



THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

Africa's Emergence:
Challenges and Opportunities for the U.S.

August 9–14, 2015





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Rapporteur's Summary

Elsie Eyakuze

Columnist for *The East African*

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program held a conference in Arusha, Tanzania, August 9–14, 2015, on Africa's Emergence: Challenges and Opportunities for the United States. Conference participants included 21 members of Congress, as well as 12 American and African scholars, on a number of U.S. policy issues affecting Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). In addition to presentations and discussions, a U.S. former ambassador to Tanzania gave a brief overview of Africa and Tanzania for the participants. Field visits were also made to projects supported by American foreign assistance: Farm Concern International's Manyire Commercial Village; Peace Corps volunteers serving at Boloti Secondary School; M-Power's Off-Grid Electric solar energy initiative; Arusha National Park, where park rangers explained the impacts of poaching; and the Maasai Women's Workshop, where women were learning self-sustaining skills.

The conference began with a **political and economic survey of SSA**. The presentation emphasized Africa's shift toward markets and liberal democracies beginning in the early 1990s. Although countries were divided into four classifications (emerging, threshold, oil exporters, and stagnating countries), economic development has been a factor in reducing conflict, improving health conditions, and shifting countries toward democracies. Between 2005 and 2013, HIV/AIDS deaths fell by one-third to 1.5 million. Malaria mortality declined by half during this same time, saving 4.3 million lives. The recent Ebola crisis showed the importance of handling health threats emanating from SSA. And overall, since 1990, SSA has experienced less conflict, and incidences of civil war are down.

U.S. assistance has been instrumental in these remarkable achievements. Walmart spent \$2.4 billion on holdings in South Africa recently; and other U.S. companies, such as Coca-Cola, GE, and Caterpillar, have seen the economic potential of investing in SSA. Going forward, this economic transition will continue to affect U.S. security and economic interests.

Although liberal democracy and market capitalism have been in ascendancy over the past 25 years, their future is not guaranteed. China now offers an alternative to the American

model, creating a contest of ideas about how society should organize itself. Threats—and opportunities—loom on the horizon, including climate change and shifts in regional security, democracy, health, and demography. SSA is experiencing rapidly rising populations, and it needs programs that create jobs for young men for security, and for young women for development.

Africa's population projections were highlighted as an area of concern. There is a "Millennial Challenge" that comes with young and rapidly growing populations. For example, the average age in Tanzania is 17 years old. This creates the potential for "radicalization," absent other opportunities.

Corruption is another major concern. Rankings of African countries by Transparency International are low, with only 3 out of 50 surveyed countries being "free of corruption." Reducing corruption is linked to reducing poverty by increasing the tax base to support strong institutions.

Poor infrastructure (specifically roads and delivery of electric power) and governance challenges hold back development, as does gender bias. Africa has great hydroelectric potential, as well as large reserves of oil and gas that could provide cheap power, and the potential for renewable energy is also high. Fortunately, there is a high correlation between Millennium Challenge Corporation-eligible (MCC) countries and emerging countries.

MCC is a separate agency of the U.S. government focused on aid based on specific criteria that, by design, picks countries that are emerging, thereby helping to reinforce good governance and economic policy. In Tanzania, MCC has supported the building of roads in Pemba, distribution of electricity in rural west and central Tanzania, and improvement of water systems in Morogoro and Dar es Salaam.

The second session on **U.S. security threats and political interests in Africa** focused on terrorism. Although Africa is a much more peaceful continent than it has been in decades, today's trends are towards internal violence due to social unrest, youth populations without sufficient prospects, and a feeling of exclusion on ethnic or religious bases. There is cross-border conflict due to criminal and terror organizations, and drug trafficking is a particular concern.

Trans-national threats posed by illegal immigration, the arms trade, illicit fishing and poaching, illicit dumping of toxic waste, and counterfeit pharmaceuticals are a growing concern. A number of groups were named as impacting U.S. strategic interests: Al-Shabaab in East Africa, Boko Haram in Nigeria, and Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (a product of the Algerian civil war). Because these groups are linked, they have access to training, resources, fighting experience. They are recruiting and radicalizing youth in Europe and America. These organizations might spring locally, but they have global networks and resources.

Africa has had 15 peacekeeping missions in the past 15 years, and it is home to half of the current U.N. peacekeeping operations. Africa contributes up to 30% of peacekeeping troops globally and provides the bulk in African missions (Ethiopia is the fourth largest troop contributor globally.) The U.S. is the largest financial contributor to peacekeeping, both through the U.N. and as a bilateral donor.

U.S. security programs active in Africa include the Global Peace Initiative and the Africa Peacekeeping Rapid Response Partnership. After 9/11 when terror was reframed as a global threat, the U.S. provided training and equipment to African militaries and joint training for cross-border collaboration and efficiency. But there is some tension between supporting military forces and security forces that have a monopoly on the use of force/sovereignty, while at the same time addressing issues of human rights and democratic progress, transparency, accountability. AFRICOM could have helped address the “diffuse” nature of peacekeeping and security activities, but no country in SSA would host it, hence its headquarters is located in Germany.

There are three U.S. counterterrorism finance staff and two homeland joint training security advisers, continent-wide. The Drug Enforcement Administration and Federal Bureau of Investigation agents working in Africa are located within embassies. They are developing programs that are government-wide and work with Treasury to track terror finance flows through banks and target money launderers suspected of terror connections. There is some tension between remittances versus terror funding control. Stopping all transfers comes with negative consequences.

The U.S. has no choice but to engage Nigeria in spite of the human rights concern. It is an extraordinary country, the most important on the continent, several scholars stated. Its military has deteriorated substantially over the last 15 years, as it has been weakened and politicized. The Boko Haram situation is exemplary: it cannot be solved by security measures alone; it has to be accompanied by development interventions.

The poaching crisis in Tanzania is linked to issues of security, wildlife trafficking, and people trafficking. The discus-

sion on **counter-poaching and community-based conservation** highlighted the plight of elephants and rhinos, which are becoming locally extinct. This threatens the tourism industry, which is 13% of the economy. The high demand for rhino horn in East Asia and China is driving this extinction with rhino horn selling for up to \$30,000 per pound. The scale is substantial, with some estimates as high as \$40 million. China is the biggest importer of illegal ivory, followed by the U.S. Other species such as lions are being hunted too. Corruption is enabling and fueling the illegal wildlife trade in Tanzania. Big names get mentioned in connection with poaching, but there have been no prosecutions. Terrorist and other groups will engage in trade in illegal products if they can profit from it. Poverty is also a driver, making wildlife attractive as a source of bushmeat, as well as poached ivory.

Tanzania is ground zero in terms of the poaching crisis, but the U.S. has stepped up to address the problem. Community-based conservation successes in curbing poaching underscores the need to shift funding to coalitions of smaller local organizations such as the Northern Landscape Program. Alternatively, conservation can be turned into an excellent resource: watchable wildlife is the biggest sellable tourist attraction in the world, as the Rwandese have shown with gorilla-watching.

The discussion on agriculture highlighted its central and seminal role: success in this field underpins success in other areas of life, including income, services, commerce. The discussion of agricultural development focused on the importance of infrastructure and market access, with the example of Mali doubling its production of rice in one year due to subsidized inputs. But the investment in productivity was not matched by investments in mills, granaries, and silos. This led to a price collapse with crops rotting on the farm, a situation that politically connected elites exploited to their advantage.

The agricultural sector supports 70% of Africans and their children. Historically, food prices have been used to justify food aid, but some contend this is a mistake with respect to Africa. The rural poor are cut off from the world market, and many of the staple foods are not traded on the world market, so international food prices are seldom an important factor in these circumstances.

U.S. policymakers act when world food prices spike, as was the case in the 1970s and in 2008. Just as the programs start to deliver benefits though, food aid programs are defunded because world prices stabilize, as happened in the 1980s. Meanwhile, the population doubled but not crop yields, so the number of hungry people increased.

Because the private sector delivers excellent results in the developed world, there is the urge to turn things over to them in Africa. However, private sector companies are not

investing in Africa due to the lack of road systems and infrastructure for irrigation, storage, and power. Rule of law is problematic, and land rights are not well established. African governments have also underdelivered in the rural public goods that farmers and private companies need.

USAID's Feed the Future program supports the whole value chain from production and seeds, but the focus is on markets. A concern was raised that linking food reform and the food aid program would kill both because of the green revolution and the resistance to GMOs in most African countries and in America. The recent report of the Chicago Council of Global Affairs graded the performance of agencies and institutions. Although the criteria for success were challenged, USAID programs helped create a livestock market in southern Ethiopia giving an opportunity for pastoralists to market their sheep and goats to Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and other countries. These are the important examples when defining success and transfer of knowledge.

But for sustainable results, agriculture needs a minimum of 10 years of funding, not five. A USAID study has shown that rates of child stunting in a number of African countries has decreased at a baseline rate of 4% since the Feed the Future program started. If Feed the Future continues, measurable progress could continue to impact nutrition and economic growth.

But while African farmers need improved seeds and better fertilizers, one solution does not apply to all challenges because Africa is very complicated geographically, and the political diversity of 54 countries requires individualized approaches. The African Alliance for a Green Revolution, started in 2006, focuses on local growers and organizations to help them adopt seeds and fertilizers. Once the yields increased, they worked to improve local markets, but they still faced additional policy problems. African farmers are cut off from the world market. Production costs are too high due to this isolation.

Through Feed the Future, as well as the New Alliance P&P and Global African Food Security Program, 22 countries in the last 15 years have halved hunger. USAID has been significant in driving this change. Africa has moved from extremely alarming food situations to more stable food situations.

Nevertheless, conflict and food insecurity go hand in hand. Similarly, there is a nexus between food security and U.S. security concerns, especially in the Sahel where the ability of communities to feed themselves and find security, inputs, and work has been declining since the 1970s. Most of the people are actively or passively "involved" with terrorism because they don't have their basic needs met.

The challenge is how to leverage Africa's youth to help feed the world. Youth could be motivated to turn to agriculture with a Marshall Plan-like approach to the idea of feeding

the world. There is an entire value chain beyond productivity and yield. Value-adding, labor reducing, mobile technologies are emerging to support farmers. The investments are beginning to pay off with increased productivity, and better markets.

And infrastructure deficits may actually provide opportunities for entrepreneurship, making farming an attractive career for young people. For example, the scholar's own farming success has yielded relationships with private sector companies in mining that were experiencing community-relations problems. Agribusiness emerged as a solution to feed the companies' workers and provide jobs for the local community.

The African model for agricultural development is unlikely to resemble the American model for a variety of reasons, even if it adopts new technologies to reduce labor and increase yields. Even with increased efficiency, agriculture is unlikely to produce the millions of jobs that are needed to absorb the growing population. Africa does not have the option of subsidizing agriculture to the extent that developed countries were able to do to revolutionize the farming sector.

There is a trend towards regionalization in Africa, and breaking barriers between neighboring countries has been a top priority for African leaders. Rwanda and Ethiopia are countries whose prioritization of aid and resources are considered exemplary and, as such, attract funding from MCC and Feed the Future. The challenge would be to get other countries to adopt good practices from such examples.

The World Bank used to fund large infrastructure projects in Africa and in the 1980s calculated that rural populations were not dense enough to warrant those investments. It may be that now those investments might be worth it considering the population growth.

Instead, China may be filling in the investment gap left by the World Bank. Although China's investments in land may be overstated, studies on Chinese deals in Africa are needed.

Researchers with the World Bank have said that in a few decades climate change will increase food prices by 20% and decrease child nutrition by 40%. The International Food Policy Research Institute found that in Africa climate change might reduce maize yields by 10%. In Africa the only place to integrate improved nutrition and improved agriculture are the women. They are the farmers and the caretakers of the children, so with more legal protection, autonomy, education, and health support they are the best investment for this kind of transformation.

The afternoon visit to Farm Concern International's Manyire village was held. Farm Concern International is a hybrid of development and private-sector investments in agriculture, working in 20 African countries with 20,000 farmers.

Democracy, human rights, and good governance were the topics for the third day of the conference. Reference was made to President Obama's speech to the Ghanaian Parliament in July 2009: "Development depends on good governance. That is the ingredient that has been missing in far too many places for far too long in Africa." With one billion people living in 49 nations living in an area 2.5 times the size of the U.S., SSA is a large, diverse, complex, and dynamic continent. But democracy and not dictatorship continues to grow in acceptance in SSA.

In 2015 more than half of the 49 countries in SSA were defined as fully democratic or partially democratic by Freedom House. The AfroBarometer (associated with Michigan State University's African Studies Program) reported that the proportion of Africans who favor democracy is strong and continues to grow, with 70% of Africans supporting democratic rule. The success of the 2015 Nigerian elections demonstrates that democracy can thrive in Africa's largest countries.

Along with the growth of democracies, there has been significant economic policy reform. Additionally, state-sponsored violence has declined, and there are more press and media freedoms. Respect for the rule of law is on the rise. Civil society organizations are demanding better service delivery, more rights, more transparency. Technology has assisted the growth of democracy, and democracy has increased inclusion—especially for women—in politics.

None of these democracies are models of constitutional perfection: most are only two to three decades old. In some parts of Africa, democratic institutions remain very fragile. And China's model of authoritarian capitalism offers an alternative choice. There are setbacks such as in Mali, Madagascar, and South Sudan. Dictatorial leaders such as Mugabe, Dos Santos, and Biya continue to cling to power, and a few younger African leaders may try to extend their service. Democracy will come under threat if governments fail to consistently deliver the goods and services that their citizens desire and need.

Term limits have proved a conundrum for democracies. In Burkina Faso, 64% were in favor of term limits, so Blaise Compaore was removed when he tried to stay on. In Burundi, over 50% were in favor of term limits, but nonetheless Pierre Nkurunziza has pushed through a controversial third term. In Rwanda, President Paul Kagame is being asked to consider an unprecedented third term, which he might accept. The concept of democracy is diverse and nuanced. The support of term limits does not translate to a rejection at the polls of people who run again. Many countries appear to have competitive elections, term limits, etc. But in reality, the norm is an overwhelming executive, an acquiescent judiciary, and either a sleepy or a noisy but ineffectual parliament.

It is in the long-term interest of the U.S. to support Afri-

ca's continued democratic growth. Africa is the last global economic frontier, and by 2050 it will be the second largest and youngest population in the world. A small amount of money would be a cost-effective enabler. Several participants strongly suggested that the U.S. should strengthen institutions like the National Endowment for Democracy and the Democratic and Republican Institutes so that they can support Civil society organizations. This does not cost as much as supporting health and education programs, but these organizations need to be funded sufficiently to have an impact. Not investing may well contribute to Africa's failure to be the democratic continent and partner that the U.S. seeks.

The issue of religious conflict is also nuanced. Nigeria and South Sudan are experiencing religious and racial tensions, but so is Somalia, which is largely one ethnicity and religion. Politicians sometimes try to use religion to divide a nation, but this does not always work. Tanzania is a secular state that tends to successfully tamp down the use of religion for political purposes in a population that is roughly split down the middle between two religions.

An argument was also made that this may be the century of the African woman. The structure of economic growth in Africa is changing, with significant growth in the service sector. There is less demand for brute force in the labor market and more demand for social intelligence. Women's education levels have improved, and there is parity at the primary education enrollment level. Women even outnumber men in some governments and parliaments. Women are earning, and some of them are *de facto* heads of the family.

While many advocacy groups work in favor of women, it was noted recently that boys may be neglected. With the decline in manufacturing and manual labor, and with women earning, the African man's identity as the sole breadwinner is in jeopardy. Male children are adopted less frequently and placed for adoption more frequently. In Kenya, men are becoming burdens and alcoholics, giving rise to popular protests that men need to "come back." In South Africa, the massive increase in violence against women might be driven in part by men feeling disempowered, and this could affect more African communities.

The discussion touched on the sheer number, diversity, and complexity of developing democracies and the policy challenges they face. Geography plays a part: there is an enormous difference between the five North African countries and the 49 SSA countries. And in a few decades, the population of Africa will be in excess of 2.4 billion.

Nigeria was again highlighted as an extremely important country in Africa because of the size of its population, half of which is Muslim, and its economy, which is twice the size of South Africa's and one third larger than Egypt's. Nigeria is important for a larger African context: it is equivalent to

India and Pakistan in Asia, Brazil in Latin America. It is the largest country in terms of industry and telecommunications, with a powerful and broad-based media. “Nollywood” is the third largest film industry in size after Hollywood and Bollywood, spreading movies across West, East, and Southern Africa. Nigeria is also the largest producer of petroleum in Africa and the 13th largest oil producer and 7th largest oil exporter in the world. Nigeria used to be a stabilizing force in Africa—Liberia and Sierra Leone in particular. It has always been a top ten international peacekeeper for the U.N.

There has been a constant build up and focus of U.S. policy in Africa on key issues: since development depends on good governance, strengthening the rule of law, fighting corruption, and building accountable and responsible institutions have been top priorities. However, there is a need to balance the advocacy and projection of American principles against the advocacy and projection of American interests. This was raised in the context of President Obama’s visit to Ethiopia and Kenya, countries that have human rights violation records. In strategic countries, principles often give way to interests. Balancing short-term interest and also a long-term vision might mean supporting civil society and people with the right ideas who might come into power in the future.

The Peace Corps was singled out as a cost-effective enabler for America in Africa: an inexpensive and effective soft-power tool. The MCC was identified as another effective soft-power tool: when the government staff who work in MCC are deployed back to their ministries, hopefully they are infected with the daring to deliver and work in a transparent and efficient manner. When projects like MCC are seen to be working, it is a very good use of soft power (and hard cash). The power of impersonal efficiency is also a tool against corruption.

Rule of law is very important, and there have been judiciary support programs, but these programs need further funding. Justice Sandra Day O’Connor has been a regular visitor to Africa. Several other U.S. Supreme Court justices have come to Africa to talk about the American judicial system and its independence. Secretary Clinton pushed hard on bringing 12 Justices from African high courts to Washington for a two-week program. Other low-cost enablers that have tremendous multiplier effects include corporate rights, individual liberties, etc.

There was some discussion (with differing opinions) as to whether history dictates the trajectory of America’s and Africa’s development—a matter of contextualizing expectations of African performance as well as challenges. China is offering an alternative to America. Some of its work is financed by the African Development Bank, but China gets all the credit. In contrast, the U.S. is debating whether to defund the Ex-Im bank, which is what helped American corporations to trade

here. Currently, perceptions of American democracy in Africa are being damaged by images of poor people and black and brown people being incarcerated or killed by American security forces, as projected by BBC, Al Jazeera, and CCTV. America was also “on the wrong side” of the Apartheid question, which still has repercussions to this day in Southern Africa.

The discussion on health concerns in Africa focused on U.S. leadership. Several focused on the dichotomy that Africa suffers one-fourth of the world’s disease burden but has only 3% of the world’s health workforce. The ability of African governments to attract and retain healthcare staff is low. For example, when the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) was launched in 2004, Dar es Salaam was one of the cities hardest hit with HIV/AIDS. PEPFAR was hindered by the fact that there were very few healthcare providers. Staff were hired with PEPFAR funding with the idea that, in the long run, they would be absorbed into the healthcare system, creating sustainability.

Over 400 million people have no access to essential health services, such as reproductive health services or tuberculosis and malaria treatment. Only 50% of women get assistance from a skilled health provider during birth. There is a disproportionate provider-to-patient ratio across the urban and rural divide: in 2012, 80% of the women who did not get skilled help with delivery were in the rural areas.

Maternal health is particularly challenged: although 98% of the two million pregnant women (per year) go to the antenatal clinic at least once in Tanzania, only half of them deliver at health care facilities. Poor quality of service at the health facilities is a deterrent: patients complain of congestion, poor quality of staff, lack of cleanliness, and even disrespect and abuse during delivery. The workload of healthcare providers in delivery wards burns them out. Women come into the labor ward without knowing what to expect. There is no information, no birth companions, and the midwives are usually overworked due to staffing shortages. Efforts to improve maternal health also have to address nutrition, as malnutrition and low nutrition in mothers and children is a cause of death.

In Tanzania there is free healthcare for pregnant women and children under five, but the care provided is not very good. Although there is awareness that nutrition is a critical issue, the government is not in a position to dispense free vitamins to expectant mothers, but it may be able to offer nutrition education and vitamin prescriptions. Three delays have been identified for women to access a health facility for childbirth. First, some societies are so patriarchal that the woman may have to wait for her husband to allow her to go. The second category of delay is transport-related: affording the trip, bad roads, or distance can prevent women from visiting a healthcare facility. The third delay happens at the

health facility where the pregnant mother might be asked to wait too long for service.

Countries affected by Ebola have often not had investments into the health system in a long time, resulting in inadequate infrastructure for diagnosis, isolation, and public information. The establishment of the African Center for Disease Control is a commendable joint effort between the U.S. CDC and the African Union that will address African health issues, as well as global security.

Although PEPFAR funding has been critical in improving healthcare, there is a particular challenge at the planning and donor-government relationship level: a lack of transparency and coordination in the funding and support. Lack of coordination of donors and their demands can overwhelm an already overwhelmed service provider.

During the discussion, the malaria vaccine trials at the Ifakara Health Institute were raised alongside several other vaccines in trial. Malaria deaths have halved in 15 years, but there are still 500,000 deaths every year from the disease. With regard to prioritization of funding, one African health expert recommended a 1:4 spending ratio on treatment versus investing in improving the health system for longterm outcomes.

The education system does not include health education. This has only started recently, and the focus seems to be family planning, understanding puberty, and HIV/AIDS prevention. When planning health spending the priorities are malaria, TB, HIV/AIDS, maternal and child health, and recently mental health. Dental care is considered a luxury. Although low nutrition and stunting is prevalent in 40% of Tanzanian children, paradoxically, obesity is a growing problem with incidences of strokes and diabetes increasing very fast.

The final presentation of the conference was on **Africa and the changing landscape of development: the effectiveness of U.S. aid amid new initiatives, new actors, and new sources of financing**. The growth and transformation in SSA has been unexpected, even in countries categorized as stagnating. For example, at independence, Niger had 42 university graduates, no telephones, newspapers, or television—and a population of 200,000. These days, Niger has plenty of all of these assets, and a population of 1.2 million people. When it was discovered in the mid-1980s that desertification was threatening the 94% agrarian society, Niger adopted soil and water conservation techniques and after donors left, there was a massive re-greening of the country.

When aid started 15 years ago, both the donor and recipient were amateurs, so there was a learning process. The next 20 years of aid needs to focus on systems, on countries with their own dynamics. Twenty years ago, 70% of the flows of capital from U.S. to Africa were from the public sector. Today, 87% of capital flows are from the private sector. Private

investment is flowing to Africa in large amounts, but because of policy, little of that money goes to agriculture. There is opportunity all the way down the value chain for investment. Donors are a 5% minority shareholder of the major movements that are happening—social media companies alone are doing more in Africa than donors.

Demographic momentum will take Africa to a population of two billion by mid-century. Current unemployment rates are at 40% for the youth. They are mobile, intelligent, articulate, angry, and connected by communication. Stable, benign, predictable governance frameworks are critical for lifting large numbers of people out of poverty. Economic growth cannot be sustained unless there is a government structure that allows the innate genius of a country to take hold of enterprise and move the country forward.

Donors often circumvent corrupt governments, which is fine for emergencies, but not for sustainable development. Ideally, good governance and economic growth should come together, but governance precedes economic stability and growth. Rapid growth with rapid inequality is undesirable, but this is happening in Africa. This has consequences, and social media has allowed the sharing of information about, and reactions to, these inequalities.

Africa is very open to the U.S., and many African youth want to be closer to America. Some scholars noted it is America's challenge to help make that possible. The U.S. does not offer training and scholarships as much as in the past. The more the U.S. can provide funding for Africans to come to the U.S. and live with Americans, the more it helps with skills transfer and the important area of breeding familiarity between Americans and Africans.

Several participants said that USAID should direct more of its attention towards MCC-type criteria, and that country-ownership is important. Donors have to leverage the 95% funding that doesn't come from development assistance. As there are other interests bidding for them, the U.S. has to capture African markets, which are growing faster than developed countries. The U.S. needs to invest in human capital (education, training), governance infrastructure, institutional infrastructure, health infrastructure, and physical infrastructure. The U.S. can't compete with China on physical infrastructure, so it has to think about how to make its aid effective and cost-effective.

Aid or Official Development Assistance (ODA) is made up of grants and subsidized loans. This excludes military spending. Total ODA to Africa is \$167 billion, of which \$135 billion is from OECD countries and the rest coming from China and the Middle East. The U.S. provided \$30 billion. This aid amounts to about 1% of the federal budget, while many Americans believe that 15–20% of the budget goes to foreign aid, and they think only 5% should go to foreign aid.

That is one reason there is opposition to it: people think it is larger than it is.

In 2011, USAID introduced a new evaluation strategy. To date, USAID has commissioned 950 independent evaluations, one third in SSA, mostly of specific projects. A newly published report available online: states that Feed the Future reached more than 12 million children with nutrition interventions and 7 million farmers with seeds and tools and inputs.

The Power Africa initiative has provided 30,000 megawatts of new power in Africa, and the majority of the money comes from leveraging partnerships with private companies. In Tanzania, Power Africa is financing a 150 megawatts power plant and working with Maasai on solar-powered projects for smaller households. In health, 116,000 people are being supported with anti-retroviral drugs. Mother-to-child HIV transmission is also being addressed: In 2009, 27% of babies born to positive mothers were born positive, but this is down to less than 9% now.

To support great transformation in Africa, several participants argued that the U.S. should concentrate aid in poor countries that can't access capital flows. Relatively small amounts of money can transform families and communities. There is massive need in electricity, agriculture, and health. The U.S. can use a bit of aid to leverage private money. While it is important to demand results, not all results are measurable.

The discussion offered some thoughts on policy going forward in the U.S.-Africa relationship. The U.S. has not re-conceived its foreign assistance since the 1960s and the Cold War. There is considerable need to streamline foreign assistance, update it, and focus on better relationships between agencies. In spite of the experience of streamlining Homeland Security, it was suggested that the U.S. consider coordinating foreign assistance under one roof. Development is usually the smallest piece of the foreign policy toolbox. Defense has a \$578 billion budget, considerably more than aid. African governments are not passively dependent on aid alone. They borrow, and growth is increasing the amount of taxes available for development. For example, Tanzania has borrowed \$20 billion, and it has a 1:1 debt to GDP ratio.

Foreign assistance needs to deploy various strategies according to country-specific needs and circumstances. Zimbabwe, for example, cannot benefit from similar programs that target more democratic countries due to its authoritarian governance. There has to be support for democratic programs with adequate time: 5–10 years of evidence builds people's confidence in stability. Rule of law is a basic part of governance infrastructure. There is concern that aid is vulnerable to the corruption that happens in the various levels of government. USAID gives funds directly to governments,

investing in local systems to build those systems in the better governed countries.

This raised the critical issue of oversight: how can funding governments directly assure accountability and prevent the corrupt class from absorbing the money? Suggestions include reducing the number of projects in order to focus more successfully and with greater transparency. USAID in particular was challenged to come up with better ways of demonstrating the success of its work, maybe even through the use of non-traditional "evidence" such as brief videos of projects. The importance of quality and independent evaluation could not be overstated.

Markets in general need to be developed. With regards to high interest rates on loans (25% in some cases) in particular, capital markets are needed. Because there are no alternative sources of finance, banks have a monopoly. It is necessary to create commodities exchanges, stock markets, and other tools to break the monopoly of banks.

