2013 Ibrahim Forum Summary
An African Conversation
Africa Ahead: The Next 50 Years

Sunday, 10th November
African Union Conference Centre
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
"The narrative should be about tomorrow. It must be our narrative. We mustn’t hide anything; we mustn’t exaggerate anything. But we must tell our own story. It is in our hands to transform Africa into an integrated and prosperous continent."
H.E. Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma

"Indeed Africa is rising though a lot remains to be done as there are still a few countries that have yet to put behind the legacy of political instability and economic chaos."
H.E. Prime Minister Ato Hailemariam Dessalegn

"We are not having an honest conversation about the quality of the ‘managers’ delivering this growth." Lai Yahaya

"Africa is positioned to take advantage of a number of important conditions that propel growth…but growth without transformation is not going to give us much."Carlos Lopes

"As a continent, we have not invested enough in terms of ensuring that those that are most marginalised are actually empowered with the skills to be productive citizens." Kumi Naidoo

"Many of the lessons can also be found within Africa itself. In addition to learning by looking outside, we can also learn by looking inside.” Frannie Léautier

"We say that we need a revolution of skills, but we also need a gender revolution.” Bineta Diop

"The parameters for growth are there, but in terms of human development and social transformation I think the jury is still out." Pascal Lamy

"Every single country on this continent has a power crisis." Donald Kaberuka

"The private sector being rated by the external institutions and domestic institutions can really help us to propel this growth." Vera Songwe

"This continent has exceptional people, exceptional resources. We have to accelerate. The recognition of our potential on its own doesn’t mean that this potential will be realised.” Patrice Motsepe

"The most valuable thing we have on this continent is our people… It is the only thing we have that if we invest in appropriately will continue to pay dividends inter-generationally, and we have to do it.” Maria Ramos

"The challenge of development for the next generation is…whether natural resources are going to be well governed or not.” Daniel Kaufmann

"The superpowers never want to listen to us. They neglect everything we say.” Jean Ping

"Africa is one of biggest contributors to peacekeeping forces globally, so those peacekeeping forces should be able to be responsive to African problems.” Jendayi Frazer
"It is a scandal…that for everything that Africa needs or wants in terms of conflict resolution…you have to ask or expect assistance from outside."  *Salim Ahmed Salim*

"We don’t stand united. The only power we have is unity in our voice, but in most of the instances I have observed, we stand divided."  *H.E. Minister Tedros Adhanom*

"The African Union has to assert itself and take responsibility for the fact that no one is going to listen to you until you make yourself relevant."  *Robtel Pailey*

"A lot of what we are talking about needs an information base that is owned and developed by us. We aren’t going to be able to do this without solid statistics."  *Trevor Manuel*

"[The people] have to be part of the resolution; they have to be part of the success.”  
*Moïse Katumbi*

"People really want to have a stake in the next development agenda, but more importantly they want to be part of monitoring the implementation and outcomes of that agenda.”  
*Sipho Moyo*

"I make an appeal to African leaders – to speak about the impact of climate but also…Africa has the potential to leapfrog…into the low carbon economy, into clean energy. This to me is the big human rights issue of the 21st century and Africa is suffering more unjustly from that issue.”  *Mary Robinson*

"There are some internal issues that we have got to take some tough decisions on and we have got to take them not as country by country but as a continent and as regions.”  
*Jay Naidoo*

"You could use the young generation of this continent, to renew and restore the confidence in politics and in democracy.”  *Gunilla Carlsson*

"Execution is a key word…as the sense is over the last 50 years there has been a lot of talk… The real challenge of this generation is going to be action, execute, deliver, engineer.”  *Mamadou Toure*

"The African Union is an image of our own nations…and the African Union is toothless, because our nations are, most of them, toothless.”  
*Amadou Mahtar Ba*

"I believe that we’re not having enough conversations… It is a question of who is having the conversation and what is the conversation about.”  
*Elsie Kanza*

"We created a union, but we did not empower that union...and we did not fund it…and then we expect a lot from that union. If we are serious about an African Union, we need to start by funding it.”  *Mo Ibrahim*
The population of a country is a leader’s fundamental unit of responsibility. For the African continent, the potential benefits of present demographic trends can be huge, especially given the changing global context. However, in order to realise this potential, major challenges regarding the health, education and welfare of citizens need to be overcome. Today’s policy decisions will have a critical impact on the younger generation, who will become the bulk of African electorates and of the world’s labour force.

