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WEBINAR

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Opening Remarks:

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Panel:

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. ORDU: Good morning and welcome to our listeners in Africa, here in the United States and around the world. I'm Aloysius Uche Ordu, senior fellow and Director of the African Growth Initiative here at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C.

Today, we are delighted to launch Foresight Africa, 2022, which looks at the key priorities facing our continent in the year ahead. As indicated in our events announcement, we had indeed hoped to have his excellency, President Hichilema of Zambia, to kick us off today. He sends his regrets that he is unable to join us.

Let me say this though that is absolutely no doubt in my mind that the Africa country of the year, 2021, is Zambia. If in any doubt look at what's happening across the continent. There's Sudan, Ethiopia and Mali, Guinea and this week in Burkina Faso.

The old discredited habit of military coups sadly are back. In remarkably sharp contrast, the people of Zambia reclaimed their democracy in August 2021. They overwhelmingly voted for change. They overwhelmingly voted for President Hichilema, a business leader.

Already his excellency has launched a series of reforms for good governance and sound economic measures to address the needs of all Zambians. We hope in a future occasion to have him with us to share some of his reform agenda on our platform here at Brookings.

Now, let me turn to the 2022 edition of our Foresight. I want to make six remarks on this. First, is that we have a greater diversity of contributors in this year's report. Fifty-three authors in all from Africa's continent regions, east, west, south, north central. We have people who are ex-presidents, parliamentarians, current presidents, mini staffs, policymakers, callers, captains of industry, civil society organizations, foundations, scientists and Africa's youths.

The second thing you will find in the report is that this year we have been intentional about gender. There are 47 percent of our contributors are women. And their determined leadership for this year's report is 50/50 in terms of gender balance, which we are

very, very proud of.

For the first time ever also, we have made gender a separate chapter emphasizing AGI's own relenting commitment to advancing Africa's women and girls in the front lines of development.

The third thing you will note in this year's report is on governance. We believe that governance is indeed a lifeblood that runs through Africa's economic bends. As such, governance is not a separate chapter in foresight 2022. Instead, each chapter features a governance callout underpinning the vital role we see from good governance and economic transformation on our continent.

The fourth thing you will note on this year's report is that we convey a sense of optimism, modernism. This is captured in the design of the cover page. As one who has had the opportunity over the years to travel the length and breadth of our continent, I see clearly that as Africans, one of our latent assets is the sense of optimism. So just like the great plague unleashed the renaissance in Europe, we remain hopeful in Africa that the continent will overcome the COVID-19 pandemic.

The dream of the Africa we want enshrined in the AU's agenda 2063 indeed remains a vivid aspiration for us all. A modern Africa despite considerable odds.

The fifth thing you'll find in the report is that we have six chapters. One on Africa's economic recovery. Second, public health. Third, as already mentioned, Africa's women and girls. Fourth, on climate change. And fifth, technology and Africa's external relations.

These themes will indeed be the basis for our conversation with our esteemed panelists here today. With that let me now turn you over to my colleague and our moderate for today, Dr. John McArthur who is a Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Sustainable Development with us at Brookings Institution. John? Thank you very much.

MR. MCARTHUR: Thank you so much, Aloysius. Such a pleasure to be here. Let me say, hello, bonjour, (speaking in foreign language), hola to everyone around the

continent who might be joining from Africa. And of course, to our friends and colleagues around the world.

And first let me please also congratulate the team and my colleagues and all the contributors for what is, I think, quite an extraordinary compilation of insights in this Foresight Africa report. I had a chance to look through it in recent days and find it simply stunning both the progress of the initiative, but also the evolution of the issues that are captured across the continent. And it's a testament to all the contributors and the team that we've been able to draw upon the collective insights. So huge kudos to the collective.

We have an extraordinary panel today to reflect and including some contributors to the Foresight Africa report, but also some dynamic leaders who are working on these issues at the forefront for many different angles. Locally, on the ground at national level, cross-country level, the regional level and, of course, the global level.

So just to introduce them. We have first of all President Ameenah Gurib-Fakim who is the former president of Mauritius. And we're honored she's joining us today. She's now a distinguished advisor at the Global Network for Africa's Prosperity.

We have Gargee Ghosh who is president for global policy and advocacy at the Bill and Melina Gates Foundation. Longtime leader and collaborator on so many issues under discussion today.

And then Greg Mills, the executive director of the Brenthurst Foundation who has been based in South Africa but working at the leadership level across so many countries around Africa.

We're so thrilled that all of you are here today alongside Aloysius. And we'll have a panel discussion kickoff shortly. Before we dive into that we did want to reveal the results of an audience poll that's been conducted in recent days by our colleagues at the Africa Growth Initiative. And this is a question of, what are the top priorities for the continent in 2022? Where the six options were the six big themes in this year's report.

This is the great reveal, and interestingly there's a lot of movement and

momentum certainly a plurality, if not a majority, of using financing the robust post-pandemic growth and economic recovery issues are a very widely held top priority. But very importantly, many people see many different things as their own top priority and none of these are at odds with each.

We see empowering African women and girls, ensuring equal access and self-sufficiency in health systems, addressing the climate emergency, creating and harnessing new technologies for improved livelihoods and, of course, reinventing and pursuing external partnerships in Africa's foreign relations. All of which have a substantial set of people looking to speak up and looking to prioritize actions in 2022.

We will be diving in shortly. I just from our organizers, I just saw that we might be having his excellency join. So let us know. Send me a signal. So if so, we'll of course, I think turn to the sitting president of Zambia because I know his time is constrained today. So let us know. Just send a signal if we can get him in.

In the meantime, maybe we can dive right in. Ameenah, madam president, maybe we can start with you. You have a terrific contribution here on the importance of investing in science and technology across the continent. And you, of course, are a distinguished academic yourself, a hugely accomplished scientist in addition to a former head of state, and I'm curious what you see as the next steps in this regard. It's such a major issue. There have been so many players who have been trying to elevate the attention to this. My former colleague, Collest Ajuma (phonetic), I used to talk with for hours on end trying to elevate these topics. What do you see as the state of the frontier? And how this could make those decisive gains?

MS. GURIB-FAKIM: Thank you, John. Thank you for the introduction. And thank you to all the group at the Brookings, Aloysius, and all the team. And also, greetings to my fellow cowriter, Professor Seine. I hope he's -- I'm sure he's onboard listening to us.

Thank you for asking me to share some views on the importance of science. I will start by saying that the African continent has been described in so many ways. Initially as

the hopeless continent, the dark continent and recently as the rising continent.

And I will add a continent of paradox. Why paradox? Because the continent represents 20 percent of the earth's surface, boasts 60 percent of the world's river line, 30 percent of the world's reserve of minerals. And more importantly, the youngest population of any continent.

