

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

**AFRICA'S ECONOMIC, SECURITY, AND
DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES
AND THE U.S. ROLE**

August 12 - 19, 2019
Kigali, Musanze, and Muhanga, Rwanda

AFRICA'S ECONOMIC, SECURITY, AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES AND THE U.S. ROLE

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program
August 12-19, 2019

Kigali, Musanze, and Muhanga, Rwanda

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Rapporteur's Summary	
<i>Elsie Eyakuze</i>	3
A Call for a Transformative Agenda for Women for 2020 and Beyond	
<i>Madeleine K. Albright, Mary Robinson, and Peggy Clark</i>	9
Recovering from National Trauma: Reconciliation after the 1994 Genocide against Tutsis	
<i>Jennie Burnet</i>	15
U.S. Foreign Aid to Africa: Change or Continuity?	
<i>Agnes Binagwaho</i>	21
Conference Agenda	29
Conference Participants	37

RAPPORTEUR'S SUMMARY

Elsie Eyakuze

Columnist for *The East African*, Dar es Salaam

*The views expressed here are not the author's,
but rather the rapporteur's effort to reflect the discussion*

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program held a conference in Kigali, Rwanda, August 12-19, 2019 on Africa's Economic, Security, And Development Challenges and the U.S. Role. Participants included eight Members of the Congress, USAID and U.S. Embassy staff, and representatives of supporting foundations. A highlight of the conference was a meeting with Rwanda's President, Paul Kagame. Conference participants visited the Kigali Genocide Memorial as well as numerous projects supported by U.S. foreign assistance.

In 1994, Rwanda experienced a horrific genocide that decimated the country's population. The genocide was a result of a complex and long-standing competition for power in which perpetrators exploited class and racial politics. After the Rwandan People's Front, under General Paul Kagame, stabilized the country, reconstruction began. This involved a number of policy programs, including a strong push for gender parity in several sectors, including education, health, and government.

Like any other country, Rwandan society has been marked by a history of

patriarchal norms. For most of its history, men were prominent in business and politics while women did domestic work. Rwanda's 1994 genocide served as an inflection point for the country. The new government faced significant challenges in unifying its people, solidifying peace, and rebuilding the country. Reconciliation was determined to be the key to survival; nobody was to be left behind. After the genocide many women lost access to land, given the precedent of customary land rights that favored men. In 1998, inheritance laws were changed to allow females the same inheritance rights as males.

In Rwanda, women have been considered rebuilders, peacemakers, and politicians, and have performed a crucial role in transforming the country from devastating violence to prosperity. Today, 61% of the representation in its bicameral Parliament are women, the highest percentage in the world. While the governance of most modern political systems is dominated by men, Rwanda has been exemplary in making progress in this area. From a development perspective, Rwandans feel that empowering women is

one of the most powerful ways to influence multi-generational progress.

While many strides were made to unify the country in the aftermath of the genocide, there are many perpetrators who have still not been brought to justice.

Challenges To Development

Rwanda is extremely committed to its aspiration of becoming a middle-income country. Quality healthcare, education, and the modernization of farming are priorities. Rwanda has very strong accountability systems in regard to the productivity of its investments. The relatively small private sector poses a challenge to this landlocked country. Although coffee and tea are Rwanda's major exports, most agriculture hasn't developed at the pace needed to support a thriving service sector. A large percentage of population suffers from low literacy and stunting. Because Rwanda is small, both by territory and population, development projects, such as PEPFAR, (The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, started by President George W. Bush) can have a high impact.

In the last five years, the number of Rwandan children under five who are malnourished has dropped from 50% to roughly 37%. Sixteen years of partnership with the Ministry of Health of Rwanda with the Center for Disease Control has produced tangible results in combatting HIV/AIDS. Rwanda has used PEPFAR funding and the 90/90/90 formula to meet and surpass targets for treatment: 90% tested, 90% treated, 90% faithfully taking medication.

With 2.8 million people crossing back and forth at the Rwandan border with Democratic Republic of the Congo every year, the current challenge is managing Ebola and preventing an outbreak. The CDC has been working with USAID in this area

as well as on malaria and HIV/AIDS. In preparation for a possible outbreak, treatment centers have been built along the border. All individuals legally crossing at the Rwanda-Congo border are subject to a thermal scan, in order to detect whether they have fever – if so, they are turned back. Due to the transferability of these diseases, to the U.S. and other countries, it is essential that key regions are able to treat this disease quickly and effectively. The biggest challenge is human capacity: detection, field work, epidemiology programs, data collection, laboratory analysis, and government cooperation are all required to effectively mitigate the spread of contagious disease.

The State of Democracy, Civil Society, and Human Rights in Africa and the Role They Play in Development

It is a mistake to talk about Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) as a singular entity. There is incredible diversity, especially in the last 20 years, in terms of economic and political developments. Over the last 20 years, child mortality has dropped from 10% to 5%, and Africans in general are living with less poverty and better education.

It is notable, however, that as part of a larger global phenomenon in the last ten years, democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa has been declining. Of the 21 countries that became democracies in the 1990s, only 16 are still democratic today. These countries are reverting to autocracy with restraints on opposition and parliament and critics.

Some argue that autocracy is beneficial to development, and eventually leads to democracy. This is an appealing story, but intelligent and benign dictators are rare, and often autocracy can result in economic stagnation. A strong argument

was made that democracy is better for development in the long run. The world is at an inflection point, similar to that of 1989, when it was assumed that liberal democracy would ascend. The U.S. has stepped back its international engagements after the Iraq war as well as the 2008 recession. If the U.S. continues to retreat, China and Russia will fill that geopolitical vacuum and continue expanding their roles on the global stage.

Local, regional and pan-African institutions are central to security on the African continent. Rwanda exports security in the form of peacekeeping units and sharing best practices. The African Union and ECOWAS (the Economic Community of West African States) have been instrumental in addressing instability in West African Countries and dealing with incursions of extremist movements across the continent. U.S. interests in Africa are affected directly by U.S. public policies and public figures, especially those with high visibility.

In Rwanda, where President Kagame has led the country now for 25 years and has the legal right to stay in power until 2035, a concern is: What happens after his tenure?

Nutrition, Food Security, and Africa's Ability to Feed its Growing Population and the Links to U.S. Interests

The most recent FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN) report says that there are 821 million people suffering from hunger in SSA, and that 150 million suffer from malnutrition; while life expectancy has increased from 50 years to 60 years in the last 20 years.

Nutrition is critical in the first two years of life as it determines future cognitive function and health of the

individual. Thus, focusing on the mother and child in the first two years of pregnancy and infancy yields massive returns.

Sixty percent of the arable land in SSA has not been developed. The challenge is unlocking the benefits that agriculture can offer to poverty reduction and development. Governments tend to give loans to small agribusiness, while private banks would rather ask for collateral. In fact, agriculture is not a bad investment – the default rate is lower in the smallholder farm sector than in most other sectors. Private sector interest rates are prohibitive for farmers. By changing the model of collateral to movable commodities and fostering SACCOS (savings and cooperative credit associations) rather than land or housing to help farmers access funds is instrumental, especially in countries where property ownership laws do not resemble those of the U.S.

The U.S. government, via USAID, has supported agriculture through its Feed the Future initiative along with other agencies. Rwanda has been taken off the Feed the Future priority list because of its success in integrating nutrition into its health and social welfare systems. African countries like Rwanda have very small internal tax bases which compromises their ability to support public delivery programs. The Vision 2020 Omuranga project in Rwanda, which offered loans at 2% interest, moved one million people upwards from extreme poverty. When government institutionalizes very low interest rate loans, this can increase overall prosperity in this sector. Youth are also investing in African agriculture with innovation and entrepreneurship, and a returning diaspora is an important part of the economic development seen today.

Climate change plays a role in these development strategies, and the government has made good progress in encouraging environmental practices. Climate change is real, and some projections show that large areas of arable land will not be available in the future. As the Sahel moves south, there will be less agricultural land, resulting in food shortages and malnutrition. War is another threat. As was done in Ethiopia, famine can be predicted and mitigated, however, climate change and moving populations present new frontiers of challenge.

In America, nutrition is interpreted as an anti-obesity issue. In the developing world, it's the opposite: one in four children are entering school who are permanently stunted with cognitive challenges because they are malnourished. Only 1% of U.S. foreign aid goes to fighting malnutrition. Feed the Future is a comprehensive program that includes the various elements that are needed to deal with the production of food in the developing world. It is up to Congress to develop relationships with the countries that are engaged in Feed the Future.

Education reform, and women's education in particular, has potential to provide great, lasting impact, and it was pointed out that this could be a focus of a future agenda for U.S. assistance in Africa.

It was suggested that the U.S. model of land grant universities, which connects researchers with farmers on the ground, is a model that could be put to productive use in Africa. Another example drawn from the American experience was the availability of creative financing mechanisms that promote increased agricultural production, such as those that were utilized during the Great Depression.

U.S. Interests and Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa: Change or Status Quo?

The U.S. engages across SSA with military assistance, supporting private sector investment, diplomatic efforts, AGOA (the African Growth and Opportunities Act) and many different initiatives. Foreign aid around the world is estimated to total \$160 billion, \$34 billion dollars of which are disbursed by the U.S. as tracked by the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development); \$11 billion of this aid goes to SSA. One-third of this \$11 billion goes to health programs such as PEPFAR. Humanitarian relief makes up another third of the expenditure. Feed the Future and governance programs are in the remaining third. The biggest recipients of U.S. aid in SSA are Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa.

By comparison, China's aid in SSA is estimated to be roughly \$15 billion. Chinese influence in Africa is different from American influence in Africa. China tends to negotiate with and meet governments where they are, and this has both positive and negative effects on human development. Whereas personal interaction is a trademark of U.S. African diplomacy, this is not a prominent aspect of Sino-African relations. China's aid takes the form of loans, while American aid is mostly grants.

The most important U.S. programs are PEPFAR and Feed the Future – they are reaching 5 million families, or 20 million people. Power Africa is another major component of U.S. foreign assistance, with a goal of reaching 60 million new electrical connections delivering 30,000 megawatts of power.

Africa is the continent with the fastest growing middle class. This

population will become consumers and business partners of the countries that invest in them favorably. Research over the last dozen years shows a positive impact of aid, particularly in health: the U.S. has been a leading donor in the reduction of HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, child mortality, and malaria, while supporting access to vaccinations, clean water, and oral rehydration. Health insurance is available to 70% of Rwandans, and citizens are not dying of conditions that cost less than \$5 to treat. The 0.1% of the 1% U.S. commitment to aid has direct and visible results.