The Young African Leadership Initiative (YALI) and Peace Corps were also singled out as relatively cheap investments with high impact. The U.S. does not offer training and scholarships as much as in the past. Some proposed the more that the U.S. can provide funding for Africans to come to the U.S. and to live with Americans, it helps with skills transfer and understanding between Africans and Americans.

A comparison was made between the experience of funding Afghanistan with \$100 billion with relatively little to show for it and the impact of, and reach of, the Peace Corps, which is trying to raise its budget to \$420 million.

Africa is better than it was 10 years ago, but there is a long way to go. The forecast for the coming decades is optimistic because there is growth, and Africa can get into a positive income cycle with investment in infrastructure growing as well. The aid challenge is to channel limited resources into interventions that work using defined metrics and solid oversight. It is also critical to plan for the next generation and the one after that. If the booming youth population is not made part of a traditional working environment, the world could be facing a big security problem in the near future.

Emerging Africa: The Economic and Political Transformation in (half of) Sub-Saharan Africa

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For nearly 30 years following the independence movements of the 1960s, it seemed that just about all the news out of sub-Saharan Africa was bad. Newspapers reported endless civil wars, repeated coups, gross misrule, famine, disease, and poverty across the continent. In May 2000, *The Economist* news magazine published a famous cover story dubbing Africa “The Hopeless Continent.” But since the mid-1990s, a fairly dramatic change has been underway—in about half the countries in the region—with more rapid economic growth, improvements in health, a shift to democracy, reductions in conflict, and progress in other dimensions of development. But while many countries in SSA have begun to make significant progress, it would be misleading to suggest the resurgence is universal: many other countries have seen very little progress, with continued economic stagnation, poor governance, and continued conflict. These differences in performance make it increasingly misleading to characterize SSA as either hopeless or in the midst of a full-fledged transformation. The reality is more complex.

To further appreciate the progress in many countries alongside the stagnation in others, let’s look briefly at four important dimensions of development in SSA—economic growth, health, democracy, and conflict.

Growth Accelerates—In Some Countries

Economic growth has accelerated sharply across much of SSA. After stagnating for twenty years between the mid-1970s and mid-1990s (that is, average economic growth per person of zero), growth per person accelerated to about 1.7% per year, just slightly below the global average of 2% per person per year. While this growth rate seems modest,

over two decades it becomes fairly powerful: average income per person has increased by more than 50% since 1994 (in real terms, after accounting for inflation). Alongside faster growth, poverty has begun to decline: the share of people living in “extreme” poverty (defined by the World Bank as consumption less than \$1.25/day) fell from 61% in 1993 to 47% in 2011.

But this aggregate growth disguises a wide variety of performances. In a recent book I divided the sub-continent into four sets of countries, shown in the accompanying map (Figure 2) along with their *per capita* growth rates since 1995. The four groups (listed in the appendix) are:

1. The Emerging Countries, comprising 17 countries—none of them oil exporters—that have turned the corner economically, most of which have also become democracies (average growth per capita = 3.3%);
2. The Threshold Countries, including six countries that are on the verge of a turnaround, but haven’t quite achieved it yet (average growth per capita = 1.5%);
3. The Oil Exporters, including nine countries whose economies (and politics) are heavily determined by oil markets and therefore follow very different dynamics; and
4. The Stagnating Countries, comprising 16 countries that have made little change and continue to languish economically with non-democratic leadership (average growth per capita = 0.1%).

The differences are stark: in the first group of Emerging Countries, average incomes have almost doubled over the last two decades, while in the fourth group of Stagnating Countries, average incomes are almost exactly the same today as they were 20 years ago.

Commodity prices explain part of this growth, but the growth spurt is far from only a commodity boom. In the oil exporters in particular, growth is heavily influenced both by global prices and new discoveries coming on line. But in the Emerging and Threshold countries, more is at work. Growth accelerated in the mid-1990s, long before the current commodity boom. Substantial changes in economic policies in many countries have led to more broad-based growth including services, light manufacturing, and agriculture. Investments from other developing countries—especially China, India, and Brazil—have helped accelerate growth. And while commodity prices have declined in the last two years, growth rates in most countries have only slowed modestly. The changes propelling growth in the Emerging countries of SSA go much deeper than commodity prices.

Improving Health—Almost Everywhere

Meanwhile, health has improved dramatically. In 1960, 26 out of every 100 children born in SSA died before their fifth birthday. Imagine that, if you can: one of four children dying before reaching five years old. But today, that number is down to 8 out of 100 (see Figure 3). That means that out of 100 children born in SSA, 18 more live today who would have died just a few decades ago. Millions of children are living longer in developing countries around the world, and living healthier and more productive lives. Since 1980, the rate of child death has declined in every single developing country in the world where data are available. *There are no exceptions.*

At the same time, a wide range of diseases are doing less damage in developing countries, with much of the positive impact in SSA:

- Malaria mortality declined 47 percent between 2000 and 2013, saving 4.3 million lives, most of them children under five years old in SSA.
- AIDS-related deaths globally fell from 2.4 million in 2005 to 1.5 million in 2013, a decline of 35 percent in just eight years.
- Tuberculosis deaths globally fell 33% between 2000 and 2013, saving over 4 million lives.
- Diarrhea killed 5 million children a year in developing countries around the world in the early 1990s, but today the number is just 760,000.

As a result of these changes, people are living much longer. Since 1990, life expectancy in SSA has grown from 50 to 57 years, a huge improvement, especially considering it came in spite of the enormous toll from the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Make no mistake: foreign assistance from the U.S. and other donors supporting vaccination programs and fighting diarrhea, malaria, HIV/AIDS, and other diseases has helped save *millions* of lives over the last two decades.

Democracy Rising

Africa's past troubles have been, in large part, a failure of leadership. Too many leaders ruled by intimidation, violence, and brute force (often with the support of former colonial countries or the superpowers). But in the 1980s, many authoritarian governments lost their legitimacy and the economic and financial resources to maintain control. Protestors began to call for change, and governments lost the backing of key supporters. With the end of the Cold War and apartheid in the early 1990s, authoritarian leaders were forced to give way to democratic governments. The number of democracies in SSA jumped from just 3 in 1989 to 23 in 2013, including most of the 17 emerging countries (see Figure 4).

Today, power is far more likely to be transferred through the ballot box than through violence. Elections, while not ensuring democracy, are more widespread, and in most countries they have become fairer and more transparent. Individual freedoms and rights are honored and enforced to a much greater degree. Legislative bodies have more power and are more diverse, with multiple parties and greater competition. Civil society groups, nongovernmental organizations, and other voices aimed at monitoring government and improving transparency and accountability are stronger and more active than ever.

To be sure, many of the new democracies are imperfect and fragile: Elections are sometimes flawed; there is too much corruption; relationships between politicians and business leaders are far too cozy; and the courts do not always work well. In some countries, such as in Mali in 2010, the promising drive towards democracy was reversed by a coup. But the fact that there are shortcomings and setbacks should not obscure the larger truth, which is that since the 1980s the political transformation in many countries in SSA has been huge. Democratic institutions have become deeper and stronger in Ghana, Senegal, Cape Verde, Botswana, Mauritius, Zambia, and many other countries. The recent successful elections in Nigeria—and the fact that the ruling power stepped down gracefully and peacefully—is an enormous step forward in the prospects for democracy across the region. Democratic progress has been uneven and remains incomplete, but it has been—and will continue to be—at the core of emerging Africa's renaissance.

Conflict Falling

Hand in hand with the spread of democracy have come reductions in war, conflict, and violence. Most people have a hard time believing this fact, since the daily news provides a stream of stories of war, conflict, and violence. But while violence has not ended, there is much less of it. *Much* less.

The most dramatic change is in the reduction of civil war. Following the end of colonialism in the 1960s, the number of civil wars in developing countries rose as different factions vied for power. By the 1980s, civil war was all too common, as economies stagnated, the prices of natural resource soared, and armed opposition groups fought to displace longtime leaders. In the ten years from 1981 through 1990, there was an average of more than six major civil wars going on at any one time in SSA—that is, about one of every eight countries. But in the ten years from 2004 through 2013, the number was down to an average of less than two per year. Major civil war has not disappeared, especially in countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan, but the days are over of widespread war engulfing all of southern Africa during the final decade of apartheid and of virtually every country in West Africa in conflict.

Even more dramatic than the fall in the number of conflicts—and more important—is the decline in the number of battle deaths from conflict. Between 1981 and 1990, deaths from conflicts in SSA averaged more than 48,000 people per year. But since then, the annual figure has never come close to that level. Since 2004, battle deaths have averaged less than 4,000 per year. *Deaths from major conflict in sub-Saharan African countries dropped by more than 90 percent in just two decades.*

What Happened?

What explains the dramatic improvement in performance in the Emerging Countries during the past two decades compared with earlier years? Three major catalysts sparked the turnaround in the 1990s that allowed these countries to begin to move forward.

First, the end of the Cold War, the demise of Communism, and the collapse of the Soviet Union combined to create global conditions that were much more favorable for development. The United States and the Soviet Union cut their unquestioned support for some of the world's nastiest dictators, and one by one they began to fall. Proxy wars and political violence related to the Cold War came to an end. Communism, strong state control, and right-wing totalitarian dictatorship lost credibility. A new consensus began to form around more market-based economic systems and—at least in many countries—more accountable, transparent, and democratic governance. Developing countries around the world introduced major economic and political reforms and began to build institutions more conducive to growth

and social progress.

Second, globalization and new technologies provided critical new opportunities. Deeper global connections through trade, financial flows, information and ideas, movement of people, and access to technologies provided the opportunities for faster growth, improved health, and strengthen governance. Exports and financial flows grew quickly. The rise of China and India have been important drivers of growth in many African developing countries. Perhaps most importantly, deeper global integration has allowed a range of technologies to spur development progress: vaccines, medicines, seeds, fertilizers, mobile phones, the internet, faster and cheaper air travel, and containerized shipping. To be sure, globalization has brought challenges, risks, and volatility, not least the 2007 food and 2008 financial crises. But it has brought investment, jobs, skills, ideas, and markets, and has been an important part of the great surge in development.

Third, the turnaround in the Emerging Countries was driven by much stronger and skilled economic and political leadership. These countries began to achieve significant progress primarily because of the choices, decisions, and actions of their own leaders and citizens. Where new leaders at all levels of society stepped forward to forge change, countries began to make progress. Where old dictators stayed in place, or new tyrants stepped in to replace the old, political and economic systems remained rigged. A new generation of savvy, sharp, and entrepreneurial leaders is emerging across Africa. They are rising through the ranks of government, starting up businesses, working as local representatives of multinational corporations, leading local NGOs and activist groups, and taking an increasing role in political leadership. They are fed up with the unaccountable governments and economic stagnation of the past and are bringing new ideas and new vision, often fortified by travel abroad and a globalized outlook. With this new generation at the helm, Africa's future looks increasingly bright.

The Road Ahead

The surge of economic and political progress during the last two decades provides the foundation for continued success in the emerging countries, but the turnaround is young and remains fragile. The emerging countries face several challenges, including the need to deepen democracy and strengthen governance, diversify their economies to create new economic opportunities for a growing workforce, manage the role of China and other emerging actors to ensure that the benefits outweigh the risks, adapt to the effects of climate change, and build strong education and health systems. Unleashing the power of girls and women will be central to maximizing the speed, equity, and sustainability of development.

Meeting these challenges will not be easy. It will require difficult choices, effective leadership, and hard work by the citizens of the emerging countries. Their future is primarily in their own hands: the decisions they make, the priorities they set, and the institutions they establish. Their record since the mid-1990s has been strong, and there is great promise for the future, but it is hardly certain.

In the battle for ideas about how societies should organize themselves economically and politically, the countries of SSA—and for that matter developing countries around the world—face three competing models. The first is market capitalism coupled with democracy, roughly as practiced by the United States and Western Europe for the past two centuries, and more recently by Japan and a growing number of developing countries (e.g., India, South Korea, Indonesia, and Brazil). The second is authoritarian capitalism: quasi-market and capitalistic economies combined with authoritarianism, as practiced by China, Vietnam, Ethiopia, and a few others. The third is fundamentalist extremism, as espoused by radical groups primarily in the Middle East, but with similar groups in SSA such as Boko Haram in West Africa, Al-Shabaab in East Africa, and the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda. For most people in SSA, the contest is between the first two ideas. Despite the long history around the world of authoritarian governments ultimately failing economically—Germany under Bismarck, Japan following the Meiji Restoration, Latin America in the 19th century, and the Soviet Union—China's economic success without democracy remains an alluring model. And unfortunately, following the 2008 financial crisis and other challenges, for many people the United States and Western Europe aren't attractive models these days.

What does this mean for the United States? There are three main reasons why the battle for ideas and future developments in SSA matter for the U.S.:

1. Strengthening National Security. Weak, failed, and failing states create opportunities for trans-national criminals and terrorist organizations. As countries in SSA become economically and politically stronger, these threats are reduced within their countries, in the region, and to the United States and the rest of the world.
2. Promoting American Values of Openness, Prosperity, Freedom, and Democracy. The United States must lead the world in promoting its vision for a more prosperous and democratic world—a vision shared by most people around the world. Many people in low-income countries see economic opportunity, escape from poverty and political freedom only as distant dreams. For the U.S. to achieve its

own goals of security and prosperity, it needs poor and rich countries alike to support the values that Americans champion, and to believe that they, too, can climb out of poverty and achieve economic and political freedom. And for most Americans, helping the people of some of the poorest countries of the world is simply the right thing to do.

3. Enhancing Business Opportunities. American companies are increasingly looking for new global business opportunities, and the countries of SSA provide new and expanding frontiers. Opportunities are growing in power, agriculture, construction, manufacturing, hotels, tourism, and a wide variety of other activities. Investors from China, India, Brazil, Turkey, Malaysia, Indonesia, and a variety of other countries are moving fast, and so far U.S. investors have been less active.

What can the United States do?

1. *Develop innovative ways to work with the private sector and encourage private investment.* Instead of seeing foreign aid solely as a substitute for missing private capital, increasingly it can be used to stimulate, facilitate, and leverage private investment. The right question is not aid vs. trade, but how to use both together to help stimulate development. One way is through creative risk-sharing or co-investing, such as through partial guarantees to local banks for new loans, or through expanding the operations of U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID) Development Credit authority and Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) in SSA. Another is to work with investors to encourage stronger supply change linkages, such as helping improve the quality of local supplies to make foreign investment more profitable. And a third is to work with governments and investors to identify roadblocks and obstacles to investment.
2. *Make Bigger Distinctions Among Partner Countries.* In an increasingly divergent developing world, one-size-fits-all approaches no longer make sense. Partnerships should be much better tailored to the conditions on the ground and the progress and commitments that countries are making. The new emerging democracies of SSA have shown they are willing to make the tough decisions to put their countries on a new path forward, and they deserve strong support. These countries should receive larger and longer-term commitments and have greater say in where funds are directed. By contrast, the

countries that have not made these changes should receive smaller commitments and less flexibility in how funds are used.

3. *Continue to Invest in Health and Education.* In the long run, a country's capabilities, capacities, and progress depends significantly on its investments in people. The United States leads the way in investing in health, especially fighting HIV/AIDS and malaria, and also makes important investments in education.
4. *Invest in Technology.* It is impossible to see how the emerging countries of SSA can meet the challenges of widespread disease, climate change, and pressure on food supplies except through the development and dissemination of new technologies. Aid agencies have a long history of such investments, including the seeds and fertilizers of the Green Revolution, Oral Rehydration Therapy, and more recently for vaccines for meningitis A and other diseases. Meeting new challenges will require forging creative relationships with universities, foundations, businesses, and local entrepreneurs, with new kinds of supporting mechanisms. It will require a willingness to take risks and provide support, even when some investments fail.
5. *Create Trading Opportunities At Home.* The U.S. is an important trading destination for the countries of

SSA, although they are increasingly looking to other countries to forge new relationships. Expanding programs like the African Growth and Opportunity Act and reducing barriers created by agricultural subsidies and tariffs on finished products can help encourage new investment and expanded economic opportunities for the countries of SSA.

6. *Work More Closely with Other New Development Partners.* New investors from China and India provide new competition, but also new opportunities to work together with local governments to solve problems of mutual interest. These new partners bring skills, new perspectives, experiences, ideas, and funding, and sometimes working together can bring huge benefits.

Africa's emerging countries will undoubtedly face challenges in the years ahead, but they have shown that nations once considered failures can turn around and climb out of poverty. The renaissance in emerging Africa provides hope for some of the most challenged countries in the world that it is possible to combat poverty, secure peace, increase prosperity, and widen the global circle of development.

Appendix: Four Groups of SSA Countries

Emerging Countries	Stagnating Countries	Oil Exporters
Botswana	Burundi	Angola
Burkina Faso	Central African Republic	Cameroon
Cape Verde	Comoros	Chad
Ethiopia	Congo, Dem. Rep.	Congo, Rep.
Ghana	Cote d'Ivoire	Equatorial Guinea
Lesotho	Djibouti	Gabon
Mali	Eritrea	Mauritania
Mauritius	Gambia, The	Nigeria
Mozambique	Guinea	Sudan
Namibia	Guinea-Bissau	
Rwanda	Niger	Not Included
Sao Tome and Principe	Madagascar	South Sudan
Seychelles	Somalia	
South Africa	Swaziland	
Tanzania	Togo	
Uganda	Zimbabwe	
Zambia		
Threshold Countries		
Benin		
Kenya		
Liberia		
Malawi		
Senegal		
Sierra Leone		

Steven Radelet (2010). Emerging Africa: How 17 Countries Are Leading The Way (Washington: Center for Global Development).

Figure 2: The Countries of SSA and their growth rates in GDP per capita, 1995-2013

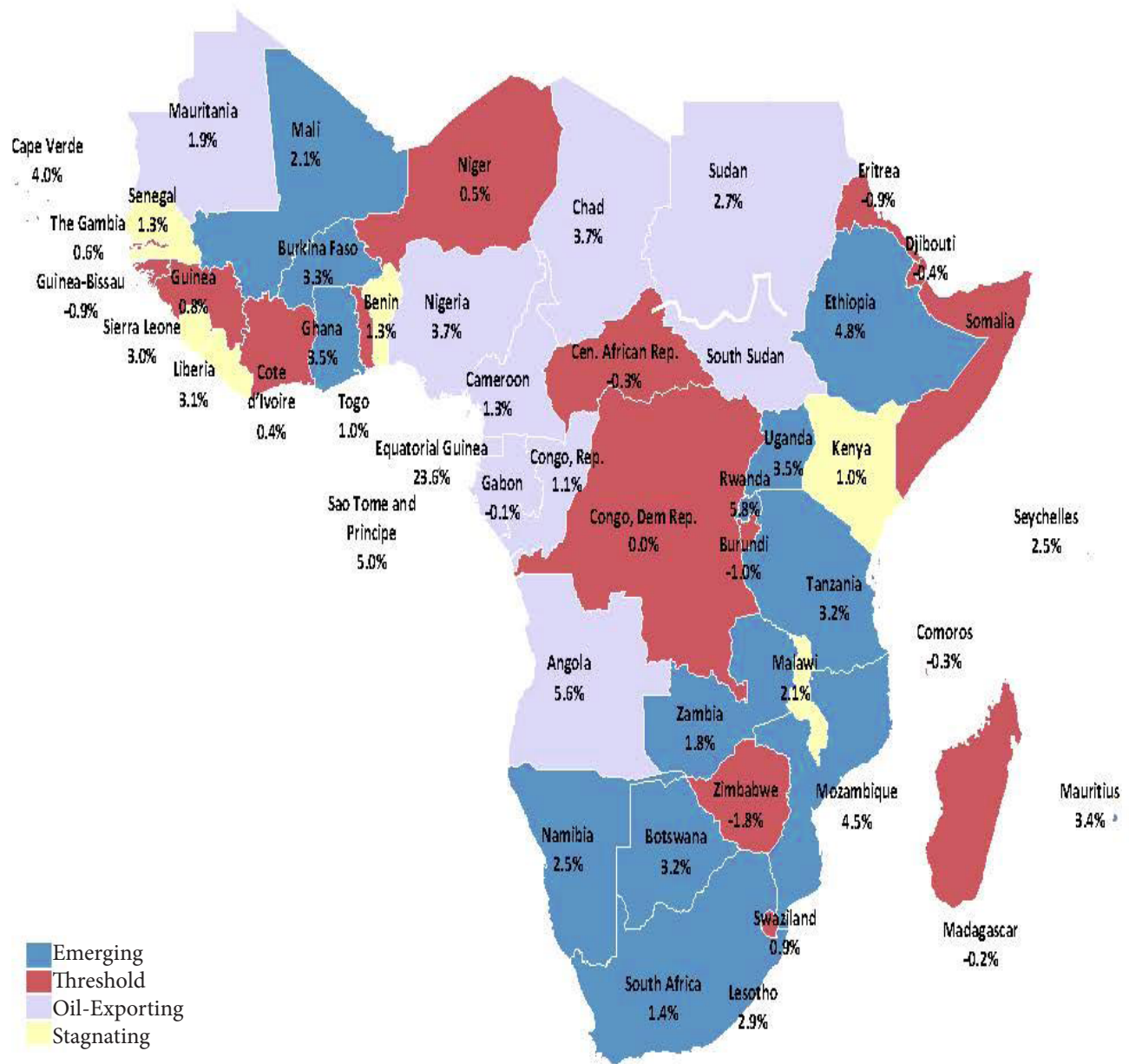
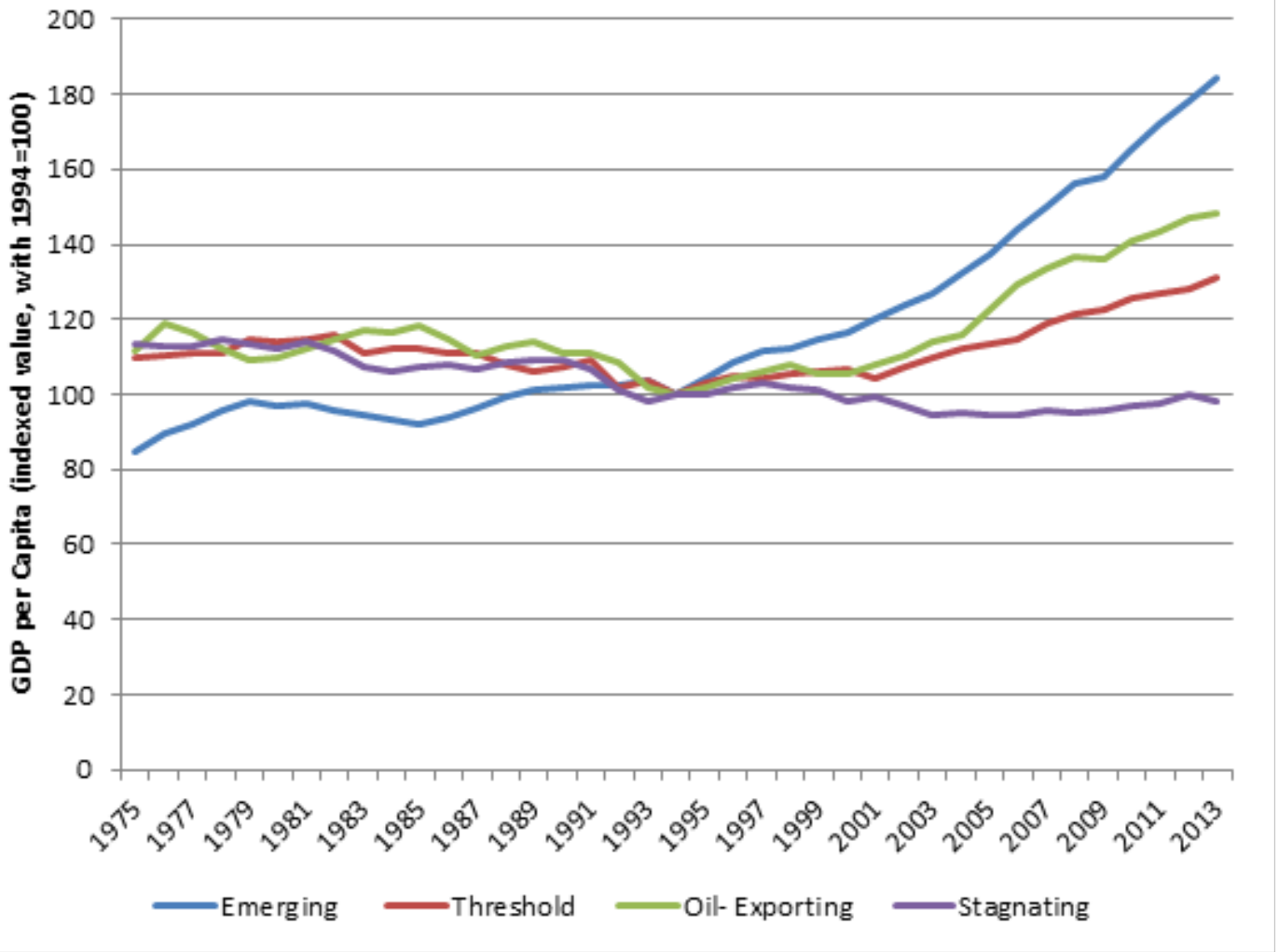


Figure 1: Multiple-Speed Growth Across SSA
 GDP per capita, constant prices (controlling for inflation)



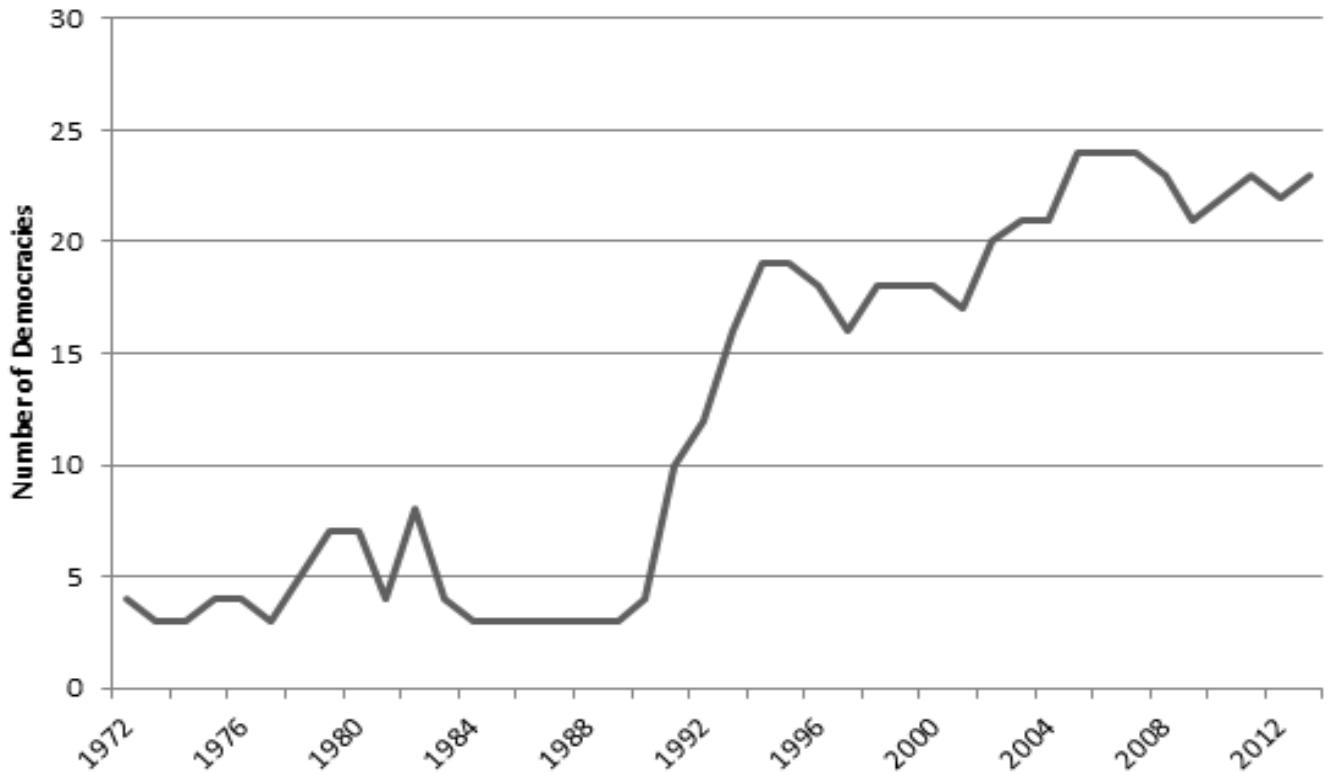
1. Emerging Countries: 17 countries -- none of them oil exporters -- that have turned the corner economically, most of which have also become democracies (average growth per capita = 3.3%);
2. Threshold Countries: six countries that are on the verge of a turnaround, but haven't quite achieved it yet (average growth per capita = 1.5%)
3. Oil Exporters: nine countries whose economies (and politics) are heavily determined by oil markets and therefore follow very different dynamics
4. Stagnating Countries: 16 countries that have made little change and continue to languish economically with non-democratic leadership (average growth per capita = 0.1%).