Yet, despite all this riches, the continent produces only three percent of global GDP, account for less than three percent of international trade, mainly commodities and natural resources. And shoulders 25 percent of the global disease burden. The picture is then more bleak when it comes to research and innovation because the continent contributes just two percent of the world research output and accounts for only 1.3 percent of research spending producing only 0.1 percent of all papers.

This is the paradox I refer to. Here is a continent that has few of the world's industrial revolutions. Has had drive the dominance of the mobile phone industry with a large store of rare earth minerals soon needed for the global energy transition. And yet is tolerating the dismal statistics and remains the locus of poverty.

It is becoming clear that the lack of investment in science and technology has undermined Africa's economic transformation both at the structural and sectoral levels. This lack of investment has had far reaching consequences as it has left the continent bereft of an economic and scientific infrastructure necessary for innovation. It is still relying on the colonial development model of resources extraction, which is both unsustainable and responsible for the devastating poverty and aid dependency.

Challenges compound by economic fragmentation, with smaller market constraining long-term investment and patient capital that would have fostered innovation and drive technology transfer in the context of global utilization. Yet, the potential is being recognized by policymakers as they now realize that investing in science and technology can help national economies growth story.

So countries must create an even environment through pro-innovation, pro-

science, pro-technology policies to open barriers related to regulation, reigning in corruption, invest more in the ecosystem but will facilitate investment in science and technology in a way, but not just accelerate discovery, but allowing innovations to enter the market place quickly.

So we have to urgently bridge the skinniest deficiency gap in science, technology and innovation as they are vital to unlocking Africa's potential and accelerate economic growth and prosperity.

So it is (inaudible). The best trained talented researchers gravitate to environment where the work is leveraged to modern infrastructure with appropriate level of funding. This will ensure the reversal of Africa's brain reign, keep the best man in the continent and attract new ones just like South Africa has done.

By creating and nurturing such ecosystem requires time and investment and cannot be at the mercy of political and business cycles. Such an initiative require that we adopt the triple helix approach, public, private, academia working hand in hand. If you can manage this in the era of the Africa continental free trade era, the benefits of such investment will not only serve the interest of its use, but for the environment, society both locally and beyond.

Thank you.

MR. MCARTHUR: Thank you so much, Ameenah, Madam President. What a terrific range of insights.

I do see that we have -- oh, we might be having President Hichilema joining at least by audio briefly. So his office has connected him, I think between meetings. But just for our panel, we might go a little bit out of order going with the flow here if that's okay with you? But we just want to make sure we do have the chance to capture him and his insights especially if he is able to join for a few minutes.

Okay. That said, thank you so much for those thoughts. And Greg Mills, our second contributor, you've contributed a terrific piece on Africa's connections with East Asia, a significant emphasizes on Osian. And I'm curious what you think is -- as someone who has worked in so many countries at so many presidential levels on how the strategic issues are

taken on.

There seems to be a movement around the digital. There seems to be a movement around the service economy for sure. I would argue there is still not enough movement on small holder agriculture despite so many efforts for it.

But I'm curious what do you see as the frontier for the economic strategies especially in light of this audience poll, which showed this is the number one concern for people. A post-pandemic economic recovery. What do you see as the next steps? And what do you see as maybe the new frame to push those next steps? Greg, over to you.

MR. MILLS: Thanks very much, John. And let me add my congratulations to the Brookings' team for an outstanding publication, which I have probably not done enough justice to it in reading it just once. And will certainly go back to and troll it for the real begets that exist there.

And thank you for having me on this afternoon's webinar. It's always a pleasure to speak to colleagues interested in African development, which of course has been my life's occupation. And my absolutely honor and pleasure. And probably accounts for some of those gray hairs of all these advisory roles because this is not easy.

It's a little like being -- trying to solve a Rubik's Cube but somebody else is changing one or two of the faces while you're trying to solve it. And COVID has been, you know, somebody else trying to change that Rubik Cube's face.

So I'm going to briefly just outline what I see as the three principle short-term challenges to talk to your question, John. And then I'll talk a little bit about what I see as kind of the key areas of African concentration, which includes your focus on the digital and indeed the informal which I believe is very important.

I mean I would narrow them all down to three Ds without being too cheesy about it. I think the challenges are firstly diversification for jobs. And I'll circle back to this in a second. And of course, we know that diversification and a (inaudible) point in the South already. We live in very much boom and bust economic cycles in Africa. Very much dependent on unbeneficial

age of commodities. With economies that look very similar in many respects, not entirely, to the economies of the 1960s.

Very extractive, a changing set. A changed set of elites, of course. But nonetheless, not inclusive as we would understand that term.

So how do you attract the sort of investment levels that we need to? And Africa's record in this regard outside of the extracted sector has been pretty poor. Yes, there's been much more services that grow particularly into the more developed economies. And I certainly see this as a big generational driver of change particularly in the economies such as Kenya, indeed what I would call the Cape Town economy of South Africa. Very much driven by tech and tech services. And indeed they're one of two examples also in West Africa, not least in Ghana and areas of Lagos.

As you will know, Aloysius, there's a new generation out there that doesn't have the same prism and doesn't have the same analogue like constraints of us old guys.

So understanding in particular with the informal sector needs. What the frictions are for conducting business at that level. What the frictional costs are in terms of the more formalized business structures is absolutely key to answering the diversification question. You're not going to get this right through government policy or government redistributive efforts alone. You have to attract much larger scale investment than hither to and in areas much more diverse than hither to as well.

The second D is debt for development. I mean a lot of debt has been taken on. And we've seen this in the case of Zambia, which went from roughly 500 million U.S.D. of debt back in 2005 to roughly \$30 billion debt today, a spectacular increase. About half of that new debt has been essentially for internal borrowings. Much of it consumed by a civil service.

And these are the sort of furballs that somebody like President Hichilema has to unpick and make sense of. And be able to reschedule and repackage to be able to get to the development debt or answer the development debt conundrum properly. It's really an investment in useful infrastructure. It's placing more on the capital side of the budget and less

on the consumptive side of the budget, which of course politically is inevitably a preference of African governments within electoral cycles.

So we haven't seen enough debt, I would argue probably. And we probably -- we certainly, sorry, haven't seen debt being used for the right sets of purposes. And it's gone hand in hand with a lack of transparency, gouging and all sorts of other practices that we know only too well. And in part, not exclusively, a part of this is because of the strategic premise of, A, by some donors will give to this country even though we know that they're not using it particularly well.

Or because of the nature of new donors including China, Turkey and others who have a different strategic driver in terms of the penetration of African markets. And are less worried about, as Aloysius said, governments conditionalities or niceties as than others are.

And the third D is the biggest game changer of all, which is driving an end to business as usual in Africa even if political elites are unwilling to take this on. And that simply is demographics.

If you do not adjust your policies to grow in line with the changing demography of Africa, the doubling of Africa's population over the next generation, we have a very insecure, rather dystopian future ahead. And so, the way in which policy elites respond to the demographic, what I would see as opportunity, the way in which that plan for this in cities, the extent to which rather Zen like they have to give up control to be able to maintain control of the economy.