Ensuring that economic growth results in positive social transformation; to be sustainable, growth must create jobs and reduce inequalities.

Maximising the comparative advantages of the continent.

Engaging with and including the African diaspora. Providing incentives and a framework for them to return and contribute to the development of the continent.

Encouraging close collaboration between policy-makers, local institutions, civil society and the private sector.

Learning from best practices inside and outside the continent.

Listening to and developing the transformative ideas presented by the continent’s youth to find new solutions to existing problems.

Focusing on developing human capital (especially women and youth) through training, investment and political, social and financial empowerment.

Prioritising regional integration and openness within the continent.

Investing in continental and regional infrastructure.

Prioritising the governance of the continent’s natural resources including minerals, energy, water, land and oceans.

Securing political authority and financial autonomy of the African Union and of the main continental, regional and national institutions.

Taking stock of the importance of data in policy making and developing robust and autonomous statistical capacity on the continent.
PANEL 1: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Speakers:
Bineta Diop
Pascal Lamy
Frannie Léautier
Carlos Lopes
Kumi Naidoo
Lai Yahaya

"Africa is positioned to take advantage of a number of important conditions that propel growth" according to Carlos Lopes of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). With a combined GDP of $3.3 trillion, which would place the continent among the top four economies of the world, and trade volumes that are greater than that of India for the same demographic, Africa has registered remarkable economic achievements over the last 15 years. While this is worth celebrating, the same cannot be said about the human development side of the equation. In fact, just as we recognise that six out of the ten fastest growing economies in the world are in Africa, we must also be aware that the six most unequal countries in the world are African as well.

The key to addressing this gap, according to Pascal Lamy, lies in exploring how Africa can convert its economic growth transformation to social transformation. Although there isn’t a singular answer, research by the Oxford Martin Commission for Future Generations has found that globally, close collaboration between local institutions, such as local government, civil society and the private sector on a given issue has proven to be the tipping point between initiatives that succeeded or failed. With most African countries being in the pre-emerging phase, Africa has the chance to draw lessons from the experiences, both positive and negative, of Brazil, China and India and others, which all offer multiple case studies to inform the continent’s human development agenda.

At the forefront of this agenda are Africa’s women and youth, who account for the largest share of Africa’s population and potential workforce. To this end, Africa must embark on a gender revolution that invests in building the capacity of the continent’s women and girls to become successful farmers, engineers, entrepreneurs and politicians in the next 50 years. Kumi Naidoo believes that Africa’s youth must also begin to assert leadership today and not wait until they receive permission from the ‘adults’ nor remain in confrontational and oppositional roles. After all, most of the people planning Africa’s future today will not be around to implement it.

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“We have come to a turning point but we are very far from the tipping point”. That’s how Donald Kaberuka of the African Development Bank (AfDB), described Africa’s current state of development, putting the continent’s often-quoted 6.5% growth rate in some context. Although the number itself is impressive, it fails to account for inflation, which in certain parts of the continent is quite high. But beyond numbers, there are other fundamental issues that African countries have yet to fully address, which may significantly restrict the development potential of the continent.

First and foremost, every country in Africa, without exception, suffers from a power crisis. Infrastructure investment, including energy generation, which was the engine behind South Korea’s rapid economic rise, remains relatively low in Africa. Less than 1/3 of Africans currently have access to electricity, according to Vera Songwe of the World Bank (WB). This vast shortage has a profound impact not only on people’s quality of life and livelihoods but also on the productivity of small and large businesses alike.

In addition to infrastructure investment, the free movement of people and goods across national borders is a critical dimension to Africa’s economic development, which has yet to receive its due attention from national governments. The long and arduous visa requirements imposed on Africans to visit or work in another African country, runs contrary to most nations’ development objectives and needs.

Yet, as we highlight the challenges associated with the mobility of talent, the potential of technology and mobile platforms to innovate education, facilitate learning and produce new jobs and industries should be recognised.