Why a Healthy Africa is in America's Interests

We are living at a time in history where new diseases and pathogens are emerging at an unprecedented rate, and with international air travel, an epidemic anywhere can be everywhere in a matter of days—which makes illnesses that may seem like local problems sometimes become global challenges. This is happening more frequently. Health organizations are continually caught by surprise by epidemics, especially those that are happening in places that are ill-equipped to deal with them. Aside from tropical diseases like Ebola, pandemic flu, antimicrobial resistances and formerly controlled diseases like measles now are presenting threats.

Many of these diseases are zoonotic, a result of our commercial and day-to-day relationships with tame and wild animals. While research cannot always predict when epidemics occur, it is improving at predicting where they are likely to occur and how to contain them. Again, this is an area in which human capacity is crucial to success. The conference engaged in a discussion of how to address the current epidemic of mass shootings in the U.S. and what can be learned from the health sector and peace-building techniques such as those practiced in Rwanda.

PEPFAR was repeatedly mentioned as a positive example of how U.S. assistance has changed the continent and protected U.S. security interests by protecting the world from the global AIDS epidemic.

The overall take-away from the conference was that Rwanda represents one of the positive outcomes of American aid in Africa. For every dollar invested, there are health, business, security and social improvements with long term implications.

The voices of Members of Congress can have an impact in bringing attention of these issues to a wider audience, as well as sparking legislative initiatives when appropriate.

A CALL FOR A TRANSFORMATIVE AGENDA FOR WOMEN FOR 2020 AND BEYOND

Madeleine K. Albright, Mary Robinson, and Peggy Clark

*This briefing paper was prepared for the Brookings Blum 2019 Conference: **2020 and Beyond: Maintaining the Bipartisan Narrative on U.S. Global Development**. In this briefing paper, the authors call for the global community to propose a new Transformative Agenda for Women for 2020 and Beyond to realize the gains in gender equality to date and to push for advances in areas of lack of progress. The authors believe U.S. development assistance will be critical to realizing this vision.*

Fourth World Conference on Women, Peace and Security in Beijing, 1995

Nearly twenty-five years ago, more than 47,000 women and men from all corners of the world made their way to Beijing and Huairou, China to issue a historic global call to action for women's empowerment and gender equality. Over seventeen thousand participants, including government delegates, accredited Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) representatives, international civil servants and media representatives gathered in Beijing for the Fourth World Conference on Women, Peace and Security. An additional 30,000 global activists met in Huairou, a district outside of Beijing's center city to hold an energetic and powerful parallel NGO Forum. Voices of women and men working for justice were heard throughout the 11-day conference, including Mother Theresa, Benazir Bhutto, Bella Abzug, and Hillary Clinton, the then U.S. First Lady, who famously declared that "human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights."

In Beijing and in Huairou spirits soared as the emergent global women's movement united with 189 Member States to promote and adopt the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, a ground-breaking document that set forth a framework for working to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment. The Beijing Platform for Action identified twelve critical areas that governments, the international community, and civil society agreed to prioritize in order to achieve the empowerment of all women. These twelve critical areas included: the environment, poverty, education, health, violence, armed conflict, economy, power and decision-making, institutional mechanisms, human rights, media and the girl child.

This foundational and seminal document continues to provide guidance as a blue print for achieving gender equality and women's empowerment.

Progress and Challenges for Women

In the past twenty-five years, we have seen progress in all twelve critical areas as well as some backlash against women. In recent years the #MeToo

movement, launched in the U.S., revealed pervasive and widespread sexual violence and harassment in every industry and sector with ripple effects across the globe. Last year, we also witnessed the unprecedented election of more than 100 women to the U.S. Congress. Additionally, this year, New Zealand's Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, successfully implemented a national ban on automatic weapons after the attack at Christ Church; five nations achieved gender equality in their parliaments; Sweden and Canada put forward feminist foreign and development assistance policies; and Ireland historically repealed a long-standing abortion ban. In global development, we witnessed major progress in key areas including a 44% reduction in maternal mortality globally and a 40% decrease in child mortality. Progress too has been made in education with an additional 41 million girls enrolled in primary school.

Areas of slower progress include political equality, reduction in violence against women, pay equity, legal ownership, economic participation, and access to reproductive health services. Only 23% of the world's parliamentarians are women, and there are only 15 female world leaders. Thirty-five percent of the world's women have experienced either physical or sexual violence. Globally, a woman earns only 77 cents for every dollar a man earns-- at this rate of progress women will not

realize pay equity until the year 2069. And, although we have made progress in access to reproductive health services in many regions, more than 200 million women around the world still lack access to reproductive health services.

There are several critical areas that require special attention. The Beijing Declaration did not explicitly address climate change but did call for an integration of gender concerns and perspectives in policies for sustainable development. Today climate change poses an existential crisis with carbon emissions rising at an alarming rate which will disproportionately impact the poorest nations, and women particularly. Eighty percent of climate refugees today are women. The recent Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report calls to limit global warming below 2 degrees centigrade, and, if possible, below 1.5 degrees centigrade. Women leaders have been instrumental in raising awareness of the nature of the environmental crisis we face and may be the force that inspires urgently needed action. At the recent G20¹ in Japan, the Women's Forum for the Economy and Society issued a call to the G20 entitled "Taking the Lead for Inclusion: Women Leading Climate Action" which builds upon women's engagement at COP21,² the Rome Manifesto,³ and the UNFCCC Gender Action Plan⁴ adopted at COP 23.⁵ The report calls for gender

¹ The G20 (also known as Group of Twenty) is an international forum for the governments, central bank governors, heads of state, and foreign ministers from 19 countries and the European Union (EU) to discuss financial stability.

² COP21 is also known as the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference. At COP21, 195 countries signed the Paris Agreement, which is a global action plan to avoid dangerous climate change.

³ The Rome Manifesto is a proposal from young leaders that commits to a European integration in the European Union.

⁴ The UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change) Gender Action Plan recognizes the need for gender mainstreaming in all targets and goals throughout the Convention.

⁵ COP23 is also known as the 2017 United Nations Climate Change Conference where the

equality in climate decision-making bodies by 2030 in recognition of the critical role women play in fighting climate change, the impact of climate change on women, and the belief that transitioning to a green economy is an opportunity for women's economic, political and social progress.

In addition, lack of progress on women's property rights requires renewed attention, especially as trends towards conservatism and nationalism roll back women's legal rights in many nations. The UN Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, on which two of this brief's authors served (Albright and Robinson), noted in 2008 that women are half the world's population, produce 60 to 80 percent of the food in developing countries, and are increasingly responsible for rural households, yet they own less than 10 percent of the world's property. Statutory and customary property systems disenfranchise women and result in barriers to women owning, using, and transferring or inheriting property.

U.S. Development Assistance for Women in Decline

As progress for women moves apace in many areas of the world, the current U.S. administration has called for major cuts in development assistance for women and girls, threatening and potentially reversing gains realized to date. For FY20, The U.S. Administration's request for gender-related funding is \$818 million, which includes \$100 million for the Women's Global Development and Prosperity Initiative launched by Ivanka Trump. In contrast, the Obama administration's 2017 budget request included \$1.3 billion for gender-related funding. Development assistance for women and girls is spread across several

accounts within the International Affairs Budget including the Economic Support Fund, Development Assistance, Global Health, Migration and Refugee Assistance, and International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement. The largest areas of funding are in Global Health (\$463 million for gender related funding in FY19) and Economic Support Fund/Development Assistance (\$375 million for gender related funding in FY19).

The transformative advances we have seen for women in reductions in maternal mortality, girls in school, and child mortality have been the result of major, concerted and comprehensive global efforts to move the needle on progress for women and children in partnership with long-standing community driven programs. Historic reductions in maternal mortality are largely due to significant increases in funding and comprehensive global and national campaigns and strategies, including national road maps, global leadership, and major public and private funding campaigns. Gains in girl's education and child mortality, similarly, were the result of effective global campaigns and new and innovative financing efforts.

A Transformative Agenda for Women in 2020 and Beyond

Many are claiming that 2020 will be a historic year for women. The time is right for all of us to call for a new, transformative agenda for women in 2020 and beyond. Recent history has shown that transformative change—change that is important and lasting—takes place only when there is both major new investment and attention that rises above partisan

convened countries discussed how to implement the Paris Agreement.

concerns. PEPFAR,⁶ perhaps the best example of this, was enacted in 2003 under the leadership of George W. Bush and transformed the global response to the HIV/AIDS crisis, reversing stigma and inaction and immediately and dramatically making antiretrovirals and other key practices and services available to HIV/AIDS patients, saving millions of lives.

What will it take to realize transformative change to address persistent gender inequities and lack of opportunity and rights for women? We believe asserting the centrality of investments in women and girls is critical for the health of nations and the planet. Rising above the 17 Sustainable Development Goals⁷ and 139 indicators to measure progress, we call for a fresh, bold and straightforward agenda for new investment in six key areas in order to realize progress for women and girls and all nations. We call upon the global community to identify key leverage points and actions in each of the following six areas:

- Political Leadership
- The Existential Threat of Climate Change and Food Security
- Economic Status
- Reproductive Health
- Gender-based violence
- Education

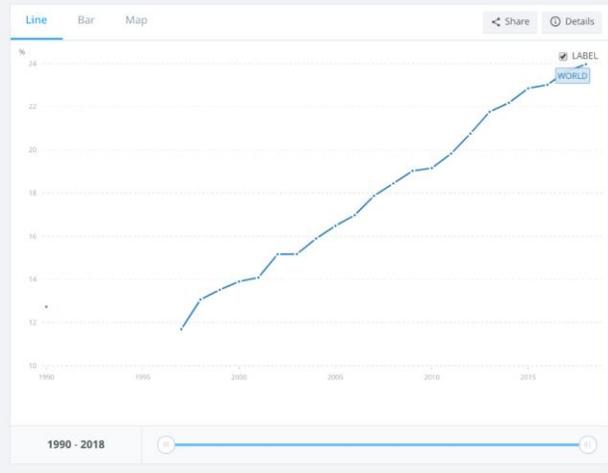
One of the most significant advances we have seen since the Beijing conference is a broader, mainstreamed recognition that investing in women in any area of development yields results, and better results, than a gender-neutral approach. The time has come for women's issues to move from the sidelines to center stage, and to embrace and promote development assistance that puts women at the center. The demand for women's equality has never been greater: the largest single demonstration in history took place on January 21, 2017 with more than 3.7 million men, women and children taking to the streets of every major city in the U.S. and 1 million more joining in more than 200 marches in 60 countries, calling for women's rights and equality. Recently, three leading organizers—Cecile Richards, Ai-Jen Poo and Alicia Garza—founded the organizing platform Supermajority and 100,000 people signed up in its first few days. As we approach the twenty-five-year mark after the Beijing conference, countries will submit country reports to the UN assessing progress towards Beijing's twelve areas of action. Let us use this historic marker to recommit forcefully to move towards a more gender equal world, and to call for the U.S. to once again to lead the world in development assistance for women. The time is right to broaden support for investing in women and girls and to recognize the power of women to heal nations and our planet.