Be able to give up control of areas of the economy to be able to inspire and drive growth in a variety of sectors is going to be absolutely central to answering the demographic question. Do we enjoy a dividend? Or do we enjoy simply put, a disaster because of our inability to manage and plan accordingly for it?

So I see it as a great opportunity. I see it as a big driver of change. I see it as a driver of change in two respects. The numerical change that it has to bring with it, but also the generational attitudinal change that inevitably brings because of the application of digital

technologies and the familiarity of digital technologies by more youthful, more inspired perhaps and less constrained by some of the old politics, a new generation of African needs.

So let me, you know, in conclusion just say. Three Ds, very simply, diversification for jobs. Debt for development's sake not for consumption's sake. And then facing up to this enormous demographic challenge but opportunity that we have before us, which portends all sorts of dramatic changes that will have to take place.

But that that new generation of people is able to do that and government essentially needs to be able to get out of the way of a lot of that stuff. Stop trying to fully foster development if I can sort of mix my metaphors here. And stop trying to be the interlocuter and the rent seeker, which of course has bedeviled much of the investment track record at least -- and I know I'm speaking to (inaudible) here, at least in continental Africa. Thank you very much.

MR. MCARTHUR: Thank you, Greg. And I like anything that is easy to remember is a terrific framework. I think those three Ds are excellent. And it reminds me of a colleague of ours, Homi Kharas, drawing a of attention to debt crisis and avoidance and maybe forthcoming.

But, you know, the issue of -- the argument he's made is we should be taking on more debt if the rate of growth is higher than the interest rate. That's a basic mathematical truism. And so, you know, it's making sure that those investments are what you point out they need to be. I think there is a lot of space for more debt.

And, of course, especially at a time when the richest countries in the world are taking on massive increases in debt to get their way out of the crisis. And so many of the poorest countries or not quite so poor countries that haven't had the same access to fighting their own fight. Which is one of the multiple injustices of the international system.

And in that regard, I think Gargee -- no better tee up for you. And I should add, excuse me, a formality just to -- I should disclose on behalf of Brookings Institution that the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation does generously provide support both for the Center for Sustainable Development, which I direct. And the African Growth Initiative which Aloysius

directs and here at Brookings. But all these expressed during this panel are solely those of the speakers just as a proactive disclosure.

But with that said, Gargee, you have been so -- I know over time mindful of these questions of how best to support from the international system side, issues of science and technology, issues of debt, issues of systems, demographics are so relevant.

And I would just add for texture, I was quite struck. I don't know if anyone had the chance to see figure 6.4 in the report had a map of all the countries that have opened new embassies across Africa over the past 10 years, and it was striking. Brazil, India, Qatar, Turkey, you know, massive expansion of engagement which really even redefines, of course, the international systems engagement with the region.

And again, no one has been more of the forefront of thinking through all of these interconnected issues. Gargee, I would love to have your thoughts on how you think that might best align moving forward?

MS. GHOSH: Thanks, John. Thanks for having me. And first congratulations to all of you on a great report in a stack of weekend reading. This was truly a pleasure and stood out in a particular way. It was entirely a conversation of Africans for Africa. And that made it a particularly energizing read for me. And also, a challenging one because it truly forced me to reflect a bit on how I would talk today about our role in that conversation and in that effort.

I think what all of us had said is that this bright future that is painted in the report is exactly what we're aligned to shoot for, but is by no means guaranteed. And so, I think the question is how do we support that vision?

Not just as an international community but in my case, particularly as a philanthropy, where we try to be especially cognizant of not replacing governments nor markets. And so, finding that unique space of taking risk, taking proof of concept. Accompanying investment journeys is top of mind for us.

So I partly agree with the audience poll, partly disagree. Let me explain. I think, you know, two years into the COVID crisis, which we've discussed in other settings has been as

much if not more an economic setback as a health crisis. There is so much to do on all of those areas that were in your list. Health, education and the fiscal environment is so constrained as Greg has said. And I would add to that domestic reabsorptions are more challenged than we would have hoped.

So from my perspective, it's a critical time to make those foundational investments that help across multiple areas. There is no choice between health and education and girls and boys. We have to do it all. And so, how do you make the investments that unlock progress across the board?

And there are four areas that I am especially excited about where we believe there is a foundation to support it. Not just Africa but Asia has expressed priorities. One, science and innovation. Two, digital transformation. Three, gender. Unlocking the power of women and girls. And four, strengthening regional and national institutions.

We very briefly talk about each. Science and innovation, I couldn't have said it better than her Excellency Ameenah. I will just add to that vision that I don't think we're starting from scratch by any means. For over a decade, we have been partnering with the Institut Pasteur Côte d'Ivoire, a vaccine manufacturer based in Senegal.

We have supported -- we and others have supported for many years the CGIR, the crop research initiative. There are efforts in place that we should understand, support and scale up to achieve this sort of innovation be required whether its drought resistance feeds or increasing the capacity of manufacturing on the continent. That is part of the vision.

Digital transformation. There I think there's a super important role for innovators, but also for governments to set the policy context to make sure additional benefits (inaudible). So we know that there are many innovators across the continent. We support efforts like DigiFarm that try to connect farmers to better information and about boost weather and markets through handheld devices.

There are many examples of hunger and innovations that are worth backing. Wrapping that with a policy agenda, with government planning is super important so that we can

overcome gaps that emerge like how women are systematically less likely to have access to mobile phones than men.

And so, we have partnered with the African Development Bank and the African Additional Finance Initiative to make sure that there's a policy that for the capability to extend the benefits of digital integration positively and equally.

Gender. We were thrilled to be part of the generation equality forum this Summer. That worked continues and has been led by domestic governments around the world of partnership with others. Just to give you an example of progress there. We know that the care economy access to quality safe, affordable childcare is a barrier for women. Not just in rich countries, but also for women in the informal sector who need to be able to travel for work. And how we partner with funders in this case, we're partnering with the World Bank, and hoping other donors will join us to scale up access to affordable, quality care.

And finally, strengthening institutions. This came through loud and clear in the AGI report. And I think is one that is top of mind for us. You know, the role of the African CDC through the pandemic overall of the AU in highlighting not just health investments, which we're particularly active on, but adaptation.

All of that has been so core to getting through the challenges of the past couple of years. And I think equally core to unlocking the vision that the HI report repeats. And so, we've really scaled up our support for regional and domestic institutions as part of that picture. Thanks.

MR. MCARTHUR: That's terrific. Thank you so much, Gargee. And what a synopsis and thanks for all that you and the team are doing to help keep pushing with a lot of that catalytic capital that I think helps unlock a lot of challenges that are persistent.

Aloysius, maybe we can come back to you. You shared some opening remarks. But I'm curious how you reflect on all of this in terms of the overall prospects. But also, maybe just to add a layer. There's a tenor of concern that's persistent in the international system such as it is right now.

