in front of.

We dare not have a digital divide, we dare not have digital poverty because some people get their hands on an iPad at the age of 4, and some people don't get to see one until they're 24. We must close this divide, and it all comes down to the democracy of opportunity and access.

MR. ADKINS: Coul, did you want to come in?

MR. COULIBALY: Yes, indeed. So, I think, to your question indeed, I think there are, indeed, some extenuating circumstances for why Africa may have missed out on the earlier phases of the Industrial Revolution, because some of them occurred before the African nations even existed.

Let's not lose sight of the fact that most nations gain independence around the 1960s, so we're looking at here 60 years, which is a lot, but in a lifeline of a nation to -- some may say it's not that long, right. So we need to keep the perspective in mind, and what they then inherited were economies that were tailored to basically serve the interest of those who colonized Africa.

And then you have a young leadership that was just emerging, still learning themselves how to run an independent state, and how to run an independent economy, so in that midst, one may say, it didn't facilitate capturing some of those aspects of the first three industrial revolutions.

But there's less of that now in the context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Now, you're seeing young people, as you point it out, even at a very young age, even across Africa, extremely savvy when it comes to electronics.

I remember still in my head back when I was in elementary school, a quote from the first President of Côte d'Ivoire, at the time when he said really that: "The illiterate of tomorrow will not be the person who doesn't know how to read and write, it would be the person who doesn't know how to manipulate an electronic device."

So, clearly there is opportunity here, and for Africa it's just not a matter of language, it's actually existential. I think these challenges we're facing are daunting, and I would characterize them as nonlinear, and will these solutions to those nonlinear challenges, require nonlinear solutions, that only technology is able to afford.

But before African can harness it, as we mentioned, we need to really develop the digital infrastructure so that nobody is left offline. Internet access currently is maybe around 20 percent on the continent, they're falling far behind other nations.

MS. LLEWELLYN: (Crosstalk) and it's 5.5 (phonetic) in other places.

MR. COULIBALY: 5.5 in other places of heterogeneity.

MS. LLEWELLYN: Yes.

MR. COULIBALY: Higher perhaps in Kenya, but then lower in some other areas. So we need to really bridge that divide. But then moreover what you see is that there is basically access by those who are more educated, who have higher income, which gets to your point about the democratization for that access, right.

So one project we've been working on here, our colleague in the Center for Universal Education, when she said, how can you impart digital skills to kids even without a computer? And I think curriculums need to be adapted, every elementary school needs to start teaching some basics of programming, of coding.

And that doesn't need a computer to do it. There could be manuals that develop computer coding, and introduce their kids to it much early on in the process, and I think we need to be thinking creatively, innovatively, even as we face some challenges, to achieve that to bridge the digital divide. It will be extremely critical for the future.

MS. LLEWELLYN: Even the language used, and spoken everyday word to a Boolean perspective of teaching people to think: If not, then why? The power of "why" can change our continent. We're not often allowed to answer that -- to ask that let alone answer it. So therefore the idea that you will want to investigate which requires programming mindset, even if you've never touched a digital item, is more powerful than people think.

MR. ADKINS: Yeah, absolutely. So, we'll go Armando, Beatrice, and Matt, and they will turn it over to you all.

MR. MANUEL: Yes. I believe we are we are doing great things in terms of digital transformation in Africa, but let me add here a very fundamental precondition, electricity, access of electricity in Africa is 45 percent. You can't develop in the darkness. You can't go to the moon when you have constraints to go to the next corner.

That is where the fundamental problem, and perhaps electricity, despite the

fact that Africa contributes very low in terms of gas emissions are roughly about 4 percent or 5 percent, there is a constraint when we come to climate change. If we look to the reality of many African countries endowed with natural resources that are fossil fuels, perhaps we need to reflect here the tradeoffs to tackle poverty, reach development, and a set a transition agenda.

I was just looking yesterday, the Chairman of BlackRock, a major financial institution, setting the new policy on how financing for fossil fuels will reduce and look more for renewables. Those are the reflections that we need to do. Electricity, this is fundamental.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you. Beatrice, please?