Figure 3: More Children Live
Share of Children in SSA Dying Before Age 5



Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

Figure 4: Democracy on the Rise
Number of SSA Democracies



Source: author's calculations, based on data from Freedom House and the Polity IV index

U.S. Security Threats and Political Interests in Africa

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The 1998 terrorist attacks on the U.S. Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were a wake up call for U.S. policy toward Africa. The simultaneous al-Qaeda car bombs that killed over 200 and wounded more than 4000 Americans and Africans severed America's perceptions that Africa posed no direct threats to U.S. lives and property. Today, the terrorist threat has only grown and especially thrives in conditions of political instability, extreme poverty, and insecurity found in Somalia, much of the Sahel, and northern Nigeria.

Yet, the 1998 bombings did not wipe out the conventional wisdom in foreign policy circles that Africa is a lower priority region for U.S. strategic interests and engagement around the world. The impact of such thinking has limited the security assistance available and engagement required to protect American interests. It has also saddled U.S. policymakers with responding to constituent debates that posit a tradeoff between increasing security cooperation with African states versus focusing on human rights and democracy promotion for Africa's populations. Obama's trip in July to Kenya and Ethiopia is a prime example of the administration having to justify a Presidential visit to two of America's staunchest allies in countering terrorism and in advancing regional peace and stability as conflict mediators and peacekeeping troop contributors.

This polemical debate on U.S.-Africa policy has led to two damaging outcomes for U.S. policy effectiveness in Africa. First, the range of policy options on the table to advance American security interests in Africa is largely constrained and defaults to "capacity-building" (training, materiel assistance and sharing limited intelligence). U.S. direct action or "boots on the ground" is often summarily dismissed as a consideration. There is also a certain lack of transparency when the United States does conduct military operations, for example in Somalia using drones, airstrikes, and Special Forces

targeting Al Shabaab and Al-Qaida leaders. The American public is largely unaware of, (though Congress did debate), the U.S. deployment of military advisors to support operations against Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army. American administrations keep relatively quiet when providing airlift and refueling for French forces fighting terrorists in the Sahel to avoid a public backlash led by human rights activists and those who see no strategic U.S. interest in Africa.

Second, pushing for "good" elections has become the focus of policy and a implicit benchmark for assessing the advancement of governance, human rights, and political progress. Good elections are symbols for good regimes and acceptable governments. Yet, in the short-term elections in Africa are often a source of violence affecting between 19 and 25 percent of elections where an election is coded as violent if one person is killed.ⁱ The examples of Burundi (2015), Cote d'Ivoire (2010), Kenya (2007) and repeated violence in Zimbabwe's elections stand out. Even elections judged as free and fair is not always a sufficient condition for a violence-free outcome.

Responding effectively to the most immediate threat to U.S. security -- today's global terrorist networks -- requires a significant uptick in U.S. engagement and resources to counter globally linked Africa-based terrorists. Specifically, Boko Haram in West Africa, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) operating across the Sahel, and al Shabaab in East and the Horn of Africa are ever more lethal with training, arms, materiel assistance, and their inspiration coming from formidable global terrorists organizations including al-Qaeda and its offshoot Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

New thinking is also needed that strategically ties U.S. security interests with its broader goals of democracy, human rights, and development. Special attention is required to avoid delinking the state from its citizens. Specifically, reg-

ularly occurring elections can be treated as windows of opportunity for state building and nation building with states necessarily at the center of creating inclusive societies and emerging as more accountable sovereigns to prevent violent conflict. The international community including UN or African Union peacekeeping missions, lack the capacity and resources to serve as long-term replacements for national states. They also lack the legitimacy to be guardians of another nation's welfare and independence. Current whispers to establish (impose) a UN-sanctioned protectorate in South Sudan notwithstanding.

The Security Landscape in Africa

Most long-lasting regional conflicts and civil wars in Africa have come to an endⁱⁱ yet terrorism is spreading and is closely linked to transnational criminality (drugs, piracy, trafficking, poaching, etc) that generate ill-gotten gains that help finance terrorists. The trends in Africa follow global patterns with violence resulting more from social unrest and generated within countries, especially with a growing young population without sufficient prospects, rather than threats from across borders, except that of terrorists and transnational criminal organizations.ⁱⁱⁱ

Drug trafficking has especially exploded in West Africa that has become a hub over the last decade used both for transshipments and for local consumption. West Africa is now the main logistical transit center between Latin America, Asia, and Europe. It is estimated that more than \$1.25 billion per annum in cocaine trade moves through West Africa alone dwarfing the combined state budgets of several

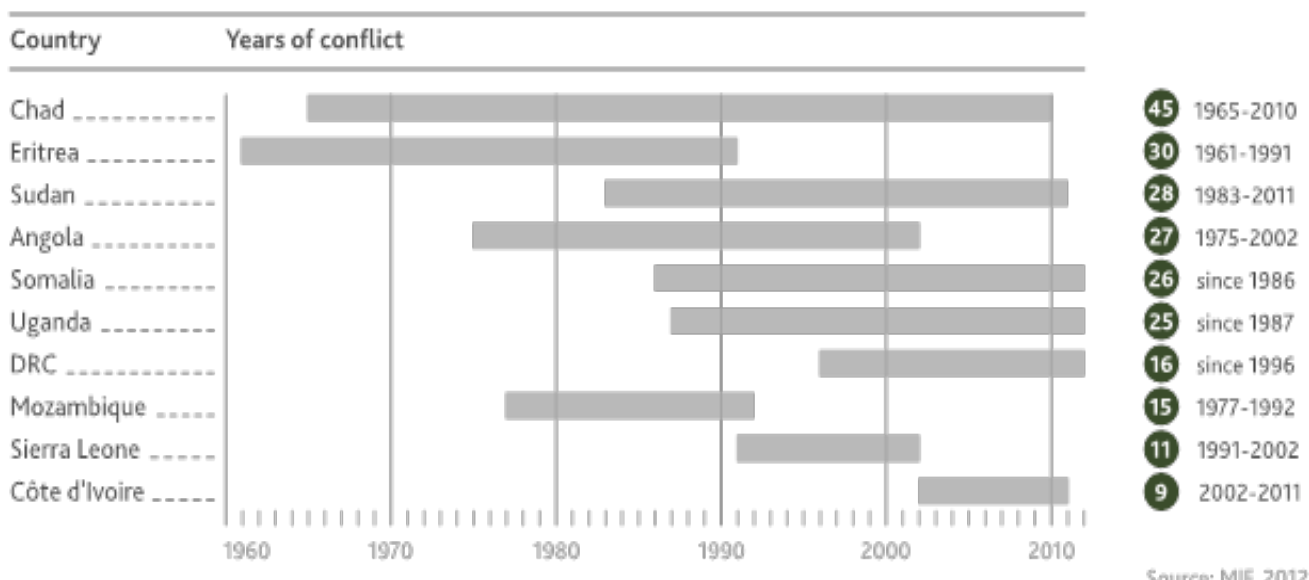
countries in the sub-region.^{iv} Drug cartels are responsible for toppling a government in Guinea-Bissau and the trade undermines African institutions, threatens social order, and can compromise those responsible for public safety and security.

Competition for Africa's natural resources has also been a source of violent conflict with at least 9 so fuelled between 1990 and 2009. The Nile river basin serving 11 countries has the potential to become the next large conflict given the shortage of water in the region and the countries high level of water interdependence. Conflicts associated with natural resources are twice as likely to relapse into conflict in the first 5 years according to research by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation.

At the root of instability in Africa is the lack of effective sovereignty or the inability of African governments to fully control their borders and territories. This has enabled arms proliferation, illegal or clandestine immigration, dummy or toxic medical drug production and traffic, illicit fishing, poaching and the illicit dumping of toxic waste to spread.

Terrorists and organized criminal networks best exploit the inability of many African countries to extend effective government control over remote areas of their often vast territories that are used as safe havens for terrorists and criminals. For example, the Boko Haram extremist sect has seized control of a remote area in northeastern Nigeria about the size of the state of Maryland along the country's borders and launched cross-border raids into Niger, Chad and Cameroon.^v

MOST LONG-LASTING CONFLICTS HAVE COME TO AN END



Source: Mo Ibrahim Foundation, Facts and Figures, November 2013

In Africa, al-Shabaab, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and Boko Haram are most connected and able to threaten regional and international order. These groups have abducted and assassinated Western tourists, United Nations officials and targeted locations such as restaurants, hotels, and shopping malls where westerners frequent. While their origins are often founded in local conflicts, their goals are anti-western and their allegiances and support networks are global providing greater capability to hit American targets and undermine U.S. interest,

Al-Shabaab is an affiliate of al-Qaeda and its original leaders were East Africa al-Qaeda cell members that planned the 1998 East Africa Embassy bombings, attempted to shot down an Israeli airline in 2002 with a surface to air missile, and was responsible for several bombings at hotels in Mombasa frequented by westerners. The Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahidin was the militant wing of the Somali Council of Islamic Courts that took over most of southern Somalia from mid-2006 and were routed from Mogadishu by Somali and Ethiopian forces in 2007. Al Shabaab's senior leaders are affiliated with al-Qaida and some have trained and fought in Afghanistan. The merger of al-Shabaab and al-Qaida was publically announced in February 2012 by the amir of al-Shabaab and Ayman al-Zawahiri, then leader of al-Qaida.

Al-Shabaab's September 2013 attack on Nairobi's Westgate Mall provided vivid image of the group's targeting civilians and especially non-Muslims. The April 2015 attack on Garissa University College in Kenya killing 147 people, injuring 79, and taking more than 700 students hostage while freeing Muslims and killing those who identified as Christians

demonstrates the brutality of the group as well as their attempt to fuel a religious divide among the Kenyan population that has so far failed. It has also scared off Western tourists undermining Kenya's economy and led to the portrayal of the country as a "hotbed of terrorism."

Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is a Salafi-jihadist militant group operating in the Sahara and Sahel led since 2004 by Algerian-born Abdelmalek Droukdel (aka Abou Mossab Abdelwadoud), a trained engineer and explosives expert. The group comes out of Algeria's civil war in the 1990s and took the name Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) in 1998. It rebranded itself AQIM following Ayman al-Zawahiri's announcement of the union in September 2006. AQIM is the primary terrorist threat in North and West Africa. The merger broadened the groups' goals to include Western interests in addition to Algerian targets. It also enhanced their legitimacy among extremists and provided greater access to training, recruitment, material assistance and opportunities for jihad and insurgency experience in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. AQIM is believed to have cells in Algeria, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Libya, Nigeria and Tunisia. The group has carried out assassinations, suicide bombings of military, government and civilian targets and guerrilla-style raids. It raises money through kidnapping for ransom and trafficking arms, vehicles, cigarettes, and persons, and smuggling narcotics and is considered by the U.S. Treasury Department as a significant terror financing threat.^{vi}Boko Haram, was founded in 2002 as a Sunni Islamic fundamentalist sect influenced by the Wahhabi movement advocating a strict form of Sharia law. It developed into a

Number of terrorist incidents in sub-Saharan Africa, 1980-2011



Sources: Global Terrorism Database, 2013; BBC, 2013; UN, 2013

Salafist-jihad group in 2009 and seeks the establishment of an Islamic state in Nigeria. The group shifted its allegiance from al-Qaeda in 2014 expressing support for the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) and pledged allegiance to it in March 2015.

Boko Haram has become increasingly lethal and sophisticated with attacks against unarmed civilians, and progressing in 2011 to include the suicide bombing of the United Nations office in Abuja and attacks on police stations, to the 2014/15 cross border raids and attacks in Niger, Chad, and Cameroon. Boko Haram is best known for abducting innocent civilians, men, women, and children, including kidnapping 276 schoolgirls from Chibok in 2014.

These terrorist attacks are leading to massive displacement of populations. Combined with civil conflicts in Sudan, South Sudan, Central Africa Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, has led to a proliferation of peacekeeping missions across the continent. Fifty new peacekeeping operations have been established in Africa in the last fifteen years with over one hundred thousand uniformed peacekeepers deployed across Africa representing over 80% of the total UNPKO forces. The continent hosts half of the current UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO) with the annual budget in 2013 amounting to \$5.5 billion representing 73% of the global UNPKO budget.

African countries are doing their part. They mediate conflicts and contribute troops making up 37% of the troop contributors in UNPKOs globally and the bulk of the forces in African operations. The majority of these peacekeepers come from Burundi, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda. Ethiopia, Nigeria and Rwanda are the top three troop contributors and Ethiopia the fourth largest troop contributor at the global level after Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. Africa is contributing to global peace and security with thirty-six out of 54 African countries currently sending troops to UNPKOs.^{vii}

The United States is the largest financial contributor to peacekeeping operations in Africa through its assessed dues at the United Nations, and remains the largest bilateral donor for peace operations in Africa. The U.S. provides advisors, training, equipment and other assistance for peacekeeping operations in Mali, Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan. The primary USG program for supporting African stability and peace operations is the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI), and the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program. Since 2003, ACOTA has trained and deployed around 25,000 military peacekeeper and is the premier pre-deployment program training 77 battalions per year. President Obama

announced a new initiative, the African Peacekeeping Rapid Response Partnership (APRRP) at the August 2014 Africa Leaders Summit, which focuses on strengthening critical gaps in rapid response capabilities.

An important step in Africa's security progress and the continent's responsiveness requires establishing the African Standby Force (ASF) as part of Africa's peace and security architecture included in the African Union's constitution and intended to be operational by 2010 and now delayed to 2015. African standby forces from the five regions are intended to provide African peacekeeping forces that are on a high level of readiness, and capable of rapid deployment in response to a request by the UN or AU or a given region.

Overall U.S. Political and Security Interests in Africa

The greatest strength that the U.S. brings to its Africa policy is the continuity of a largely bipartisan Africa policy across administrations. The United States has five core interests in Africa that have been articulated by the last four U.S. Presidents since the end of the Cold War:

- Countering terrorism and transnational threats;
- Assisting regional peace and stability;
- Promotion of democracy, good governance and human rights;
- Supporting economic growth, trade, and development;
- Providing humanitarian and disaster relief assistance.

The prioritization of these interests has shifted across administrations and been hotly debated by constituents of U.S. Africa policy. However, the importance of managing our relations with Africa's 54 countries to support America's overall national security interests has climbed to the top of the list given today's increasingly dangerous world.

With France, the United States is one of the countries most active and operationally engaged in shaping Africa's security environment. U.S. goals are three-fold: countering terrorism and other transnational threats; peacekeeping and the prevention of additional conflicts; and strengthening the security sector in partner states.^{viii} The Obama administration straddles the divide between human rights concerns and the African security challenges by articulating an approach that encompasses traditional security partnerships with a commitment to integrated security to include women in the military and the military's relationship with communities.

The administration announced the Security Governance Initiative (SGI) also at the U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit as a multi-year effort that will initially focus on six countries – Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Tunisia – to improve the management and accountability of the justice and security sectors, linked to the countries ability to professionally

deliver security and justice to its citizens. SGI is designed as a more holistic interagency approach to support citizen security and emphasize the importance of joint assessment and analysis in identifying security governance challenges.^{ix} This approach, if it is well resourced and expanded beyond the initial six countries, is a practical and welcome step toward acknowledging African countries ownership and ultimate responsibility for the security of their citizens within a mutual respect and partnership framework with the United States.

U.S. Vital Security Threats in Africa

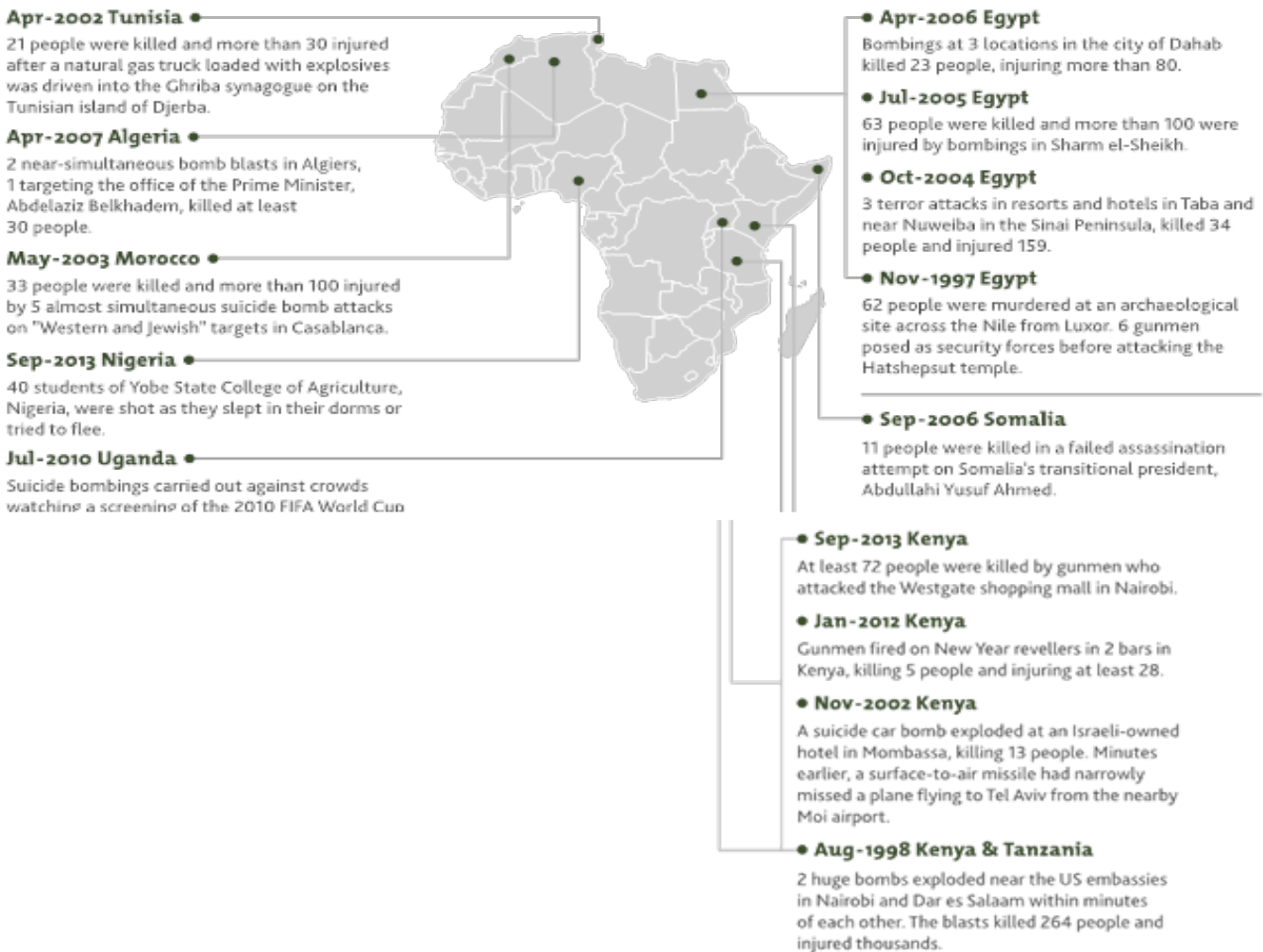
Security threats to U.S. interests in Africa emanate from many sources: state fragility; ethnic, political and sectarian conflict; insurgencies, piracy, and transnational security issues; commodity volatility and food insecurity; among other causes. All undermine America's broad objectives in Africa. However, since nuclear proliferation ceased to be an immediate threat on the continent with South Africa renouncing

its nuclear arms ambitions in the 1990s, terrorism stands alone as a threat to vital U.S. interests in Africa. Global terrorist that can attack the homeland have expanded their reach and capability with affiliates around the world that can easily move in and out of countries, recruit in cities around the world such as London, Paris, Minnesota, New York, Toronto, and use the internet to inspire lone wolves to engage in low-tech, limited planned ad hoc terror attacks.

The diagram below reflects select terror attacks in Africa since 1997 that mainly kill African citizens but can pose a direct threat to American lives and property at home and in Africa.

The United States programs in Africa to combat terrorism are the Trans Saharan Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) and the Partnership for East Africa Counterterrorism (PRACT) that provide counter-terrorism training and equipment to African militaries in East and West Africa, and address the underlying causes of radicalization. The two CT initiatives date back to the U.S. global response to

Selected Terror Attacks in Africa (1997-2013)



9/11 during the Bush administration to strengthen the ability of African states to cooperate regionally by collecting and sharing intelligence, jointly training, and working together on border security so remote areas are not exploited as safe havens. TSCTP covers eleven countries in northwest Africa (Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Senegal and Tunisia). Funding for the programs is modest as seen below when spread across 54 countries with arguably 20 being higher priorities for protecting U.S. security interests.

The United States has spent most on Somalia, contributing more than half a billion dollars in training, equipment, and logistical support to the African Union (AU) Mission in Somalia, (AMISOM) since 2007. However, assistance and engagement is uneven. In all of Africa there are only three Counterterrorism Finance Resident Legal Advisors and two Department of Homeland Security advisors in Africa as part of the Counterterrorism Finance (CTF) program that provides training to African governments to help them restrict terrorists' and terrorists organizations' ability to raise, move, and store money. With only five officials in Africa, it is doubtful how effectively they can "provide African nations with internal and cross-border financial investigations training to work effectively with counterparts in neighboring

countries and assist these countries in strengthening their laws and regulations."^x

Given the number of initiatives, limited resources, and vast requirements in Africa's many countries, it is critical that a coherent strategy ties together the efforts of the State Department agencies and US Embassies, the Department of Defense that has its own authorities, and the U.S. Africa Command (USAFRICOM) that serves as a key implementer for much of the security assistance and engagement on U.S. strategic interests in Africa. At the origin of USAFRICOM, some saw it as a highly unique combatant commandant with no war fighting requirements in Africa. Some advocated for a mission that was described as "Peace Corp on steroids" – winning hearts and minds by building schools and water pumps for local communities. With the spread of global terror networks, AFRICOM must take on traditional military roles while keeping an eye on the broader human security mandate of all U.S. forces.

Linking U.S. Political Interests Strategically in Africa

Most African countries are still very young polities in terms of developing national political practices, culture and institutions following colonial rule. Indeed, many of the countries are still undertaking the basic process of develop-

<i>\$ in thousands for all items</i>	FY 2014 Initial Actual
TOTAL	431,645
Foreign Military Financing	15,321
International Military Education and Training	16,050
International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement	66,169
Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining and Related Programs	41,605
Antiterrorism Assistance	19,000
Antiterrorism Assistance - OCO	5,000
Conventional Weapons Destruction	11,160
Counterterrorism Financing	2,000
Export Control and Related Border Security Assistance	2,000
Terrorist Interdiction Program	2,445
Peacekeeping Operations	292,500

ing a monopoly over the legitimate use of force in their territory. This is a core part of state development: the ability to defend one's territory against internal and external threats is integral to an effective state. Transnational and non-state actors such as drug cartels or terrorist groups can destabilize the state structure, and even if the state survives, can pose a particularly strong threat to democracy. However, security is only a portion of state development: the nation building process of integrating the country and building a collective identity is also an area in which much remains to be done. Forging national rather than regional, religious, or ethnic identities is central to shielding citizens from divisive tribal manipulation and developing national institutions for the public good.

It is important that U.S. policy is nuanced to support African countries moving toward great democracy, transparency and accountability, while also fulfilling the natural state building project of monopolizing force legitimately and with a respect for civil liberties and human dignity. U.S. democracy promotion can treat elections as a strategic space for accelerating conflict prevention. They present a unique opportunity for building new institutions for civic engagement and increasing political participation as a counterbalance to political violence. Elections not only serve their ideal purpose as a peaceful means for the transfer of power but are also a time when local communities, and during general elections, the entire nation's attention is focused and can be positively or negatively influenced. Thus U.S. concentrated and sustained engagement with African governments around elections can contribute to de-radicalization, conflict prevention, and diffusion of new domestic norms and institutions. Treating elections as strategic windows of opportunity for diffusing conflict prevention norms and institutions is far more important and fundamental than making pronouncements on term limits in Africa but no where else in the world.

Conclusion

Africa's path to progress will be complex with 54 countries, 5 major regional blocks, and influences from the west, east, and Middle East all affecting the continent's trajectory. The United States plays a major role, beyond any other non-African country, in shaping Africa's security environment. For the most part, African governments welcome U.S. security engagement and the four administrations since the end of the Cold War largely have been able to forge programs and relations that advance America's core global interests and are viewed as beneficial by African countries. However, while there have been major counterterrorism successes in Somalia and the Sahel, U.S. efforts are not sufficient to quickly degrade the operations and influence of terrorists and organized criminals at the current levels of U.S. engagement

and program resourcing.

Africa is part of the global system and has to be integrated into U.S. strategic plans using all the tools available for projecting American power and shaping outcomes. A good example is the Combined Task Force 151 (CTF-151) established as a multinational naval task force consisting of six ships from Australia, Pakistan, South Korea, Turkey, the UK, and the USA to respond to piracy attacks in the Gulf of Aden and off the eastern coast of Somalia. CTF-151's efforts on the sea combined with the efforts on land of AMISOM, and the reestablishment of the Somali National Government in Mogadishu, has succeeded in heavily diminishing the Somali piracy threat with 15 incidents in 2013, down from 75 incidents in 2012 and a peak of 237 incidents in 2011 and over 170 in 2010.^{xi} The U.S. working with African countries as respected sovereigns can turn the tide in the Africa region against threats to U.S. core strategic interests.

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U.S. Agricultural Development Policy in Africa: The Critical Role of Congress

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The U.S. government, which separates executive from legislative power, gives the final say in funding international development assistance to the legislative branch. It thus becomes the job of Congress to lay a proper foundation for America's development policies in Africa, including in the area of food and agriculture.

Effective agricultural assistance policies are surprisingly affordable. For example, the capacity of many societies in Africa to absorb large new investments in farming is strictly limited by institutional and human capital deficits, so modest spending levels almost always make more sense than sudden "big push" programs. For the United States, an effective assistance program to help poor farmers in Africa, Asia, and Central America need not cost more than \$1-2 billion a year, which is just a small part of the nation's total development and humanitarian assistance budget of roughly \$20 billion a year. The biggest challenge to agricultural aid effectiveness is not the budget cost in any one year, but maintaining continuity in spending and programs over multiple years. Agricultural assistance programs must be sustained over a decade or more to have a lasting impact, so programs and budget outlays must continue for much more than the duration of any one Congress, or any one presidential administration. America's failure to provide this continuity has been, in the past, a strong drag on agricultural development success in Africa.