Lack of cooperation. But one of the things we are seeing, I think, and it's underappreciated is they actually generally growing amount of cooperation regionally within Africa. There's a lot of regional, multilateralism from the African CDC to the trade agreements to the, you know, a passport opening up. And there's just a lot of progress that is happening cross country.

I'm curious how you see these challenges of the overall prospects, but also at a time where in tackling the pandemic, cooperation seems so stuck to get the world out of this mess. Africa might actually have sources of hope for cooperation. And how do you see that?

MR. ORDU: Thank you very much, John. I think that you said it -- you framed it very nicely because here are a couple of thoughts on the overall prospect for the continent. At least the way we see it.

The first and foremost, of course, is the one everybody has already referred to in this panel. COVID-19 remains the big elephant in the room. And so, here we have seen that the global solidarity we used to count on or think was there in situations like this, did not really deliver for Africa.

And it's basically global solidarity alluded us. And few African countries are fully vaccinated their people. About 40 percent of their people as we speak. At current rates, the projection is that full vaccination of the continent may not happen until 2023. So this is really one of the biggest challenges in terms of prospects in the year ahead.

The second term by way of prospect is to ensure of economic growth in the continent. The IMF earlier this week just released, as you know, that global prospects. And on the continent, we're actually optimistic that growth will be about 3.8 percent in the African continent. That the sources of that growth will not be from the usual suspects as such.

So powerhouses like Angola, Nigeria, South Africa, Ethiopia and Sudan will continue to struggle this year. However, some of the more medium sized countries, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and DFC and smaller countries like Mauritius and Seychelles and Rwanda would actually take up the slack, which is how we will arrive at overall a

much better performance than last year.

The third thing to note on the continent in terms of your question is that commodity exporters will receive a boost driven by global demand particularly for energy, minerals, metals and food.

Fourth has already been covered by everybody who spoke. Extended debt will remain elevated. We already saw a rise in debt levels before the pandemic. It has gotten worse and Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced more sovereign debt written down rates than most other regions of the world.

So the countries are now spend more on debts services than on healthcare. So if you can imagine what keeps a finance minister in Africa awake at night, it is this brutal choice of facing, you know, do you save lives? Or do you pay debt? That's really what is going on. And as Greg rightly mentioned and, you know, that itself is not a bad thing if it is used for purposes intended. And this is where the challenge is on the continent lie.

The fifth thing in terms of prospects for the continent is travel and tourism. Many of the tourist have spots on the continent whether east and south or Northern Africa, West Africa for that matter. Will continue to experience some challenges.

Travel, international travel has lost its Panashe, right? It's no longer what it used to be. And with challenges we don't know where next the variant might come and all that. People are likely to be staying at home rather than travel. So overall, the moderate improvement in tourism vis-à-vis what happened last year.

We cannot not talk of Africa's prospects without revisiting conflict hot spots because sadly as I mentioned in the introductory remark. We have security and instability issues rearing their ugly head on the continent. Just take a look. Libya, the Seychelles, Northern Nigeria, Cameroon, Central Africa reported, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Somalia. You know, North Mozambique and then of course sadly recently Mali and this week Burkina Faso. It is difficult to talk of our prospects without being candid that, you know, these sort of things -- we thought the continent had gone beyond, remain with us.

So in coming year in terms of prospects, these countries I mentioned and regions will continue to be areas we will watch very, very closely.

And then finally, the point you made about African solidarity, the coming of age. It's just remarkable that at a time when globalization is on that threat. At a time when we saw if you remember the writings on the global health security index when the United States, number one, in the world in terms of preparedness for pandemics. This was 2019, right?

And we all know what happened. And then globally all these countries that were stacked up as the highest ranked preparedness, it didn't happen. And global solidarity when you needed it most was in question. Africans acted in consult. The African Union, the Africa CDC, the Africa bank and many other institutions on the continent, some private sector Africans were mobilized as special envoys.

And so, what you saw is at the time when the world was, you know, basically in a fragmented, if you like, ended up collaborating as the vaccine situation showed us. Africans have really, really come of age. And basically, in times of rallying around in solidarity to address what is clearly a global pandemic.

So the issue now of having more vaccines manufactured on the continent has so many plans afoot driven by Africans. And that's the Africa we want going forward. So overall, I believe that the continent will see a fairly good growth going forward. That it will be basically dependent on a couple of countries to pull, you know, cover the slack for the bigger countries. And I will watch closely for some of those hot spots that we need to very mindful. Thank you.

MR. MCARTHUR: Thanks so much, Aloysius. You're a terrific cross section of issues and especially from the economics perspective, but also, you know, sobering. I think we've all -- everyone has their countries that are nearest and dearest to their heart in terms of where they've had a chance to spend time.

But, you know, certainly personally watching Ethiopia go through what it's going through has been very challenging. I know for a lot of people, Mali, similarly. And as you listed,

those are just a couple of the many that are in pretty profound challenges. But I think one of the other questions. I'm curious, you know, just to open up now. But maybe see what any reactions you have to each other's comments just to make it interactive.

But I'm also curious. I find that the pandemic has been something of a great reveal for the lack of international cooperation. So as I say in 2014, I would give a lecture here and there about how, you know, Ebola in West Africa was the reminder of how cooperation is in all of our self-interests.

In 2019, 2020, 2021, as you were saying, '22. The notion of cooperation is still scarce even when it's in everyone's self-interest. But at the same time, Africa is in some ways getting less international attention, I would say. While the great power conflicts are coming out in a new way.

And so, a lot of these long-term sustainable development questions is what I would give as a broad bundle that people have been discussing the economic, social, environmental, technological.

I'm curious to your thoughts. Is that better if the international system is looking the other way so as to not mess things up with all the progress underway? Or do you see there being a real gap in that there are certain things that just require international community to think differently about how to support Africa's development in each of your respective domains. Maybe just going back to Ameenah. I'm curious if you have any thoughts on that.

MS. GURIB-FAKIM: Thank you. Thank you again, John. Thank you. I'll use these for these comments on the -- you hit the nail on the head.

But I think over the past two years, what we have also seen is the failure of the international system as we've known it. And I think this will stay on our conscious for a long, long time. We have seen the failure of multilateralism. And to me it doesn't bode well at all. As we get COVID behind us, we're going to be facing to real challenges. And that's the real challenges because it will make COVID look like child play.

And here, I think about climate change. And I think where we have seen --

Aloysius has rightly pointed out to the insecurity. And if you look at most of the security happening, it's happening in the Seychelles. In the Seychelles belt all the way out from Ethiopia, all the way up to now Burkina Faso. And of course, with Guinea as well.

And I think it poses a question as to the way that the West and here I talk about Europe. It would have made good sense to see the European Union investing in Northern Africa. By investing in Northern Africa, and all of it down, you would have prevented the flow of immigrants. That's the first thing that we'll have to really handle because this is going to be the root cause of many problems. It has already started.