⁶ PEPFAR (also known as The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief) is a U.S. governmental initiative to address epidemic of HIV/AIDS across the globe.

⁷ The Sustainable Development Goals are a collection of 17 goals set for 2030 by the United Nations in 2017. These goals outline a global action plan for countries to eradicate key issues areas such as poverty, hunger, and maternal mortality, and to ensure global peace and prosperity by 2030.

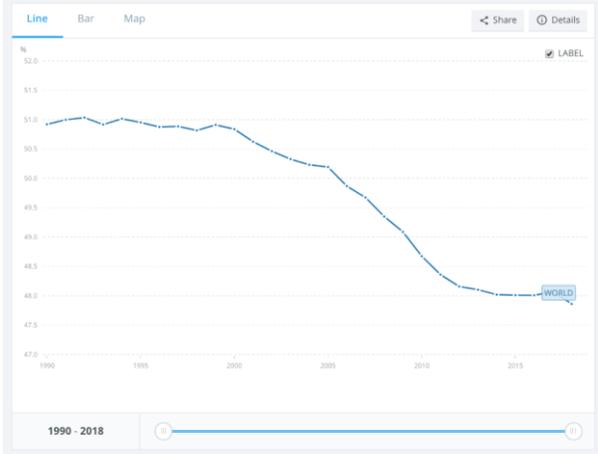
Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (%)

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) (ipu.org).
 License: CC BY-4.0



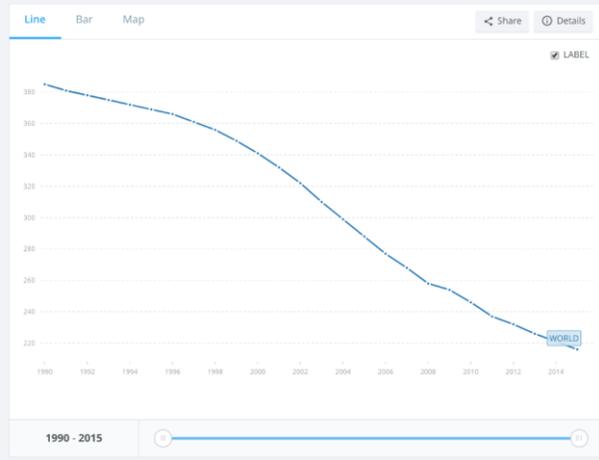
Labor force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15+) (modeled ILO estimate)

International Labour Organization, ILOSTAT database. Data retrieved in April 2019.
 License: CC BY-4.0



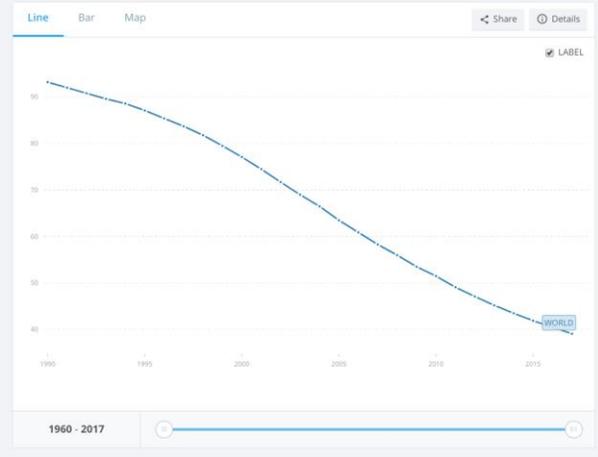
Maternal mortality ratio (modeled estimate, per 100,000 live births)

WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, World Bank Group, and the United Nations Population Division. Trends in Maternal Mortality: 1990 to 2015. Geneva, World Health Organization, 2015.
 License: CC BY-4.0



Mortality rate, under-5 (per 1,000 live births)

Estimates Developed by the UN Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation (UNICEF, WHO, World Bank, UN DESA Population Division) at childmortality.org.
 License: CC BY-4.0



Authors

Madeleine K. Albright

Madeleine K. Albright is Chair of Albright Stonebridge Group, a global strategy firm, and Chair of Albright Capital Management LLC, an investment advisory firm focused on emerging markets. She was the 64th and the first female Secretary of State of the United States. Dr. Albright received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, from President Obama on May 29, 2012.

Albright is a Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. She chairs the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and serves as president of the Truman Scholarship Foundation. She serves on the U.S. Department of Defense's Defense Policy Board, a group tasked with providing the Secretary of Defense with independent, informed advice and opinion concerning matters of defense policy. Dr. Albright also serves on the Board of the Aspen Institute. In 2009, Dr. Albright was asked by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen to Chair a Group of Experts focused on developing NATO's New Strategic Concept.

Mary Robinson

Mary Robinson is President of the Mary Robinson Foundation – Climate Justice. She served as President of Ireland from 1990-1997 and UN High Commissioner for Human Rights from 1997-2002. She is a member of the Elders and the Club of Madrid and the recipient of numerous honours and awards including the Presidential Medal of Freedom from the President of the United States Barack Obama. She sits on the advisory board of Sustainable Energy For All (SE4All) and is also a member of the Lead Group of the Scaling Up Nutrition (SUN) Movement. Between 2013 and 2016 Mary served as the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy in three roles; first for the Great Lakes region of Africa, then on Climate Change and most recently as his Special Envoy on El Niño and Climate.

A former President of the International Commission of Jurists and former chair of the Council of Women World Leaders she was President and founder of Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalization Initiative from 2002-2010 and served as Honorary President of Oxfam International from 2002-2012.

Mary Robinson serves as Patron of the Board of the Institute of Human Rights and Business, is an honorary member of The B Team, in addition to being a board member of several organizations including the Mo Ibrahim Foundation and the European Climate Foundation. She serves as Chancellor of the University of Dublin since 1998. Mary's memoir, *Everybody Matters*, was published in September 2012.

Peggy Clark

Peggy Clark is a Vice President of the Aspen Institute and Executive Director of Aspen Global Innovators Group. Peggy has had a 30-year career working on issues of poverty alleviation, global health, social enterprise, and development finance. Serving in founding and leadership roles at the Aspen Institute, the Ford Foundation, Save the Children, Realizing Rights, and on boards including Root Capital, Last Mile Health, Impact Assets, the African Leaders Malaria Alliance and the Calvert Foundation, Peggy has been a leading figure in identifying and building industries, movements, and creative advocacy on key issues of our times. Peggy received a Presidential Award for Excellence in Microenterprise from President Bill Clinton, and was instrumental in passage of the WHO Global Code of Practice on the Ethical Recruitment of Health Workers. Currently, Peggy directs a portfolio of programs promoting breakthrough solutions to global development in the areas of health innovation, leadership and entrepreneurship. Previously, Peggy served as the Executive Vice President of the Aspen Institute, co-founder and Managing Director of Realizing Rights, Chair of the Women's Program Forum at the Ford Foundation, and as the first Director of Small Scale Enterprise and Credit at Save the Children Federation.

RECOVERING FROM NATIONAL TRAUMA: RECONCILIATION AFTER THE 1994 GENOCIDE AGAINST TUTSIS

Jennie Burnet

Associate Professor of Global Studies & Anthropology,
Georgia State University

It is difficult to overstate the devastation wrought by the 1994 genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda.¹ Between April 6 and July 4, 1994, an estimated 800,000 Rwandans lost their lives in a state-sponsored genocide that targeted ethnic Tutsi.² As the former government and military responsible for the genocide withdrew, they looted moveable property in the country and intentionally destroyed infrastructure. The country was littered with bodies of the dead and hastily filled graves. Genocide survivors had seen their loved ones murdered, survived terrible physical injuries, lost all property including their homes destroyed in the genocide, and faced a future bereft of kin. The violence of the genocide and the simultaneous war affected Rwandans of all ethnicities, with Tutsis

bearing the brunt of the most horrific violence. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) rebel army, which brought the genocide to an end, faced the monumental task of forming a government, re-instating the rule of law, and rebuilding a society that had been completely destroyed.

The approximately six million civilians who remained in Rwanda, including several hundred thousand genocide survivors who were physically and psychologically traumatized, had to pick up the pieces of their lives with little assistance from international aid agencies, whose efforts focused on the humanitarian crisis emerging in refugee camps on Rwanda's borders in Zaire (now Democratic Republic of the Congo) and Tanzania.³ A 1995 study

¹ In 2008, amendments to the Rwandan constitution codified the language for referring to the events of 1994 in Rwanda as "the 1994 genocide against Tutsis" (*1994 jenoside yakorewe abaTutsi* in Kinyarwanda).

² The figure 800,000 comes from the United Nations, "Report of the Independent Inquiry into Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," December 15, 1999. Estimates of how many people died in the 1994 genocide range from 500,000 to the Rwandan government's official number of one million. Republic of Rwanda, *Dénombrement des Victimes du Génocide* [Census of Genocide Victims], (Ministry of Local Government, Communal Development, and Social Affairs, April 2004), 21. For more on the numbers of dead, see Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2006), 51.

³ Jennie Burnet, *Genocide Lives in Us: Women, Memory, and Silence in Rwanda* (University of

found that 66 percent of Rwandan children had witnessed the violent death of their parents, and 88 percent had witnessed the death of someone they knew.⁴ Genocide survivors sometimes described themselves as the living dead. As one survivor put it in 2000, "I wasn't really alive anymore; I was consumed with hate."⁵ Female genocide survivors had suffered widespread sexual assault and sexual enslavement, and many found themselves pregnant by their rapists.⁶ Genocide widows and elders faced destitution with no remaining kin to provide the customary safety net for the vulnerable.

Nearly twenty-five years later, Rwanda's transformation seems miraculous even if the country still endures the genocide's long-term consequences. Fewer Rwandans live in poverty today than did in 2000.⁷ The capital city, Kigali, has been transformed into a bustling metropolis of over a million residents with a beautiful international convention center, hotels, office buildings, and shopping malls. Women hold 61% of the seats in the parliament. Nearly all children are enrolled in primary school, and the country closed

the gender gap in education with girls outnumbering boys in primary and secondary school. Despite these successes, inequality has grown significantly since 1994,⁸ the government tightly controls public discourse,⁹ and political competition is limited.¹⁰ The government has prioritized economic prosperity over freedom of expression and competitive politics.¹¹ In short, the country has made significant progress in terms of justice and reconciliation for the genocide, gender equality and women's rights, and economic development. Yet, the country faces ongoing challenges due to dependence on foreign aid, infrastructure needs, unemployment, and labor underutilization.

Justice and Reconciliation

Justice and reconciliation posed a serious challenge in Rwanda's recovery. After the genocide, the transition to daily life lived in peace took place over several years. Initially, the RPF forces sought to halt direct violence, to reinstate civil authorities in local communities, and to re-establish the rule of law. This process took time and did not always move forward smoothly.

Wisconsin Press, 2012), 5.