MS. PACUNEGA MANANO: Thank you, Travis. Just to agree with what my colleagues have mentioned regarding the Fourth Industrial Revolution, but one other very critical thing that I wanted to bring across is regarding intellectual property rights. We know that a lot of our African youths are actually very innovative, and very creative.

Most of you might know of what they call "Jua Cali" (phonetic) in Kenya. The youth who have run away from their rural areas and come to the urban areas, are trying to create things with which they can make money, and they've become very creative, but apart from the youth, even those who are already in the field are coming up with very new innovations, but for which they cannot patent.

A lot of these are patented by entities outside Africa, and cannot be produced and promoted by the African people. So intellectual property rights and how to protect them is critical for Africa. And this once again needs international cooperation, and the protection of innovation, that goes hand-in-hand with intellectual property rights.

In Africa we also have the case of the youth, of course to build on today the need for infrastructure, electricity, and all that, is a key priority of the African Union, because absolutely, you're right, Armando, without electricity you can't have the computers, you can't have the mobile phones, you can't have all that, so infrastructure in the in the form of

electricity, and power becomes critical, in the form of solar and renewable energy becomes critical.

We know that a lot of African youths have actually tried to get into the digital divide, and we know for instance the example of what they call the M-Pesa in East Africa, where almost all the youth and women in particular, in small-scale businesses, are all transferring money using mobile money. They don't need to go into banks anymore. That is being done by even the women and the youth who are not completely literate, as in going to class education, but have been taught on the job.

And that brings the aspect of capacity development, capacity building, vocational education, you don't necessarily have to get a degree to be able to get into the digital divide. But how we support that matters, and that is where once again we need partnership, we need collaboration, we need multi-stakeholder collaboration, we need the government but we also need the private sector. We need the businesses, and the international financing entities.

So I thought that is something I should bring through the national and international angle.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you for the contribution. Matt, do you want to just close this out?

MR. REES: Sure. Just a reflection on the discussion and around the Fourth industrialization, I think another key component that we have to remember is that the countries that did succeed nationally under previous iterations, didn't succeed in isolation, they succeeded as members of economic communities.

In 2011 I remember moving to Nairobi and seeing a mere 13 percent of trade between East Africa -- trade between these East Africa only counted for 13 percent of total trade, whereas in ASEAN it was 50-something percent; Europe 47 percent.

Today I just heard the statistic has been updated to 17 percent of trade is intra-African. If we're going to succeed in positioning Africa to benefit from the Fourth

Industrial Revolution, or the Fourth Economic Revolution, it can't be through investment and protection of bilateral interests, right.

We can invest in our youth, get them literate of technology literacy, but you've got to let them go. You've got to let them go to where those factors of production the energy is available, the policy is enabled, the market is scalable. Otherwise, we'll continue to have great expectations of African economic growth by expecting them to compete bilaterally, expecting Kenya to --

MS. PACUNEGA MANANO: Actually that was (crosstalk) of failure.

MR. REES: Exactly, right?

MS. PACUNEGA MANANO: Yes.

MR. REES: So, it's like looking at Lithuania and saying, Lithuania, you'd do just great by yourself. No, Lithuania thrives to degrees because it's part of the EU, right? Or Kansas for that matter; let us stop insisting that our assistance and our investments are bilateral in nature. They have to be regional, and they have to respect that the future of Africa is as a continent, and not as a country.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you for that, Matt. Now, we'll turn to the bright minds in our audience. I will ask you guys to do me a favor. You've got number one already, which is raise your hand if you have a question.

Number two, is that we will have folks with microphones coming around to you, and I will simply ask that you do two things for me, identify yourself, and remember that there are people who are just as passionate and bright behind you, hoping to get their questions in as well.

QUESTIONER: And to stand.

MR. ADKINS: And if you can stand up, that would be fantastic. We'll start right here in the front, the gentlewoman on the second row. Thank you.

MS. OKARU-BISANT: Yes, hi. Val Okaru-Bisant, I'm a Professor Catholic University, but my views are personal today, actually this is a disclaimer, it has nothing to do

with the views of Catholic University.