We have seen the demographics are going to change. We have seen insecurity and this is one thing that we have to tackle. And the best way to tackle this is to encourage people to stay home. And this will come with a martial plan, if I may use the word, of investment in Northern and of course in the Seychelles region. That's one thing.

The other thing we have also have spoken about investment. And we have seen over the past two years how some people -- I mean mostly in Asia, for example, where the notion of social safety net is absent. We have seen people saying why should we worry about COVID? When we're going to die of hunger, right?

So that's one thing that we really have to really think about. And for Africa, and I think I will cite again Mia Mottley in her speech in Glasgow. She said, where are we? We have the special growing rights of the level of the IMF.

I mean these are thoughts that we have to bring in order to be able to -- and we have seen how poor are countries have not been able to draw the appropriate level of debt. And I am very happy that the issue of debt has been mentioned. But debt for what? Debt for infrastructure development. Debt for relooking at our social security.

I mean all these issues will have to be on the agenda. Be on the African Union or of the other multilateral organizations because these are issues that we have to flag very strongly. Because if you don't put the purse at the center of development, we are doomed for failure.

MR. MCARTHUR: Thank you, Ameenah. And maybe Greg, I think you might have to leave in a second. But maybe just to flag two quick things on your national systems side.

If it matters to you, but maybe we can come back to it later. Or if you want to speak to it, I should say. You know, Egypt of course is hosting COP 27 this year. It is an opportunity to elevate the African and developing country perspective at large, which was of course a residual major tension coming out COP 26 in Glasgow. And the need for the reframe of who tells which story on how to approach this.

But similarly, we have things like the pandemic being discussed. Sometimes, through the WHO. Sometimes, through the G20. You know, Africa is dramatically underrepresented at the G20. EU has a voice. AU doesn't have a voice. You know, how do you see these interconnection questions for how Africa or any part of Africa you want to speak to best moves forward?

MR. MILLS: Is that for me?

MR. MCARTHUR: Sorry, Greg. I'm just lobbying a question. But anything you want to speak to based on what's been said so far, yeah.

MR. MILLS: Okay. I mean I'd just like to go back if I can a little bit before tackling your question. And I just heard that President H.H. is about to get to the venue where there's a computer waiting for him to log on as I drop off here. He'll hopefully be able to log on. This is like musical chairs.

There's a lovely African proverb which is, when elephants fight, the grass gets trampled. And I mean I think we're seeing that right at the moment. And, you know, whatever the reset is post-war because of Ukraine and Russia. It doesn't look like one that's going to be particularly favorable to Africa.

And I think what we're seeing overall is a degree of introversion in international affairs which is perhaps driven more by strategy when it comes to donor relationships and less by a sense of solidarity. And I think that's concerning because it leads away almost inevitably

from what I should have had as a fourth deed, which one of my friends in England who's listening to this pointed out to me. And I sort of smacked myself on the head because of it, which is of course democratic regression across the continent.

And we mentioned it earlier on. And of course, this is a week of a coup d'etat in Burkina Faso. It comes on the back of a coup d'etat in Guinea. And it comes on the back of regression in places like Ethiopia and so on and so forth. And democrats despite this overwhelmingly being the preferred system of government by Africans, if the polls are to be believed, and I think they should be. Are having a tough battle across Africa right at the moment. Any sort of strategic reset which says what we're really after is our interests and very little else. I don't think is going to necessarily assist African democrats in their quest.

So I do think that when it comes to Western foreign policy, I do think the damage of Afghanistan and it's -- you know, it's in the last six months, by the way. We can't ignore it. I spent a lot of time there myself so I perhaps bear this cross more than most. I mean I think the impact if Afghanistan, the abandonment of Afghans and particularly Afghan women to a fate that we frankly don't even know about at the moment. Doesn't send out a particularly good signal about this issue of solidarity.

Is likely to lead to a greater movement of people across territories in search of safer, greener pastures. And doesn't speak very well to issues of regional solidarity and cooperation either. And it also really poses a question which is something we haven't mentioned yet, which is the security dimension of development. What does Afghanistan in and of itself, but also in terms of external relationships, tell us about the Seychelles.

What are we likely to expect? What's going to be the consequence of further instability of this region potentially 200 million or so people on the move as a consequence of this in an environmentally climatic and stressed area of the world? And it's a particularly disturbing question, but I do believe it's one that is relevant. And one that we have to start thinking about if the answer to Afghanistan is answered in the same way when it comes to the Seychelles.

And I do believe it's going to be increasingly incumbent on African institutions and African leadership to be able to answer these questions of the relationship with others and the relationship with the outside world rather than the outside world determining about that methodology of intervention.

And we still, I think, particularly in the Seychelles and areas of West Africa really battle to understand what the better modalities of external engagement in the security domain, let alone the developmental domain are.

So I think there's perhaps a less abstract and much more pressing issue around security today than we have visaged. And it could upend that rather nice looking post-COVID recovery graph that we saw earlier. It could upend that without a degree of productivity especially on the part of Africans. And the degree to which Africans integrate Mozambique as a test case of this. The degree to which African ownership takes place and the degree to which we kind of determine the relationship with the outside world rather than vice versa. I do think it's going to have bearing on how that question is answered successfully or not.

MR. MCARTHUR: Maybe just as a quick editorial comment and go to Gargee. I think, Greg, you mentioned the word strategy.

I would argue -- I'm curious if others agree. Yes, strategy but extremely short-term strategy because a lot of the questions we're seeing the Seychelles, for example, you know, we've known for decades about the role of climate change in the Seychelles. We've known for decades about the need to invest in irrigation for small holder agriculture. We've known to decades that, you know, it's not being done.

And the ROI are focusing on troop deployment is much lower than the ROI of supporting, you know, rural development in places where the population that were only new rural. And, you know, just on the Afghanistan analogue. You know, I did the math. The external community spent about \$2 trillion in Afghanistan. That's about triple -- yeah, at a minimum that's just the U.S. likely. But, you know, there are competing numbers.

But it is at least three acts of GDP in Afghanistan over that period. You know,

when we look at success stories in places like Togo with the Novice program, building the, you know, hyper efficient cash transfer program. I wonder what share of that \$2 trillion could have been allocated to direct cash transfers to Afghans to support development through the mobile phone pioneers that were getting off the ground there.

You know, lots of these questions that I feel like would have been more strategic. But there's kind of a rapid deployment of some budgets and maybe an under deployment of others. And our strategies might not think properly about which tools for which problems. And the Seychelles is probably the world's great intersection of those challenges forthcoming I would argue.

Anyway, sorry to editorialize. I'm meant to be a moderator, but I think that these issues do come together. Gargee, what do you make of all this?

MS. GHOSH: Yep. Well, I want to go back to where we started on this round on the sort of international system and prospects for cooperation.

I share the frustration and disappointment with you and others have expressed. And I think it's critical that we take this moment to expect better. And for me that takes a few forms.