⁴ René Degni-Segui, "Report on the Human Rights Situation in Rwanda." (Geneva: United Nations Human Rights Commission, January 29, 1996), 11 para 32.

⁵ Burnet, *Genocide Lives in Us*, 3.

⁶ Jennie Burnet, "Situating Sexual Violence in Rwanda (1990–2001): Sexual Agency, Sexual Consent, and the Political Economy of War," *African Studies Review* 55, no. 2 (2012): 97–118.

⁷ "Poverty and Equity Country Dashboard: Rwanda," World Bank Poverty Data, accessed September 9, 2017, <http://databank.worldbank.org/>.

⁸ "GINI Index (World Bank Estimate) | Data," The World Bank | Data, accessed September 4, 2017, <https://data.worldbank.org/>.

⁹ See for example, Freedom House rankings 1994-2016. "Country and Territory Ratings and Statuses 1972-2016" (Freedom House), accessed August 28, 2017, <https://freedomhouse.org/>.

¹⁰ United States Department of State, "Rwanda 2016 Human Rights Report" (Washington DC, 2017).

¹¹ The Mo Ibrahim Foundation African Governance index ranks Rwanda high in terms of its Human Development and Sustainable Economic Opportunity indices but consistently low in terms of its Safety and Rule of Law indices. "2016 Ibrahim Index of African Governance Rwanda Insights" (Mo Ibrahim Foundation), accessed August 28, 2017, <http://s.mo.ibrahim.foundation/>.

Throughout 1994 and 1995, civilians faced periodic outbreaks of violence. The mass return of two millions refugees to Rwanda in 1996 and 1997 generated security concerns, a housing crisis, and intense land tenure conflicts. Between 1998 and 2000, civilians in western and northern Rwanda were sometimes caught between rebels and government counter-insurgency operations.

Initially, the new government set out to prosecute every perpetrator from national-level political and military leaders who organized the genocide down to subsistence farmers who stole their neighbors' property. In 1996, the first domestic genocide trials in Rwanda's formal courts began shortly after the country adopted a law for genocide crimes. These cases resulted in the first convictions of genocide perpetrators and executions in April 1997.¹²

By 1999, 150,000 prisoners accused of genocide crimes awaited trial in congested prisons that had been hastily expanded or fashioned from warehouses or school dormitories. In response, the government turned to a traditional conflict resolution mechanism, known as *gacaca*, used since the precolonial period to resolve community conflicts. The Rwandan government, with financial support from the international community, transformed this local conflict resolution mechanism into a nation-wide system of grassroots courts, known as the Gacaca Courts or more succinctly Gacaca. The Gacaca Courts tried over 1.9 million cases and found guilty verdicts in over 1.6 million cases in a little

over a ten year timespan.¹³ The vast majority of perpetrators were eventually released back to their communities. The Gacaca Courts completed their work and were dissolved in 2012.

Efforts for justice and reconciliation necessarily extended beyond the country's borders. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) sought to bring to justice the leaders who had fled the country. Over the 20 years of its existence, the ICTR prosecuted 76 people for genocide or crimes against humanity and found 62 of them guilty. Its most significant achievement was the first ever conviction for the crime of genocide under international law.

To promote reconciliation, the new government discouraged use of the terms, "Hutu," "Tutsi," and "Twa," and removed them from national identity cards and all government paperwork. In 1999, the government created the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission to organize meetings and activities to promote reconciliation. In 2001, the government made discrimination and divisionism, meaning promoting ethnic division, crimes. In 2007, the government created the National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide to prevent and fight against genocide and genocide ideology and to help overcome its consequences.

Gender Equality and Women's Rights

In the past decade, Rwanda has become a global leader in gender equality and women's rights. In 2008, Rwandans elected a female majority to the national

¹² No other executions for genocide crimes have been held in Rwanda and in 2007, the country abolished the death penalty. "Rwanda Scraps the Death Penalty," BBC News website, June 8, 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6735435.stm>.

¹³ "Achievements | Gacaca Community Justice," accessed September 9, 2017, <http://gacaca.rw/about/achievements/>.

legislature. Today women comprise 61% of seats in both houses of parliament. Women realised this achievement thanks in large part to a gender quota system that encompassed all levels and branches of the government. The gender quotas were created with the adoption of a new constitution in 2003. Its preamble declared a national commitment to gender equality and guaranteed that “women are granted at least thirty per cent of posts in decision making organs’ of the entire government.”

Numerous laws have been passed to enhance protection of women’s rights. The 1996 law on genocide crimes placed rape, sexual mutilation, and sexual enslavement among the most serious crimes after women lobbied for it. The 1999 inheritance law gave women and girls equal rights to inherit property as men and boys. The 2004 land policy and accompanying 2005 land law clarified women’s property rights under the 1999 inheritance law, including their rights to own and inherit real estate. In 2007, the parliament passed a wide-ranging law on gender-based violence.

Scholars have attributed Rwanda’s success in enhancing and protecting women’s rights and increasing women’s representation to numerous factors, including the Rwandan Patriotic Front’s long-term commitment to mainstreaming women, Rwanda’s vibrant women’s civil society organizations, the use of behind-the-scenes lobbying of male allies to

convince them to support policy initiatives and laws, and a transformation in the international development context whereby aid agencies have mainstreamed women and gender approaches.¹⁴ In addition, the unique situation after the genocide required women to break cultural taboos that limited women’s roles. They broke these taboos not because they sought liberation from gender oppression but because they had no other choice—their male kin and neighbors were dead, imprisoned, or untrustworthy.¹⁵

Economic Development and Agriculture Reform

Rwanda’s economic recovery in the aftermath of the genocide has been remarkable. In 2000, Rwanda adopted “Vision 2020,” a strategic plan that defined its long-term development goals. The plan sought to transform the country from a low-income, agriculture-based economy to a middle-income country with a knowledge-based, service-oriented economy by 2020. The plan emphasized modernizing the agricultural sector, investing in education, improving governance, and building world-class infrastructure to support a vibrant private sector and support tourism. In December 2016, the president announced a new plan called “Vision 2050.”¹⁶ The plan sets a goal to make Rwanda a middle-income country by 2035 (meaning per capita gross national income of at least \$4,036 according to the World Bank) and a high income country by 2050 (meaning per

14 See for example, Jennie Burnet, “Women Have Found Respect: Gender Quotas, Symbolic Representation, and Female Empowerment in Rwanda,” *Politics & Gender* 7, no. 3 (September 2011): 303–34; Hilde Coffé, “Conceptions of Female Political Representation Perspectives of Rwandan Female Representatives,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 35, no. 4 (August 7, 2012): 286–97; Claire Devlin and Robert Elgie, “The Effect of Increased Women’s Representation in Parliament: The Case of Rwanda,” *Parliamentary Affairs* 61, no. 2 (April 1, 2008): 237–54.

15 Burnet, *Genocide Lives in Us*, 6.

16 Eugene Kwibuka, “Umushyikirano Mulls Vision 2050,” *New Times*, December 23, 2016, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201512230502.html>, accessed January 9, 2017.

capita gross national income of at least \$12,2476 according to the World Bank). In 2015 Rwanda's per capita gross national income was \$700.

Between 2001 and 2015, economic growth averaged about 8% per year.¹⁷ Between 2005 and 2010, the country reduced the poverty rate from 57% to 45%.¹⁸ Rwanda met most of the Millennium Development Goals by the end of 2015. Despite these successes, 63% of the population still lives in extreme poverty, defined by the World Bank as less than \$1.25 a day.¹⁹ In 2016, growth slowed to 6% due to weak external demand and tight monetary policy while inflation increased to 7.2%, the highest level in 20 years.²⁰ Drought and crop failures in 2016 and the first growing season of 2017 had negative effects on the economy. Unemployment rose to 16.7 percent in 2017 from 13.2 percent in 2016.²¹

Eighty-three percent of the country's 11 million people live in rural areas.²² More than 70% of the population lives from

subsistence farming, meaning they grow the food they eat.²³ As part of its plans to modernize and professionalize the agricultural sector, the government implemented an ambitious land registration and titling program. The government assumed the program would improve land-tenure security. Studies show the program led to increased land tenure insecurity and reduced choice for smallholders.²⁴ The government also pursued a crop intensification program that included multiple interventions to modernize agriculture and increase outputs. Government assessments of agricultural reform and poverty reduction have been highly favorable. Some scholars have concluded that agricultural reform has increased insecurity in terms of food and income for small landholders.²⁵

In terms of ease of doing business, the World Bank ranks Rwanda first in East Africa and third in Sub-Saharan Africa.²⁶ The country has created a favorable environment for business start-ups, foreign

¹⁷ "The WorldBank in Rwanda Overview," Text/HTML, World Bank, accessed January 15, 2018, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/rwanda/overview>.

¹⁸ "Rwanda | Data," accessed January 15, 2018, <https://data.worldbank.org/country/rwanda>.

¹⁹ Tom Bundervoet, "Should We Stop Calling \$1.25 a Day Extreme Poverty?," Text, Future Development, October 9, 2013, <http://blogs.worldbank.org/futuredevelopment/should-we-stop-calling-125-day-extreme-poverty>.

²⁰ "Rwanda Country Notes Economic Outlook," African Economic Outlook, accessed January 16, 2018, <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/country-notes/rwanda>.

²¹ "Rwanda Unemployment Rate | 2001-2018 | Data | Chart | Calendar | Forecast," accessed January 16, 2018, <https://tradingeconomics.com/rwanda/unemployment-rate>.

²² "5 Things to Know about Rwanda's Economy," World Economic Forum, accessed January 15, 2018, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/04/5-things-to-know-about-rwanda-s-economy/>.

²³ An Ansoms et al., "Rwanda's Agricultural Revolution Is Not the Success It Claims to Be," The Conversation, accessed January 16, 2018, <http://theconversation.com/rwandas-agricultural-revolution-is-not-the-success-it-claims-to-be-86712>.

²⁴ Ansoms et al.

²⁵ Ansoms et al.

²⁶ "Rwanda Positions Itself as the Leading Investor Friendly Country in the Region." accessed January 16, 2018, <http://www.rdb.rw/home/newsdetails/article/rwanda-positions-itself-as-the-leading-investor-friendly-country-in-the-region-1.html>.

investment, entrepreneurs, and the private sector.²⁷ Although the government has pursued efforts to reduce its dependence on foreign aid, 30-40% of government revenue comes from aid.²⁸ Declining foreign aid limits government spending on priority areas like health care and education.²⁹

Still Striving for Reconciliation

Rwanda's efforts to recover from the 1994 genocide against Tutsis have been successful. The country's economic and human development trajectories are decisively upward despite the challenges of foreign aid dependency, infrastructure needs, unemployment, and labor underutilization. The country's desired transition from subsistence agriculture to an economy based on knowledge production, service provision and manufacturing will likely pose serious challenges. The coming years will show whether Rwanda can achieve the Vision 2050's ambitious goals. Success may be determined in part by the level of foreign aid to support these plans.