The mobility challenge is directly tied to the issue of integration that, according to Patrice Motsepe of African Rainbow Minerals, is largely focused on regional integration and less so on continental integration, which is as vital to developing new partnership opportunities. Along with integration, evidence based leadership has also been proven to be a key driver of development as it helps to neutralise the ‘governance deficit’ that is often observed in resource rich countries with fast growing economies.

Africa has the resources, talent and policy space to experience unprecedented levels of economic development. By investing aggressively on infrastructure and continental integration, including ease of mobility, by managing effectively and transparently the continents natural resources, as well as by leveraging technology as an innovative learning platform, 50 years from now, Africa will be, as highlighted by Vera Songwe, “...what America has not dreamed of yet”.

Speakers:
Donald Kaberuka
Daniel Kaufmann
Patrice Motsepe
Maria Ramos
Vera Songwe
PANEL 3: SAFETY & RULE OF LAW

Speakers:
H.E. Tedros Adhanom
Jendayi Frazer
Trevor Manuel
Robtel Pailey
Jean Ping
Salim Ahmed Salim

Was the terrorist attack at the Westgate Mall in Nairobi in September 2013 a failure of leadership? It depends on one’s perspective and definition. The terrorism act itself may be seen as a response to good leadership on the part of Kenya and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) community, whose recent military engagement in Somalia produced a level of stability and order to a country that hasn’t had a functioning government since the 1980’s. On the other hand, the very fact that Somalia was allowed to exist as a stateless country for over two decades also points to a serious leadership deficit on the part of the international community. However, as Salim Ahmed Salim pointed out, the primary responsibility for the situation in Somalia must lie with the Somalis themselves, as there isn’t much anyone else can do, if the various factions are unwilling or unable to reach a negotiated peace settlement.

The international community’s failure to act in Somalia was not an isolated incident but a reflection of the power dynamic that defines the Western world’s relationship with Africa, particularly when it comes to security matters. “The super powers never want to listen to us”, said Jean Ping, citing Libya as a case in point where the warning given by the African Union (AU) that military action would destroy the country and destabilise the region was not heeded. The first step to balancing this power dynamic, according to Trevor Manuel, is reforming the Security Council, where many of these decisions are made. Meanwhile, Africa has to develop the capacity to take charge of its own affairs.

That is what Africa is doing when it comes to the International Criminal Court (ICC), which the AU asserts is disproportionately targeting Africa and Africans for prosecution, including the current President and Prime Minister of Kenya. According to H.E. Tedros Adhanom, the ICC’s role in this context should strictly remain subsidiary, as Kenya has the institutional capacity to not only resolve the legal issue but also the national context to deliver lasting political reconciliation.

Another initiative that has been discussed ever since the founding of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has been a Pan-African stand-by military force able intervene on issues of peace and security on the continent. While the idea is still being developed, the main bottleneck — as with most Pan-African initiatives — remains financing. Can Africa ever be taken seriously by the West if it continues to source funding for its initiatives from the European Union? Robtel Pailey believes that Africa need not wait for the West to give it permission to sit at the “big boys’ table”. “We are not poor...we are poorly managed” she says. If Africans are committed to taking ownership of their affairs, and speaking with one voice in the international arena, Africa’s voice will not only be heard but it will also be listened to.

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PANEL 4: PARTICIPATION & HUMAN RIGHTS

Over the last 20 years, the vast majority of African countries have become electoral democracies, where citizens have been empowered to elect their chosen representatives in government. But while countless elections have been held, people’s initial delight with casting ballots has largely given way to cynicism and anger with the election process. This dissatisfaction is a result of an often rigged political system that equates elections alone with democracy, with few if any of the political institutions in place to legitimise the exercise or hold those elected to account.

In a recent survey conducted by the ONE Campaign, in which people were asked to name their highest aspirations, none of the top answers included human rights or political freedoms. According to Sipho Moyo, that’s because the people surveyed had come to associate political freedoms with elections, which according to their experiences were largely ineffective. As for human rights, it could simply be a case of misunderstanding the term itself, which although part of our everyday lexicon, isn’t necessarily easily defined. Indeed, the survey’s top answers included better jobs, good education and protection from crime and violence which all should be considered human rights.