First, you know, we are all desperate to stop talking about COVID and get on with all the other priorities. But we can't do that without taking a moment to make sure we will be better off if and when another outbreak risks becoming another pandemic, right? Very brilliant yet demonologists talks about outbreaks are assured, but pandemics are optional. So how do we put in place some basic structures? Really not -- this is not hard.

How do we put in place the basic surveillance? That basic sufficiency of manufacturing capacity? Some basic rules of who talks to whom when -- to make sure that if this happens again, we are not in a situation we find ourselves in now with dramatically uneven access to vaccines, therapies, testing.

And I think that sort of three or four things that will protect the world against future pandemics should be a must-have that we all expect.

Second, I was thrilled to hear mention that SDRs. I do think, you know, the NDBs, the international finance institutions have both been incredibly forward leaning and have run into the challenges that are inherent in their model in responding quickly, flexibly to this crisis. But the issue of the SDRs and the prospects for reallocation to me are one of the bright spots of what we can get done this year.

There have already been commitments made at political levels to get to 100 billion. The math on that is hard without real leadership. And I think we as an international community, as advocates, as countries wherever we sit need to join hands and make our voices loud about getting to that 100 billion and beyond. I think it is one of the few places I see meaningful of new resources coming online and that will be critical.

And finally, I confess. I am an advocate for development assistance. I believe there is better and worse development assistance, but I believe in the international solidarity expressed as development assistance. And I know Brookings also has called for an increase of 50 percent increase in ODA by 2025 to help make up for some of the setbacks we've seen in low-income countries around the world.

So clearly now more than ever we have to get through this about what it means to strengthen and empower our citizens and governments and domestic institutions with development assistance, but I believe that's still critical.

And just to give you an example of the global fund for AIDS, TB and malaria we'll be seeking to replenish its pot of resources for this year for future years. This is 2002 that organization estimates that it saved 44 million lives that would have otherwise been lost to other pandemics of AIDS, TB and malaria.

And that organization supports country plans, country prioritization. It is a major funder of health systems. It works with co-financing and domestic constituents to support domestic priorities. And I think that is the kind of organization we want development assistance to keep funding.

So I would say, John, while I share the backward looking recriminations. I am

like all of you, focused on setting high expectations for this year. And how we really learn from what we didn't do last year and the year before to show up with resources and commitments.

MR. MCARTHUR: For the record, I didn't signal out any bad guys.

MS. GURIB-FAKIM: I would just --

MR. MCARTHUR: Ameenah, please. Yeah.

MS. GURIB-FAKIM: Yes. If I just quickly react to what Gargee has said.

Health will remain a priority forever. And food security will also be priorities.

And I think what we have seen over the past two years is precisely the lack of infrastructure. And when we look at centers that could initial produce the vaccines, we saw very, very few countries showing up with the appropriate infrastructure precisely for doing this.

But there is another issue that we have to tackle. And I think that most organizations are aware of that. Is the issue of fake medicines which go around, around the continent. I think some of the figures are absolutely stupendous. Over 60 percent of medicine in circulation, they need to have proper testing. And this is something that has to be addressed because we face it -- let's face it, we are in an interconnected world. We know about what's happening in Wuhan. Again, happened two weeks later right across in New York. And we saw what happened.

And I think if you talk about just one issue. For example, we talk about antibiotic resistance. I mean that is going to wipe away 50 years of progress in medicine. And this is not something which is catching the attention of so many people. And yet, this is something that has to be addressed very, very quickly. The issue of fake medicine.

Exactly as we have addressed with extreme care and of course speed. Looking that vaccine issue because this is something that we also have to look at.

So I think if there are organizations willing to look at this environment of helping countries create the infrastructure because creating the infrastructure, we're going be leveraging also talent who would be encouraged to come and stay and contribute to the narrative continue to develop. It's just going to happen on the continent.

So we need to build that infrastructure. And as I've said in my intro, this goes beyond the political cycles as well. So this is something that we have to do. And I think modestly in 2021, the African continent took it head on because we started having this dialogue about the international trade because for this to happen, I mean we will need to have the appropriate infrastructure.

In all this, Africa is less than 80 percent integrated economically as compared to the European Union, which is over 70 percent. So the potential is there, but we need to have the commitment. Now, increasingly we talk about you're stealing the political bill. But who is has painted that? Where is the leadership?

Where is the leadership at the continental level? All of the countries that are, you know, trying to push ahead with appropriate leadership. But where is the global leadership? And this is something that, you know, we're finding lacking for the past five years at least. So we need to get these global players. And, you know, honestly John, I am at a loss to think where would that leadership come from?

It cannot be the G7 anymore. Is it G20? It's only about economics. So we'll have to look for that leadership to tackle the global issues. And that's going to be the priorities, the world priorities.

MR. MCARTHUR: Thank you, Ameenah. I think it's hard to disagree with any of those great points. And I would just like on the financing. The point of detail, no house here at Brookings, of course. The college suggested 50 percent interest in ODA. I think that might be too small by a good margin because what we don't have -- and it gets to this point is any system of callable resources to tackle needs.

So what we have is an application process sometimes to get very scarce resources, which might not be matched to the problem. But what we've confronted in the past year is an immediate crisis that requires callable resources to tackle urgencies. But there are many that medium term as well.

And many countries tackling the infrastructure challenge, say, great that you

want us to decarbonize. There's no financing. We have a liquidity problem. We can't call the resources.

So I think these system questions are so profound that you're all raising. And maybe Aloysius, we can hear from you next as you reflect on this. And if you think it's pertinent just COP 27. Does that fit into this? Or is that maybe a parallel thread?

MR. ORDU: Yeah. Thank you. Thank you very much, John. Just a couple of footnotes. I think that is absolutely right. The support of African institutions with a continental regional level is very, very important because we have already demonstrated the need to act in solidarity when others are not. So supporting African institutions is important.

Related to that is the replenishment of that dimension. IDA of course, you know, over \$90 billion in replenishment. I think on that circumstances knowing what we now know is happening in low-income Africa, on the challenges ahead. You know, the idea of donors go big on their replenishment of the African development fund. That is absolutely going to be critical and fundamental.

And we also talked about the vaccine issue. So the idea that the OECD countries and the rest of the donor community did manufacturing of vaccines in Africa. Clearly, the Africa CDC and the AU already has a program for this. To make sure that 60 percent of Africa's vaccines are manufactured on the continent by the year 2040.

I think talking of supporting African institutions, there is also some work to be done there. Many people probably don't realize that the Africa Center of Excellence for infectious diseases genomics in Nigeria was the first to generate the first sequence of COVID-19 within 72 hours. Think about that. And so, this shows that it can be done. It can be done on the continent. And what is needed is going forward support. And support at various levels. Political will and sustainable finance.

And the issue we've been discussing, infrastructure to support local research and development, investments in local biotechnology. The important training, training, training. Staff training, human resource development. And of course, the need to also leverage Africa's

diaspora. These are all important areas in terms of supporting African institutions.