The country's trailblazing in terms of women's rights and gender equality should help to continue to improve daily life for all Rwandans.

Justice for the 1994 genocide against Tutsis has been rendered, but some known perpetrators are still at large and there are others whose crimes have yet to be discovered. The search for justice must continue for Rwanda as it has for the Holocaust. Likewise, seeking reconciliation is an endeavor that must be measured in lifetimes not decades. Rwanda has succeeded in forging a new national identity based on unity and reconciliation. Yet, genocide survivors continue to bear unimaginable loss. Ordinary Rwandan citizens from all backgrounds continue to struggle with the genocide's legacies and search for reconciliation within their communities and families. Reconciliation is a work in progress that will continue for generations.

²⁷ "Rwanda Country Notes Economic Outlook."

²⁸ "5 Things to Know about Rwanda's Economy."

²⁹ Erika Check Hayden, "Rwanda Feels the Pinch as Donors Slash Health Aid," *Nature News* 539, no. 7629 (November 17, 2016): 342.

U.S. FOREIGN AID TO AFRICA: CHANGE OR CONTINUITY?

Agnes Binagwaho

Vice Chancellor, University for Global Health Equity

While Africa was once a continent deemed “hopeless”¹ by U.S. media outlets and was seen as forever condemned to poverty, starvation, and tragedies, in the past ten years, the world has witnessed major transformations on the continent. This is thanks to home-grown solutions and creative and positive outside support which has helped create a new outlook and new opportunities. Sub-Saharan Africa’s rise in recent years can be credited to an interconnected set of factors including growing economies, more efficient governments, and more focused foreign development support, through both foreign governmental and non-profit investment. All of this has led to better human and economic development made possible through long-term planning, in which the U.S. has played and could continue to play a major role. Human progress needs a focus on inclusive development which, coupled with boosting the private sector, could be

mutually beneficial, serving the interests of both the African and the American people.

Current Aid and Investment

The U.S. government’s support has contributed greatly to post-colonial sub-Saharan African development in a multifaceted way, which has transcended classic concepts of foreign aid as truckloads of food rations and shipments of medicine. Through programs run by USAID and the State Department, as well as through U.S. engagement via nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), U.S. private sector investment, and regional military and strategic security efforts, the U.S. has contributed to African human and economic development.²

Not only have these efforts been publicly popular and have brought together the traditionally divided political parties in the U.S., but they have also proven effective in sub-Saharan Africa.³ In recent

1 “Hopeless Africa,” *The Economist*, May 2000, <https://www.economist.com/node/333429>.

2 Lesley Anne Warner, “Advancing Peace and Security in Africa,” in *Top Five Reasons Why Africa Should Be a Priority for the United States* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Africa Growth Initiative, 2013), 3–5, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/04_africa_priority_united_states.pdf.

3 George Ingram, “Myths about U.S. Foreign Aid,” *The Brookings Institution* (Washington, DC, April 2017), <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/unpacked/2017/04/07/myths-about-u-s-foreign-aid/>;
George Ingram, “Congress Finds Bipartisan Support for Foreign Aid and Aid Reform,” *The Brookings*

years, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI) have improved the health of populations in the region and contributed to the declines in overall poverty, under-5 mortality, maternal mortality, malaria, tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, and stunting. They have also facilitated increases in improved sanitation facilities, pregnant women seeking prenatal care, and school enrollment and completion.⁴ Since the mid-1990s, mortality of children under five has been cut in half, from 17 percent to 8 percent, and extreme poverty in Africa has decreased from 61 percent in 1993 to 43 percent in 2012, a decline of nearly one percentage point a year for two decades.⁵ Nowhere has this progress had greater results than in Rwanda and Ethiopia.

Rwanda

The story of Rwanda in the post-genocide era is one of coordination and an equity-based agenda, both in national initiatives and in working with international partners. By leveraging international donor

funding and government investment, and through thoughtful and deliberate program implementation, Rwanda has made tremendous strides in key health and development indicators. The percent of the population living in extreme poverty has dropped from 41.6 percent in 2001 to 16.3 percent in 2014.⁶ In 2015, an estimated 75 percent of eligible individuals were covered by the community-based health insurance program, *Mutuelles de santé*.⁷ Ninety-three percent of children have received a full suite of vaccinations against 11 antigens, with girls additionally receiving the HPV (human papilloma virus) vaccination.⁸ Mortality in children under five years old has fallen markedly and life expectancy has doubled since the mid-1990s.⁹ Foreign investment has been especially crucial in the fight against HIV in Rwanda and today 78 percent of HIV-positive individuals are on an antiretroviral regimen and mother-to-child transmission of HIV is less than 2 percent.¹⁰ These achievements were made possible because of visionary national leadership and U.S. and international investment in health

Institution (Washington, DC, July 2016), <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2016/07/11/congress-finds-bipartisan-support-for-foreign-aid-and-aid-reform/>.

4 "Aid Effectiveness | Data," The World Bank, 2017, <https://data.worldbank.org/topic/aid-effectiveness?end=2015&locations=ZG&start=1990&view=chart>.

5 Steven Radelet, "Africa's Rise - Interrupted?," *Finance & Development* 53, no. 2 (2016): 6–11, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2016/06/pdf/radelet.pdf>.

6 "Final Report - Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey in Rwanda (2000-2001)" (Kigali, Rwanda, 2002); "Rwanda Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey – 2013/14: Main Indicators Report" (Kigali, Rwanda, 2015).

7 "African Strategies for Health - Health Insurance Profile: Rwanda" (Arlington, VA, 2016), http://www.africanstrategies4health.org/uploads/1/3/5/3/13538666/country_profile_-_rwanda_-_us_letter.pdf.

8 "Annual Health Statistics Booklet - 2015" (Kigali, Rwanda, 2015), http://www.moh.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/hmis_reports/2015_20Annual_20Statistical_20booklets_20V13_20Signed.pdf.

9 "World Development Indicators | DataBank," The World Bank Group, 2017, <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=SSF>; Agnes Binagwaho et al., "Rwanda 20 Years on: Investing in Life," *The Lancet* 383 (2014): 1–5.

10 "Health Sector Annual Report: July 2015-June 2016" (Kigali, Rwanda, 2016), http://www.moh.gov.rw/fileadmin/templates/MOH-Reports/Health_20Sector_20Annual_20Report_202015-2016_25082016.pdf.

that was used effectively to strengthen the health system overall, with the additional understanding that locally-rooted and locally-driven health initiatives are the most effective, efficient, and sustainable. As a result, Rwanda is one of the few countries in Africa which has achieved the Millennium Development Goals.¹¹

Ethiopia

Ethiopia's progress in recent years can be attributed to rapid and stable economic growth, with a co-occurrence of declining poverty, increasing life expectancy, and declining child and infant mortality. Ethiopia, as a result, reached most of the Millennium Development Goals.¹² Many of these achievements can be credited to significant Ethiopian public infrastructural investment and a conducive but careful environment for foreign investment. The economy of Ethiopia has shifted in recent years towards the service sector and agriculture, with specific attention paid to small, rural, and pro-poor business initiatives.¹³ Ethiopia has used U.S. support to finance poverty reduction programs and investments.¹⁴ Additionally,

Ethiopia has put in place one of the largest social protection programs in Africa - The Productive Safety Net Program. This program sets out to support chronically food-insecure households and transition them away from recurrent food aid and towards secure, reliable, cash-based social protection.¹⁵ Using this approach, Ethiopia has consistently seen its Gross Domestic Product increase by an average of 10 percent annually.¹⁶

Lessons from the Past

Despite these successes, there have been numerous issues and setbacks over the course of U.S. investment in sub-Saharan Africa. Some of the most fragile states in the world and a majority of UN peacekeeping missions exist in sub-Saharan Africa. Extreme poverty creates instability and challenges that have ripple effects on continental and global security. In an increasingly globalized world, the negative impacts of these conflicts and extremist organizations are exacerbated by porous borders, human and drug trafficking, and weak or corrupt government institutions, which concern all of the developing as well

¹¹ Uzziel Ndagijimana, "Update Status & Key Messages: MDGs, EDPRS 2, Vision 2020" (Kigali, Rwanda, 2015), http://www.statistics.gov.rw/file/4433/download?token=a7VAE4j_; "Fact Sheet on Current MDG Progress of Rwanda (Africa)," MDG Monitor, 2015, <http://www.mdgmonitor.org/mdg-progress-rwanda-africa/>.

¹² "Ethiopia's Great Run: The Growth Acceleration and How to Pace It," 2016, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/693561467988949839/pdf/99399-REVISED-PUBLIC-thiopia-Economic-Update-2-11-16-web.pdf>.

¹³ "AfDB and Ethiopia: Partnering for Inclusive Growth" (Tunis, Tunisia, 2013), [https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AfDB and Ethiopia - Partnering for Inclusive Growth.pdf](https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AfDB%20and%20Ethiopia%20-%20Partnering%20for%20Inclusive%20Growth.pdf); "Africa: A Miracle Economy in Africa - Ethiopia's Success Story," allAfrica, November 1, 2017, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201711010375.html>; "Ethiopia's Great Run: The Growth Acceleration and How to Pace It."

¹⁴ Max Bearak and Lazaro Gamio, "The U.S. Foreign Aid Budget, Visualized," The Washington Post, October 18, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/world/which-countries-get-the-most-foreign-aid/>; "The World Bank In Ethiopia," The World Bank, 2017, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ethiopia/overview#1>.

¹⁵ "AfDB and Ethiopia: Partnering for Inclusive Growth."

¹⁶ "2017 Investment Climate Statements - Ethiopia," Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2017, <https://www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/othr/ics/2017/af/269733.htm>.

as the developed countries.¹⁷ Such conflicts have obvious ramifications for development and investment on the continent, not least of which are the millions of migrants, internally displaced people, and refugees that result from this instability.

Because these effects extend beyond Africa, economic development that stabilizes the continent will have a positive global impact. For example, weak health systems resulting from years of conflict and instability contribute to create non-functioning health systems and are a national, continental, and global threat. Just a few years ago, countries in West Africa were ravaged by the Ebola epidemic. Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea, the countries most affected by the Ebola epidemic, had experienced civil wars, unrest, refugee movement and internal displacement, and governmental disarray in the 1990s and early 2000s. Because of this, they lacked the capacity to respond to the initial outbreak of Ebola, due to non-functioning health systems.¹⁸ If not for the proactive moves made by other nations in Africa to prevent the spread of Ebola, the epidemic would have been much, much worse. For self-protection, the U.S. has a vested interest in preventing such epidemics as they can easily jump national and geographic divides and threaten the well-being of American citizens. The entire world is concerned. For these reasons, it is essential for all of us to build strong systems, and not face the consequences of the risks of weak governance and health

systems as illustrated by the recent Ebola epidemics.