United States assistance to agriculture in Africa went from an extremely low level in the 1960s to a high level by the early 1980s, but then it collapsed in the 1990s and 2000s. After 2007 it was revived, but that revival is now threatened once again. Putting an end to this boom and bust pattern would

be a worthy task for Congress in 2015. Fortunately, legislation is now before Congress that would move us toward that goal.

Boom and Bust: The History of United States Agricultural Assistance in Africa

Unfortunately, U.S. assistance to farming in Africa has tended to increase when international food prices go up, but then collapse when international food prices go down. Fluctuations in international food prices are not a good technical indicator of Africa's internal agricultural development needs, but since political support for agricultural assistance goes up when international food prices go up, this boom and bust pattern has prevailed.

This damaging cyclical pattern began in the 1970s, when international food prices spiked sharply upward generating concern over what was called a "world food crisis." As a result, U.S. Official Development Assistance (ODA) to support agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa rose by the mid-1980s to reach a substantial level of more than \$500 million annually, in 2008 dollars. Unfortunately, this assistance effort did not have time to deliver lasting results because aid levels fell off when international food prices collapsed after 1985. Political leaders in the United States assumed the world food crisis was over, so America's assistance to African farming entered into a protracted decline, falling 85 percent by 2006, down to a trivial level of just \$60 million. During most of this period agricultural circumstances in Africa were actually worsening (in many cases, per capita farm production levels were actually declining and hunger was on the rise) but this grim reality was being masked by the price decline in global food export markets.

America's assistance to African farming finally revived when international food prices spiked back up again in 2007-08. A new "world food crisis" was declared, and the Bush Administration, working with Congress, finally managed to halt and then reverse the long-term farm aid decline. In 2009, the Obama Administration accelerated this turnaround. At the 2009 G8 summit in Italy, President Obama secured a multilateral pledge from wealthy donor governments (the LAquila Pledge) to spend \$22 billion over the next three years to support agriculture and food security in poor countries. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton soon thereafter put forward America's plan for meeting this Pledge, in the form of a whole-of-government approach called Feed the Future, officially launched in May of 2010. Issuing the first-ever Presidential Policy Directive (PPD) for Global Development in September 2010, President Obama highlighted Feed the Future as a signature program. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) created a new Bureau for Food Security, and was named in the PPD as lead implementing agency.

Larger budget appropriations from Congress were the key to this revived agricultural assistance effort. Annual U.S. funding for agricultural development in all regions increased from approximately \$639 million in FY 2009 to more than \$1.3 billion by FY 2012. USAID hired a new cohort of agricultural professionals to design and administer the outlay of these funds, working primarily through private contracting organizations. Agricultural staffing inside USAID grew from just sixteen in 2008 to eighty by 2012. Other agencies responded as well. The Millennium Challenge Corporation increased its disbursements for food security infrastructure (for example, farm-to-market roads) from \$61 million in FY2009 to \$370 million by FY 2011.

President Obama, Secretary Clinton, and USAID Administrator Rajiv Shah added a new dimension to these efforts at the Camp David G8 meeting in the spring of 2012. Prospects were dim at that moment for a new multilateral budget spending pledge of the kind secured in Italy in 2009, due to the serious economic crisis in Europe, plus an emergence in the United States of the "Tea Party" movement calling for budget restraint. With public spending under these new constraints, the Obama Administration pivoted toward a stronger partnership with the private sector. Obama used the 2012 G8 meeting to endorse a New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition that encouraged 100 or more private companies (half of them from Africa) to contribute \$4 billion of their own money to support farming and food security. This New Alliance had emerged from a Grow Africa partnership that had earlier been launched between the African Union, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and the Davos World Economic Forum.

Today in 2015, however, falling international food prices have put the restoration of America's farm assistance programs at risk. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization annual index of real cereal prices has now fallen from a level of 176 in 2012, down to just 127 in 2015. In July 2015, the FAO and the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development projected that international food prices were likely to remain low for the coming decade, which will further diminish the sense of crisis (even though the real crisis on the ground in Africa will continue). In addition, key leaders behind the post-2009 surge in United States agricultural assistance to Africa are no longer in office. Secretary Clinton left the State Department early in 2013, and USAID Administrator Rajiv Shah stepped down in February 2015. In addition, the leading supporter of agricultural development assistance in Congress, Senator Richard Lugar, was defeated by a primary opponent in 2012 and left the Senate in 2013.

It was Senator Lugar's original hope, in 2009, that Congress would pass an authorizing measure named the Global Food Security Act, a bipartisan bill promoted by Lugar (R-IN) and Senator Robert Casey (D-PA). That Act would have provided a five-year, \$10 billion authorization for a whole-of-government international food security strategy in developing countries with emphasis on improved agricultural education, research, and technology extension. In March 2009, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations approved this measure unanimously, and in June 2009 Representative Betty McCollum (D-MN) introduced a companion measure in the House, yet momentum was then lost. The Obama Administration, which was busy designing its own Feed the Future initiative, made the mistake of not actively supporting this previously launched Congressional initiative. The bill never came to a vote on the floor of the Senate, due in part to objections, on budget grounds, from two senators who secured a hold.

Because no separate authorizing measure has been set in place for agricultural development assistance, the Obama Administration's Feed the Future initiative (and also its New Alliance) will be at risk of withering after 2015, in much the same way that agricultural development assistance withered after the mid 1980s. If this were to happen, serious costs would be paid by poor African farmers, and America's diplomatic influence and "soft power" would be diminished in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Benefits to African Farmers

The full urgency of providing assistance to small farmers in Africa can only be grasped by seeing conditions in Africa's countryside first hand. Farming in much of Africa remains essentially unimproved compared to colonial or even pre-co-

lonial times. Visitors who are familiar with agriculture in rich countries will notice immediately that farmers in Africa lack nearly all of the things needed to become productive. They do not have irrigation (only 4 percent of farmland is irrigated). They do not have fertilizer (only 10 percent of maize farmers in Tanzania use any fertilizer at all). They do not have access to improved seeds. They do not have veterinary medicine for their animals. They do not have electricity or mechanical power (Africa has only 2 tractors per 1,000 agricultural workers). They do not have water that is safe to drink. They do not have adequate schools or clinics. Most of their household transport takes the form of carrying things on foot, since 70 percent of rural Africans live more than 2 kilometers from the nearest all-weather road. The hundreds of millions of Africans who live under these circumstances suffer from deep poverty (average income of less than \$1.25 a day), chronic undernutrition (particularly during the “hunger season” prior to the next harvest), and with high rates of child mortality. In the Eastern zone of Tanzania, the under-5 mortality rate is a tragic 145 deaths per 1,000 live births.

Significant opportunity exists to address these deficits through a combination of public and private investments, supported by international training and technical assistance. United States agricultural assistance programs administered through USAID and the MCC are designed to bring these key ingredients into place. Feed the Future only targets countries in Africa where government institutions and policies have created space to boost farm productivity in ways that can reduce hunger and poverty. Only 12 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (out of 47 total) have been targeted for Feed the Future assistance: Senegal, Liberia, Ghana, Malawi, Zambia, Mali, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Mozambique, and Tanzania. The MCC imposes criteria on target countries that are even more stringent. The parallel investments needed from the private sector are now being promoted through the New Alliance.

To illustrate what United States assistance can accomplish working through such programs, consider the case of Ethiopia, the second largest country in Africa where roughly 85 percent of the population are farmers or pastoralists. A majority live on less than \$1.25 a day. A drought in 2002-03 left 14 million Ethiopians in need of food aid, and up through 2008, the United States had done little to address the nation’s chronic farm development needs, contributing only \$25.4 million for farm assistance in 2008. With the onset of Feed the Future after 2009, however, American assistance activities in Ethiopia expanded significantly. By FY2011, USAID appropriations for agriculture in Ethiopia had increased to \$66 million, agricultural staff at the US embassy increased, and the United States took a lead role in designing a new Agricultural Growth Project (AGP) launched in 2010. US-

AID also provided roughly 25 percent of all direct funding to Ethiopia’s Agricultural Transformation Agency (ATA), which has identified and eliminated policymaking bottlenecks in the agricultural sector. Furthermore, USAID played a lead role in support of pastoralists through an enlarged Phase II Pastoralist Livelihoods Initiative, which helps organized women’s groups to get credit they can use to buy sheep and goats, supplement the feeding of dairy cattle, or diversify into horticulture production. The 2011 annual report for this project quotes a mother with four children who had lost nearly all of her thirteen cattle until she became a beneficiary of this USAID program:

“I started feeding my only lactating cow with supplementary feed. At first, my cow refused to take it, but gradually started taking it. And luckily, one of the pregnant cows gave birth to a female calf during the feeding. Before the feeding, I was able to milk the cow only in the morning and get half a liter of milk. But with the start of the feeding, the body condition of the cows improved and milk production also increased in quality. As my pregnant cow gave birth, the milk production increased, and I started selling some of the milk for others. Currently, my home milk production is eight liters of milk per day. I sell five liters for 25 birr each and fulfill other household needs of the family. I have seen various changes, including the fact that now I am known as Dahaba Canoley (Dahaba milk seller). This indicates that unlike the old days when people were contributing for my food, I am now taking the turn to help others. My household daily food intake is improved, and I am cooking three times a day for my children. I am paying for my children’s medication when the need arises. And finally, I am proud of having two lactating cows with three calves. I haven’t even slaughtered the twin female calves. . . . Helping the community at the right time is highly appreciated. My livestock are safe, my children are healthy, and I am very happy.”

The Ethiopian government itself can take significant credit for recent improvements in agricultural productivity. While most governments in Africa spend only about 5 percent of their public budget on any kind of agricultural development, the Government of Ethiopia has been spending more than 15 percent of its budget on agriculture, particularly for inputs like fertilizer and seed, as well as for expanded agricultural extension services.

One tangible payoff from Ethiopia’s recent surge in agricultural development has come in the form of better-fed children. A new national survey in 2014 revealed that stunting rates among children dropped an estimated 9 percent over the most recent 3 year period, resulting in 160,000 fewer children under five suffering from chronic malnourishment. An earlier tangible payoff had come in 2011, when a drought emergency brought a food crisis to the entire Horn

of Africa, including Ethiopia. Thanks to its newly improved farming systems, Ethiopia avoided famine completely during this drought, and fewer than half as many of its own people needed emergency relief compared to the (less severe) 2002-03 drought.

A second Feed the Future country is Tanzania, where most U.S. assistance for agricultural productivity has been dedicated to a Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT), a multi-donor public/private partnership designed to link small as well as large farms to modern input supply and marketing chains. Tanzania's President Jakaya Kikwete launched an investment blueprint for SAGCOT at the World Economic Forum in Davos in January 2010, hoping to attract investments from private international companies. USAID has dedicated 50-80 percent of its overall Feed the Future funding in Tanzania to activities in this corridor. The fertilizer company Yara International, from Norway, announced one of the first major private investments in the corridor in January 2011, a \$20 million investment in a new fertilizer terminal in the port of Dar es Salaam.

This new effort to bring private agribusiness into Tanzania's farming sector has encountered several problems, including unreliable power supplies for crop processing plants, barriers to the import of processing machines and farm building materials, land-related issues, and bureaucratic delays. The SAGCOT investment projects that have materialized so far include a KPL/Agrica rice plantation in Kilombero, an Agro EcoEnergy sugar plantation in Bagamoyo, and a Unilever tea plantation in Iringa. The nation's low resource maize farmers will benefit as well, particularly from lower transport costs and less expensive fertilizer supplies.

Beyond SAGCOT, USAID has also helped small farmers in Tanzania through investments in new and rehabilitated irrigation systems, and improved feeder roads to cut the cost of bringing fertilizer in and getting products out to market. Feed the Future in Tanzania also supports 120 Master's and Doctoral students in agriculture and nutrition, to strengthen the nation's own capacity in these areas, so as to reduce future needs for international technical assistance.

Beyond the direct poverty-reducing payoffs from United States agricultural development assistance in Africa, diplomatic and "soft power" payoffs are derived as well. China is now highly active in Africa through trade, primarily as an importer of Africa's oil, gas, copper, bauxite, iron ore, platinum, manganese, and uranium resources. Yet China also funds large-scale infrastructure projects in Africa, through its (ostensibly private) China International Fund, and since 2007 through a China Africa Development Fund. In addition, China is now active in health and education, sending 15,000 doctors to Africa to deal with AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, and Ebola. Chinese-funded scholarships and

training, in part through the African Talents Program, offer African students free training at China's higher education institutions.

America's Feed the Future initiative provides a useful balance against China's growing ambitions on the continent of Africa. African leaders do not want to become dependent on China, or on anyone else, so a United States agricultural development assistance program that builds food independence for Africa, rather than dependence, shows America's best intent to the region. Most Africans are either farmers or from families still dependent on farming, so one of the most alluring features of the United States is its productive and prosperous agricultural sector. Africans admire the unsurpassed performance of America's Land Grant universities in generating new agricultural research, and they envy the dynamism of America's world-leading agricultural companies. A properly constructed American assistance program that brings talented and influential young Africans into contact with both our universities and our companies will build stronger future ties between the United States and tomorrow's African leadership.

A Legislative Path to Continuity

As noted at the outset, the key to an effective agricultural assistance program is continuity. The U.S. did well to revive its programs following the international price spike of 2008, but as international prices have now come down, a risk emerges that the new focus will be lost and budget support will shrink. At the most recent G7 meeting in Germany in early June 2015, the issue of global food security, which had featured so strongly between 2009-2012, was demoted to just a single paragraph in the Leader's Declaration. Under this new circumstance of executive leadership distraction, the farm assistance programs and capacities so recently set in place could falter and decline once again.

The best guarantee against this outcome would be enactment of the Global Food Security Act of 2015, which authorizes the Feed the Future Initiative funded at \$1.06 billion for FY 2016. This could be the first step toward a multi-year authorization approach of the kind promoted by Senator Lugar in 2009. This has the distinct virtue of being a bipartisan measure, introduced by Representative Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ) and co-sponsored by 19 Republicans and 31 Democrats (as of 6/24/15).¹ This measure also has support from sixty different NGOs working in the food security assistance space. In 2014 an earlier version of this measure, promoted by Rep. Smith and Rep. Betty McCollum (D-MN) passed by a voice vote, but a companion measure in the Senate did not make it out of committee. Senator Bob Corker (R-TN) wanted the measure considered not alone, but alongside proposals to overhaul Food for Peace, the main U.S. food

aid program.

In April 2015, the bill was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee by a voice vote. On May 7, 2015, Senators Bob Casey (D-PA) and Johnny Isakson (R-GA) then introduced a counterpart measure in the Senate, which authorizes appropriations for five years rather than one year.

As of June 2015, the Senate bill still needed to be voted out of the Foreign Relations Committee, and it was possible that the leadership of that committee would try to combine it with food aid reforms, reducing its chance of moving quickly forward. Problems may also arise in the House, where the House Committee on Agriculture has filed with the Parliamentarian to gain jurisdiction over the bill, and may ask for a hearing.

These bills nonetheless provide the current Congress with a significant opportunity to address the damaging pattern of boom-bust discontinuity that has impaired U.S. assistance to poor African farmers in the past. Moving these measures forward would deliver a strong and welcome bipartisan signal that the current Congress intends to sustain the worthy efforts in this area. If this can be done, the welfare of millions of poor farmers in Africa will improve, America's diplomatic stature in the region will be sustained, and trans-national ties between America and Africa's future leaders will strengthen.

Endnotes

¹ The original co-sponsors were Rep Betty McCollum (D-MN), Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Edward R. Royce (R-CA), Ranking Member Eliot L. Engel (D-NY), Reps. Jeff Fortenberry (R-NE), Karen Bass (D-CA), Ander Crenshaw (R-FL), Rosa L. DeLauro (D-CT), David G. Reichert (R-WA), Adam Smith (D-WA), Erik Paulsen (R-MN), David N. Cicilline (D-RI), and James P. McGovern (D-MA).

Leveraging Africa's Youth to Help Feed the World

Salif Romano Niang

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"They made us be happy and clap like fools, dance as if we were trained monkeys."¹ These are the words Chief Sunday Inengite used to characterize an event for the British, Dutch, and German engineers who came to probe for oil in Oloibiri, Nigeria, in the early 1950s. In an interview for the BBC, he explains how he looks back at his "youthful enthusiasm with sour regret." As a young man he was "inquisitive" and he and his fellow villagers welcomed the foreigners with open arms. But after five decades of environmental degradation, rampant corruption, and abject poverty, the despair he painted five years ago in his interview is still widespread, especially amongst youth across Africa.

"We frowned at violence because we are very hospitable to those that come," said Chief Inengite. "But it can't be so today, and if the [youth] act the way they do, you can't blame them, because their blood is hot, not like old men's that is cool"

Chief Inengite's comments touches on so many critical issues and questions ranging from the psychological to the political and the moral to the ideological. He talks of jubilation and dejection. He talks of cultural shifts where foreigners and government officials are no longer received with gracious hospitality and deference.

In the 1960s, political scientist A.F.K. Organski argued that a country's population was its greatest resource as long as it was not squandered or misused. Along similar lines, Hans J. Morgenthau—the modern day father of the realist school of thought in international relations—emphasized the clear relationship between a country with a large population and a powerful nation. Furthermore, not only did Morgenthau claim that the shifts in the distribution of power throughout (European) history and the rise of the United States could be read in population figures—more importantly, he recognized that the age distribution within a given population was

an even more important factor in assessing the power and capabilities of a state.

At the end of the 1960s, the decade in which the majority of African countries obtained their independence, the population south of the Sahara stood at 288 million. In 2015, according to data from the United Nations the population of sub-Saharan Africa is approximately 965 million. By 2050, sub-Saharan Africa's population is projected to be close to 2 billion.² In comparison, the United States' population was 210 million in 1970, is approximately 320 million today, and is projected to be roughly 405 million in 2050.

Assuming the numbers are accurate, the total population of sub-Saharan Africa in the space of 80 years—a mere lifetime in the developed world—will have increased by a factor 7. But beyond the topline population figures, what is even more staggering is the age makeup of Africa today. Over 673 million people—70% of the population—was born after the year American President Ronald Reagan started his second term in office.

The profound consequences that could potentially arise from changes in the age structure of individual states as well as the entire world is not lost on global policymakers, but it's critical that the issue remain at the top of U.S. foreign policy towards Africa. While it sounds counterintuitive, the massive rise in Africa's youth population—defined here as those between the ages of 15 and 29—is actually due to population aging that would eventually lead to the completion of a demographic transition.

In a report following the Second United Nations World Assembly on Aging held in Madrid in 2002, experts from the United Nations' Population Division found that changes in the world's age distribution were unprecedented, pervasive, enduring, and profoundly consequential.

It is unprecedented because "[b]y 2050, the number of

older persons in the world will exceed the number of young for the first time in history. Moreover, by 1998 this historic reversal in relative proportions of young and old had already taken place in the more developed regions.”³ Pervasive because everyone is affected and it “has a direct bearing on the inter-generational and intra-generational equity and solidarity that are the foundations of society.”⁴

While demography is not destiny, its trajectory tends to be enduring. The landscape that we live in today was essentially painted decades ago by billions of individual artists. Absent a global cataclysm that wipes out unimaginable swaths of the world’s population, projections for the world’s age distribution are not going to change drastically.

Finally, population aging is profound, having major consequences and implications for all facets of human life. In the economic sphere, population aging affects economic growth, savings, investment and consumption, labor markets, pensions, taxation and intergenerational transfers. In the social sphere, it affects health and healthcare, family composition and living arrangements, housing and migration. Politically, it will impact voting patterns, representation, and policy priorities.

Experts predict that sub-Saharan Africa in particular will continue to be characterized by large youth bulges and will be chronically unstable until at least the 2030s.⁵

How can these profound consequences on economies, societies, governance, and geopolitics be measured, predicted, and mitigated? How can we ensure that Africa’s “youth bulge” results in peace and prosperity and not in conflict and misery? While there is no easy answer, one policy priority that can potentially pay short term, medium term, and long term dividends is focusing on food security and the modernization of Africa’s food production systems.

Multiple definitions of food security exist but one of the more useful focuses on the availability (supply), accessibility (affordability), and quality (nutritional value) of food. While it’s true that most Africans rely on agriculture as a major source of their livelihoods, most of the farming practiced on the continent is essentially drudgery. Before the United States became an industrial power, it was first an agriculture powerhouse. Incredible achievements in productivity due in part to new technologies, investments in knowledge, and sound public policy enabled millions of families to move out of poverty and into value-added services in urban areas.

To be clear, Africa won’t, and in fact shouldn’t, follow the same path the United States took in revolutionizing food production and modernizing its economy, but the U.S. has a critical role to play in enabling Africans to simply feed themselves and also contribute to global food security. For example, the Feed the Future Initiative launched by President Barack Obama in 2010 has enjoyed bipartisan support

on Capitol Hill. Hopefully that will continue.

The hundreds of millions of young people across the continent are yearning for opportunities to make their mark on the world. At the same time, feeding 9 billion by the year 2050 is arguably the greatest challenge facing humanity today. American scholars, innovators, investors, and leaders working in tandem with Africans—and not just the government leaders or research scientists but also the aspiring entrepreneurs and job seekers across the entire value chain—have the opportunity to combine the two. They can confound the dire predictions and observations of those such as Chief Inengite regarding a resource rich country like Nigeria or stories of “food for jihad” in the Sahel.⁶ Moreover, with a focus on investing in and inspiring Africans to create new technologies and practices, and leverage existing ones that work in the global mission to achieve global food security would also give real substance for the “Africa is Rising” narrative.

To be sure, the United States has and continues to support promising young Africans in agriculture. And if it were not for the decision in 1977 to provide a scholarship to my father, a young statistician, to pursue a graduate education in agriculture economics at Purdue, I would not be here today.⁷ It is also important for the U.S. to help Africans in other ways such as helping launch and grow food-related businesses that provide employment opportunities.

Demography tells us that Africa and young Africans will be a force to be reckoned with on the global stage in the decades to come but it remains to be seen whether it will be a story of prosperity and partnership for individuals and businesses on both sides of the Atlantic or one of despair and confrontation. And the role the United States chooses to play will certainly be determining factor in how the story plays out.

Endnotes

1 Walker, Andrew. “The Day Oil was Discovered in Nigeria.” BBC News, 17 March 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7840310.stm>.

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6 Arsenault, Chris. “Drought, expanding deserts and ‘food for jihad’ drive Mali’s conflict.” Reuters, April 27, 2015. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/27/us-climatechange-mali-conflict-idUSKBN0N116M20150427>

7 Niang, Salif Romano and Niang, Mohamed Ali. “Helping Feed the Future One (Fortified) Rice Grain at a Time.” USAID, August 9, 2013. <http://blog.usaid.gov/2013/08/helping-feed-the-future-one-fortified-rice-grain-at-a-time/>

The U.S. Contribution to Africa's Agricultural Transformation, Food Security, & Economic Development

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Executive Summary

Agriculture is one of the most important sectors in African economies given its contribution to GDP and the fact that 50-85% of the population in African countries are smallholder farmers relying on it for their livelihoods. To try to drive economic transformation without these farmers is missing the point and indeed a great opportunity. In fact, sustainable and inclusive economic progress is nearly impossible when a large segment of the population is stuck in subsistence farming or worse, and this is still the unfortunate reality in many parts of Africa today.

Africa is the last region in the world still to go through an agricultural transformation. Africa has lagged behind all other regions for a number of reasons, including lack of access to yield-improving technologies including improved seeds, fertilizers, mechanization, and irrigation, constraints in markets and finance, uncondusive policy environments, and insufficient investment. As a result, agricultural productivity in Africa remained largely stagnant.

The good news is that we are starting to see positive changes in the last decade. A real African agricultural transformation is underway due to renewed commitment and investments from development partners, including the United States, African governments, and actors like the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) that are very single-minded about closing the yield gap for smallholder farmers. Agriculture is now back at the center of Africa's priorities—with renewed commitment through the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP)²—and it is generating a range of public and private investment from many new actors. This shift reflects a recognition that agri-

culture is key to food security and nutrition, as well as at the center of economic transformation and progress. It also reflects a recognition that progress is possible when the right policies and investments are made.

The United States has played a leading role refocusing attention to Africa's agricultural development by supporting home-grown efforts spearheaded by African leaders, including CAADP and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).³ With investments in research, the U.S. supported the development of improved seeds, fertilizers, and other technologies so African farmers can grow more and have a chance at opportunities other farmers have around the world. With investments in extension services and developing agricultural markets, the U.S. has been helping farmers understand how to use these improved inputs, store their surplus produce, and sell this at a profit. By helping farmers access capital and countries access finance, the U.S. is nudging the development of local small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) by helping farmers invest in their farms and also helping African leaders invest in country-owned strategies that prioritize development goals and inclusive growth. The U.S. has also invested significant resources in targeted capacity building to cultivate the leaders of tomorrow, both in the public and private sector.

We need to continue to build on this momentum to ensure a more productive, competitive, and profitable agriculture sector that will sustain the transformation of Africa's economies, both for economic growth and for food security. We have learned a great deal about how to do this from past agricultural transformations in other regions and from those underway here in Africa that we need to share more

widely. If we continue to make the right policy choices and investment decisions, evidence shows great success in moving smallholder farmers from subsistence farming to being real market actors and stimulating faster and more inclusive economic growth.

The State of Africa's Agricultural Transformation

Agriculture is at the center of life and economies in Africa. While this is evolving with economic development and urbanization, anywhere from 50-85% of Africans still depend on agriculture for their livelihoods—most of these through small farms of less than two hectares (approximately five acres). The very low productivity of these farms fuels cycles of poverty and hunger on the continent. At the same time, their potential productivity provides the basis for a fundamental agricultural transformation in Africa—one which would drive broader economic transformation and put Africa firmly on the path of prosperity.

AGRA was founded in 2006, with a mission to trigger a uniquely African “Green Revolution”⁴—one that uses knowledge grounded in local realities but also in evidence-based work to transform Africa's agriculture into a highly productive, efficient, competitive, and sustainable system that ensures food security and lifts millions out of poverty; one that puts smallholder farmers first while protecting biodiversity, promoting sustainability, and advancing equity.

As recently as 2006, the outlook for Africa and African agricultural development was very bleak. Sub-Saharan Africa was the only region in the world where overall food security and livelihoods were deteriorating, rather than improving. The number of people living below the poverty line (\$1/day) had increased by 50% over 15 years, and it was estimated that almost 200 million people in Africa suffered from hunger. Underneath all of this, African agricultural productivity was very low, trailing well behind all other regions. Almost three-quarters of Africa's cultivated land area was, and to a large extent, still is, being farmed without improved inputs such as quality seeds of superior locally adapted varieties and fertilizers, which in other regions were a critical element of the green revolution. Anemic public investment and market-distorting policies created a highly unfavorable business environment for local entrepreneurs. International public investment in agriculture was in a period of long decline, under the hopeful guise that the private sector would replace the public role and provide leadership. In the absence of such takeover by the private sector, agricultural investment and Africa was regarded as a “lost and hopeless” continent over two to three decades. Leading agricultural institutions at the global level did not have the capacity or focus to attend to African agricultural development at scale, and there were few actors in the regional and national systems with signifi-

cant capacity to deliver. In fact, Africa's national and regional agricultural research institutions and networks were in a state of decline with very weak technology development and delivery infrastructure. New technologies were not being developed for Africa and the few that existed were not reaching farmers, and there was no strong advocacy voice in Africa (or elsewhere) calling for change.