John, on the point on COP 27. Yes, it is indeed an appropriate one to talk about. And with all the climate change in Chapter Five of this year's foresight. Clearly, when we reflect on what happened in Glasgow. It's clear that the urgency of now to paraphrase President Obama. The urgency of now that is facing Africa as regards to climate. Basically, I think we need to push harder to convey that urgency of now.

We have higher temperatures. We have droughts. We have desertification raking havoc in the Horn of Africa, in the Sahara, in Northern Nigeria.

Food insecurity in more lagging regions are likely due to climate change. The World Bank projects that there will be 86 million internal migrants on the African continent by 2050. The idea that we have flooding in Northern Mozambique. This is now routine, right?

So when you think of all these things happening and then you think that the biggest solution to the climate crisis actually is Africa. You know, apart from the Amazon basin and the Congo basin, you know, it basically absorbs 1.2 billion CO2 per year emitted elsewhere in other continents. We also know that 70 percent of the world's cobalt, which is vital for battery production of electric cars as we transition in this direction comes from Africa. Yet, 600 Africans have no access to electricity. They're in the dark.

So when we talk of COP 27 which is Africa's cut. I think there's a wake-up call there that for the global community, the idea that we commit and then dialogue and dialogue and otherwise talk. One hundred billion was committed in bias. Still not delivered. Maximum is 80 billion of which only 20 billion went to Africa during the year of 2016 and 2019.

We've got to do better than that. We really have to. And so, when your house is on fire, it's not exactly the time to quibble about the footnotes in your insurance policy. The donor community has to recognize that a solution to the problem is Africa. And to a larger extent and therefore COP 27 has to deliver for Africa. And that means basically that the global community needs to go beyond talking.

The OECD countries and the IFIs have to really step up to the plate. Actually,

IFI planet financing has been falling short of targets for Africa. Imagine that. So these are some of the things that we will need to focus on so that the Africa, the COP 27 in Sharm el-Sheikh in Egypt can actually deliver for Africa.

And African themselves going to Africa's COP, they need to really, really negotiate those. They need to be better prepared than they were in Glasgow. They need to be highly organized. They need to speak with one voice. They need to marshal the dire consequences for the continent of what is happening in a warming planet because clearly the urgency is now.

The climate continues to warm. The last seven years have been the hottest on earth. So we have changes, challenges and therefore we need to rise to the occasion.

MR. MCARTHUR: I just received a message that President Hichilema might be just moments away. So if he does join, we'll interrupt. Forgive me if I do need to interrupt anyone, but just to make sure we do get to hear from him if that comes together.

But I wanted to turn to questions from the audience. And, Aloysius, your comments remind me of this notion of donors even is, of course, an official term but there's so much which is about co-investment. And co-investment in the future. And many people have raised the issue of young people.

And we do have a question from Ophelia Weeks (phonetic), who is Executive Director of the Ellen Johnson Sirleaf Presidential Center for Women in Development. And she asks, has there been any consideration of organizing a regional symposium within each of the five regions of the continent? A symposium of youths to hear what they have to say and how they could contribute followed by some form of broader continental action plan?

I'm curious if any of you know of that? That's an investment question really. How to invest in the future? And the youth, who everyone knows are so crucial to it, having a say in the investment. Ameenah, are you aware of anything in that regard?

MS. GURIB-FAKIM: Yes. You know, it's been done sectorially. They have a very important center in Western Africa. I think it's Vana (phonetic) aims on mathematics, but it

has been kind of mathematic. But there has not been that kind of discussion.

In fact, yes, we should be having something like this to really gage. I mean we know the expectations of the youth, what they are. But having it regionally because, I mean, Africa. After all, is a continent. It's not one country.

So it would be good to get that kind of discussion definitely. Yes, so that would be a start.

MR. MCARTHUR: Aloysius, I see your hand up.

MR. ORDU: Yeah. Sure. Thanks, John. I think, Ophelia, that's an excellent question.

As we all know this month, January 21st to 22nd, was the forum that took place in Doha, Qatar. Where youth for peace from across the globe were assembled. I often wondered when I looked at what was happening in Qatar. The read out in Doha from the youths.

I just wondered how were African youths prepared for that event? And the more I looked, the more I see that the Canadian youths were actually prepared in advance of Doha. And they brought us thinking, an AGI would have a workstream we're developing right now, which we are calling Africa's Youth Pulse.

The idea basically is to take a look at the existing youth indices globally. And then rigorously assess some of those indices that we will use to track Africa's youths. And then in partnership with Africa barometer every year we see the state of play on these indices. And then finally, we get a, you know, these are the voices of Africa's youth from all five regions of the continent to overlay this Africa's youth pulse. That's the idea.

And before we roll it out. So, Ophelia, you're absolutely right. Would like to test it in each of the five regions and then hopefully launch a continental initiative. Because if there is one thing, you know, Greg mentioned demographics. Is there one thing that is a major (inaudible) item in the next 10, 20, 30, 40 years on the Africa continent is the youths.

And this next generation unless we do it right, the chances are -- the consequences could be there. What we see now in terms of migration across the Mediterranean

Sea would absolutely be, you know, it could be worse than that if you like. And so, the idea is to basically focus on youth. You know, making sure that youths are gainfully employed at home.

I'm not aware of any go-to place in terms of the reference document as such on Africa's youth. In AGI, we're hoping to put this youth, Africa's youth cause together for the purpose of making sure that every year you can actually have your reference point. A go-to point place on youth. Thanks again, Ophelia, for your question.

MR. MCARTHUR: Thank you. Gargee, anything you would add from the Foundation perspective? Or your own personal perspective?

MS. GHOSH: Thanks. Well, I assume that was a proposal as much as a question. So it's a good one.

You know, our experience here has been as Ameenah has said. At the sectoral level in micro, where it's incredibly powerful. I mean we have sort of made that switch from, you know, whether it's health or economic issues. A thinking that our lessons in youth are sort of receivers of information to being part of the problem solving.

And, you know, the place where that's most obvious is in the efficacy of health measuring. You know, we have reducing work on tobacco, antismoking and there the sort of power of engaging the target audiences, teenagers, teenage girls.

You know, in shaping the messages has been incredibly powerful so that flip from sort of development programs or health programming as a sort of top-down endeavor to something that has really generated with the people it is meant to serve. It has been really powerful for us.

MR. MCARTHUR: You have a better antenna than me, Gargee. How to interpret different things that get raised into the proposals and ideas and for obvious reasons. But I think it is this interesting question. There's this huge and growing attention of recognition of the issue, but what's a problem? What's an asset? And what's a voice that needs to be counted as part of solution? Is all part of the mix, I think that is so much of the region. The world is getting its head around in a better way. Or needs to get its head around in a better way.