The U.S. needs to take a “holistic approach”¹⁹ to security that shifts its focus towards sustained proactive conflict prevention and state-building, through relationship-building and programs of the State Department and USAID, and away from reactive conflict mitigation. In doing so, the U.S. will be able to lessen some of the pressure resulting from such conflicts and crises, foster long-term stability and development on the continent, and ensure that U.S. dollars are not squandered in inefficient or corrupt systems of governance. Strengthening governments and their systems, while doing fair business in Africa with the aim of human development and middle-class growth, will allow nations to grow economically and use their taxes for inclusive programs that leave no one behind, in order to reach the UN’s Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In so doing, the U.S. will also safeguard its own national and regional security interests and allow the U.S. private sector to do profitable business, and allow African nations to invest in development-related issues, such as health, education, and community economic development. However, to bridge the gap between the current state of the U.S.-African partnership and the progress necessary to be able to be fully self-supporting, this process needs to be accompanied by private-sector investment and integrated approaches to global security.

17 Nicolas Cook et al., “Sub-Saharan Africa: Key Issues, Challenges, and U.S. Responses” (Washington, DC, 2017), <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44793.pdf>.

18 Barbara Mcpake et al., “Ebola in the Context of Conflict Affected States and Health Systems: Case Studies of Northern Uganda and Sierra Leone,” *Conflict and Health* 9, no. 23 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-015-0052-7>.

¹⁹ Warner, “Advancing Peace and Security in Africa.”

The Way Forward

In the past half century, sub-Saharan Africa has been defined by moves to transition from colonial structures and influence and towards national self-determination and independence. An important part of this transition has been economic independence and growth, facilitated by better health of African populations. This process has begun to bear fruit, with six of the 12 fastest growing economies in the world now located in sub-Saharan Africa.²⁰ The World Bank projected that the continental economy would grow at a rate of 2.4 percent in 2017 and 3.2 percent in 2018.²¹

The change from agricultural to urban economies is contributing to economic growth, with an emergence of industry, service sectors and new businesses creating new sources of wealth which contribute to increase the GDP alongside natural resources.²² Africa is urbanizing at one of the fastest rate in the world. Between 2010 and 2035, the African population living in cities is expected to rise from 36 percent to 50 percent.²³ It is expected that in the next century, many of the biggest cities in the world will be in Africa.²⁴ If that transition is well guided to create and maintain strong links between

urban and rural areas and implemented through the right policies and investments for industrialization, the SDG for human development and poverty reduction will be reached in Africa (to end extreme poverty by 2030). This requires the know-how to prepare infrastructure and services to create better conditions for public amenities, private employment, and economic growth. If this does not happen, it will undermine the existing potential and Africa will see increased inequality between the poor and the well-off. In addition, this will make the continent too vulnerable to handle the current challenges in mitigating climate and environmental changes, strengthening national institutions, and producing needed structural transformations.

However, if it does occur, Africa will have a bright future with more wealth, better health, and a rise of its private sector. Currently many countries in Africa are on track for positive development. For example, without relying on natural resources but by supporting business creation, Rwanda is a country which, while still poor, has boasted more than six percent annual growth since 2001.²⁵ According to the World Bank, Rwanda is the second easiest country in which to do

²⁰ Elena Holodny, "The 13 Fastest-Growing Economies in the World," Business Insider, 2015, <http://www.businessinsider.com/world-bank-fast-growing-global-economies-2015-6?IR=T/#-china-1>.

²¹ Cesar Calderon et al., "Africa's Pulse - An Analysis of Issues Shaping Africa's Economic Future," vol. 16, 2017, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/572941507636665377/pdf/120334-REVISED-100p-WB-AfricasPulse-Fall2017-vol16-webfinal-english.pdf>.

²² Acha Leke et al., "What's Driving Africa's Growth," McKinsey & Company, 2010, <https://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/middle-east-and-africa/whats-driving-africas-growth>.

²³ "Urbanization in Africa: Trends, Promises, and Challenges" (Accra, Ghana: The World Bank, 2015), <http://www.worldbank.org/en/events/2015/06/01/urbanization-in-africa-trends-promises-and-challenges>.

²⁴ Daniel Hoornweg and Kevin Pope, "Population Predictions for the World's Largest Cities in the 21st Century," *Environment & Urbanization* 29, no. 1 (2017): 195–216, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247816663557>.

²⁵ "World Development Indicators | DataBank."

business in sub-Saharan Africa.²⁶ Similarly, Ethiopia has had an average annual GDP growth rate around 10 percent. Contributing to that is its creation of an enabling environment for business and incentivizing investment in Ethiopia through attractive taxation.²⁷

Alongside this economic growth, in many countries, the African middle class, the consumer class, has also tripled in the last thirty years.²⁸ The growth of this economic class signifies possibilities for business partnerships between the U.S. and Africa that will be profitable to U.S. citizens. Overall, by tapping into these nascent African economies, and cultivating fair and equitable business practices, the U.S. will foster economic growth, stability, and sustainable financial relationships with Africa. This will bring advantages to U.S. businesses and in turn facilitate African human development, lessening extreme poverty and income inequality and middle class and private sector growth.

Additionally, sub-Saharan Africa is home to some of the youngest populations on earth. In 2016, 52.9 percent of women and 54.2 percent of men were age 19 or younger.²⁹ This demography provides an opportunity for youthful and innovative economic development. For the U.S., partnering with Africa, to fully benefit from the rapid economic growth occurring in sub-Saharan Africa, and the youthful potential of its citizens, the U.S. must facilitate the continent in making a concerted investment

in human development capacity. This means ensuring that partnerships with African industries and other private sector businesses support tax generation, which in turn can develop education and health, creating a skilled, healthy, young generation. If this does not happen, the shortage of educational opportunities will create a scarcity of skilled labor that will decrease the potential of economic productivity among young people. In that case, these shortages will continue the low enrollment in and completion of secondary education and the high youth unemployment or employment in the informal sector with unprotected labor practices, which can in turn lead to higher pregnancy rates among young women and recruitment into illegal trades or extremist groups among youth, destabilizing the world beyond Africa.³⁰

Furthermore, the U.S. can certainly do more to move away from the concept of aid and towards a focus on international business partnerships. At a macroeconomic level, sub-Saharan Africa loses more from the current architecture of aid money and global finance than it benefits because of money spent on debt relief and lost through tax evasion. Research from a group of NGOs shows that while sub-Saharan Africa receives \$134 billion in loans, foreign investment, and development aid, \$192 billion leaves the region through tax evasion, climate change mitigation, and the repatriation of profits earned by foreign

26 "Economy Rankings - Doing Business," The World Bank Group, 2017, <http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings?region=sub-saharan-africa>.

27 "2017 Investment Climate Statements - Ethiopia."

28 "Deloitte on Africa - The Rise and Rise of the African Middle Class," 2012, <https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/au/Documents/international-specialist/deloitte-au-aas-rise-african-middle-class-12.pdf>.

29 "World Development Indicators | DataBank."

30 Cook et al., "Sub-Saharan Africa: Key Issues, Challenges, and U.S. Responses."

multinational companies, leaving a deficit of nearly \$60 billion.³¹ A report from the UK-based NGO ActionAid states that, "half of large corporate investment in the global south transited through a tax haven."³² Approximately \$35 billion is moved from Africa into tax havens around the world every year. Additionally, the same study demonstrated that African governments spend \$21 billion on debt repayments annually, providing evidence that aid in the form of loans only serves to perpetuate a cycle of indebtedness and systemic poverty among the governments of sub-Saharan Africa.³³ Creating an international legal framework for fixing this will be more profitable to Africa than continuing current global financial practices. A more trusting and mutually beneficial relationship between sub-Saharan Africa and the U.S. will satisfy all parties involved and lead to more sustainable economic growth through fair and equitable international business laws and practices.

There is now opportunity for both stronger relationships between African nations and the U.S. as well as more vibrant investment and development opportunities for American businesses in Africa. Some developed nations, like China and India, and increasingly Russia, Brazil, Turkey, and Iran, have recognized the potential in

investing in the continent and started to seize these opportunities.³⁴ China has significantly grown its presence in Africa over the past two decades and, in December 2015, President Xi Jinping pledged \$60 billion to Africa through the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.³⁵ Currently, U.S. businesses remain skeptical about investing in sub-Saharan Africa because of fears of instability, economic governance challenges, difficulty of conducting business, lack of awareness about economic opportunities, and negative perceptions of the region.³⁶ Better informed U.S. citizens and continued facilitation through strategic U.S. investment will overcome the current challenges and misperceptions and contribute to both the development of American businesses and a healthier private sector and populations in Africa. It is needed because the U.S. will be at a disadvantage, economically and geopolitically, by not securing a foothold in the growing economies and expanding human and political capital on the African continent.³⁷

To continue its promising journey, Africa needs support to overcome the challenges in shifting quicker from low-level, fragmented agricultural micro-businesses to high-level, productive services-based and industrialization-based activities. This

31 Mark Anderson, "Aid to Africa: Donations from West Mask '\$60bn Looting' of Continent," *The Guardian*, July 15, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/jul/15/aid-africa-west-looting-continent>.

32 Anderson.

33 Anderson.

34 Mwangi Kimenyi, "Introduction: Why Africa Matters to the United States," in *Top Five Reasons Why Africa Should Be a Priority for the United States* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Africa Growth Initiative, 2013), 1–2, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/04_africa_priority_united_states.pdf.

35 Eugene Kwibuka, "China, Rwanda to Further Boost Relations, Says Chinese Foreign Minister," *The New Times*, January 14, 2018, <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/227569/>.

36 Kimenyi, "Introduction: Why Africa Matters to the United States."

37 Kimenyi.

includes also improving the capacity of decision makers to produce the appropriate regulations to coordinate industrialization, poverty reduction, and human development in rural and urban areas and for program managers to ensure implementation. Building on current programs and financial support, U.S. private sector investment could make sure that Africa does so with an equity agenda, focusing on human development. This will boost health and wealth in Africa and grow the U.S. and African middle classes.

While US development assistance, security initiatives, and financial investment have contributed greatly to recent improvements, it has not been enough for sub-Saharan Africa to take off on its own. Africa has the largest number of people living in extreme poverty in the world at 389 million, or 41 percent of the population. The fact that, less than 30 years ago, East Asia and the Pacific was home to half of the world's poor and has now only 9.3 percent of them, is promising for Africa because Africa has started to grow economically, as Asian countries did a few decades ago.³⁸ Because of the current favorable conditions of economic growth on the continent as demonstrated by World Bank and other institutions, the U.S. should be reassured concerning the challenges of the sustainability of sub-Saharan Africa's economic growth. But the approach to this growth needs to change to promote fair

business partnership. This continent should not be approached as a dependent on foreign aid forever but as a part of the world that can bring additional wealth to the U.S. and to itself. A continent where inclusive development with shared wealth, increased public-private partnerships, and an enabling environment for private investment, facilitated by the support and training drawing on U.S. expertise, will flourish and increase the number of economic projects, run by Africans and Americans on the continent.