Just under a decade later, the good news is that we are starting to see progress, and it is important to recognize how far we have come as a continent. Today, agriculture is firmly back at the center of the continent's priorities, and it is generating a range of public and private investment from many new actors. Annual agricultural GDP growth averaged 5% over a ten-year period since 2003.⁵ African countries and their leaders are increasingly taking ownership of their own national plans for agricultural transformation as a driver of broader economic transformation. Forty-two out of Africa's 54 countries have started the CAADP process, with 30 countries signing compacts and 13 countries reaching the Maputo declaration target of governments investing 10% of their budget on agriculture. Development assistance to African agriculture has more than doubled in real terms since the 2008 food crisis. Broad and sustained economic growth has led to a significant increase in public and private investment. Local agricultural SMEs have been emerging and growing around the continent for some time, significantly improving prospects for smallholder farmers. Meanwhile, Grow Africa⁶ was established as a business platform for agriculture in 2012, and the Grow Africa partnership estimates that over 300 local and international businesses have so far made commitments of over \$10 billion investments across 12 countries on the continent.

This shift is due to the fact that governments, development partners, and the private sector have realized that agriculture is not just about food security and nutrition, but it's also at the center of economic transformation and progress. With falling oil prices slowing the overall pace of economic growth on the continent, the focus is now shifting to agriculture to keep African economies expanding and to deliver benefits to the more than half a billion Africans who depend on farming for food and income. We know from research that investments in agriculture are considered more effective than investments in any other market sector in terms of their power to reduce poverty and produce economic growth that is broadly inclusive. Farming systems extend out well beyond farms into the economy to include businesses for seeds and fertilizers, business that provide crop storage, transport, and marketing, and businesses that process crops for other industries and value added foods. The value of Africa's total agricultural output today is estimated by the World Bank at \$280 billion, and this could triple to around \$800 billion

by 2030 due to increasing domestic and foreign demand for food. Urban food markets are expected to increase four fold and, overall, Africa's demand for food is projected to triple by 2050, increasing by 178% compared to 89% in India and 31% in China⁷ over the same period.

The renewed interest in agriculture is also due to the fact that we know progress is possible. Investments over the years, by AGRA and many other actors—including most importantly private businesses—have put in place a whole new set of systems and tools that make agricultural transformation possible, such as improved seeds, fertilizers, African small- and medium-sized enterprises, extension systems, and new finance and information & communications technology (ICT) tools. All of these allow farmers to produce more and engage in the market when they have a surplus.

There are examples in several countries where targeted reforms and a focus on attracting private sector investment to commercial agriculture opportunities have achieved rapid results. Nigeria's imports of rice, sugar, and fish fell from \$11 billion to \$7 billion in just three years. In Rwanda, Uganda, Malawi, Ethiopia, Ghana, Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia and Mali, increased access to seeds, fertilizers and other technologies is doubling and even tripling yields of critical food staples.

As a result, we are seeing changes already taking place on many millions of farmers' fields around the continent, and there is tangible proof that African smallholder farmers can not only feed themselves, but also produce a surplus for the market. This means Africa can end hunger in the next 15 years if it builds the supply chains and systems that get improved technologies to farmers. Ministers of Agriculture are no longer questioning if agricultural transformation can happen, but how they can drive it more quickly.

The Role of U.S. Investments in African Agriculture

The United States has been at the forefront of the renewed focus and developments in African agriculture, with increasing investments in agriculture research and development since 2001, and particularly since the food price crisis in 2008.

The U.S.—through investments in USAID, Feed the Future, and the Global Agriculture & Food Security Program (GAFSP)⁸—has been a strong supporter of Africa's agricultural agenda and the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP), which focuses on eliminating hunger and reducing poverty through agriculture.

At the 2009 G-8 Summit in L'Aquila, Italy, President Obama made a clarion call to his fellow heads of state to reverse a decades-long decline in investment in agriculture and to strengthen global efforts to reduce poverty, hunger and under nutrition. The U.S. launched Feed the Future to focus its efforts on global food security, and other countries com-

plemented this with their own commitments totalling more than \$22 billion in investments. Feed the Future explicitly recognized the role of smallholder farmers, as well as, most importantly, the need for a "whole of government" approach rather than previous piecemeal efforts.

The U.S. also helped push world leaders again on global food security at the 2012 G-8 Summit at Camp David, where President Obama launched the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, a partnership designed to increase private sector investment in African agriculture. As a result of the New Alliance, more than 70 global and local companies have committed to invest over \$3.75 billion on the continent and help strengthen smallholder agriculture.

The results of United States leadership and these investments have been very evident. In 2013 alone, Feed the Future notes that it helped 6.7 million farmers grow more food, improved nutrition for 12.7 million children, and had an average rate of return of 32% on its investments. Similarly, the New Alliance was a bold initiative to expand U.S. thinking, and since this was launched, \$1.1 billion has been invested and an additional 3 million smallholders reached. Feed the Future and the New Alliance have both built on previous investments by USAID, which also supports the CGIAR⁹ Consortium, U.S. universities, as well as African institutions working together in new and innovative ways to develop a new breed of African leaders and productivity-enhancing technologies.

AGRA is now pleased to be one of the many actors working with the U.S. to deliver on a shared mission to end hunger and reduce poverty by investing in our continent's family farmers. AGRA's work over the last eight years has pioneered ways that African farmers can have the same choices that farmers elsewhere in the world take for granted. These choices include more options in the seeds they plant, the fertilizers they need, and in the agricultural markets where they can sell their food.

As one part of its partnership with the U.S. government, AGRA is implementing a major Feed the Future initiative through USAID in support of the New Alliance—the Scaling Seeds and Technologies Partnership (SSTP). This four-year program builds on AGRA's experience and seeks to help accelerate smallholder access to improved seeds and complementary transformative agricultural technologies along food value chains that have been prioritized by national governments in Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique, Senegal, and Tanzania. SSTP's goals are to increase the production of high quality seeds by 45 percent and help 40 percent more farmers gain access to seeds and complementary innovative agricultural technologies. To achieve these ambitious targets, SSTP is working with host countries to overcome seed policy constraints that the countries themselves have identified and

committed to reforming, as well as helping local SMEs involved in seed production and input supply to expand their businesses.

The Ongoing Opportunity and Recommendations for US Leadership

We need to continue to build on this momentum, as Africa needs an even more productive, competitive and profitable agriculture to transform its economies. This will require a comprehensive set of actions to be successful, but at least three are particularly important for continued U.S. leadership.

First, we need to harness the power of productivity in millions of smallholder farmers that depend on agriculture for their livelihood. We need to increase farmers' access to and adoption of better seeds, affordable fertilizers, and improved technologies and agronomic practices. With adoption of these known solutions at scale, we can trigger an agricultural transformation in just two planting seasons by dramatically increasing production and closing the yield gap between the low yield farmers are getting today and what they can get with improved varieties, similar to the transition farmers have made in nearly every other part of the world. Where AGRA has made integrated investments for this purpose, it has been able to see significant adoption of improved seeds and fertilizer use more than doubled. In countries that have invested in better access to technologies and agronomic practices, such as Rwanda, Uganda, Malawi, Nigeria, and Kenya, they have seen yields double or even triple with major benefits to farmer incomes. This is followed by diversification into other crops for nutrition and better income. We have also seen farmers invest in livestock or other parts of a family business as well as health and education of their family; all of which drive broader economic transformation.

Second, we need to unlock the value of private sector investments. Given the progress and growing market opportunities in recent years, there is significant private sector interest in African agriculture. Founded just a few years ago in the World Economic Forum, Grow Africa and the New Alliance now boast of over \$10 billion in letters of commitments from the international and African private sector looking to source from or develop agribusiness on the continent. The link between this interest and realized investment is challenged by a number of factors including lack of farmer institutions with capacity to produce volumes and qualities attractive to the market. Nevertheless, increasingly there are models that we know work to aggregate and de-risk large groups of productive smallholder farmers for the market and unlock this tremendous potential. Connecting smallholder

farmers into national, regional, and even global markets will help stabilize food availability and prices for consumers, and improve dietary diversification and nutrition. The growing demand for Africa's food systems within and outside Africa requires robust investment in agriculture and related infrastructure and energy, first to move both inputs and agriculture products from deficit to surplus areas on the continent and secondly to facilitate agricultural processing. This will further help to streamline the continent's heavy dependence on food imports. Better market access for farmers will require that targeted investments be made in the agro-processing, agro-industries and agribusinesses sectors.

Third, and lastly, we need to put in place the necessary investments and policies. There is no shortcut in trying to get smallholders to grow more or the private sector to engage them in the market. It needs the right level of investment; it needs the right policies and these must be accompanied by the right level of interest and commitment to good governance from governments. Every time we postpone these decisions we postpone agricultural development. Weak agricultural policies and institutions often slow the pace of agricultural transformation in Africa.

Africa also needs continued investments, including in its human capital. Today, 65-85% of women in African countries are solely employed by the agricultural sector in very labor intensive and unproductive systems. Africa's youth population is growing by the day. The agriculture sector if properly invested presents an opportunity for productive engagement of youth and women but there is need for policies that support better productive systems and improved access to productive means including land, finance and technologies. African youth are unlikely to engage in the same unproductive systems they have seen their parents engaged in for years; unless agriculture presents a different value proposition around technologies, better yield and more productive labor.

Conclusion

African agricultural transformation can, and needs to, be at the center of Africa's broader economic transformation, particularly if it is to be inclusive and sustainable. While this has eluded Africa, renewed commitment and investments from actors like the United States, African governments, AGRA and others have catalyzed its beginnings, and achieving a uniquely African "Green Revolution" is more possible now than ever given the changing landscape and momentum on the continent.

We have learned a great deal from past agricultural transformations in other regions and from those underway here in Africa that we need to share more widely. For example, from Brazil, we have learned that with government-focused

and strategic interventions, a country can reverse poverty, hunger and malnutrition challenges and, in just nine years, it has slashed child malnutrition by 61% and rural poverty by 15% largely by supporting local farmers and locally-sourced consumption. From Rwanda, we have learned that with strong and accountable institutions, together with the right targeting of interventions, a country can move from being hungry to a food surplus country with major benefits to poverty reduction in a period of 5 years. And from Ethiopia, we have learned that with political will, a vision and strategy, and strong donor coordination, sustained agricultural growth can underpin the success in overall economic transformation.

In all of these examples and many others, we see that if we continue to make the right policy choices and investment decisions, there is a huge opportunity to move smallholder farmers from subsistence farming to market actors, stimulating faster and more inclusive economic growth. The United States—through Feed the Future, the New Alliance, GAFSP, Scaling Up Nutrition, and beyond—has a critical role it must continue to play in devising and implementing an effective public investment strategy to foster agriculture-led economic growth and achieve sustainable food security in Africa.

Endnotes

1 Dr. Kalibata serves as President of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) and was formerly the Minister of Agriculture and Animal Resources in Rwanda from 2009 to 2014.

2 The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) was established in 2003 by the African Union as a pan-African policy framework for Africa's agricultural transformation. It provides a set of principles and broadly defined strategies for countries to review their agricultural needs, identify investment opportunities with optimal impact and returns, and align all domestic and international stakeholders.

3 The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was established in 2001 by the African Union as an overarching pan-African vision and policy framework for accelerating the region's socio-economic development. It provides opportunities for African countries to take control of their development agenda, cooperate more closely with each other, and cooperate with international partners.

4 The "Green Revolution" as used here refers to a period in 1960s and 1970s when the productivity of global agriculture—particularly in Mexico and Asia—increased dramatically as result of new advances in high-yield crops, fertilizers, irrigation, agronomic practices, and other technologies. These advances allowed farmers to grow significantly greater crops of wheat, rice, and corn (maize) on the same amount of land, allowing countries to more than double their crop yields, feed their populations, and progress economically.

5 ReSAKSS-IFPRI, 2015

6 Grow Africa is an initiative that was founded by the African Union, NEPAD, and World Economic Forum in 2012 to increase private sector investment in agriculture and accelerate the execution and impact of investment commitments. The Grow Africa secretariat brokers collaboration between governments, companies, and smallholder farmers with the aim of realizing the potential of agriculture for economic growth and job creation. As of June 2015, the Grow Africa Secretariat is now housed within NEPAD.

7 African Union, 2014.

8 The Global Agriculture & Food Security Program (GAFSP) is a multilateral funding mechanism housed within the World Bank that is designed to scale-up agricultural and food security development assistance on a coordinated basis and in response to demonstrated commitment to results by developing countries. The mechanism supports country-owned agricultural strategies in a way that is designed to improve results, facilitate donor coordination, and reduce transaction costs.

9 The Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) Consortium is composed of a group of 15 research centers around the world that work to generate and disseminate knowledge, technologies, and policies for agricultural development.

Faint Signals: The (Changing) Status of Democracy, Civil Society and Human Rights in Africa

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In 2004, at an idyllic location in the Helderberg mountain range of the western Cape, futurist Clem Sunter was speaking to an elite group of young South Africans about the forces that were shaping the country they were leading. China's expanding economic footprint in Africa was particularly topical. China was a threat to South Africa's own commercial ambitions across the continent. It also presented an opportunity for South Africa as a source of financial capital for domestic investment, and as a market for South African exports. China, Sunter argued, needs a friendly world in which to actualize its economic ambitions. Colonization and war, two strategies that had driven the rise of the west, were closed to China. Signs of naked expansionism by China into Africa would arouse suspicion, fear and ultimately economic and political roadblocks. Prepare for a Chinese charm offensive, predicted Sunter. China's attitude towards Africa would determine its altitude or degree of success in Africa, he concluded. Five years later, in 2009, the value of China's trade with Africa overtook that of the United States, and by 2012, the volume of China-Africa trade had expanded ten-fold from \$19 billion to over \$193 billion.

This essay explores selected African popular attitudes or sentiments, and their implications for U.S. strategic interests and engagement on the continent. Gaining an insight into the hearts and minds of (present and future) African citizens is arguably key to a fruitful U.S. engagement strategy with Africa, across a broad spectrum of America's strategic interests. Three broad questions are explored. How is democracy viewed across the continent? To what extent is religion a force for social rupture? How might structural economic change be challenging the idea of African masculinity, and

changing the prospects for women across Africa?

Democracy: The Term Limit Conundrum

Over the past few months, a number of African countries have been gripped by third term controversies. Presidents coming to the end of their constitutionally mandated two terms in power are attempting to cling on by means both fair and foul.

The mere fact that the leaders want to remain in power is not surprising. Three decades ago, Ugandan president Godfrey Binaisa famously, and candidly, said the "presidential chair is sweet, let me continue for a few more years because I like power." What's more intriguing is just how differently the third term controversies have played out in different countries.

In October 2014, Burkina Faso's President Blaise Compaore was run out of town by street protesters when he tried to fiddle with the constitution to extend his 27-year rule. A few months later, D.R. Congo's Joseph Kabila, in power since January 2001, tried to pass a census law that would have indirectly postponed the 2016 election for up to three more years. Under pressure from the opposition and protesters—in which six people died—he backed down. In Burundi, Pierre Nkurunziza did some creative interpretation of the constitution and argued that his first term (2005-2010) did not count, since he was elected by Parliament and not directly by the people. An ultimately unsuccessful coup attempt followed. Despite frowns of disapproval from regional leaders, and loud calls of condemnation from local protesters and opposition leaders, he may yet have his way.

In neighboring Rwanda, the opposite is happening—Paul

Kagame is ostensibly non-committal about extending his term when it ends in 2017. Petitions are circulating around the country asking him to stay, since he has done such a good job of rebuilding and stabilizing Rwanda since 1994. Investors and markets may be favoring a Kagame continuation, viewing his presence and hard line against corruption as reassuring. But a part of “Brand Kagame” may be lost if term limits are removed and he remains in office.

Is There “Too Much” Democracy?

These divergent paths in the third term debates highlight two things. First, the simple fact that the controversies are hinged on the third term suggests that democracy, with its implicit expectation of the peaceful election-driven transfer of power between heads of state, is deepening in Africa. But it also underscores that the very concept of democracy is highly contested in Africa.

In Burundi, citizens are “democratically” pressuring the president to leave office since he has already served two terms. He disagrees, arguing that he wasn’t elected “democratically” by the people the first time round. In Rwanda, citizens are pressuring President Paul Kagame not to leave office, despite the fact that their constitution stipulates a limit of two terms in power. For the U.S. it is important to note that in Africa the term “democracy,” and how the concept finds expression in the public sphere in Africa, may not necessarily be what is understood in the Western, liberal sense.

A survey by pollsters, Afrobarometer, that gathered opinions in 33 African countries found that most Africans do support democracy. But it also revealed some ambivalence as to whether democracy is the only form of government that they would always wish to have. Respondents were asked whether democracy is the form of government they want, but to test their “true commitment,” they were also asked whether they reject all forms of autocratic rule—one-party rule, military rule and one-man rule. An overwhelming majority (93%) rejected at least one form of autocracy. But fewer people reject two forms (81%) and fewer still rejected all three forms (58%) of autocracy. More importantly, fewer than half of all Africans asked (46%) consistently identify democracy as the only form of government they would ever wish to have. Although the demand for democracy has increased by 15 percentage points since the first Afrobarometer survey in 2002, a deeply rooted demand for democracy—meaning rejecting all forms of autocratic government—remains the preference of a minority.

Intriguingly, there are countries in which the political elites supply more democracy—in the form of elections, civic education, public participation, or civil liberties—than citizens want. The survey asked respondents if they think they live in a democracy, and whether they are satisfied with the

way democracy works in their country. This was called the supply of democracy. In Algeria, Niger, Namibia and Mali, there is a “surplus” of democracy: mass demands are relatively limited and people say they are satisfied with (whatever the elites choose to call) “democracy.” Since elites in these countries enjoy lots of room for policy maneuver, political change is likely to originate from authorities. This is not necessarily a bad thing. However, the high level of elite control implies that should they decide to narrow the civic space, there is little pressure that citizens can exert to stop them. There seems to be little by way of real accountability to citizens, and it is by sheer luck that the elite is “behaving” for now.

Africa’s “Holy Wars”--A Holy Perspective?

Nuance is also advised when considering religion in Africa. The activities of extremist groups Boko Haram in Nigeria, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, and Al-Shabaab in the Horn of Africa, suggest that Africa is hurling towards a major cleavage along the Christianity-Islam divide. Some are worried that there could be a religious war in the future.

In terms of numbers, Islam and Christianity are almost evenly matched: each has about 400 million to 500 million faithful. The rise in religious militarism points to an apparently fundamentalist hardening of positions in both Christianity and Islam, with religious fault lines becoming decidedly sharp in Nigeria, Central African Republic and Sudan.

But the way in which religious differences are expressed in Africa is complicated. Religion on its own is not responsible for the growing hostilities. Politics and government meddling add a potentially inflammatory element. In 2012, the Pew Research Center looked at countries in the world where official involvement in religious affairs is high. Their final analysis listed Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Somalia, Eritrea, and Morocco as the countries with the highest state presence in religious matters.

But how religion intersects with ethnic identity in Africa may contain important insights for U.S. strategy against religious extremism in Africa. For a start, religious boundaries are blurred—most people may nominally identify with Islam or Christianity, but in reality infuse traditional religions as well in their daily practice. A study by Georgia State University unpacked the religion-ethnic intersection in Africa, and came to some surprising conclusions. It concurred with other studies that found that having many different languages within a nation has a negative effect on economic performance, which in turn translates to a higher likelihood of social instability. Similarly, the higher the linguistic diversity between a nation and its neighbors, the less stable the nation is. However, nations which have a different religion from their neighbors are likely to be stable, particularly if they also speak a similar language. In other words, the more

stable countries in Africa are those that are religiously different, but linguistically similar to their neighbors.

Three African countries are notable—Ethiopia, Eritrea and Tanzania. Both Ethiopia and Eritrea have a strong Christian and Jewish tradition going back centuries in the Orthodox Church, and are surrounded by Muslim-majority countries. However, Ethiopia and Eritrea share a similar linguistic profile to their neighbours, with Tigré, Tigrinya, Amharic, Somali, Afar and Oromo all belonging to the Afro-Asiatic language family. A similar case can be found in Tanzania, which has a big Muslim population, but is surrounded by countries which are mostly Christian. However, Tanzanians, like all of their neighbors, are mainly Bantu speaking.

The essence of religion—its focus on morality and the nature of the rewards or punishments in the afterlife—seems to have a bonding effect in a community. So to have a stable nation, you should differ from your neighbors in your religious convictions to give your community a deep sense of affinity. However, a common cross-border language will help you communicate and trade with your neighbors.

Mere religious or ethnic diversity in Africa should not necessarily elevate the risk of violence or extremism; diversity can have a counterintuitive stabilizing effect. Persecution of the religious faithful in Africa seems more salient when a political dimension is added to religious identity in Africa.

The Century of the African Woman (#MyDressMyChoice)?

But perhaps the most significant shift in Africa today, that is often shallowly understood, is the fact that the 21st century will probably belong to the African woman, because of the changing economic realities on the continent. In November 2014, an incident in Kenya crystallized the shift in the power balance of gender relations. In the space of one week, three women were publically stripped in separate incidences, ostensibly for their “indecent” dressing, leading to public uproar.

Today, women are more educated, more financially independent, and are making more of the big decisions. It's not entirely a sinister scheme of the feminists—the economy of the 21st century simply favors social intelligence, technology and innovation. Brute strength is no longer a critical factor of production. The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap report shows that of the 33 African countries surveyed, 22 have reached, or are nearing, equal boys and girls enrolled in primary school, and for 11—concentrated in eastern and southern Africa—there are actually more girls than boys enrolled in school. One third of Kenyan families are headed by single parents (the overwhelming majority are mothers), and in South Africa, it is 43%, one of the highest rates of single parenthood in Africa.

Women now outnumber men in their participation in

the labor market. In east and southern Africa—Malawi, Mozambique, Burundi, Rwanda and Tanzania are the top five. Although these women tend to work in low-value, highly vulnerable informal jobs like hawking, agriculture, market selling and petty trading, over the long term, it makes a difference in making them the *de facto* head of the family, even though they may remain married. It is particularly pronounced in war and post-conflict situations. One study in 2001 showed that an estimated 70-80% of families in Somalia were dependent on a woman's earnings for survival. And women in Africa reinvest about 80-90% of their income back into the family. For men, that share is only 30% to 40%.

It may be counterintuitive but a sharp spike in abuses against women—like in the public stripping incident—may actually be a sign of the rising status of women in society, as men try and react to it and “put women in their place.” South Africa is ranked third in Africa in the status of women, with very high levels of education attainment, health outcomes and political empowerment of women, and it has been rising over the past few years. Almost half (43%) of South African families are headed by single mothers, one of the highest rates of single parenthood in Africa. Just 36% of South African children live with both parents.

But violence against women is so high that *The New York Times* called it South Africa's War on Women; the police announced that there were 62,000 reported sexual assaults between April 2013 and March 2014. Many more assaults probably go unreported. A woman is killed by an intimate partner every eight hours in South Africa, and one is raped every four minutes, according to some estimates.

However, the correlation between the rising status of women and violence against them is only true to a certain point. Rwanda, for example, is ranked first in Africa in the status of women, but does not experience South Africa-style attacks. The government's robust response to crime is a strong deterrent.

The continuing gender imbalance, particularly in the context of patriarchy, is a strong indicator that received wisdom, and a particular form of African masculinity, may be yet to catch up with the changing reality. Anecdotal evidence from Kenya suggests that more than two-thirds the children put up for adoption in orphanages are boys, and intriguingly, it is not always because the child's parents have died—sometimes, the boy is the son of a single mother, and women with sons reduce their chances of getting a husband or partner because he would not want his children to compete with another man's male child for his assets. The boy is shipped off to an orphanage as his mother starts another family with her new husband. Furthermore, boys are less likely to be adopted from orphanages than girls are, again, because of the patriarchal attitudes against a man raising another man's son.

Most advocacy groups for women and children center their work on issues such as increasing enrolment for girls in school and stopping child marriage. While these remain important, structural changes in the economy seem to be tilting increasingly in their favor. In the broader sense, women in Africa have more power than they ever have had before. While it may not be expressed in the classic sense of more women in parliament or in boardrooms, ordinary citizens probably sense that a tide is turning.

Conclusion

This brief can barely scratch the surface of Africa's complex and diverse kaleidoscope of opinions and perspectives. It has suggested that democracy, while being the preferred mode of government, is nevertheless contested in a number of important countries. Religious diversity, in the absence of political interference, is not an automatic trigger of internal tension and conflict. And there are signs that the structural changes in the economy may, finally, be tilting the odds in favor of Africa's women. While these are faint signals, they will be part of the context in which U.S.-Africa relations will play out. They are worth keeping in mind.

Collected Essays

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Nigeria's Democratic Success: Time for Greater U.S. Engagement

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The United States needs to act fast, wisely and comprehensively to shore up and strengthen its relations with Nigeria following that country's recent successful national elections. Nigeria's presidential and gubernatorial elections (held respectively March 28 and April 11) were a political triumph for the people of that country as well as for the continued positive trajectory of democracy across sub-Saharan Africa.

In the run up to Nigeria's elections, there was widespread apprehension that the elections would undermine Nigeria's stability, that there would be pre- and post-election violence, that the insurgent group Boko Haram would disrupt voting, that thousands of citizens displaced by violence would not be able to vote, and that introduction of new voting technology would lead to chaos and confusion at the polls. None of these things happened, and Nigeria probably conducted the best elections in its fifty five years of independence.

As Nigeria prepares for a democratic transition of presidential power on May 29, the United States needs to focus again on Nigeria's importance in Africa and in the global community as well as the significance of its latest democratic achievement.

Nigeria is by far the most important country in Africa. Although weighted down with a number of challenging problems, Nigeria is Africa's leading economic and commercial powerhouse. Nigeria's economy is twice the size of South Africa's industrial base and a third larger than Egypt's. Nigeria's economic importance is both regional and global. With an output of over 2.2 million barrels of petroleum a day, Nigeria is Africa's largest oil and gas producer and the sixth largest global oil exporter. In West Africa, Nigerian

companies dominate the banking, insurance, transportation, telecommunications and manufacturing sectors. Nigeria's major seaports in Lagos, Calabar and Port Harcourt serve large parts of West Africa.

The success of Nigeria's recent elections has also raised its political profile. Nigeria has now held five successive multi-party democratic elections and is enjoying the longest period of civilian rule since its independence. It has a vibrant civil society, which helped ensure the success of the recent elections, a free and lively media and a rich blend of Muslim and Christian cultures. More importantly, with a population of 180 million people, it is Africa's largest democracy — and the sixth largest democracy in the world.

The United States needs to move quickly to strengthen its relationship with Nigeria — as a fellow democracy — and to reach out to broaden and deepen its relations with the new Nigerian government under President-elect Muhammadu Buhari, a widely respected Muslim leader from the northern part of the country. Relations between Abuja and Washington have frayed over the past two years, largely over security issues and differences in approach of Nigeria's handling of the Boko Haram problem. Nigerian officials were deeply upset when Washington refused to permit the sale of American-built Cobra helicopters from Israel to the Nigerian military. Nigerian officials also complained about lack of information and intelligence sharing and the reluctance of the United States to supply other training and equipment. Nigerian officials also felt snubbed by President Obama's decision not to visit Nigeria during his July 2013 swing through Africa.