Thank you for a very good panel. And I don't want to look like I'm making a commentary first, but just on the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the question about African being left out of the first three. You could talk about the nation but there are also Africans who were involved in the first, second, I think my sister there mentioned slavery, they're the ones that actually were involved, that were the slaves.

Let's go back to Economics 101, factors of production, land, labor, capital, infrastructure, the slaves will built Capitol Hill. I was talking to my brother, here, Marvin, and I was saying the same thing. We were not left out, we're talking about the African Diaspora, the Africans were here building.

When we talk about Great Britain, they built Great Britain, they built this country, so really, you know. And then on the Industrial Revolution we talk about the Great Zimbabwe, we talk about, you know, my brother is an Africanist, right, so Africa had its own Industrial Revolution. The Great Benin Kingdom, the Bronze Age, there were different ages before we came to this so-called First, Second, Third, Fourth Industrial Revolution. Who defined when it started, really?

Anyway that's another story. So that's Economics 101 of land, labor, capital, infrastructure, so my question on the good governance because actually I voted for the youth. I'm a governance person that's my thing. I've done it for so many decades, but my question --

QUESTIONER: Actually, (inaudible) tell us who you voted for?

MS. OKARU-BISANT: I voted -- the youth, that's number one, the one that came out, the youth employment, right, I think that was number two, and I think good governance was one. But my reason for picking youth I actually see a link between both the institutional angle, and the youth.

Because I have a question linked to that it's somewhat rhetorical. The panelists, this is to everybody, how do you see in terms of the link or the impact, of internal, I

call it internal sources of generating revenue to media, in terms of information flows and economic empowerment of youth, those three ingredients. How much of an impact do they have on good governance? Okay. Thank you.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you. Yeah, we'll take a few. I'll go -- okay let's go to Greg real quick.

MR. SIMKINS: Thank you. Greg Simpkins USAID. In the developed world we often lament the skewed trade policies, and economic policies in Africa, the continuation of sending raw materials out, and buying back developed materials. The economic policies were created under colonialism to benefit the Colonial powers, but what we forget is there are people in Africa who've benefited from it because they learned how to operate under that system.

So I ask the panel, would you not agree that a way forward would be to credibly demonstrate to these folks currently making money this way, that they can make as much, if not more with a more progressive policy that's more beneficial to the country as a whole than what they're doing?

MS. LLEWELLYN: Do you really think they don't know? They certainly know.

MR. ADKINS: All right. We'll take one more question, and I'll start in the back on this side, the gentlewoman in the orange shirt, yeah, right there. Thank you.

MS. DIALLO: Mariama Diallo, I'm with the Voice of America. A very quick question, wondering about security: Where does it fall in this report, given all the different groups, Al-Shabaab in East Africa, Boko Haram in Nigeria, and other al-Qaida-related groups in Mali and the Sahel Region?

MR. ADKINS: Excellent. So we'll start with those first three to the panel, and folks can pick up where they feel most fit.

MS. LLEWELLYN: Can we start with the youth part?

MR. ADKINS: Please.

MS. LLEWELLYN: Beautifully said, especially the media. We're in an era of show-and-tell, when the youth see something that they want, whether it's Nike shoes or a career, they would seek to find a way to make it happen or emulate a version of, that much I know, and I have seen. But on the flip side of that, it is very difficult to shoot for what you cannot see. So if your environment informs you that it doesn't exist, there is a vacuum created.

Leadership, the media, and the youth are intertwined, and the internal mechanisms of creating and generating capital, in our company we call it the velocity of capital. How many times can we create the movement of CFA as quickly as possible to generate as much value internally, because we all know full well you can't actually move that thing out?

We've got some issues and challenges at the moment, but finding ways to measure risk amongst youth, which is very different as a business sector, and providing them with the tools by which they can either move from formal or informal, or be able to monetize their innovations, their ideas or their jobs, is very directly linked to security.

Idle hands are the devil's favorite friend, okay. I have seen in so many places, young gentlemen and girls even, Master's degrees, they're multi-tasked (phonetic) people, but if you have a conversation with them, this is a bright mind, fully aware, more so than their American counterparts often, and what is going on in the world and what is possible.