By learning from the successes of the recent past and translating them into local capacity-building efforts for growing a strong middle class and inclusive human development, the U.S. can serve its humanitarian, security, and economic interests while supporting Sub-Saharan Africa and the U.S. private sector's economic efforts. Where there is potential for prosperity, it is wise to cultivate the partnerships of the past to move forward together into a future of equity, partnership, and growth. By interacting with the economic sector—both private and government-supported—the U.S. could boost the African potential for future mutually profitable partnerships while promoting health, education, and human development as a whole. With this support, the future of Africa will be brighter than ever, benefitting both U.S. and African interests.

38 "Poverty and Shared Prosperity 2016: Taking on Inequality" (Washington, DC, 2016), <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/25078/9781464809583.pdf>.

AFRICA'S ECONOMIC, SECURITY, AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES AND THE U.S. ROLE

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program
August 12-19, 2019

Kigali, Musanze, and Muhanga, Rwanda

CONFERENCE AGENDA

MONDAY, AUGUST 12

American participants departed the U.S. for Rwanda

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13

All participants arrived in Kigali, Rwanda

Scholars and Members of Congress explored covered topics. Seating was arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers were rotated daily.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14

THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE: RECOVERING FROM NATIONAL TRAUMA

Nations all over the world have wrestled with ethnic strife and internal conflict and have taken various routes to reconciliation, some more successful than others. Women played a key role in the rebuilding of the country in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide (when 70 percent of the remaining population was women). Participants heard from a leading scholar of Rwandan history and politics on the genocide's effects on the country's policies, politics and development.

Jennie Burnet, Associate Professor, Georgia State University

KIGALI GENOCIDE MEMORIAL

In 1994 Rwanda suffered a massive ethnic conflict resulting in the deaths of 800,000 over a 100-day period. How Rwandans reconciled with each other and recovered from this tragic period also informs the country's contemporary development and state of politics. The purpose of this visit to the Memorial, where 250,000 victims are buried, is intended to provide Members of Congress the historical context of the conflict and the magnitude of its impact. This understanding of the tragedy and the role development assistance has played in bringing the country from the depth of devastation to a model of recovery is essential as they develop federal policy.

Serge Rwigamba, head guide, Kigali Genocide Memorial

GAHAYA LINKS – TRANSFORMING WOMEN, TRANSFORMING RWANDA

We will visit Gahaya Links, which is an initiative started by two sisters who survived the Rwandan genocide in refugee camps in Uganda. The young girls returned to Rwanda as adults and realized women needed jobs, income and social support. They started this handicraft export company which now is a multimillion dollar enterprise that helps sustain a network of 5,000 weavers in 52 cooperatives around the country whose work is exported thanks to the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) passed by the U.S. Congress. Sisters Joy Ndungutse and Janet Nkubana will explain their success story that has provided income and opportunity for Rwandan women through traditional weaving. This is a great example of how U.S. policy (AGOA) has a positive impact on Rwanda's economic development and women's empowerment.

Joy Ndungutse, CEO and Founder

THE PERSPECTIVE FROM THE U.S. EMBASSY

Belinda Jackson Farrier, Charge d'Affaires
Gene MacDonald, Rwanda Country Director, Centers for Disease Control
Leslie Marbury, USAID Mission Director
Beth Smith, Political Officer

THURSDAY, AUGUST 15

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK

The American and African scholars for the conference were briefly introduced. This segment highlighted how the conference was conducted, how those with questions were recognized and how responses were timed to allow for as many questions and answers as possible. This format is especially important to guarantee full participation with so many knowledgeable and experienced people around the table.

Bill Nell, Deputy Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program

THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY, CIVIL SOCIETY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN AFRICA AND THE ROLE THEY PLAY IN DEVELOPMENT

Is Democracy a precondition for sustained economic growth? Political theorists have wrestled with this question. The governance record in Africa lists a minority of countries as democracies. Freedom House ranks the majority of African countries as "not free" or "partly free." Few feature inclusive political structures, and many institutions are weak in the face of authoritarian tendencies. What is the relationship of governance to economic development and what is its relevance to American foreign policy?

Steve Radelet, Director, Global Human Development Program, Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

RWANDA'S CHALLENGES AND AMERICAN INTERESTS

Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda

NUTRITION, FOOD SECURITY & AFRICA'S ABILITY TO FEED ITS GROWING POPULATION AND THE LINKS TO U.S. INTERESTS

Seventy percent of Africa's farmers are smallholders, many of them women. While there are large and highly productive farm operations in almost every country, raising the productivity of smallholders as a way to pull them out of poverty has been the objective of donors and aid implementers for a number of years, including that of the U.S. Feed the Future initiative. Rwanda has made great strides over the last decade to increase farm yield and reduce hunger. With Africa's considerable natural resources, many believe that the continent is quite able to feed itself and to become a food exporter. But, fast population growth together with growing preferences for protein-rich diets, increasing urbanization, and environmental stresses will put pressures on farm yield. Severe weather events and bad governance, including conflicts in some countries, have produced some of the world's worst humanitarian crises in which access to food is made difficult. The Feed the Future program seeks to raise productivity, empower women farmers, and raise family income, particularly in those countries that make similar commitments. Rwanda was a Feed the Future country since the beginning of the program in 2010. In 2017, the initial set of 19 focus countries was reduced to 12 with Rwanda no longer included. Three African scholars addressed the nutrition challenges and food security situation in Africa and its connection to U.S. policy.

Amy Beeler, Economic Growth Officer, USAID, Kigali
Tsinuel Girma Nigatu, Professor, Jimma University, Jimma, Ethiopia
Tadele Gelan, Deputy Chief of Party, Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16

U.S. INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: CHANGE OR STATUS QUO?

Sub-Saharan Africa comprises 49 diverse countries, each with its own histories, levels of economic and political development, cultures, and languages. Since gaining independence from European powers, many have experienced conflict and poverty, while others have made great strides toward achieving middle income status. The United States, Europe, China and Russia consider Africa as having strategic value for its oil, mineral resources, and land. It is a continent that also poses threats to American and global interests such as a source of terrorism, concerns about disease, food security, and refugees, to name a few.

A number of current and ongoing challenges confront countries on the continent. Droughts, conflicts and bad governance contribute to situations that have put more than 65 million people at risk of famine and have added migration pressures on Europe. Terrorist groups, such as al-Qaeda, Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram take advantage of ungoverned territories, often requiring U.S. military involvement. Weak health systems allow disease outbreaks to spread across borders and from one continent to another. Rapid population growth is predicted to double Africa's population in the next 30 years, putting enormous pressures on every aspect of society, from unemployment to food insecurity to energy demand. The United States has responded to these challenges with robust foreign assistance programs primarily targeted at health (the President's Emergency Plan for AIDs Relief – PEPFAR, the President's Malaria Initiative, and maternal and childhood health programs), agriculture (Feed the Future), and energy (Power Africa), in addition to democracy and security programs.

Africa also presents opportunities. Some countries in Africa have experienced very high annual economic growth rates and represent expanding markets for U.S. companies to access new customers and new sources of natural resources. Initiatives sparked by AGOA, which we will see this week, are illustrative. The number of democracies has grown on the continent although authoritarian regimes in some states restrict the rights of their citizens and the press. The United States has taken a strong interest in Africa with a large number of development and trade initiatives. A military command, AFRICOM, was created in 2006 to work with African militaries and to respond to humanitarian crises.

These initiatives are under review by the administration as some officials have signaled their skepticism of U.S. aid and development programs, suggesting that it is time to rethink how the United States engages with developing countries. Others believe that proposals to cut assistance and transition countries off assistance will have negative impacts on economic growth and with our bilateral relations with countries in the region. In this roundtable, U.S. and African scholars offered their thoughts on how U.S. policies have affected the region and the opportunities and challenges present for the United States to move forward.

***Dr. Agnes Binagwaho**, former Rwandan Minister of Health, Kigali
Steve Radelet, Director, Global Human Development Program, Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University*

WHY A HEALTHY AFRICA IS IN AMERICA'S INTERESTS

The outbreak of Ebola in West Africa demonstrated the weaknesses in some countries' health systems, and the incidents of Ebola in the Congo, now the world's second deadliest outbreak with over 1,600 deaths in the last 12 months, have heightened awareness of the fragility of the health care in many African countries. The World Health Organization has declared the Congo outbreak a global health emergency. Rwanda has instituted strict monitoring at its borders and has trained its medical professionals to be prepared if called upon to respond.

At the height of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, Sub-Saharan Africa was considered the poster child of bad practices with regard to disease management and treatment. Since the advent of PEPFAR, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief – an initiative that was equally shaped by Congress, prevalence rates have stabilized and in some cases declined and effective treatment has extended lives. African countries are increasingly taking on a greater role in HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment leading some U.S. policy makers to believe some countries can be transitioned off PEPFAR funding. Other diseases, such as malaria and tuberculosis, continue to pose serious problems.

Tackling chronic hunger and related stunted growth of children has become a major focus of aid programs. At the same time, obesity is becoming more prevalent as wealthier populations adopt a more western-style diet. Doctors Epstein, Nsanzimana, Sebisaho and John McKay addressed why a healthy Africa is in America's interests.

***Dr. Jonathan Epstein**, Vice President, Ecohealth Alliance, New York
John McKay, Health Officer, U.S. Embassy, Kigali
Dr. Sabine Nsanzimana, Director General, Rwandan Biomedical Center
Dr. Jacques Sebisaho, Founder, Amani Global Works,
Lake Kivu, Democratic Republic of the Congo*

WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN RWANDA

Women lack an equal share in the political decision-making in many African countries. Rwanda is a notable exception with the highest percentage of women in its national legislature of any country, over 60%. Is there a quota system contributing to this outcome? Do women face any different barriers to political office? Does a female majority in the legislature impact the types of issues lawmakers consider? This discussion featured female Rwandan parliamentarians who reviewed these and other aspects of the role of women in Africa's governance.