In Washington, officials at both the State Department and

the Defense Department were exasperated with President Goodluck Jonathan for his reluctance to appoint competent military commanders, to deal with growing levels of corruption in the army, and to adopt a more effective and comprehensive security and economic revitalization strategy to deal with the Boko Haram militancy in the northeastern part of the country. American officials were also concerned about growing levels of corruption across government, especially in the oil sector, as well as the government's failure to move forward on the passage and implementation of a new Petroleum Industries Bill — long sought by American energy companies to help jump start new international investment in Nigeria's energy sector.

President-elect Buhari has already indicated that he wants to establish a better relationship between Abuja and Washington, especially in the security arena. In an editorial page article in the New York Times on April 14, Mr. Buhari said: "My Administration would welcome the resumption of a military training agreement with the United States, which was halted during the previous (Jonathan) administration."

The United States should move fast to reciprocate. Over the next six months, there are a number of ceremonial and substantive actions the United States should take.

1. **President Obama should stop in Nigeria on his forthcoming July 2015 trip to Africa.** Strengthening democratic institutions has been the Administration's number one priority in sub-Saharan Africa. President Obama made this point in his first presidential trip to Africa in a speech before the Ghanaian parliament in July 2009. It is a theme repeatedly echoed since then and firmly reiterated in the president's most important policy document on Africa, published in June 2012. President Obama is slated to visit Kenya (a longstanding economic, democratic and security partner) and Ethiopia (an important security partner whose democratic and human rights performance has been strongly criticized in the international community.) It would be deeply troubling for many Nigerians to see Africa's largest democracy snubbed at this important moment in its history.

2. **President Obama should send a high level delegation to President Buhari's inauguration** on May 29. Ideally, this delegation should be led by Vice President Biden who engaged with both President Goodluck Jonathan and with president-elect Buhari in the run-up to Nigeria's March 28 presidential contest. If Vice President Biden is unable to go, Secretary John Kerry, National Security Advisor Susan Rice, Homeland Security Secretary Jeh Johnson or Agriculture Secretary Thomas Vilsack should lead the delegation. The delegation should also include senior level officials from several cabinet departments, including the Department of Defense.

3. **President Obama should formally invite President-elect Buhari for an official visit** soon after the new president is sworn in. If the White House does not send an appropriately high delegation to the inauguration in Abuja, an official visit takes on greater urgency.

4. **The United States should reinvigorate, strengthen, and elevate the U.S.-Nigerian strategic dialogue** that was established seven years ago by former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. The U.S.-Nigerian dialogue should be placed on the same plane as those with India, Brazil, and China. The next dialogue should be held at the foreign minister level, with Secretary Kerry leading the U.S. meeting in Washington and Deputy Secretary Antony Blinken leading the subsequent meetings.

5. **The Administration should use this opportunity to deepen the commercial and trade relationship between Nigeria and the United States** and to build off of the successful U.S.-Africa business summit of 2014. Commerce Secretary Penny Pritzker, who has shown great interest in Africa, should be encouraged to travel to Nigeria with a delegation of American business leaders and investors and to work with the Nigerian government and with Nigeria's leading companies to organize several high level trade and investment conferences in Nigeria to promote greater interest in Africa's largest and most populous economy.

6. **The Administration should re-establish and elevate the broken military to military relationship between Abuja and Washington.** This will require some sensitive diplomacy and the White House should send the Chairman or the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to demonstrate a strong commitment by the U.S. to get this important relationship right. Once this is done, the AFRICOM commander can take the lead, but given the harsh feelings toward Nigeria at AFRICOM headquarters and by some in the Pentagon, the Chairman or the Vice Chairman should go out first.

7. **The State Department should be strongly encouraged to revisit the establishment of a Consulate General in northern Nigeria, probably in Kano, Nigeria's second largest city.** Northern Nigeria is extremely important. It is home to Africa's largest Muslim population, a Muslim population that exceeds that of Egypt, and a population that has made Nigeria the fifth largest Muslim country in the world. The U.S. has very little presence, access or influence in the north, and the U.S. should act rapidly to change this. Secretary Clinton approved the opening of a consulate in the north in 2009. The effort should be revisited as quickly as possible.

8. **The United States should help Nigeria with its most serious impediment to advancing and taking its economy to the next level — access to reliable, inexpensive and readily available power.** In a country of 180 million people, Nigeria produces only 4,000 MW of power, less than New York City and its surrounding suburbs. President Jonathan's inability to improve the situation is one the reasons he was thrown out of office. Power Africa has been one of the Obama Administration's most significant initiatives. The Administration needs to double down on its efforts to assist Nigeria in addressing its energy needs by bringing together major American power producers to work with, partner and invest in Nigeria's power sector.

9. **The Administration should encourage an early trip to Nigeria by Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack,** accompanied by some of the leading American agro industry companies and the deans of some of America's leading agricultural colleges — to help Nigeria revitalize and grow its agricultural sector. Once self-sufficient in food and one of Africa's largest exporters of groundnuts, cocoa, cotton and palm oil, Nigeria is now a major food importer, spending between four and five billion dollars annually to feed the nation. U.S. support to strengthen

Nigeria's agricultural sector offers another opportunity for serious and sustained U.S. engagement in Nigeria whose population is expected to grow from 180 to over 400 million by 2035.

10. **The Administration should also consider re-vamping MCC to help some of Nigeria's progressive, honest and forward thinking state governors** with their sound economic development plans. In the past MCC has only helped national governments. Given the growing influence and important work that is being done at the state level, the Administration should seek changes in the MCC statute in order to directly assistance state governors and governments that are performing well, implementing sound development projects, and providing improved services to their people.

Nigeria is important. We should not hold back. And we should not miss this opportunity to engage with Nigeria's new government. Strong support for Nigeria will help strengthen its democracy, support its economic grow and enhance its security and stability. An economically vibrant and democratically robust Nigeria is in the interest in Africa, the United States and the broader global community.

Why Change in Nigeria Matters to the World

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What happens in Nigeria will have a profound impact on the future of sub-Saharan Africa and the world

This week, something unprecedented is happening in Africa's most populous country, where groundbreaking political change is underway. Nigeria's incumbent president will step down and a new president from another political party, Muhammadu Buhari, will be sworn in.

The March election that brought Mr. Buhari to office was a political triumph for Nigeria and a positive step for the future of democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. Few expected that the election would be peaceful or credible, but the Nigerian people demanded nothing less.

As one of us witnessed first-hand while serving on a National Democratic Institute election observer delegation, people across Nigeria waited in lines that stretched for hours

simply to have their voices heard through the ballot box. Thousands were willing to risk the threat of election violence to volunteer as citizen observers, and the outcome was seen as legitimate thanks in large measure to the work of the Independent National Electoral Commission, which oversaw the rapid release of election results. A coalition of 400 civic organizations conducted a parallel vote tabulation that protected the integrity of the process and promoted confidence in the official results; other groups conducted a large-scale, and effective anti-violence campaign.

The election was not perfect, far from it. Although it confirmed the eventual outcome of the elections, the parallel vote tabulation exposed serious vote count manipulation in one of the six geopolitical zones of the country. Pockets of serious violence and fraud did occur, especially in Nigeria's politi-

cally critical, oil-producing southern states. Yet overall, the 2015 election was the most successful democratic exercise in the country's history, building on the progress made in 2011 after a series of seriously flawed elections in the country.

Now President-elect Buhari's challenge will be to deliver for his people—because years of experience have taught us that while successful elections are necessary, they are not by themselves sufficient for a country to achieve real long-term economic and social progress. Put another way: People like to vote, but they also like to eat.

After campaigning as the anti-corruption, pro-security candidate, Buhari now has a big job to do if he is to capitalize on the new momentum for change. To succeed, he will need the support of the international community—which must stay engaged in helping Nigeria along the path of progress.

The stakes could not be greater, both for Nigeria and the world. With a population of roughly 180 million people and an economy expected to reach \$1 trillion by 2030, the country is already a regional political and economic powerhouse—and it is increasingly a global one as well. By 2050, Nigeria's population is expected to surpass that of the United States, and its total population is projected to reach 900 million by the end of this century. This means that what happens in Nigeria will have a profound impact on the future of sub-Saharan Africa and the world.

To put the country on a road to better governance, increased security, and greater prosperity, President Buhari will need to bring Nigeria's vast resources together to tackle a series of deep-seated, interconnected challenges—and he will need the support of the United States and its partners to do so.

His first order of business should be dealing with the country's rampant corruption, a poison in any democracy. Buhari campaigned on a promise to address alleged multi-billion dollar corruption scandals, which stem largely from mismanagement of the country's oil reserves. These kinds of scandals weaken Nigeria's legitimacy both domestically and abroad. Its oil reserves are tremendous, but if mismanaged they threaten to undermine the country's political authority. Corruption must be addressed at the institutional level by strengthening institutions such as the electoral commission, National Assembly, political parties and civil society—all of which have an important role in addressing corruption. Another priority will be improving the transparency of government bodies, such as the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation. The international community should also support the recovery of stolen assets, which belong in the hands of the Nigerian people.

A second key challenge is security. The depraved and vile extremism of Boko Haram continues to pose a serious danger in northeastern Nigeria and the region, with thousands

killed by its attacks and scores of young girls remaining kidnapped and enslaved. Recent efforts to push Boko Haram back, including through a new regional force, have made some progress, but far more needs to be done. Meanwhile, sectarian violence—spurred by religious and ethnic tensions—is a concern across the country. In the Niger Delta, violent organized crime and the threat of renewed militancy are ever present. President Buhari will need to push through critical security-sector reforms and focus on increasing military professionalism and Nigerians' access to justice in the courts, but the administration will also need to address the deeper socioeconomic roots of these threats.

To do so, President Buhari must tackle a third challenge by taking measures to get Nigeria's slowing economy back on track. Given the falling price of oil, Nigeria's economy needs to become more sustainable and diversified through investments in infrastructure. The country has vast unmet energy needs, and lack of power is one of the most serious impediments to growing Nigeria's economy. Nigeria's agricultural sector also must be modernized and transformed, so that the country can reduce its reliance on imported food, feed its exploding population, and give its farmers a stake in the future. For stability and enduring prosperity, it will also be important to close the development gap between the country's northern and southern regions, and between its urban and rural areas.

Given the chaos and uncertainty of today's world, it is important that we take note of Nigeria's progress and celebrate it, as Secretary of State John Kerry will do when he leads the U.S. delegation to the inauguration. But it is equally vital that all of us—whether in government, the private sector, or civil society—do everything possible to ensure that these democratic gains are channeled toward the kind of institutional change that lasts far beyond Election Day. Through robust engagement with Nigeria's new government, including direct talks between Presidents Barack Obama and Buhari, the international community can help it meet these challenges. Investing in Nigeria's future can make a huge difference for the country, and set an example for the world. It is an opportunity we cannot miss.

Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright is Chair of the Albright Stonebridge Group, a strategic advisory firm, and Chair of the National Democratic Institute. Johnnie Carson, a former assistant secretary of state for African affairs, serves on the board of the NDI and co-chaired its recent election observer mission in Nigeria. He also serves as a Senior Advisor at Albright Stonebridge Group.

Democracy is on the line in Burkina Faso and beyond if Compaoré is allowed to change the constitution

Johnnie Carson

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Democracy is on the line in Burkina Faso. What happens there over the next few weeks and months may determine whether democracy continues on its positive trajectory across sub-Saharan Africa or whether it stalls or begins to slowly unravel and collapse. Those states in the international community that follow democratic norms need to speak out clearly against African leaders who seek to change their government structures in order to remain in power indefinitely.

For the past week, tens of thousands of people in Burkina Faso have taken to the streets of their capital, Ouagadougou, to protest a planned parliamentary vote to alter the country's democratic constitution, which would allow President Blaise Compaoré to remain in power for another term. Compaoré, a former soldier, came to power nearly three decades ago in a military coup d'état in 1987. Since abandoning his uniform and opening the door to multiparty politics and constitutional rule, Compaoré has been elected five times as the country's president, and until recently said that he would abide by the country's new constitution and step down at the end of his current term which ends in 2015.

However, with the next elections fast approaching and his thirst for power still strong, Compaoré has changed his mind and decided to "modify" the constitution to remain in power for at least one more term – or maybe two or three. The Burkinabé parliament, which is dominated by Compaoré's stalwarts, must approve the constitutional change by a two-thirds vote, or the issue will go to a public referendum. Either way, Compaoré appears determined to get his way despite the massive street protests.

President Compaoré's attempt-ted power grab may appear to be only a localized issue – another African leader seeking to turn the presidency of his country into a modern day chieftaincy. However, the problem is far greater. If Compaoré is allowed to manipulate and subvert his country's constitution, there are probably a half dozen African leaders

waiting in the wings to try to do the same.

Leaders in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Gabon, Congo Brazzaville and Benin all face strict two term constitutional limitations, and it is believed that President Joseph Kabila of the DRC has already signaled his desire to alter his country's constitution in the run up to the next presidential elections in 2015. He is not alone. There are reports that President Denis Sassou Nguesso in neighboring Congo-Brazzaville may do the same and Rwandan opposition leaders have speculated that President Paul Kagame in Kigali may attempt to play a similar game.

African leaders like Blaise Compaoré who remain in power for long periods of time claim their leadership helps to foster stability, democracy and economic growth. But this statement does not align well with the facts.

African leaders who have been in power for two or three decades exhibit many of the same negative characteristics. Their governments become increasingly more corrupt. Human rights abuses expand. Press freedoms are curtailed. And political space for civil society, non-governmental groups and opposition parties begins to disappear. When these aging regimes collapse, they frequently generate long periods of political tension, violence and uncertainty.

In Angola, where President Eduardo Dos Santos has been in power since 1979, corruption is rampant. The government's state owned oil industry is regarded by some as a slush fund for senior members of the ruling party and the president's family.

The same is true in Equatorial Guinea, where President Teodoro Obiang has ruled for 35 years. Obiang's family has squandered millions of dollars of the country's oil wealth while many of the country's population continue to live in deep poverty.

In Zimbabwe, where Robert Mugabe has been in power since April 1980, human rights abuses and harassment of op-

position political leaders has been a common occurrence for much of the last decade.

In Cameroon, President Paul Biya has been in office for just over three decades. Once hailed as the Switzerland of Africa because of its rich African, Anglo-French culture, Cameroon has struggled economically and politically. As corruption has flourished inside his own government, President Biya has kept a tight leash on opposition politics and civil society activism.

And in Uganda, President Museveni, in charge since 1987, leads an aid-dependent government that has been accused multiple times of corruption, including the misappropriation of millions of dollars intended for HIV and malaria prevention. Like the other multi-decade leaders, Museveni has intimidated, harassed and beaten opposition political leaders and has punished and pushed aside those in his inner circle who seek to encourage political change at the top.

The image of African leaders who maintain power for long periods is not a good one.

The attempt of African leaders to remain in power indefinitely is clearly an affront to democracy and to the rights of their own people. It is also an affront to the Obama Administration's policy toward Africa. Shortly after he became president in 2009, President Obama told members of the Ghanaian parliament in Accra that strengthening democratic institutions and promoting the rule of law were his number one policy priority in Africa. He said: "In the 21st century, capable, reliable, and transparent institutions are the key to success — strong parliaments; honest police forces; independent judges — an independent press; (and) a vibrant private sector... (and) civil society. Those are the things that give life to democracy, because that is what matters in people's everyday lives." Recognizing how many of Africa's past leaders had abused power, President Obama told the parliamentarians "Africa doesn't need more strong men, it needs strong institutions."

Over the past five years, the Obama Administration has reaffirmed this policy. In June 2012, the White House issued a comprehensive policy document reaffirming that the Administration's number priority was "strengthening democratic institutions." The document said "...support for democracy is critical to U.S. interests and is a fundamental component of American leadership abroad. ...The United States will not stand idly by when actors threaten legitimately elected governments or manipulate the fairness and integrity of democratic processes, and we will stand in steady partnership with those who are committed to the principles of equality, justice and the rule of law."

And in the run up to August 2014 U.S. Africa summit, National Security Advisor Ambassador Susan Rice applauded Africa's democratic progress and told a largely African diplomatic audience that "... we (the Administration) are unabashed in our support for democracy and human rights. We will continue to invest in promoting democracy in Africa, as elsewhere, because, over the long-term, democracies are more stable, more peaceful, and they're better able to provide for their citizens."

President Blaise Compaoré has decided that he can bring the peace, stability and economic prosperity that the people of Burkina Faso want. But the people of Burkina Faso are familiar with Africa's long history of "strong man politics", and they have voted with their feet by turning out in the tens of thousands to protest. The democratic members of the international community, especially France, the U.S. and the European Community, should now express their strong support for democracy in Burkina Faso and an end to the manipulation of constitutions by strongmen parading as democrats.

African leaders who believe in democracy and the rule of law should also speak out. If Blaise Compaoré is able to manipulate his country's constitution, other so called democratic leaders will do the same and all of Africa will lose.

How U.S. Partnership Can Build on Africa's Health Advances

Mary Mwanyika- Sando, MD

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The United States has played an important role in powering public health gains across sub-Saharan Africa over the last two decades. U.S. programs such as the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), and the President's Malaria Initiative have helped numerous African countries beat back these two killers, improving life expectancy and reducing child mortality in countries ranging from Sierra Leone to South Africa.

The threat of communicable diseases remains, as shown by West Africa's Ebola outbreak this year. But overall, Africa's health risks—particularly for women and children—are now more directly tied to weak national healthcare systems that still let far too many patients fall through the cracks.

While practicing in obstetrics and gynecology at Tanzania's Muhimbili National Hospital, I saw this first hand. Between 80-90% of our cases were women who arrived on referral and in severe distress.

One case made an especially strong impression on me: a 26-year-old mother who died in my arms just a few minutes after arriving on referral following the delivery of her first child. I did not even get a chance to talk to her since she was very weak, and all efforts to save her life were in vain. As an African mother myself, I was distraught.

Later on as I prepared documents for certifying her death, I looked at medical records from her three antenatal clinic visits, and I saw that she had been anemic from the start of her pregnancy. That is why her condition worsened following delivery after she suffered from post-partum hemorrhage, the leading cause of maternal mortality in Tanzania. She simply had no strength left. Her baby died as well, and she left behind a widower, her husband of just one year. I knew that our entire health care system failed her and her

newborn baby.

Most maternal and newborn deaths can easily be prevented through access to proven high impact cost-effective interventions which cater for the mother and baby and are delivered at the same time, in the same place and also by the same health care provider/team. Slowly, we are rolling out such intervention— including comprehensive obstetric and newborn care and management of pre-term births³. But Tanzania, like many other parts of Africa, desperately needs to increase the coverage of such interventions during pregnancy, labor and childbirth as well along the first week of life while also improving care for the small and sick newborns.

Despite the substantial decline, the under-five years old mortality rate in sub-Saharan Africa is more than 16 times the average for developed regions and Africa is also where the number of live births as well as the population of children under-five years of age are expected to increase substantially over the next two decades.¹

At least two thirds of newborns and a similar proportion of mothers and children could be saved with cost-effective interventions that already exist in the policies of most countries, but do not reach the poor. Strengthening newborn health is a win-win-win for mothers, babies, and children. The price is affordable at an extra US\$1.39 per person, according to the [World Health Organization](#).²

Given the anticipated increase in this population age group, the international community needs to focus on driving down neonatal and post-neonatal mortality, which has actually risen from 37 percent in 1990 to 44 percent in 2012 in the African region¹. It is now understood that almost half of all under-five deaths are the result of underlying malnutrition, most often resulting in physical and mental stunting

which reflects the cumulative effect of child undernutrition and infection during critical stages of pregnancy and from birth to two years (the first 1,000 days).

Even with the gains made, Africa still has significant inter-country and intra-country inequalities. For instance, Sierra Leone has the highest maternal mortality ration (MMR) of 1,100 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births, a far cry from South Africa's figure of 140 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births. Within countries there are huge urban-rural variations in access to quality health care services. In 2012, more than 32 million of the 40 million African births not attended by skilled health personnel occurred in rural areas¹.

Even though family planning and proper child spacing are among key strategies of reducing maternal, neonatal and child mortality, there are persistent disparities in contraceptive use in sub-Saharan Africa. Clear differences in access and knowledge with regard to contraception exist between urban and rural residents, the educated and uneducated, as well as between the rich and poor.

Sudden health shocks such as the Ebola outbreak in West Africa only exacerbate these problems. When weak health systems collapse and people cannot access basic health care, women fail to give birth at health facilities, babies miss immunization sessions and old foes such as malaria and cholera roar back to life.

Improved maternal healthcare has immediate results. It not only secures the health of the mother, but also improves the health of her family and increases the number of women who can better contribute to the economic well-being of their families, communities and countries at large.

Increasingly, the focus of maternal health work must be nutrition, both for the first 1,000 days of an infant's life and beyond, since in many sub-Saharan African settings women do not initiate antenatal care early enough to address needs during the critical early pregnancy period. Thus, attention to the health of adolescents, including supporting their ability to delay a first pregnancy and improve maternal health between pregnancies, is a critical step. Empowering girls to delay marriage and stay in school will equip them with knowledge and skills to make better decisions on their lives and contribute productively to the development of their countries.

Equally important is recognizing that in Africa, small-scale family farmers produce eighty percent of the continent's food each year and the same families who produce the food have the most reported hunger, malnutrition, and poor health. For this reason, it is critical to enhance efforts to improve programs that will promote diversification of crops to ensure availability of nutrient-rich foods, including fruits and vegetables. The great majority of smallholder farmers in Africa are women, who are also mothers and have respon-

sibility for the welfare of their families. Women's empowerment—from the household level all the way to the top—cannot be overemphasized, as women will make better spending plans for their families when it comes to many key issues to safeguard the health of the family including nutrition and health programs. Therefore, stronger integration between agriculture, nutrition, and health sectors is a major gap to address.

In many sub-Saharan African countries, efforts to strengthen national health systems have largely emphasized improvements for facility-based health care at clinics and hospitals while fewer programs are geared towards the broader public health. To sustain gains and reduce chances of disasters like the Ebola outbreak, there is a clear need to strengthen public health systems both at the facility level and community level. A compelling example of such an effort is the community health extension worker program in Ethiopia, where surveys have shown a dramatic improvement in almost all basic health indicators except for institutional deliveries and postpartum care. To address issues such as malaria in pregnancy, anemia and undernutrition, the community must be involved. When communities take pride and ownership in improving their own health, the potential for positive and sustained change is great.

Hospital and clinic care must also be improved. While encouraging women to give birth at a health facility with the assistance of a skilled health attendant is among the most effective strategies for reducing maternal and neonatal morbidity and mortality, it is not enough to motivate women to deliver at health facilities without ensuring that the system is also able to accommodate them and deliver the best quality of care they deserve.

I saw this myself a few years ago at one of the three large regional hospitals in Dar es Salaam, where there were so many pregnant women flooding into the maternity wards that some were forced to deliver their babies while lying on the floor or sharing beds. With little or no privacy, there was almost no room to implement patient-centered health care—effectively leaving these women on their own and vulnerable during child birth and diminishing their faith in the health system.

The only way to resolve this overload is to increase the number of medical supplies such as delivery beds and skilled birth attendants. This will cost money—there's no getting around it—but as an effective investment in long-term health there are few better alternatives.

Another key area to sharpen focus on is improving monitoring systems. To ensure timely notifications and better preparations for outbreaks such as Ebola, as well as the potential to eradicate infectious diseases such as polio, it is important to strengthen surveillance systems. The formation

of the African Centers for Disease Control by the African Union and the U.S. CDC is a commendable effort that underscores the importance of this shared goal. As Ebola has taught us, health surveillance systems are our best defense against future epidemics.

Over time, African countries must take on more of the responsibility for ensuring and promoting their own health. Investments in building the capacity of African training and research institutions that will produce experts are imperative.

I myself am an example of what can happen through this type of investment. I was fortunate to have pursued a master of public health (MPH) degree at Harvard University's School of Public Health where, if it weren't for the generous scholarship received, I would never have managed to achieve this training. Today, I apply the knowledge and skills acquired through

my work with the Africa Academy for Public Health (AAPH)—which was established in Tanzania in 2009 to advance public health priorities of sub-Saharan Africa through collaborative research, training, capacity building and knowledge translation.

Numerous U.S. institutions collaborate with their African counterparts to offer MS, MPH, or PhD degree programs, fellowships, annual short courses, research mini-grants and post-doctoral fellowships for trainees at local institutions. The more the United States can do to enhance this kind of training, the better equipped Africa will be to take the lead on surmounting its own health challenges.

AAPH is already showing that it can be done through programs such as the Africa Research, Implementation Science and Education Network (ARISE)—a network that promotes South-South and South-North collaboration in research and capacity building in Africa. Founded in June 2014 with partners from leading research and training institutions in Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda, ARISE supports coordinated and collaborative education and research activities in order to address critical gaps in population and health, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa.

African public health is increasingly a good news story. While Ebola ravaged Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea, it did not gain a foothold in Nigeria—a sign that at least in some countries, systems are beginning to work. In many ways, U.S. partnership has made much of this progress possible. Stepping up that partnership, and focusing on underlying health threats, will help to guarantee a healthier Africa and a healthier world.

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Foreign Aid: Blessing or Curse?

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Foreign aid is one of the most contentious issues in all of development. Over the decades critics such as Milton Friedman, Peter Bauer, William Easterly, and Angus Deaton have leveled stinging critiques, charging that aid has enlarged government bureaucracies, perpetuated bad governments, enriched the elite in poor countries, or just been wasted. They cite continued widespread poverty in Africa and South Asia despite three decades of aid, alongside countries that have received substantial aid yet have had disastrous records such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, Papua New Guinea, and Somalia. In their eyes, aid programs should be reformed, curtailed, or altogether eliminated.

Supporters counter that these arguments are misleading and overstated. Jeffrey Sachs, Joseph Stiglitz, Paul Collier, Nicholas Stern, Bill Gates and others have argued that although aid has sometimes failed, overall it has helped improve global health, provided urgent humanitarian relief, increased food production, and supported economic growth, especially in countries with strong economic policies and good governance. They point to a range of emerging countries where aid has contributed to development progress such as Botswana, Indonesia, Korea, and, more recently, Tanzania, Vietnam, Mozambique, and Rwanda, along with successful initiatives such as the Green Revolution, childhood vaccine programs, and the campaigns against diseases such as tuberculosis, guinea worm, river blindness, small pox, and HIV/AIDS.

The critics make important points. Aid programs do not always work (nor, by the way, does private investment), there is too much bureaucracy and too little local input, some funds are wasted on bad ideas and badly designed programs,

and at times (especially during the Cold War) aid has been used to prop up dictators and bad governments.

But the critics overstate their case, based largely on sweeping statements and outdated evidence. Despite the shortcomings, the bulk of the evidence shows that overall, aid has helped support development progress. Foreign aid is not the main driver of development success. It does not always succeed, and there are several ways in which its efficacy can be improved. But on the whole it has helped developing countries advance education, increase agricultural productivity, and accelerate economic growth. And it has saved millions of lives.

Even the fiercest critics have had to backtrack on some of their earlier critiques as it has become clear that aid has played a huge role in global health advances. Essentially all the major programs to fight specific diseases and increase immunization rates in developing countries have been supported by foreign assistance, working in conjunction with international organizations, philanthropists, local governments, and committed citizens. My colleague Ruth Levine and her team documented many of the advancements in health and the role of aid in supporting them in *Millions Saved: Case Studies in Global Health*.¹ Donor-financed programs have helped increase the number of children receiving basic vaccinations from 20 million in 1980 to 200 million today. Tuberculosis infections have fallen by 25% just since 2002. AIDS-related deaths have fallen by more than one-third in just seven years due to donor-financed anti-retroviral therapy programs. Malaria mortality declined 47 percent between 2000 and 2013, saving 4.3 million lives, most of them children under five years old. Smallpox—one of the world's greatest killers—was

completely eradicated through a global effort partly financed by foreign assistance in developing countries. Since 1988, the number of polio-endemic countries has fallen from 88 to just 3, and the world is on the brink of eradicating polio once and for all. Diarrhea killed five million children a year in the early 1990s, but today the number is below 800,000, due in large part to donor-financed programs that helped develop and distribute oral rehydration therapy.