But how on earth can any parent, especially in Francophone Africa, wake up and tell their child, you can be anything you want to be. No, you're not going to be President, because that old man has been plugged into the (inaudible) and is going to live to 200. You're not going anywhere. We have already lowered the ceiling on our youth which means that their ambitions which drives creativity and innovation, is repressed.

But within that lowered ceiling are there ways in which we can innovate the financing even of their short-term business goals, and create a roadway and a plan for them,

to go from here today when policy and the environment is limited, with an eye that we will try to make a runway for you further along, based on the realities of where you are.

That's what I believe we do right now. It's not often spoken about but with the Internet, social media, young people are coming up with their own ways and ideas, and some of its not always good, unfortunately, but some of it is downright impressive.

You were saying, how can we teach digital skills without a computer? We see them doing it. But I love your question because if we don't find a way to help them we will all die eventually, they won't make it to the age where they can responsibly take the reins of power. It will be pretty damn ugly.

MR. ADKINS: Matt, please?

MR. REES: Just an observation on the highlighting of the security issue, or a security question, it really, it's a bit perverse. I've made mention of the importance of looking at the African continent from a private sector perspective, and creating markets that are scalable, and no longer insisting on bilateral interventions.

But it comes with a double-edged sword because if we're successful with that, then the private sector, anytime anything comes up in Africa, whether it be security, or a health crisis, immediately the uninformed private sector thinks that's all over Africa, that's Africa. Africa is aflame, Africa has Ebola, right.

They don't discern about the sub-geographies of where that conflict is happening, or where an outbreak is, so it's a bit a double-edged sword, and it's a huge responsibility of all of us working, and focused on Africa, and particularly of the private sector to get them informed, and that to go forward, to help de-risk that perception, right.

So I don't want to tout Prosper Africa, but it will take 30 seconds to talk about that de-risking, because it's not just American private sector companies, but globally private sector companies kicking and screaming, it's our jobs here in this room, to attract a greater diversity of U.S. private-sector companies to the African marketplace.

Fortune 500s, Fortune zero through 100, we can celebrate a hundred years

of Goodyear, of Coca-Cola, of other really great American companies who have been there for a very long time. But it's going to be insufficient in order to change this trade relationship that we have to have as an outcome, insufficient in order to change the person-to-person relationship of our SMEs to African SMEs, where the real investment and the real capacity, can be transferred.

So to your point, security a paramount issue, best addressed I think probably bilaterally, but on all of our shoulders to help through media, and through exchange, and through private-sector partnership, dispel the rumors, and de-risk those investments through the great institutions like the New Development Finance Corporation, our new fully-fledged Exim Import Bank, and initiatives like Prosper Africa. So help us be successful in that (crosstalk).

MS. LLEWELLYN: And provide visas when they want to travel. They can't even leave the place.

MR. ADKINS: Armando, please.

MR. MANUEL: On the gentlemen, the question on the commodities. I believe it will depend on the tax system attached to each particular contract. They had several schemes how optimal is the scheme, first point.

Second point is: how good you are to do the spending? Because there is already directive on the rich resource countries, how are you allocating those resources?

Third, in those countries with the weak local content, most of resources, whether from linking commodity basis loans, standard commercial loans attached to credit lines, ODA, those resources go to those countries, and they get back. This is the evidence except the cases of dollar bonds -- Aerobonds, perhaps that the point is to string in the local content to ensure that the local companies will be the companies that will perform the contracts, and the resources will remain in the country, and impact to tackle poverty.

MR. ADKINS: Excellent. Coul, did you want to add?

MR. COULIBALY: Just some clarification on the missing out on the

Industrial Revolution. I think it's undeniable, right, that the African labor, and people who contributed to building of the Western nation, but what we are, what we mean by that is actually the global economic pie, how much of that is African countries are currently benefiting from.

You look at global trade, Africa is in it maybe 3, 4 percent, that's Africa share. You look at exports, or manufacturing, or industrial production, Africa's a meager maybe 1, 2 percent. So that is extremely low, if you look at global value chains.

Africa's presence in it is in existence, and the way we envision the future of global value chain is that they're going to be even increasingly difficult now to integrate them, because the infrastructure requirements, and because of increasing product sophistication, the standards and content is be getting increasingly more sophisticated, and therefore the bar for participation in it is also higher.