According to Mary Robinson, the simplest way of understanding human rights is to frame it in terms of human dignity. Observed in those terms, the human rights issues presently affecting Africans on and off the continent become starkly apparent. From xenophobia against non-natives in South Africa, to the ill treatment of African domestic workers in the Middle East, it’s an issue that African leaders must take seriously if they are to claim that they’re the legitimate representatives of the people.

Mary Robinson further emphasises the importance of recognising climate justice as the most significant human rights issue going forward, with the risk of instability and conflict that may result from a potential 200 million climate-displaced people being a critical challenge.
CLOSING SESSION

Speakers:
Amadou Mahtar Ba
Mo Ibrahim
Elsie Kanza
Mamadou Toure

Africa has made great strides over the last 50 years but still has a way to go to realise its full potential. More than anything, now is the time where Africa’s greatest resource – its young people – ought to seize the initiative and forge ahead, as only they can define what they want for Africa in the future. And while the same challenges of poor governance, underdevelopment and corruption remain, this generation is equipped with the tools, including information and communications technology and social media, to leverage innovation in advancing the continent’s development agenda.

African leaders also have to take responsibility for the continent’s affairs. With 70% of its program budget and 100% of its peacekeeping budget coming from the European Union (EU), how can the AU possibly sit across the table with the global super powers and be heard, let alone respected? While potential alternative means to increasing the budget of the AU should be explored, the responsibility remains with the Heads of State and Government of member nations to secure the financial autonomy and authority of the very institution they created to embody their independence.

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**2013 FACTS & FIGURES: OVERVIEW**

### Potential Assets & Hurdles

#### Demographic Resources

The population of a country is a leader’s fundamental unit of responsibility. For the African continent, the potential benefits of present demographic trends can be huge, especially given the changing global context. However, in order to realise this potential, major challenges still need to be overcome. Today’s policy decisions will have a critical impact on the younger generation, who will become the bulk of African electorates and of the world’s labour force.

**A growing population | POTENTIAL ASSET**
- Africa’s population: +800 million in the last 50 years, +1800 million in the next 50 years
- By 2050 ¼ of the world’s population will be African
- By 2050 37 African countries will double their population

**Towards a youth majority | POTENTIAL ASSET**
- Africa is the only continent where the youth population will significantly expand
- Between 2010 & 2100 the African youth population will almost triple
- By 2100 almost ½ of the world’s youth will be African

**An expanding working age population | POTENTIAL ASSET**
- By 2050 ¼ of the world’s working age population will be African
- By 2035 Africa will have a larger working age population than India or China
- Between 2010 & 2050 Africa’s working age population will more than double

**Managing space: population distribution | HURDLE**
- More than ½ of Africa’s population live in only 7 countries
- Africa has the highest urban population growth rate in the world
- African cities: growing bigger but getting poorer?

**Securing food & nutrition, keeping diseases at bay | HURDLE**
- An under- & mal-nourished continent
- Communicable diseases: more than just HIV
- The growth of non-communicable diseases

**Matching education with labour markets | HURDLE**
- Almost ⅓ of sub-Saharan African youth lack basic skills
- Sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest secondary & tertiary school enrolment
- Skills do not meet the needs of the 21st century labour market
- ‘Jobless’ growth?

#### Natural Resources

Though unevenly distributed, Africa’s natural endowment is considerable, and remains mostly untapped. Leadership is crucial in taking forward the resource governance agenda. There has been increased emphasis on improving the accountability and transparency of the sector. However, governance remains a critical stumbling block for many countries. Both the public and private sectors have a shared responsibility to ensure that African natural resources benefit first the continent and its citizens. They must also guarantee the process is sustainable for future generations.