Foreign aid has also supported progress in education, especially girls' education. In Afghanistan, less than one million children attended schools in 2002, and almost all of them were boys. Girls and women were excluded. But since then, the Afghan government and international donors have built more than 13,000 schools, recruited and trained more than 186,000 teachers, and increased net enrollment rates for school-aged children to 56 percent. Just one decade later in 2012, there were 8 million children in school—more than eight times more than in 2002—including 2.5 million girls.²

Many of the biggest advances in agricultural production and technologies in developing countries were supported by foreign aid programs. The Green Revolution is probably the greatest success of all aid programs, as it has saved millions of lives and improved the nutritional status of millions more. More recently, aid-funded programs have helped develop new varieties of rice, maize, and cassava that can better withstand drought, flood, cold, salinity, and poor soils. The International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center's (CIMMYT) Drought Tolerant Maize for Africa Project—financed by U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation—has introduced dozens of new varieties of drought tolerant maize hybrids that have increased yields 20 to 30% and benefitted 20 million people.³

Aid projects have also financed extensive amounts of infrastructure, including roads, school buildings, electricity generation facilities, air and sea ports, and water and sanitation facilities. Much of Cairo's water and sanitation facilities were built with funds from USAID. Many of Indonesia's primary schools were built with aid funding. Infrastructure investment help rebuild war-torn Mozambique, Liberia, Uganda, and East Timor. As one example, the United States' Millennium Challenge Account worked closely with the government of Benin to design and finance a \$188 million investment in the Port of Cotonou. The volume of merchandise flowing through the port increased by 75% in just six years between 2004 and 2010, helping to stimulate growth and wider development progress.

Some of the most successful developing countries have been large aid recipients, starting decades ago with Korea and Taiwan, both of which launched their remarkable post-war development with the support of foreign assistance. Two

of Africa's most successful countries—Botswana and Mauritius—have been supported by large amounts of aid. Botswana received assistance averaging more than US\$150 per person per year (in today's dollars) for more than 30 years, more than *triple* the average for the rest of the continent, which helped build infrastructure and support health and education programs.⁴ Mauritius received aid averaging more than US\$65 per person for 30 years, which helped it build some of the infrastructure and services that made it successful. Since 1993, Mozambique's GDP has grown more than 7.5 percent per year and its poverty rate has dropped substantially, supported by assistance averaging US\$60 per person per year. Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and several other countries have achieved rapid growth since the mid-1990s while receiving significant amounts of aid. While many other factors have contributed to growth in these countries, the bulk of the research evidence suggests that aid helps spur growth, as we will see later in the chapter.

Donors are coordinating more with each other and with recipient countries to achieve specific goals and make aid more effective. The Millennium Development Goals, which were established by donor and recipient governments following the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in 2000, specify targets for poverty reduction, health, education, gender equity, environmental sustainability, and other development issues, with commitments by both donors and recipients. Its successor, the Sustainable Development Goals, will take effect in 2015 with the aim of helping focus projects and programs around agreed development goals for the next 15 years. The existence of agreed goals has helped concentrate and coordinate efforts in fighting disease, reducing infant and maternal mortality, and getting more girls in school.

Aid can be particularly helpful in post-conflict situations in support of reformist governments trying to turn countries around. Liberia was torn apart by a brutal 15-year long civil war that killed an estimated 270,000 people — about 1 in 12 Liberians — and destroyed families, communities, infrastructure, and social institutions. But since peace returned in 2003, there has been a remarkable recovery. Children went back to school, roads were rebuilt, businesses re-opened, and from 2005-2013 the economy grew 8% per year. Liberia has held two open, free, and fair elections; strengthened personal freedoms, encouraged greater press freedoms, and taken other steps towards establishing a vibrant democracy. The country still faces many challenges. The 2014 Ebola outbreak was a huge setback, and shows that despite the significant post-war achievements, there is still a long way to go in building strong and resilient institutions. But Liberia has made far more progress than anyone imagined was possible as conflict raged in 2002. President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf sees foreign aid as central to those achievements. "Without inter-

national support,” she said, “Liberia would not have made nearly as much progress, and might have even plunged back into conflict.”⁵

Criticisms of Aid

Nevertheless, alongside these successes, there is no question that aid programs do not always work, and there are many shortcomings in how aid is managed and delivered. The critics make several valid points, many of which have been the basis for recent reform efforts within donor agencies. Donor organizations have plenty of room for improvement.

First, some aid programs are poorly designed, with little input from local citizens and others with knowledge of local context. They may overlook obstacles, ignore underlying incentives, or otherwise design programs in ways that undermine results. Second, donor and recipient views of the highest priorities are not always aligned, and sometimes what donors want to fund does not match the community’s highest needs (a common challenge for many charities and philanthropies). If donors want to fund textbooks when recipients actually need teacher training, aid will be less effective than it could be. Third, since money is fungible, aid directed at a commendable goal can allow governments to divert more money to other less desirable goals. Aid financing for vaccination programs could allow governments to spend less on vaccines and more on limousines. Fourth, some donor programs are expensive to manage, with layers of bureaucracy, contractors, and others between the original funders and the intended beneficiaries. There are good reasons for some of these functions, such as ensuring financial oversight so that funds are less likely to be stolen, or including funding for people with special expertise and knowledge that may not be available locally. But at the same time, sometimes there are far too many cumbersome processes and layers of bureaucracy between the funders and the ultimate recipients which can add costs, create inefficiencies, and reduce the impact of each aid dollar. Fifth, donors do not always monitor and evaluate their programs. Targets and goals are sometimes poorly specified or nonexistent, making it more difficult to understand what works.

One common criticism of aid is that it keeps bad governments in power. There is no question that over the years—especially during the Cold War—rich countries provided large amounts of funding to some of the world’s nastiest dictators, including Mobutu Sse Seko in Zaire, Papa Doc Duvalier in Haiti, Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, and Jean-Bédél Bokassa in the Central African Republic, among others. In these countries, the objective of donor governments actually was to keep the dictators in power. The practice continues today with funding that goes to authoritarian governments that

are helping to fight terrorism, combatting drug trafficking, or are otherwise aligned with the priorities of rich country governments. In countries with unaccountable governments, it may not matter what the aid is intended for. Since money is fungible, aid can help free up other money for dictators to do with as they please.

These are legitimate concerns. However, at their core they are less about aid *per se* than the policies and intentions of rich world governments wanting to keep their allies in power. The United States, European powers, the Soviet Union, and China today use a wide range of tools to keep friendly dictators in power: diplomacy, trade preferences, military support, private investment guarantees, loans, information campaigns, and—yes—foreign aid. Aid is a tool, and like any tool, it can be misused. Since the purpose of aid in these situations is not development, it should be no surprise that it fails to spur development. It is valid to criticize the rich countries for using their powers to prop up dictators, but that does not imply that foreign aid is a failure across the board, any more that it implies that trade preferences, diplomacy, or loan guarantees are failures because they have been used to keep dictators in power. Private investment has been at least as powerful in propping up dictators—United Fruit Company across Latin America, timber companies in Indonesia, oil companies in Equatorial Guinea, and many other examples—but that does not mean private investment has been a failure.

Nevertheless, these concerns should be taken seriously. Today, some aid still goes to countries run by autocrats, but less than in the past. As many developing countries have moved from dictatorship to democracy, more aid has gone to support legitimately and democratically elected regimes in countries such as Ghana, Senegal, South Africa, Turkey, East Timor, Indonesia, Mongolia, Costa Rica, and the Dominican Republic. Empirical research suggests that the relationship between aid and democracy changed after the end of the Cold War. Since then foreign assistance appears to have helped support democratic transitions by reinforcing broad development progress in these countries and by supporting civil society organizations, stronger judicial systems, and multiparty elections. University of California political scientist Thad Dunning found that foreign aid had a positive effect on democracy in Africa after the Cold War, and concluded that “the end of the Cold War marked a watershed in the politics of foreign aid in Africa.” Duke University political scientist Sarah Bermeo found that after 1992 foreign aid from democratic donors was associated with an increase in the likelihood of a democratic transition (aid from non-democratic donors—such as China—did not have this impact). Similarly, Simone Dietrich at the University of Missouri and Joseph Wright of Penn State University showed that over the

past two decades, donors have increasingly linked foreign aid to democracy objectives in Africa. They concluded that “economic aid increases the likelihood of transition to multiparty politics, while democracy aid furthers democratic consolidation by reducing the incidence of multiparty failure and electoral misconduct.” These studies did not find support for the idea that aid as a general matter undermines democracy or keeps autocrats in power.⁶

As a recent example, donor pressure in Senegal—in support of the majority of local voices—had a major impact in thwarting former president Abdoulaye Wade from changing the constitution and seeking a third term in office in 2012. Far from supporting dictatorship, donor pressure helped the citizens of Senegal achieve an open and fair election for a new president. Many programs that support civil society seem to be effective, at least judged by the reactions of authoritarian governments. In 2012, Russia banned U.S. assistance to a wide range of pro-democracy civil society groups because of what it saw as American “meddling” in its internal affairs. Vladimir Putin clearly did not see these programs as supporting dictatorships—he saw them as strong voices for democracy and accountability, and he wanted to squelch them.

Still, significant amounts of aid go to countries that are not democracies. Donors provide substantial amounts of food aid and assistance to Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and other countries affected by disasters and humanitarian crises. They provided significant aid to Haiti following the massive earthquake there in 2010, even though it is not a full-fledged democracy. And they provide substantial aid to Uganda, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Vietnam, and other countries to fight disease and support other development initiatives.

There are myriad challenges—and no easy calls—in providing assistance to countries that are progressing in some areas of development and not in others. A legitimate critique of current aid allocation is that more aid should go to countries that are democracies, and to supporting civil society voices in non-democracies. Doing so would make aid more effective in achieving development goals, help support democracy, and improve its legitimacy. But the strong claim that, at a broad level, aid’s main impact is to keep autocrats in power and undermine democracy doesn’t hold up.

What About Aid and Growth?

The negative views of the effectiveness of aid center largely on the claim that aid has had little impact on economic growth. This view has its roots in the years from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s when, outside of a handful of countries, there was almost no growth in developing countries. The reasoning was straightforward, if superficial: growth (and development) had largely failed, so aid aimed at supporting development had failed. Critics assert that academic

research conclusively shows that there is no evidence that aid stimulates growth. But this claim is incorrect. While some studies do reach that conclusion, the bulk of the research—especially in more recent years—shows a modest positive relationship between aid and economic growth.

Among the studies that find no relationship between aid and growth, perhaps the most frequently cited is a paper by economist Peter Boone published in 1996, which concluded that aid had no impact on investment (and by extension, on growth). In 2000, World Bank economists David Dollar and Craig Burnside concluded that aid did not stimulate growth overall, but had a positive impact on growth in countries with better economic policies and institutions. In 2008, Raghuram Rajan and Arvind Subramanian found no relationship between aid and growth in a paper that was widely cited, since at the time Rajan was the Chief Economist of the International Monetary Fund (he is now the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India).⁷

But each of these results is fragile. I spent several years working with three colleagues—Michael Clemens of the Center for Global Development, Rikhil Bhavnani of the University of Wisconsin, and Sami Bazzi of Boston University—trying to untangle the relationship between aid and growth. In our most recent paper, we looked at each of the three famous papers that I just described. We found that, by making a few small but sensible adjustments to their underlying assumptions, the results in each case were reversed and became positive. We did not find that aid always worked in every country. There was wide variation in the relationship across countries, with some positive and others much less so (and even negative). But overall, we found that aid showed a modest, positive, statistically significant relationship with growth. The paper went through long, extensive review before its 2012 publication in *The Economic Journal*. It won the Royal Economic Society prize for being the journal’s best article that year.⁸

Of course, no single piece of research is definitive, and not everyone is swayed by these results. But our work is consistent with a growing body of other research that reaches similar conclusions by academics including Henrick Hansen, Finn Tarp, Robert Lensik, Howard White, Sandrina Moreira, Channing Arndt, Markus Brukner, and many others, all published in respected academic journals (but rarely, if ever, mentioned by skeptics).⁹ A new working paper by University of Maryland economist Sebastian Galiani and three co-authors from the World Bank found a statistically significant positive impact of aid on growth in a group of 35 countries that had graduated from World Bank concessional aid eligibility.¹⁰ Indeed, at this stage, far from the claims that all the academic evidence shows that aid does not bolster economic growth, the preponderance of recent research shows the op-

posite, with aid having a modest positive impact on growth.

More and more leading economists are reaching that conclusion. Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz states that “Foreign aid...for all its faults, still has brought benefits to millions, often in ways that have almost gone unnoticed.” Georgetown’s Martin Ravallion, one of the world’s foremost experts on poverty, concluded after a careful review that “the recent macro evidence is more consistent with the claim that sustained aid commitment to poor countries is good for their economic growth over the longer-term.” Oxford’s Paul Collier found that “A reasonable estimate is that over the last thirty years aid has added around one percentage point to the annual growth rate of the bottom billion.” Former Secretary of the Treasury Lawrence Summers says that “It makes fiscal sense to support smart and effective foreign aid programs that are saving millions of lives.” Channing Arndt and his co-authors at the University of Copenhagen found that “an inflow [of aid] on the order of 10 percent of GDP spurs the per capita growth rate by more than one percentage point per annum in the long run.”¹¹

Strengthening Development Assistance

Fortunately, the debate on aid has begun to move beyond the simple and unhelpful extreme views to focus on better understanding when and where aid can work, and how assistance programs can be strengthened to support development. The right questions are not “does aid work,” or “aid versus trade,” but rather: how can foreign aid be more effective in supporting development progress?

Given the many challenges that developing countries will face in the years to come, donors should aim to provide larger amounts of assistance where the needs are greatest, while strengthening their efforts in working with the private sector and in monitoring and evaluation. Donors should allocate less funding to countries reaching middle income status, and more to the poorest countries where the needs remain great and the financing options are limited, and especially to poor countries that combine smart economic policies and reasonably good governance. In other words, aid should be focused in low-income democracies. Foreign assistance can help these countries spur progress in agriculture, health, education, water and governance, which in turn will help reinforce the credibility of democracy. At the same time, democratically elected governments must play a bigger role in setting priorities, developing strategies, and accounting for results in aid-financed programs.

Focusing more funding on democracies does not imply completely cutting off non-democracies. But it does imply smaller, more focused, programs in the non-democracies. In countries like Zimbabwe, it makes little sense to provide large amounts of funding in hopes of wholesale transforma-

tion that will not happen in the absence of major political change. But aid-financed programs still can directly improve the welfare of individual people. Programs fighting HIV/AIDS and malaria can save many lives, even in the context of poor governance.

In parallel with direct investments in developing countries, aid agencies should provide additional support for research and dissemination of new technologies aimed at addressing pressing development challenges. Doing so will require forging new partnerships with universities, foundations, private companies, and other research facilities, and exploring innovative new financing mechanisms.

Aid agencies also must develop innovative ways to work with the private sector and encourage private investment. For too long, aid has been seen as a substitute for missing private capital, aimed at filling “gaps” in savings, rather than as a mechanism to stimulate investment. There are many ways aid agencies can do so. They can help farmers in agricultural cooperatives that produce coffee, fruits, or vegetables, to meet the quality and time standards demanded by buyers. They can work with local banks and encourage them to provide loans to promising local enterprises, as does USAID’s Development Credit Authority. They can help reduce investment risks by financing the costs of due diligence, environmental and impact assessments, and other up-front costs that investors must bear long before they decide whether or not to actually invest. In all these ways and more, donors can work with private investors to leverage their funds, improve results, and further support broad-based development progress.

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11 Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontent* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), 5; Martin Ravallion, "Quantifying Absolute Poverty in the Developing World," *Review of Income and Wealth* (2014), 973; Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 100; Lawrence Summers, quoted on the ONE website <http://www.one.org/us/press/condoleezza-rice-lawrence-summers-sheryl-sandberg-join-one-board-of-directors-2/>; Arndt, op cit, p 23.

Figure 1: Official Development Assistance, Global

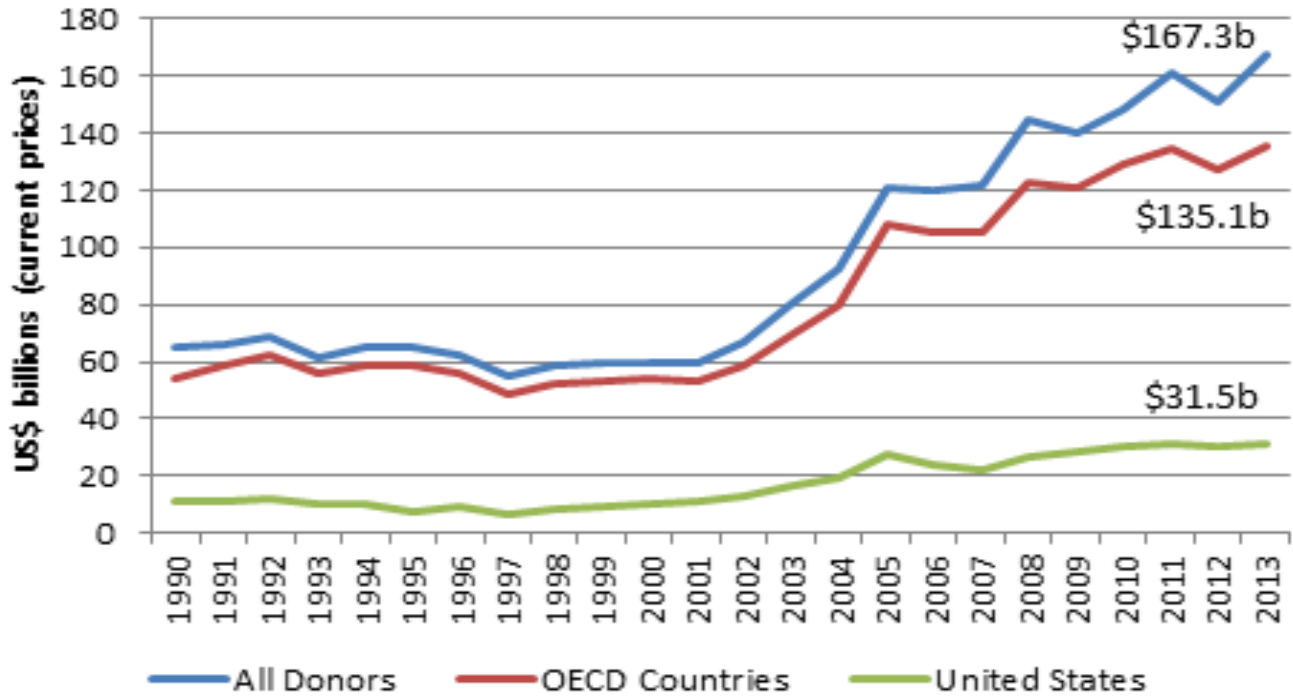
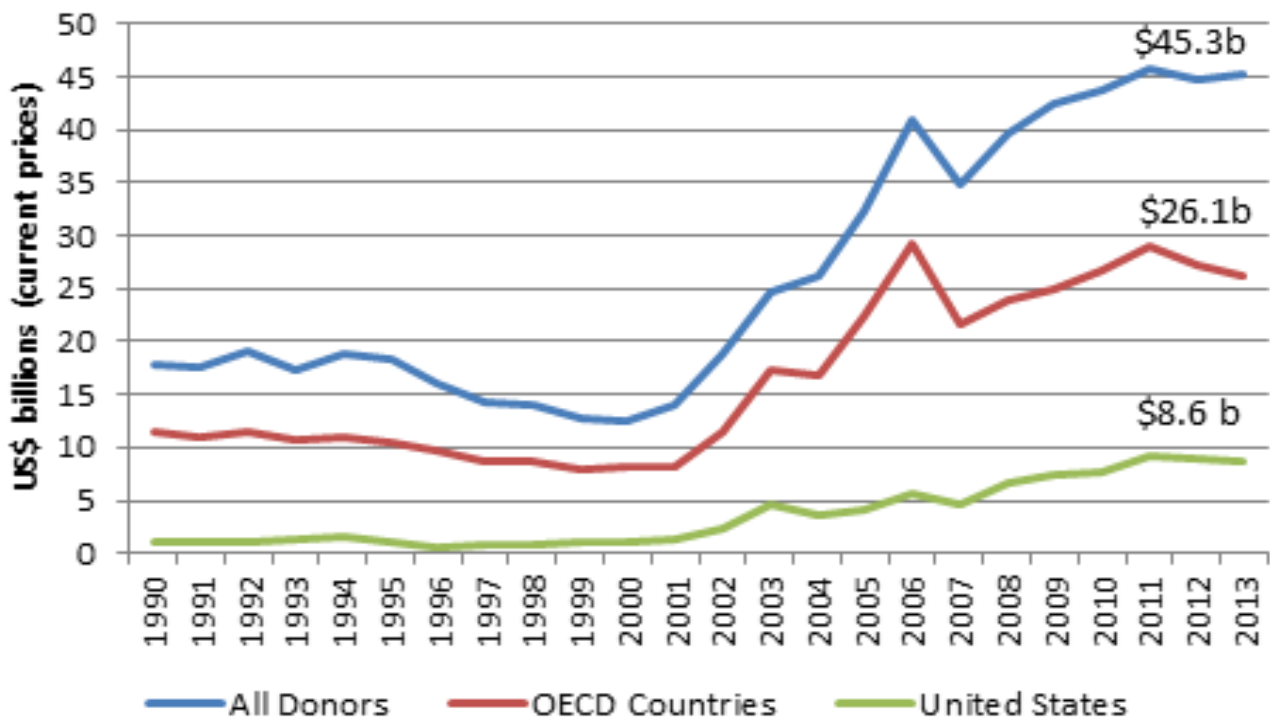


Figure 2: Official Development Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa



Official Development Assistance (ODA) is the official OECD term for what is commonly referred to as foreign aid. It includes amounts provided by governments and official multilateral agencies (but not private foundations and charities) for development and humanitarian assistance (not military or security purposes). The figures reflect amounts actually disbursed in a given year (not budget commitments), and so do not correspond precisely with US budget figures in any given year. Source for all figures: OECD Development Assistance Committee

FIGURE 3: NET OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FROM DAC AND OTHER DONORS IN 2014 (preliminary data)

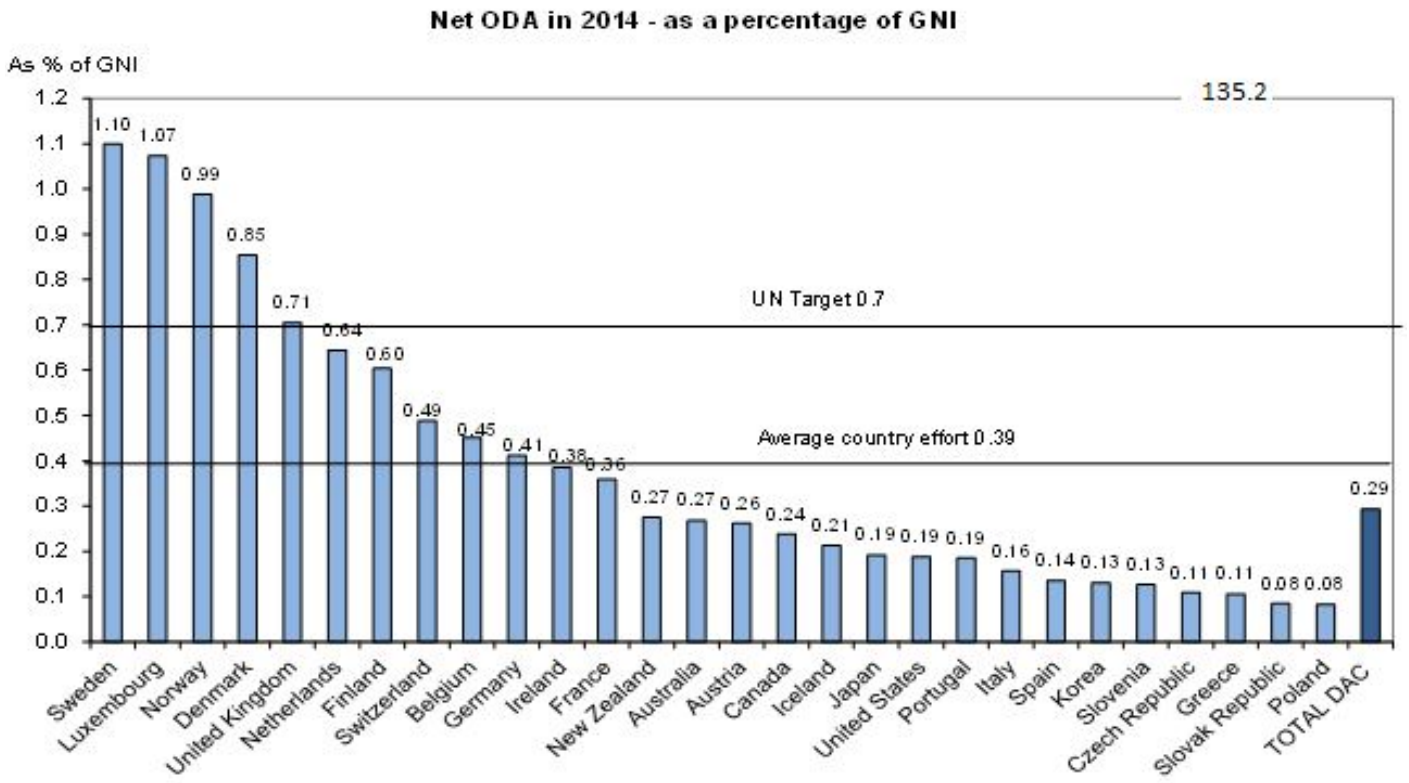
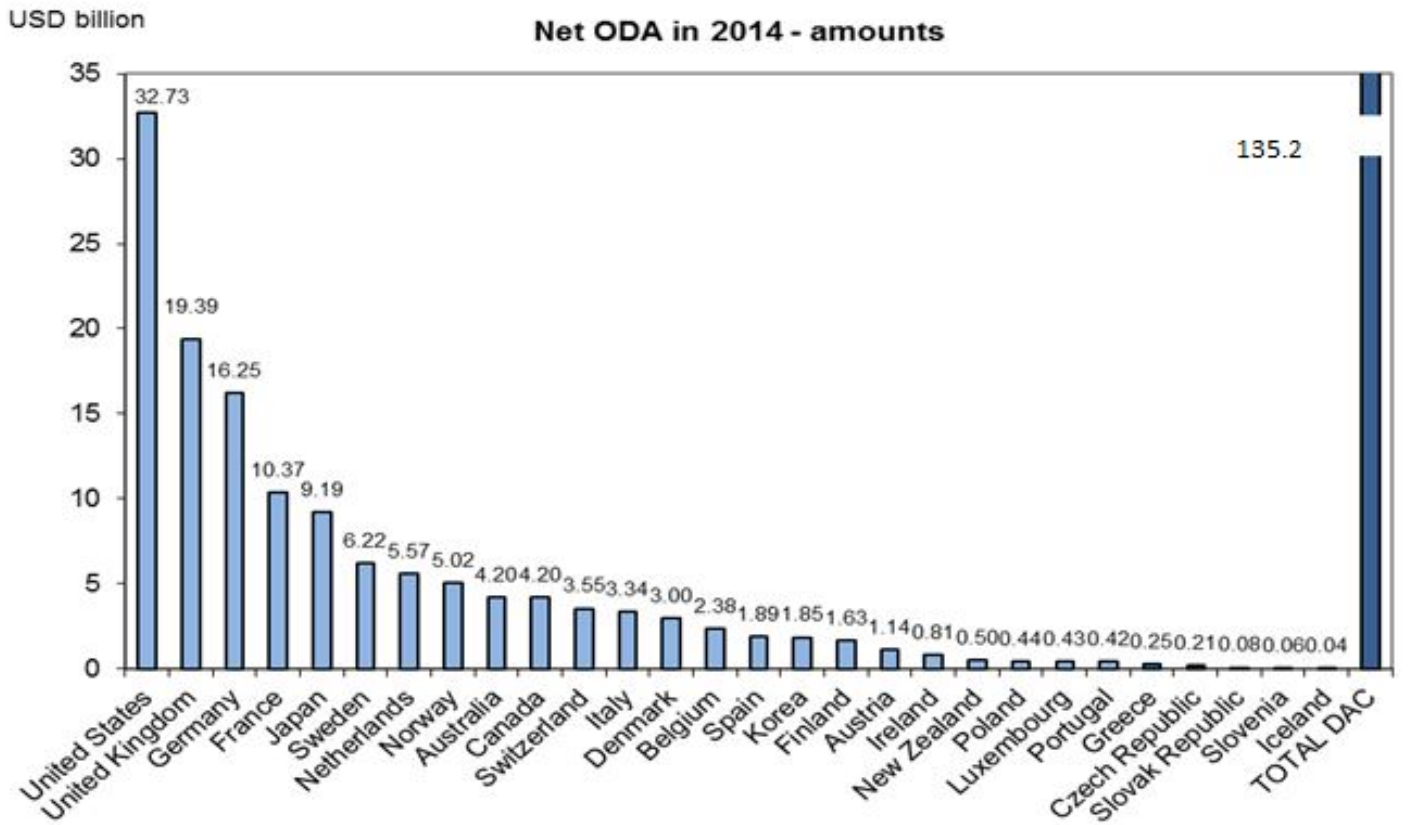