And for Africa then to develop it would really need to hold a stronger footprint in the global economy, raise their share in the global manufacturing production, raise its share in global export, and therefore be a bigger participant in the global economy, and that, I don't see happening unless we capture the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

One key technology of the Fourth Industrial Revolution as you know, it's artificial intelligence. Artificial intelligence by 2030 is going to add about \$16 trillion to global GDP. But when you look at currently the investments in artificial intelligent technologies, and agendas, and programs to capture it, the U.S. -- China is dominating close call with the U.S., and then Germany, Europe, et cetera.

But the countries that may need it most, like Africa, is still a little bit behind in terms of its ability to even capture that windfall from artificial intelligence, but indeed there are progress on the continent, we have some centers in Africa that are actually encouraging and a lot of development of artificial intelligence solutions, and some of the contributions in the *Foresight* actually highlights the potential, and across the continent, and across a certain sectors.

On the issue of security, I'll just put a footnote that it's true clearly that it's located on the continent in Africa, but I think there's also a global dimension to it that we shouldn't lose sight of, right. So we had the pleasure of welcoming here the president of Mali, back when he was the president the G5, the Sahel region, where they're struggling to contain insurgencies there.

And clearly it is, I don't even see it myself as a Mali issue, I don't see it as a Sahel issue, I see it as a global issue because some of it was exacerbated by some ill-advised, perhaps global foreign policies. It is when, say, you know, Gaddafi fell that we saw the situation deteriorated drastically. Not that I was in favor of Gaddafi being there, but the way in which he was removed did not help the situation.

If you look at when the U.S. began to win the fight against ISIS in the Middle East, that's when we begin to see a lot of the action trickling down in the Sahel, and all terrorism needs these days is just a safe haven, and then they can launch an attack on anybody anywhere.

So that's why I do not believe that it's only an African issue, I think it should be a global issue, and it should be a global concerted effort, and clearly Africans can be can take the leadership and solutions that can address this, but it definitely needs a stronger support, because the national budgets of those countries, they can spend it all on military equipment, and it still would not be enough.

MR. ADKINS: Excellent. We'll come yeah actually we'll come right up here to the front, the gentlewoman right here.

MS. NASHINDI: My name is Monica Nashandi --

MR. ADKINS: The microphone is coming right to you, ma'am. Yes.

MS. NASHINDI: Monica Nashandi, ambassador of Namibia to the U.S. I would like to thank the panel for the very, very insightful presentations, and the comments they have made. Now I want to start by saying that I have lived on this earth for more than six decades, and during that time I have heard about many, many initiatives taken on Africa

growth, Africa this, Africa this. I'm not criticizing that, it's good.

We talk about the UN Agenda, which is a global agenda, but it also complements the AU Agenda 2063, I don't know why 2063, many of us would not live to say that. (Laughter) I hope we'll be doing something to make sure that the current generation benefits from that, which has some good flagship projects, Silencing the Guns. There are many conflicts in Africa, but we have to ask to ourselves, who promoted those conflicts, and who benefitted from those conflicts.

Africa does not manufacture weapons, not many of us do so. Who manufactured those conflicts, and who benefits from those conflicts, most of times they take place where -- in countries where there are natural resources, and you'll see the scramble for national resources, Africa resources taking place now, and that trend has been developing, and it's actually you know continuing.

A scramble for African natural resources; but who manufactured these guns that kill us? And who takes their resources with them? Maybe that's a discussion for tomorrow, but I want you to answer that as well.

MR. ADKINS: Yeah. Would anybody like to just comment on that?

MS. NASHINDI: No, no, no. Let me finish, I'm not going to be --

MR. ADKINS: Oh, sorry.

MS. NASHINDI: Then you have -- of course we had initiatives, Africa growth initiative, you have of course, of course we have MCC, Millennium Challenge Corporation, we now have Prosper Africa, I hope you are making Africa to prosper. We have had Africa Growth Opportunity Act, have Africa benefit from that? You have China Africa Initiative, Russia Africa Initiative, Arab Africa Initiative, so many initiatives. Why have they not worked?