**Energy & mineral abundance | POTENTIAL ASSET**
- Africa’s energy production: 11% of the world’s oil, 6% of the world’s natural gas, 4% of the world’s coal
- A range of unexploited renewable energy resources
- The potential for nuclear energy
- Africa’s minerals: over 50% of the world’s production of platinum, cobalt, tantalum & diamonds

**Vital resources: land, water & agriculture | POTENTIAL ASSET**
- Land: an emerging commodity
- Water: a critical resource, mostly untapped, unevenly distributed
- Agricultural commodities: from meeting needs to creating wealth
- A regional opportunity: the 13 major transboundary water basins

**Overlooked potential? Biodiversity & landscapes | POTENTIAL ASSET**
- The impact of tourism
- Africa’s biodiversity endowment
- Africa’s world heritage wealth

**2013 African Economic Outlook: adding value | HURDLE**
- “Putting in place the right conditions for structural transformation based on natural resources”
- “Managing natural resources”
- “Promoting linkages”
- “Boosting the productivity of agriculture”

**Strengthening governance | HURDLE**
- Poor governance in many African resource-rich countries
- Multiple initiatives: the drive for transparency & accountability

**Ensuring efficient & equitable ownership | HURDLE**
- Avoiding ‘Dutch Disease’
- Preventing revenue losses for the country
- Sharing national wealth with all citizens
Key Priorities

Statistical Capacity: A Governance Tool, a Measure of Autonomy

Governance requires relevant data, just as driving requires a dashboard. Data are an essential policy tool for leaders to make informed choices and define strategies. Owning a robust statistical system is also crucial to achieving absolute independence for any country. Moreover, specific attention should be given to the measurement of the following key priorities for African governments: poverty, inequality, and employment.

- **African statistics lag behind**
  - Statistical capacities: room for improvement

- **Crucial missing data**
  - High missingness within MDG data
  - The ‘poverty’ of poverty data
  - Employment & inequality data

- **The data debate**
  - The critical GDP rebasing issue
  - Varying sources produce varying results

Economy: Achieving Autonomy & Integration

Recent decades have registered major shifts in global economic trends and balances. Africa is now leading on economic growth. Traditional donors’ aid is giving way to emerging countries’ direct investment. Some African countries are becoming creditors. Some are even beginning to buy debt off European countries and welcome their jobless youth. However, there are still major hurdles to overcome. Africa cannot afford to expatriate trillions of dollars through illicit financial outflows. In order to effectively become a competitive stakeholder in the global economy, autonomy is crucial. The continent must achieve regional economic integration, and upgrade its fragmented infrastructure network.

- **Taking stock of the shifts in global economic trends**
  - GDP growth since 2000: Africa now in the lead
  - The gap between domestic production & citizen well-being
  - Declining donors, emerging partners: from aid to investment

- **Building the path to financial autonomy**
  - Growing remittances
  - Widening & strengthening the tax base
  - Reduced debt levels
  - Accessing international sovereign bond markets
  - Emerging local currency bond markets & sovereign wealth funds
  - From FDI to ‘African Direct Investment’: investing at home

- **Integrating through infrastructure**
  - Fragmented infrastructure: the major hurdle
  - Energy: Africa in the shadows
  - Transport: Africa bypassed

Security: Tackling New Threats

Major changes are appearing in the nature of security threats, which need to be assessed and tackled. Most of the long-lasting regional conflicts and civil wars of the last century have come to an end. Nevertheless, social unrest and violence are mounting within countries, among a young population devoid of sufficient prospects. At the same time, transnational criminality is spreading across the continent, with probable links to various terrorist groups. These crucial challenges can only be properly addressed with an integrated and regional approach, and require strong governance and committed leadership.

- **Fewer regional conflicts?**
  - Most long-lasting conflicts have come to an end
  - The continent still hosts ⅔ of the current UNPKO
  - African troops contribute significantly to global UNPKO

- **The terrorist threat**
  - Terrorism is spreading across the continent
  - Terrorism & transnational criminality

- **Violence, trafficking, criminality: the “toxic brew”**
  - Mounting violence
  - Enlarged criminal networks
  - The drug issue

Participation: Ensuring Inclusivity

With the expanding use of technology, modes of participation and democratic tools are moving beyond the ballot box. The expected youth majority presents an opportunity or a threat, depending on how seriously inclusivity and social cohesion are taken in the political decision-making process. Whilst lengthy terms in office may offer an experienced government, this cannot be at the expense of a sound and sustainable democratic system. The ambitions and expectations of the younger generation must be taken into account, in order to ensure a smooth generational transition, and a shared vision of the next 50 years of the continent.