I want to raise one last question and then we'll move to the end unless the President arrives. In which case, we'll still adjust quickly. But, Aloysius, you drew attention to the gender section that's crucial. You know, kudos on the range of topics embedded there. Of course, it's throughout the report, half of society. But it's great to see it elevated in this way.

And we in our center, Sustainable Development, are really trying to make sure that the gender issues that we're recruiting for it. And make sure there's push beyond the so-called SDG5 framing, you know, of gender equality. But really, what I describe is goals one through four and six through 17. They all need agenda equality component. That's life on earth.

And so, I take a bit of an absolutist approach myself. And so, I'm curious. We have a question from Patricia Langin (phonetic). And we connect international. Who asks specifically about supporting women owned businesses is an important strategy to contribute to economic growth in Africa? What do you see as top priorities to help women owned businesses increase revenues, profits, employees and growth?

I share that just as a question, such a practical crucial question. You know, I leave it to you, Ameenah, you're obviously a pioneering female politician. Gargee, you've obviously been deep. And you mentioned these issues on generation equality and a broad framing moment.

So on the employment economic bit in particular, but more broadly what do you see as priorities on next steps for advancing gender equality? Each of you across the region?

MS. GURIB-FAKIM: I go first? Yeah? You know, for gender equality, for women empowerment, it's -- I'll just use one word. It has to be education.

And when we look at education in Africa than anywhere else. We have to address it through the lens of two words which is structure and stereotype. And the structure, we have to build the infrastructure. We have to make sure that the girl is empowered through schools, through access to, you know, up to date curriculum. Do away with rote learning. Make sure that the education the girl is having, of course, is relevant. Is fit for purpose.

And stereotype. I mean this is something that we have to address this. But it's

a global issue. It's not just an African issue. If we tackle these two and, of course, promote girl empowerment and especially in the sciences because this where the damage gets done. Because very often she's told just like myself, where I was told when I was a child that the science were for boys.

And goodness, if you look at only one sector which is agriculture. I mean agriculture, I mean we will all have to agree that women feed Africa. Now, how much more can that women contribute if she's empowered with the appropriate education, with the appropriate tools and with the appropriate legislation framework. Because she needs to be able to go to the bank and open an account without being accompanied by her husband or father or whatever.

And also access to cash, access to land. You know, all these issues. And we know that if we address only agriculture and I think the African development that has already presented. That it is -- we talk about the \$1 trillion business.

So not only are we going to be addressing food security. We're going to be addressing the whole suite of issues transformation of agriculture product because we know this is one of the key issues which actually plagued agriculture in Africa. It needs a transformation. It's post-harvest. So let us empower that woman. Let us increase the flow through that leaky pipe so that when it is coming out on the other side, it's a bigger trickle than what we're having right now.

And I will finish with a cliché to say that a bird cannot fly with one wing. So if we want Africa to make headway, we really need to empower the boy and the girl equally.

MR. MCARTHUR: Thank you, Ameenah. Gargee, your thoughts?

MS. GHOSH: Sure. Thank you. Well, I can go and build on what Ameenah. You know, I think in a very narrow sense that has been a growth in, you know, S&E financing focused on women entrepreneurs. I think that has been a really positive and dynamic area.

But it does get to exactly what Ameenah was just saying. How do you support that micro-intervention all around? So how do you create more women entrepreneurs? And how do you create the policy environment in a broader context in which they can thrive?

So clearly, education on the one side. Care as I mentioned before to unleash the entrepreneurial potential. But let's not forget some of the basics from the policy environment. Whether that's again looking at the basic gender and intentionality and budgeting the power of leadership in lifting up women leaders as an example for young girls.

All of those things have to come together, I think in order to see that happening if it is truly powerful. John, I think you're on mute.

MR. MCARTHUR: I re-muted myself. Very structurally poignant and wise. Thank you, Gargee. And, Aloysius, maybe -- we're coming to the top of the hour. I think we might need to invite his Excellency to give a fuller presentation on another day.

He's in the building making his way to camera, but we might not be able to do justice to it today, unfortunately. So maybe appropriate to give you a final comment before we adjourn as the coordinator of this extraordinary undertaking that bring people together. Thank you.

MR. ORDU: Thank you very much. And first of all, thank you very much for my presentation. Thank you for John and the panel and Greg of course and John for making the time.

It is actually appropriate that we end on the issue of gender, which we all agree is a major area of focus for all of us on the continent and elsewhere.

I just wanted to call people's attention on the very question raised on gender that in this year's foresight, the chapter, the framing essay was not written by former President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf for Liberia.

And a couple of points he made in that agenda for action going forward. One is contra leadership. The very notion of constitutional amendments, appropriateness of the laws and reforms in the political space to make sure that we basically go beyond words. I think Gargee captured that on the system and I also captured that.

Changes are needed in political parties. You know, we need to open space for women. What is happening in Sudan? And there's a brilliant essay on Sudan, for example, in

this year's foresight. These are important areas. We no longer need to think at this lower level. We need to really frame this at the very top.

Education has been talked about. What skills, training stem in particular? And here it's important to open books on stem and see women that are leading, you know, as agents of change in science and technology. These are behavioral. We all need to internalize. Mentors. Mentors are absolutely critical. Role models, gatekeepers to borrow that from Gargee's weekly, monthly publication, you know.

We need to gatekeepers that really showcase what women are doing. Influencers. Very, very important because otherwise, we will continue to talk about this issue and not actually deliver. On the specific area of the investments, there is a piece in our foresight this year where work was done looking at the data from Jumia and e-commerce.

And it was found that closing the gender gap in e-commerce in Africa could yield an additional \$15 billion by 2030. This was coming out of a viewpoint written for us by colleagues in the ISC.

So I think there's a lot to be done. And it's a very, very -- I'm delighted that we ended up rounding up on what I believe is the most important issue to tackle and that's the issue of gender and Africa's youth amongst others. Thank you all very much.

MS. GHOSH: Thank you.

MR. MCARTHUR: Well, thank you, Aloysius. And I couldn't agree more. There's no issue that I'd rather end on is the most salient of all humanity in many ways. And so delighted that we have the ability to share so many insights here. And I am really grateful to our panelists, to all the authors and to the organizers.

An extraordinary team including people like Christina Golubski (phonetic), David Batcheck (phonetic), and so many others, Dan. And the whole huge team behind the scenes that's pulling this off. So huge kudos to the entire team. A huge gratitude to Ameenah, Gargee and Aloysius for sharing so many thoughts today.

Thank you for letting me join as a friend of Africa. And really just honored to be

with all of you. And really excited to see I think back to your point earlier, Gargee. The opportunity, the challenge but also the need to just move forward. And I think, Ameenah, you put that very squarely on your own agenda -- in our agenda in your remarks as well. And, Aloysius, you've done that so brilliantly across all these topics in this report. So huge thanks. Thanks everyone for joining us. And we will look forward to advancing the foresight across Africa all together in the days to come. Thank you.

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CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

Carleton J. Anderson, III

(Signature and Seal on File)

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