Now, we have this kind of discussions here, we are talking about the young people to benefit from the -- you know from the technology that is available, we are talking about women to benefit, we are talking about good governance, but why are these

discussions taking place here?

Any one of us here, are going to take anything from discuss willing to implement it? I will challenge Brookings to have these kind of discussions right in Africa. Come to Namibia, we have some regions that are doing very well. Southern African region, SADC, East African region, there was African region, they are doing very well, but the fact that things have not worked, sometimes we are not talking to the right people.

You are talking about the old people ruling the countries. Yes, of course we have them elsewhere as well, not only in Africa, but I challenge the African Diaspora, you are all enlightened, come and talk to our own people. I'll challenge you to come to Namibia, I can organize a meeting, talk to the young people to benefit, I'm sure they take something from there, and implement it immediately. Thank you so much.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you so much. We accept the challenge. (Applause)
And, Coul, did you want to respond to that because actually you all are going to the continent. Yes.

MR. COULIBALY: Yes. I think your comment is very much on point, and in fact one of the first things we did here when we were rethinking our strategy about three years ago, is to say, okay from now on, we will no longer just launch Foresight here at Brookings, but afterwards we're going to launch it also on the continent.

This year, next week in fact, we're going to be in Uganda, we'll be in Rwanda, and then we'll be in Senegal. Last year we were in South Africa, and we were in Ghana, and the year before that we were in Côte d'Ivoire, Côte d'Ivoire, we were in Kenya. But I take up your offer to do Namibia for 2021, and then we'll talk to you about the planning of the logistics there.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you.

MS. LLEWELLYN: Can I add to her comments?

MR. ADKINS: Please.

MS. LLEWELLYN: Because your comment is related to the gentlemen in

the pink shirt who was asking about whether or not there was a way to educate and inform some of the leadership that the choices they were making. They know full well what they're doing, and it relates to what you talked about, how some of the external influences come to bear in the choices, and the outcomes, and these trickling downs, and the spilling outs of regional conflicts, some that are pretty brutal, and some that seem a little bit invisible, it's related to the same thing.

We have a lot of initiatives, and the thing that I always ask, and I know I'm not in the audience, but I would ask all of you. Is, how come some of these leaders are educated in the Western world, but it's as if the minute they cross the border back into their own countries, turn into somebody completely different, and do not enact the things that they have supposedly learned from the outside.

That's the challenge I think that the youth may come up with ideas that are much better than some of us sitting up here who will never live to see the promised land, as Dr. King said, but these leaders are not stupid, it is well within their personal interest to go and live at the InterContinental in bloody Switzerland. You know exactly who I'm talking about. (Laughter)

Why when you run a country, a woman would never raise her children and run her household while laying up at the strip club and somebody else is watching an offspring, common sense. So the question here I ask is: how do we take a very bold step into some slightly unsavory discussions, naming names and shaming, and bring some -- I know we use social media, but it's obviously not enough, but these individuals know what they're doing, and their behavior is globally bad. It really, really is.

Maybe we do need to spend some more time, and thank goodness, that the Brookings are taking their initiatives and discussions onto the continent to try to find the examples, and the pockets of individuals whose narrative is quite untold, because there are people doing a lot of great work.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you, Viola. We have one we have comment --

MS. LLEWELLYN: You have ask what the (crosstalk) says.

MR. ADKINS: Excuse me, excuse me. One last comment from Beatrice, and then one final question, and we have to wrap up. Please, Beatrice?

MS. PACUNEGA MANANO: Thank you, Travis. I just wanted to respond to my senior colleague, Ambassador of Namibia, regarding a lot of questions that she asked which are very pertinent. Just to start with: why Agenda 2063? Ambassador, you may be aware that this was done by the African Heads of States as part of commemorating the 50 years of the founding of the Organization of African Unity, and when they were transitioning into the African Union.

They needed to set for themselves another agenda for the next 50 years to see where Africa would be going. And yes it's very ambitious, and yes it actually includes all the 2030 Agenda aspects, and beyond, so we always say that the African Union Foresight is actually much further, wider than that than the UN one. But we are working hand-in-hand with African Union to implement 2030, and actually into 2063.