- **More & better elections?**
  - ‘Freer & fairer’ elections
  - Fewer transfers of power

- **Growing mistrust, dissatisfaction & unrest**
  - Growing disillusion among youth
  - Increasing unrest & violence
  - Democracy can no longer be defined by elections alone

68% of Twitter users in Africa rely on this platform as a primary source of information on national news.

In 2050, ½ of Africa’s population will be under 24 years old.

Out of the 120 executive elections held over the continent since 2000, ⅓ have led to a transfer of power.

By 2100, almost ½ of the world’s youth will be African.

The share of urban population living in slums in sub-Saharan Africa is the highest in the world, and almost twice the average share of developing regions.

Almost 11 million children are out of school in Nigeria, equivalent to the entire population of Tunisia.

26% of sub-Saharan African university students graduate in ‘Education, Humanity & Arts’, compared with 2% in ‘Agriculture’.

More than ½ the continent’s total population lives in only 7 countries.

In 2012, GDP growth rate has been -0.2% for EU-27 area and +4.8% for sub-Saharan Africa.

Between 2011 and 2012, bilateral aid to sub-Saharan Africa fell by 8% in real terms.

Only around ¼ of the population in sub-Saharan Africa has access to electricity.

Almost 90% of Nigerian oil is exported to non-African countries.

South Africa, Namibia and Niger together account for 18% of the world’s estimated uranium resources.

Africa holds around 60% of the world’s uncultivated arable land.

While around 40% of the EU budget is for the Common Agricultural Policy, public expenditure allocated to agriculture in Africa is on average less than 5%.

FDI inflows in Africa are now almost equivalent to aid flows (around $50 billion in 2012).

In DRC, the rebasing of GDP led the figures to increase by 66%.

Malaysia’s FDI stock in Africa is $19 billion.

Remittances sent to Africa, of over $60 billion in 2012, are higher than the ODA received.

Only 5% of Africa’s total hydropower potential is exploited.

By 2035 Africa will have a larger working age population than China.

By 2025, Ouagadougou, the fastest growing city in the world, will need to accommodate the equivalent of Namibia’s population.
Sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest share of engineering graduates in the world. With almost 43,000 troops currently serving as Blue Helmets, African countries contribute 37% of total UNPKO troops.

80% of the labour force in sub-Saharan Africa is employed in the informal sector. Africa accounts for more than ¾ of the world’s estimated reserves of Platinum-Group Metals and phosphate rock.

The Nile River is shared between 11 different countries. Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana & Nigeria together produce 64% of the world’s cocoa, while the entire African continent accounts for about 3% of its consumption.

There are 128 World Heritage Sites on the continent. Between 2008 & 2010, sub-Saharan Africa lost $38 billion to trade mispricing, equivalent to 1.3 times the development aid it received.

The whole of Africa’s energy generation capacity in 2010 was similar to Germany’s. Between 2003 & 2010 only around 5% of FDI in Africa was intra-African.

19 African countries have populations smaller than the city of Philadelphia (US). 20 African countries receive a credit-rating from at least 1 of the 3 leading rating agencies.

The total known value of African Sovereign Wealth Funds amount to $159 billion.

Diabetes cases in Africa will double to 24 million by 2030. In the next decade, non-communicable diseases are projected to account for almost ½ of deaths in Africa.

The total share of Africa’s pharmaceutical industry is less than 1% of the global share.

With a population equivalent to less than 5% of Nigeria’s, New York’s energy generation capacity is more than 3 times Nigeria’s.

At least 200 African airlines are currently operating on the continent, of which only 38 meet global safety standards and almost 150 are featured on the EU blacklist.

The annual budget of UNPKO in Africa is more than $5 billion, equivalent to ½ of bilateral aid to sub-Saharan countries.

In 16 out of 51 African countries, executive leaders are still in power after more than 10 years of tenure.
We were privileged to have Komla Dumor serve as the compere for our annual Ibrahim Forum in Addis Ababa on 10 November 2013.

Mo Ibrahim said on his passing: “Africa has lost one of its brightest sons and greatest champions.”

Hadeel Ibrahim added: “Komla was a hugely talented presenter and interviewer. He was widely respected for his professionalism and integrity, and for his passion to tell Africa’s story. Komla will be missed by people across the continent and beyond, including everyone at the Mo Ibrahim Foundation. He was and will remain a part of the Foundation family.”