***Senator Marguerite Nyagahura**, Vice Chair, Committee on Social Affairs and Human Rights
Rep. Emma Rubagumya, Chair, Committee on Political Affairs and Gender
Rep. Odette Umawariya, Deputy Chair, Committee on Economy and Trade*

CHUK HOSPITAL AND HIV TREATMENT CENTER

The CHUK hospital has a 395-bed capacity and offers emergency care, intensive and high-dependency care, and surgical care. CHUK's HIV dedicated clinic is currently treating over 600 children under the age of 15, and 2,700 adults. Of those patients, 247 children and 2,340 adults are currently on Anti-Retroviral treatment (ARV). Ten years ago 90% of the patients seen at CHUK were there for HIV/AIDS treatment, and the hospital suffered from chronic overcrowding. Today, as a result of the progress made in treating AIDS, most of the hospital's HIV patients are for outpatient treatment, and the hospital has worked to disburse them throughout the entire facility, rather than in a centralized HIV/AIDS clinic, in order to reduce the stigma. Its Center for Pediatric Excellence has a cohort of HIV patients that receive treatment and counseling services. Throughout the visit we will hear from doctors and nurses treating patients and at the Pediatric Center we will have the opportunity to talk with patients about their experience living with AIDS in Rwanda. We will hear testimonials from patients whose lives have benefitted from this American involvement to reduce the HIV/AIDS impact in Africa.

Incorporated into this visit was an explanation about innovative medical work done to make male circumcision easier. Numerous studies have shown that circumcision cuts HIV/AIDS transmission by 60%. Medical research at a separate military hospital which partners with the U.S. Department of Defense in Kigali has developed a nonsurgical, effective method for circumcision without anesthetic utilizing a \$12 ring device, which has been used successfully by 130,000 Rwandan men in a program called Voluntary Medical Male Circumcision. This program receives \$3 million annually in U.S. support through the Department of Defense.

Cases of Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM) are also treated at CHUK hospital. Half of all deaths of children under five years old are from malnutrition. Dr. Sabin Nsanzimana, Director General of the Rwanda Biomedical Center, explained what steps are being taken to address the SAM patients at the hospital, with implications for broader treatment of malnutrition.

Patients in hospitals in Africa have to depend on family members or outside sources for food. Isabelle Kamariza founded an organization called SolidAfrica to do just that, and her group operates at the CHUK hospital. She explained her project.

***Dr. Sabin Nsanzimana**, Director General, Rwanda Biomedical Center, Kigali
Dr. Lisine Tuyisenge, CHUK Hospital, Kigali*

*Canisius Musoni, Centers for Disease Control
Isabelle Kamariza, Founder and Director, SolidAfrica, Kigali*

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

Women represent half the African population but they contribute only 37% of the GDP. Yet 27% of women in Africa create a business—the highest rate on a global scale. Women are and continue to be a powerful driving force in Africa's development, despite having to overcome huge disadvantages of gender bias, disparities in educational opportunities (African men are twice as likely to have completed secondary education as women and only 51% of African women over 18 are literate compared to 68% of men), limited access to support structures such as finance and bearing disproportionate responsibilities for child raising (Africa's average birthrate is the highest in the globe). We heard testimonials from two successful African women whose stories are inspirational examples of the potential for women's role in Africa's development.

*Agnes Igoye, Deputy National Coordinator, Prevention of Trafficking in Persons, Kampala
Isabelle Kamariza, President, SolidAfrica, Kigali
Dorothy Tuma, Chair, East African Women in Business, Kampala*

SATURDAY, AUGUST 17

MICRO-HYDROPOWER PROJECT

Much of Rwanda still lacks a reliable source of electricity. USAID's Power Africa initiative, a program authorized by Congress, is designed to help economic development by assisting in the generation of electrical power to help lift Africans out of poverty. For example, Ethiopia is considering a massive geothermal power generation project. Rwanda has a major solar farm south of Kigali, and a method of generating power from methane gas extracted from nearby Lake Kivu, a process unique in the world, which supplies one-fourth of the country's power.

Just south of Musanze we will visit a small micro-hydro power plant on the Mpenge River, which provides 1% of the Rwanda's electrical power needs. This project was made possible by a USAID-funded \$500,000 feasibility study, which then was the basis for a small group of U.S. investors to raise the capital for the \$15 million project, which sells power to Rwanda's national utility. Chad Bannick, a Minnesota native, is one of these American investors and he explained the project.

Chad Bannick, CEO, DC Frontier

EXPANDING AFRICA'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

With over 70% of Rwandans reliant on agriculture production for their sustenance and livelihood, increasing yields is a key to economic development and better health. One approach of USAID's Feed the Future program provides assistance to smallholder farmers through a series of agriculture extension agents who receive training in better practices that these agents convey to their own agricultural communities. Practices taught include how to plant seeds more effectively, using hybrid seeds that provide higher yield, effective water distribution and use, and the basics of agricultural management practices such as sound use of fertilizer. We visited one rural community of smallholder farmers to learn how they have benefitted from these programs. USAID is spending \$38 million in this activity in Rwanda over

a five-year period of 2015-2020. Last year, the number of Feed the Future focus countries was reduced from 19 to 12, removing Rwanda.

John Ames, *Chief of Party, Twiyubake Program, Global Communities Rwanda*
William Herkewitz, *USAID, Rwanda*

POULTRY PROMOTION PROJECT

Production of chickens for human consumption is not widely done in Rwanda. However, chicken meat is a good source of animal protein, and with nearly 40% of the Rwandan population suffering various levels of stunted growth from lack of protein, USAID has embarked on a three-year program to jumpstart poultry production. This project, Feed the Future Tworore Inkoko, Twunguke, is a three-way effort with \$834,000 from USAID with additional support from the University of Tennessee Institute of Agriculture and the African Sustainable Agriculture Project (the humanitarian philanthropic arm of Tyson's Chickens in the U.S.). This project identifies 750 smallholder Rwandan farmers who will each receive 100 broiler chickens, training from American expertise on how to raise chickens, and assistance in building chicken coops. The project supports a chicken feed supply chain that can service the entire country. The concept is to foster a wider use of chicken raising, and chicken consumption that will help the economic viability of these smallholder farmers and increase the nutrient intake in the Rwandan diet.

Katie McGehee, *Director, African Sustainable Agriculture Project*

Dinner Meeting

Five Peace Corps volunteers posted in Rwanda gave direct reports about their work.

Gabrielle Abesamis of Illinois;
Mari Grover of Michigan;
Nile Lang of California;
Grace Lovell of California;
Gustavo Fierros of California

SUNDAY, AUGUST 18

ZIPLINE: DRONE DELIVERY OF MEDICINE—AMERICAN INNOVATION IMPROVING HEALTH CARE DELIVERY IN RURAL RWANDA

Keeping medical equipment supplied to rural clinics throughout Africa has always been a challenge with poor roads and being able to precisely calibrate supply and demand with the shelf life of provisions that often require refrigeration. Participants saw American technology applied in an innovative way to address this problem. Zipline, an American company started in Half Moon Bay outside of San Francisco, operates a fleet of drones from two launching bases in Rwanda, which can deliver vital medicines and blood to rural clinics on short notice within a half hour of receiving an order. We witnessed the launcher, which boosts the lightweight battery-operator drones into the air, which fly on a computer guided path at 60-80 miles per hour and have a range of up to 100 miles roundtrip with a payload of up to 4 pounds. The shipment is dropped by parachute in a precise landing area near the recipient clinic. This project receives support from the Department of Defense Innovation Unit as the Pentagon is interested in seeing its applicability. GAVI, the Vaccine Alliance, also supports this initiative.

Since operations began three years ago, over 10,000 deliveries have been made, at a rate of approximately 30 per day. The Rwandan government pays Zipline for this service.

***Israel Bimpe**, Manager, Zipline National Implementation;
Lawrence Williams, Director of Global Business Development,
Zipline International, Muhanga, Rwanda*

TACKLING KIGALI'S CLEAN WATER CHALLENGES WITH AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY AND EXPERTISE

We visited a new water treatment plant which represents a \$35 million investment by the Illinois-based American firm, Culligan Water. This plant draws water out of the Nyabarongo river (one of Kigali's main water sources) and filters out the heavy sedimentation through a process of settling ponds, disinfection, and filtration, to turn brown unpotable water into clean drinking water that will be sold to the Kigali municipal water system. This is an example of American technology and expertise being utilized to bring clean water to the city of Kigali.

***Tahir Guzel**, Chief Operating Officer,
Culligan Water International, Kigali*

POLICY REFLECTIONS AND THE U.S. ROLE

Members of Congress had an opportunity to further discuss observations and conclusions about U.S. policy drawn from their experience this week.

***Bill Nell**, Deputy Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program*

MONDAY, AUGUST 19:

Participants arrived in the U.S.

AFRICA'S ECONOMIC, SECURITY, AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES AND THE U.S. ROLE

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program
August 12-19, 2019

Kigali, Musanze, and Muhanga, Rwanda

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Rep. Emanuel Cleaver

Rep. Kathleen Rice

Rep. Susan Davis
and Steve Davis

Rep. Bobby Rush
and Paulette Rush

Rep. John Garamendi
and Patti Garamendi

Rep. Jan Schakowsky
and Bob Creamer

Rep. Rick Larsen
and Tiia Karlén

Rep. Fred Upton
and Amey Upton

SCHOLARS

Agnes Binagwaho

former Rwandan Minister of Health, Kigali

Jennie Burnet

Associate Director, Global Studies Institute, Georgia State University

Jonathan Epstein

Vice President for Science and Outreach, Ecohealth Alliance

Paul Farmer

Chair, Department of Global Health and Social Medicine, Harvard Medical School

Tadele Gelan

Regional Head for East Africa, Alliance for a Green Revolution, Nairobi

Agnes Igoye

Deputy National Coordinator, Uganda's Prevention of Trafficking in Persons, Kampala

Isabelle Kamariza

President, SolidAfrica, Kigali

Tsinuel Girma Nigatu

Professor, Jimma University, Jimma, Ethiopia

Sabine Nsanzimana

Director General, Rwanda Biomedical Center, Kigali

Steve Radelet	Director, Global Human Development Program, Georgetown University
Jacques Sebisaho	Founder, Amani Global Works, Lake Kivu, Congo
Dorothy Tuma	Chair, East African Women in Business, Kampala

RWANDAN PARLIAMENTARIANS

Senator Marguerite Nyagahura	Vice Chair, Committee on Social Affairs and Human Rights
Representative Emma Rubagumya	Chair, Committee on Political Affairs and Gender
Representative Odette Umawariya	Deputy Chair, Committee on Economy and Trade

PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS RESIDENT IN RWANDA

Gabby Abesamis	Ravenswood, Illinois native
Gustavo Fierros	Richmond, California native
Mari Grover	Niles, Michigan native
Nile Lang	northern California native
Grace Lovell	northern California native

RAPPORTEUR

Elsie Eyakuze	Columnist for The East African, Dar es Salaam
---------------	---

FOUNDATION REPRESENTATIVES

Jean Bordewich	Program Officer, The Hewlett Foundation
Ryan McMaster	UN Relations Officer, The Gates Foundation
William Moore	Executive Director, The Eleanor Crook Foundation
Kim Webber	Program Officer, The Gates Foundation

ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

Tyler Denton	Managing Director, Handshake
Mark Hamilton	Senior Vice President, Handshake
Bill Nell	Deputy Director, Congressional Program