About the partnerships, yes, Africa has lots of partnerships, Africa-Asia -- Africa-China, Africa-Turkey, Africa-This. You might also be aware that the African Union has an office for partnerships, which is being used to coordinate all these partnerships, so that whatever partnerships are going on at any one time they're focused towards Africa's priorities, the infrastructure development, the climate mitigation, and all that kind of thing.

And the other thing about, the good question you asked about who promotes this conflict, it's a very pertinent one, and yes we all know that, but that is exactly why, once again, we need international cooperation to address this because conflicts are now cross-border within and even beyond.

When we look at the conflicts that led to migration, the Mediterranean tragedies, and all that, all those were created by the conflicts in the Sahel and North Africa, but we need the partnership of Europe to address that kind of thing.

So, yes, these conflicts are within Africa, but we need international

cooperation to address them. So I thought I should just mention a little bit but we can have a longer discussion after that.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you. Beatrice. We are going to squeeze in one more question. I'll take the gentlewoman in the middle here, this will be the final question. No pressure whatsoever-- (Laughter) -- And we'll have our panel respond.

QUESTIONER: Thanks so much. I'm Carol Apino. I'm a Journalist, and I have podcasting development with foreign policy on investment in Africa, infrastructure, and women entrepreneurs. I've been reporting on Africa for about 20 years, and about 15 years on a different narrative. This is an incredible discussion. I've loved it.

I am also so frustrated. We are having this discussion year after year saying, come on, Africa is not what you think it is. You know, when you started. Coul, you started saying seven out of the ten economies are the fastest-growing economies, sometimes -- some years at six, some years it's eight, you know, but we're always saying the same thing.

Saying, please, please, please, pay attention to what Africa is today, it's not what you think it is, please pay attention. How can we finally change that? You know, to me this is such an inspiring conversation and such a frustrating one, that we're still having it.

When do we get to move to the next level? And say yeah, of course, like everybody knows Africa has really progressed, right. So, I just would love to hear your thoughts of how we can, concretely, move that narrative forward so that 20 years from now we're not complaining again about the narrative.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you so much. We'll do a 30-second rapid-fire round before we close it out. Please, Coul?

MR. COULIBALY: No. I think it's true, we've been basically having this conversation, still trying to shape the narrative, highlighting really the positive that are going on the continent, but not shying away from highlighting to where challenges are, but I mean importantly, critically, to be able then to suggest solutions forward.

And I do believe that we're seeing -- we're seeing a shift a bit in the thinking, it may not be fast enough for our taste, but I think there is indeed a shift, and I see sort of the recent rapid increase in interest from external partners, to engage in Africa as highlighting a bit that change in perceptions, that is not catching on.

To give an example, it used to be predominantly U.S., Europe, et cetera, who are engaging, but now you're seeing Turkey that is emerging, you're seeing Saudi Arabia, you're Qatar, you're seeing Russia that had the summit. The U.K. sometime this year is going to have its own summit. We're seeing a diversified, increasing number of partners.

But what's interesting is they're not just coming with the natural resources angle to Africa, they're now looking into how to partner on technology in the case of India, they're looking at Turkey, they just have now 40 embassies compared to a few years ago, they probably only had 14 -- 12 embassies.

The Turkish Airline now sells 50 destinations, before it used to be maybe a dozen of them. So these are all commercial engagements, and their own President has done like 30 trips to Africa. So, we're now seeing a bit of a weakening that Africa is indeed a place for business and commercial opportunities. And I thought that the *Economist Magazine* in the edition, I think it was around March of last year, the cover page was: *The New Scramble for Africa*.

But the question I ask, and the challenged I pose for the African leaders is: are they thinking strategically on how to make the most of that partnership. And I think there I see an important role for African civil society, to making sure that there are mechanisms that make government accountable in the kind of deals they enter into, and that their transparency around those deals, so that the partnership, the increasing interest works better in Africa's advantage.

MR. ADKINS: Thank you so much, Coul. You've given us a perfect place to close. Thank you all so much for joining us. You can continue to follow this conversation

at the hashtag, *ForesightAfrica*, on social media and on Twitter. Thank you. (Applause)

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