Table 1: US Official Development Assistance (ODA) to SSA, 2013

	Total ODA (Million \$)	ODA/ GDP (%)	ODA/ person (\$)			Total ODA (Million \$)	ODA/ GDP (%)	ODA/ person (\$)
Angola	\$62.13	0.1%	\$3		Liberia	\$157.49	8.1%	\$37
Benin	\$24.16	0.3%	\$2		Madagascar	\$55.87	0.5%	\$2
Botswana	\$75.39	0.5%	\$37		Malawi	\$196.70	5.1%	\$12
Burkina Faso	\$152.59	1.3%	\$9		Mali	\$146.27	1.3%	\$10
Burundi	\$26.45	1.0%	\$3		Mauritania	\$21.51	0.4%	\$6
Cameroon	\$34.92	0.1%	\$2		Mauritius	\$0.38	0.0%	\$0
Cape Verde	\$5.15	0.3%	\$10		Mozambique	\$543.68	3.5%	\$21
Central African Rep.	\$19.23	1.2%	\$4		Namibia	\$162.54	1.3%	\$71
Chad	\$53.33	0.4%	\$4		Niger	\$64.52	0.8%	\$4
Comoros	\$0.29	0.0%	\$0		Nigeria	\$551.06	0.1%	\$3
Dem. Rep. Congo	\$262.62	0.9%	\$4		Rwanda	\$153.26	2.0%	\$13
Congo	\$10.97	0.1%	\$2		Senegal	\$203.43	1.4%	\$14
Cote d'Ivoire	\$252.59	0.8%	\$12		Seychelles	\$0.23	0.0%	\$3
Djibouti	\$7.41	0.5%	\$8		Sierra Leone	\$15.48	0.3%	\$3
Equatorial Guinea	\$0.23	0.0%	\$0		Somalia	\$178.90		\$17
Eritrea	\$0.19	0.0%	\$0		South Africa	\$479.35	0.1%	\$9
Ethiopia	\$619.40	1.3%	\$7		Sudan	\$373.50	0.6%	\$10
Gabon	\$5.90	0.0%	\$4		Swaziland	\$38.56	1.1%	\$31
Gambia	\$2.82	0.3%	\$2		Tanzania	\$734.11	1.7%	\$15
Ghana	\$114.49	0.2%	\$4		Togo	\$4.09	0.1%	\$1
Guinea	\$27.23	0.4%	\$2		Uganda	\$451.97	1.8%	\$12
Guinea-Bissau	\$8.12	0.9%	\$5		Zambia	\$313.21	1.2%	\$22
Kenya	\$819.88	1.5%	\$18		Zimbabwe	\$156.15	1.2%	\$11
Lesotho	\$170.40	7.9%	\$82					

The Changing Development Landscape in Africa and the Imperatives for Success

Asif M. Shaikh

Senior Adviser, Center for Strategic and International Studies
President and CEO, PAXTERRA

AFRICA'S CHANGING DEVELOPMENT LANDSCAPE

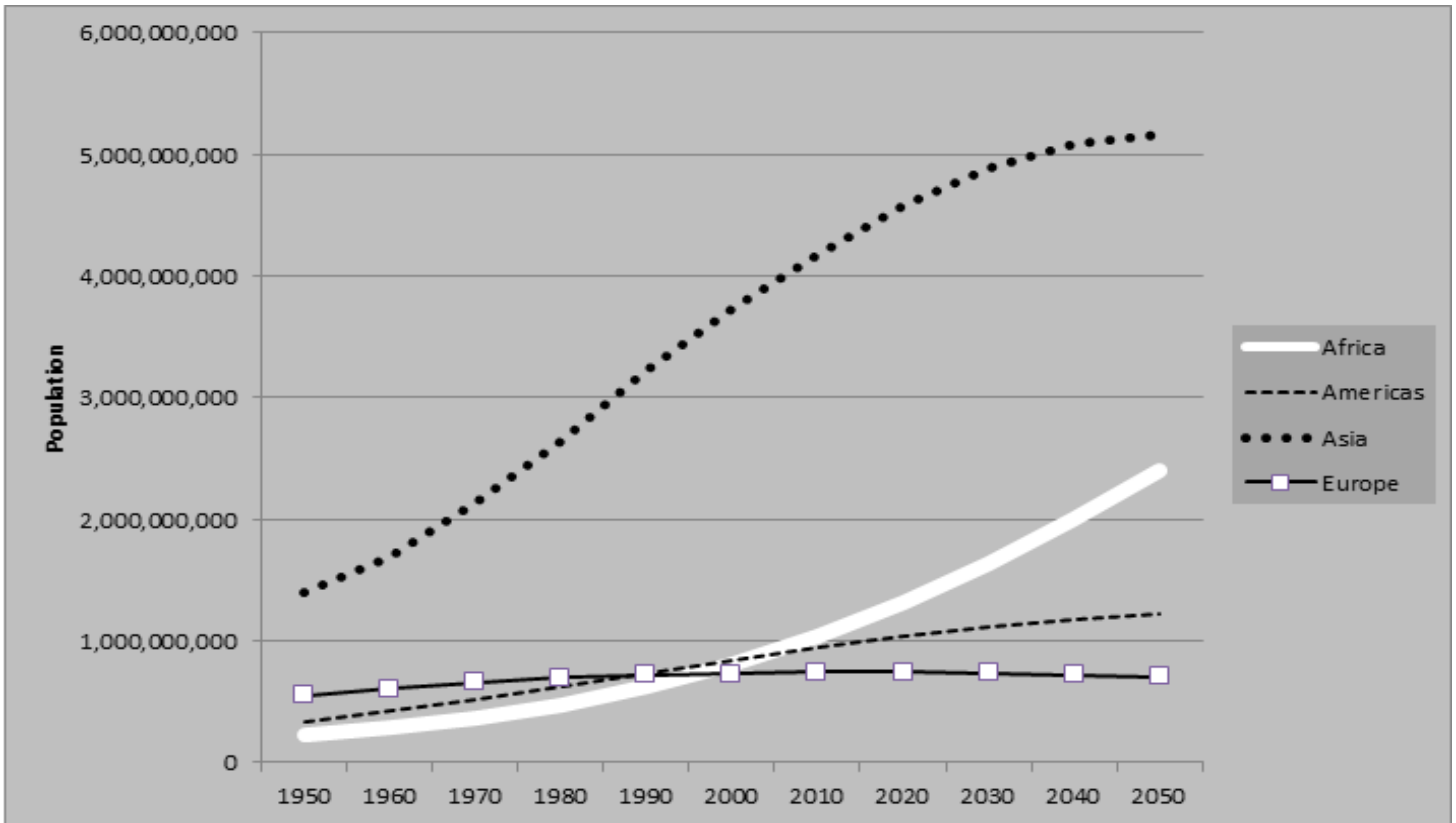
Africa¹ and globalization now collide at greater speed than in any other continent. In a little more than a generation, most Africans have become interconnected with the rest of the globe economically, technologically, and—most importantly—in terms of ideas, opportunities, and hopes. The results are more positive than negative. But rapid change is disruptive, creating winners and losers. It creates great uncertainty for hundreds of millions of Africans, and triggers new struggles to protect what people have and to capture the new opportunities they see. Chinua Achebe's iconic 1960s novel, *No Longer at Ease*, captured the underlying tug at Nigeria's optimism after Independence—an undercurrent running through most African societies today. Though much of the continent is on the move, and positively so, Africa is no longer at ease. With a fast-growing gap between the “haves” and “have-nots,” that unease can erupt into major unrest.

Sub-Saharan Africa has an estimated 2015 population of 930 million people in 52 countries, with diverse geographies,

religious and ethnic identities, resources, population densities, political systems, economic potential, and prospects for stability.

Africa's population has nearly quadrupled since 1970, growing faster than any other continent and taking it from the least populated continent to the second most populated (Figure 1). As of 2010, the population growth rate remained high, at 2.5% per year, down only slightly from its level of 2.8% two decades earlier.² The birth rate remains the highest in the world at 3.7% per year. Population programs will not materially alter the demographic picture for the next several decades. African fertility rates are the highest in the world at 4.7 children per woman, double that of any other continent. In 1950, Africa's population was a third of Europe's. By 2050, it will be four times larger, and twice that of the Americas. Africa's middle class is already larger than the entire population of the United States.

Figure 1: Comparative Actual and Projected Population Growth by Continent: 1950-2050



Data Source: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2013). *World Population Prospects*

Population growth is one metric, but other data points underscore the breath and scale of change. Until the 1960s, most of the continent’s populations remained relatively stable, with high mortality rates offsetting high birth rates. Vaccinations and other public health interventions saved millions of lives, and lowered mortality. But the by-product was skyrocketing population growth that set in inexorable motion a looming demographic “dividend” that will either turbo-charge the continent’s continued economic growth or sabotage it completely—depending on the policy choices made.

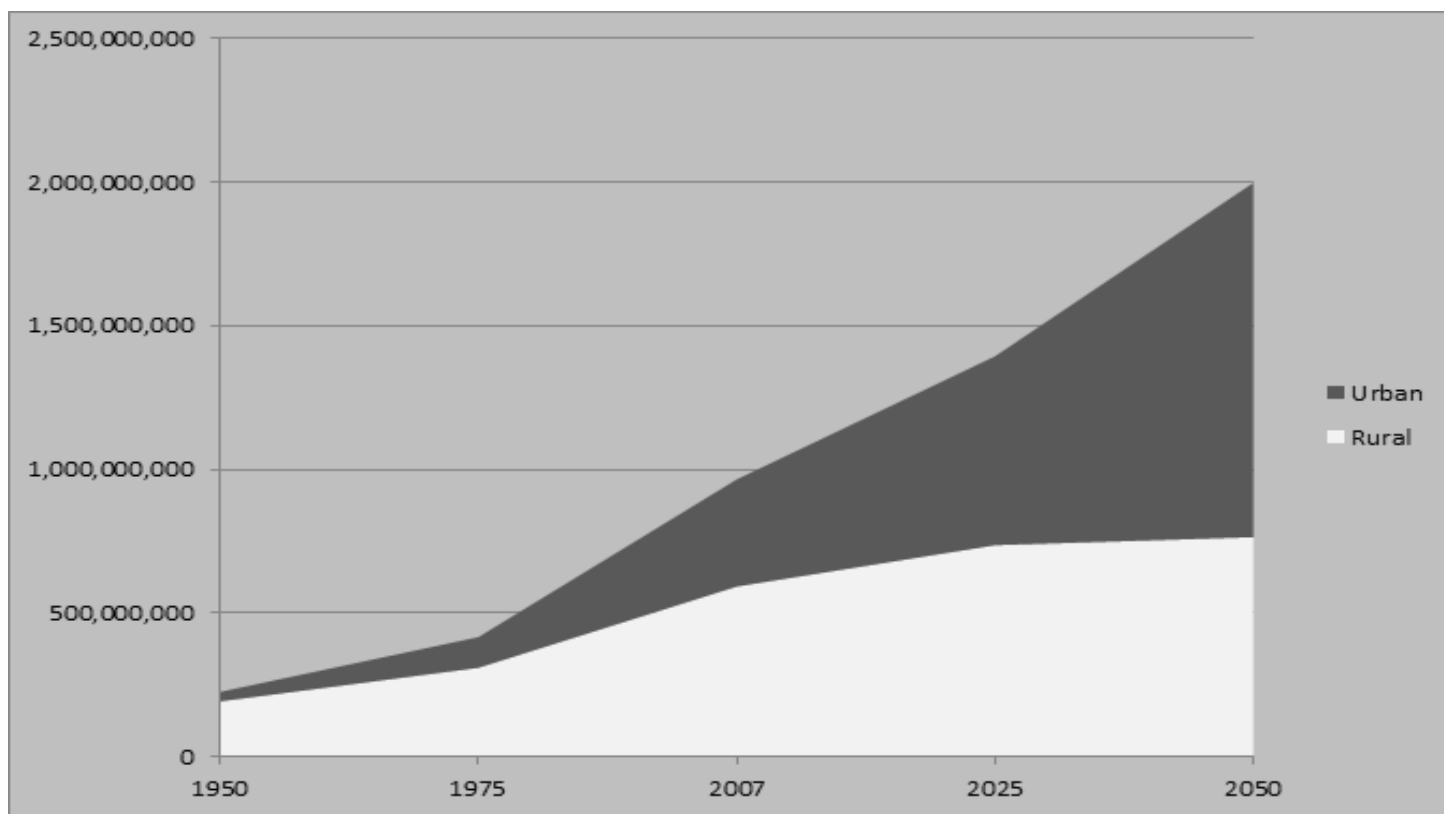
CHANGING SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND ACCESS

Forty years ago, the vast majority of Africans lived in rural areas, primarily practicing subsistence agriculture.⁴ The rural population has more than doubled since then.⁵ Where

land is abundant and fertile—in certain less densely populated tropical and temperate zones—this growth moved in step with the capacity of the land. But in the drier regions, population growth has disrupted the fallow system for lack of fertile land. Agricultural expansion closes corridors for herding populations who move seasonally to follow rainfall, rapidly reconfiguring rural production systems that have existed for centuries. The resultant clashes are sometimes misunderstood as religious or ethnic, when they are in reality about resources.

Urbanization has proceeded much faster than total population growth, linking Africa with Asia across the next several decades in the greatest human migration in history. Figure 2 displays the changing rural to urban mix on the continent. Note 1950, note today, and note 2050. The trends portend a continent that is more urban than rural by mid-century.

Figure 2: Percent of Urban and Rural Population, 1950-2050



Data Source: UN, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. *World Urbanization Prospects: 2014*.

There are well-established sub-Saharan metropolises, including Nairobi, Harare, Lagos, and Dakar, to name but a few. But in many countries, what were once small quasi-urban agglomerations (such as Niamey, Bamako, Lilongwe, and Banjul) have ballooned into genuine cities, changing national cultures profoundly in the process. Today, almost every African village has members who either seasonally migrate to cities or have taken up permanent residence there. Links between migrants and their home villages remain strong, with continuous transfers of money, ideas, grievances, and opportunities. A telling example: Niger's capital Niamey had a population of 60,000 in 1972. Transformed by rural flight during the Great Drought of 1972-74, Niamey exploded to 200,000. Today, it has a population estimated at 1.2 million—a 20-fold increase in two generations' time. Lilongwe, now Malawi's largest city at one million, grew 50-fold over the past half century.

Rural flight is typically fueled by agricultural transformations, either man-made (mechanization) or environmental (drought). Rural youth are inevitably drawn to "urban lights" and perceptions of opportunity in a modernizing world. In comparison, subsistence agriculture is literally backbreaking and socially isolating. No continent has been immune to these modernizing dynamics, but their impact on Africa has

been particularly acute for women and girls. Seasonal migration is high among young men. With each seasonal cycle, a portion of men settles permanently in the city. As a result, women have become the effective heads of households across a growing share of rural areas, taking on farming responsibilities in addition to collecting firewood and water, cooking, and child rearing. Unlike in the West and East, where the onset of manufacturing had a liberating effect on females, Africa's urbanization dynamics may be squeezing educational opportunities for rural girls—not expanding them—due to the crushing work burdens it creates.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

Amidst this momentous social change, technology profoundly alters the nature of African communications, manufacturing, education, and agriculture. The growth of mobile phones plays out in ways that were unimaginable just a decade ago. Cell phones have transformed power relations across the agricultural sector. Farm households that once accepted "take it or leave it" prices from middlemen truckers can now directly access urban markets to verify prices in capital cities or even in Europe or North America. A recent MIT study noted that some rural households have quadrupled their income *solely* on the basis of cell phone use

age, marking mobile telephony as one of the greatest single “advances” in development. African urban youth and elites now enjoy real-time access to new information, to include revolutionary ideas of individual rights and political empowerment. Community enterprises now exploit new tools for learning, organizing, and communicating. Pioneering efforts under the M-PESA program in Kenya demonstrate the transformative effects of widespread mobile money and banking.⁶ While the same forces affect the rest of the world, their leapfrogging dynamics in Africa are catalytic, rapidly eliminating rural isolation and challenging cultural identities.

Sixty-five percent of African households now own one or more mobile phones, bypassing weak infrastructure but likewise catapulting rural villages through what would otherwise be decades of gradual socio-economic change.

Farmers, traders, students, and business people routinely use mobile devices to organize their activities—as do pirates off the coasts of West and East Africa. The *Guardian* predicts that internet use on mobile phones in sub-Saharan Africa will increase 20-fold over the next five years⁷, a genuine revolution in knowledge and entrepreneurial capacity. Most striking in this transformation is the ingenuity of sub-Saharan populations that may be uneducated and often illiterate. In terms of improving the economic standing of the most vulnerable populations, mobile technology consistently outperforms traditional donor projects—particularly on gender rights, where access brings knowledge that fuels aspirations. In effect, there is no training that beats self-learning.

African populations demonstrate their hunger for knowledge. Technology now allows them to reach out and seize it, rendering previously distant goals into immediate opportunities. Such access can be just as easily harnessed for extremism as for progress. In this respect, Africa is no different from other global regions now emerging from decades of being left behind.

THE ENORMOUS POTENTIAL FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN AFRICA

There has been great progress in some parts of the continent over the last thirty years, with 16 countries maintaining a 6% or greater GDP growth rate for a decade. Three hundred million Africans have joined the middle class⁸ in the last two decades, connecting to the global economy and often operating (and consuming) at international standards. The McKinsey Global Institute estimates that consumer spending will rise from \$860 billion in 2008 to \$1.4 trillion in 2020. There are vast untapped resources in parts of the continent, which holds 60% of the world’s uncultivated arable land, as well as mineral, oil, and other resources. Africa has become a prime destination for foreign direct investment (FDI), and is widely seen as “the last global frontier for double-digit returns” for private investors.⁹ In a recent study, Ernst and Young projected FDI in Africa to reach \$150 billion in 2015, making it the fastest-growing FDI destination in the world.¹⁰ Much of the FDI has been for resource extraction, concentrated in a limited number of countries, but a growing percentage is in response to fast-growing consumer demand.¹¹ Unsurprisingly, amidst all this tumultuous growth, instability has also grown, both from extremist movements (e.g., Al Shabaab, Boko Haram) and ethnic rivalries (South Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo). Through concerted international and African action, climate-related famine vulnerability is decreasing, even as conflict-related vulnerability has increased.¹² The root causes of conflict must be more systematically addressed, or conflict-mitigation will have little lasting impact.

THE CHANGING ASSISTANCE LANDSCAPE

Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop aptly cites the need for a “paradigm shift” in Australia’s aid to its Asian partners.¹³ The United States should do the same in its aid to African partners. A generation ago, donor money (including US assistance) was dominant in international capital flows to Africa. Today, an estimated 85% of those capital flows are private, including remittances and foundation grants. In investment terms, donors are now only 15% minority shareholders. Private investment can spur GDP growth, but typically has no particular development purpose in mind, focused instead on enlarging markets and creating shareholder value. New technologies rapidly elevate citizen access to information and ideas, and encourage a new sense of rights. Technology places hundreds of millions of Africans on par with their Western counterparts when it comes to access to global knowledge in real time. But it also allows people to better see their immediate surroundings, noticing growing inequality, misuse of resources, and rights denied. Technologies of access may prove more powerful than even

SEVEN WAYS MOBILE PHONES HAVE CHANGED LIVES IN AFRICA

- **BANKING**
- **ACTIVISM**
- **EDUCATION**
- **ENTERTAINMENT**
- **DISASTER MANAGEMENT**
- **AGRICULTURE**
- **HEALTH**

Source: Tolu Ogunlesi and Stephanie Busari, CNN, September 12, 2012

investment dollars. In this volatile mix, donors are closer to 5% shareholders relative to the forces that will shape Africa's future. They can only influence—but not control—how or where development will play out. “*You can redirect a river by using the power of its own flow, but you cannot just pick it up and put it somewhere else because that's where you want it to be*.”¹⁴

Minority shareholders and donor organizations, in concert with host governments, can play a pivotal role in creating better outcomes for the majority—“redirecting the river”—by targeting their assistance for maximum influence on the deeper drivers of African development. Many in the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) have reached this conclusion over their long careers. The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) was founded on the understanding that governments of developing countries must have the incentive to rule well: encouraging economic freedom, investing in their people, and governing justly. They should be held accountable when they do not meet independently-verifiable standards. The “MCC-effect” has the dual impact of rewarding countries directly (through substantial transfers that are country-owned and led) and making MCC-qualification a benchmark that increases private investor confidence and unleashes even larger capital flows. There is a vital role for USAID to play in strengthening the institutional, physical, and governance infrastructure needed to meet MCC criteria, helping governments build a more equitable *enabling environment* for the majority of their citizens.

Development dollars are too scarce and too valuable to spend on disconnected programs that lack spread effects. Here, it is instructive to recall history: in the initial aid programs following World War II, analysts seldom spoke about “development projects.” Instead, they termed them “demonstration projects.” The difference? A development project is designed to assist a defined number of people for a period of time, while a demonstration project shows the benefits large numbers of people can derive from adopting approaches that have been tried, tested, and proven. Donor resources for Africa are insufficient to assist hundreds of millions directly, even if doing so were sustainable—which it is not. Self-adoption of approaches that create spread effects without outside assistance holds far more potential. The terms “replicability” and “scalability” have returned to the development lexicon after decades. They must be a growing part of the conversation.

There are other forms of targeted donor intervention that can have impact at scale. A prime example is mass vaccinations that reach very large numbers at low cost and lasting impact. Then there are targeted improvements to physical, economic and institutional infrastructure: creating a func-

tioning banking system, reducing the number of steps required to create a new business, clarifying land tenure rights, building value chains “from seed to supermarket,”—with attendant training, standards, financing, and other linkages that can foster local self-sustainment by self-interested parties. Physical infrastructure improvements lower transaction costs for all players in a region or economy. New communication technologies, as has already been demonstrated, create empowerment on a scale not known before. These positive dynamics can “bend the curve,” creating self-sustaining and large-scale impact without permanent donor support. In contrast, the sum of isolated projects is often not development but dependency.

AID THAT TARGETS THE TWIN IMPERATIVES FOR AFRICA'S SUCCESS

It is time to recognize that poverty alleviation and equitable growth—fundamental American values—are too big a task to take on through project-driven assistance alone. The harsh truth is that *government must* work if citizens are to improve their lot at scale. This is a significant challenge, because many countries have faltered precisely because of government dysfunction. Class, ethnic, and other competing interests make good governance difficult to achieve. Sustained and relatively equitable economic growth are twin imperatives for the continent's success. The international community recognizes this even as its programs don't always reflect this realization. African governments also increasingly recognize this, in response to newly empowered civil societies, local business people seeking to plug into the global economy, and the heightened interventions by Africa's influential diaspora communities. These governments' greatest challenge is working through the complexities of getting from *where they are to where they need to be*. This is where targeted donor assistance can be of the greatest value. Donor assistance needs a paradigm shift.

There is widespread optimism, particularly in the African and international private sectors, about the potential for economic growth and investment over the next 20 years. That optimism is tempered by the prospects—and recent reality—of conflict and disruptions, sometimes foreseeable and other times unexpected (such as the Tuareg uprising in Mali). As Sub-Saharan African countries are increasingly tied into the global economy and its social networks, it becomes difficult to predict how the African development landscape will change in coming years, as new opportunities and systemic shocks will test the resilience of each country. However, there are underlying drivers that will define the challenges that governments and donors must confront. The most predictable is demographics—in particular, Africa's unfolding “youth bulge.”

AFRICA'S YOUTH BULGE

Almost half of Africa's one billion people are fifteen years old or younger. Twenty five percent are between the ages of 15 and 25. Africa has the fastest growing population in the world. Even with effective family planning programs, demographic momentum is projected to take the population to over 2 billion by 2050.¹⁵ A recent Brookings study cites both the opportunities and dangers of the "youth bulge." Simply put, a large youth base *requires* economic dynamism. Japan and Europe demonstrate the pitfalls of a population pyramid increasingly tilted toward the elderly. But to play a dynamic role in economic growth and opportunity, young people need jobs and opportunity. Millions of young people will join the workforce each year, half of whom will be young women who have new access to ideas and ambition for equality—ideas that once they know, they cannot "un-know." Africa's women have a history of being strong, market savvy and productive. With education and opportunity, they are the greatest untapped resource on the continent.

The challenge is greater still. Youth unemployment currently stands at 40%.¹⁶ In addition to harnessing the continent's looming demographic "dividend," African states must sharply lower youth unemployment from its current, politically destabilizing rate. Over a hundred million additional jobs must be created by 2050.¹⁷ Who will create jobs and opportunity at this scale? It can only be accomplished through "good enough governance," sustained economic growth, and the potential for stability that they allow. It is unrealistic to expect these goals can be attained smoothly or quickly, and some countries will not get there any time soon. But unless Africa is encouraged to move in this direction by targeted international assistance, it is far more unrealistic to expect even highly-effective donor projects to be anything more than fading footprints in the sand.

In this interconnected world, the security of advanced economies is subject to growing risk *if* Africa's youth bulge does not find productive opportunity—whatever the source. In terms of curbing the penetration of violent extremist ideologies, the United States has a vital stake in Africa's continued economic success. If Africa achieves genuine "liftoff," by mid-century its middle class alone could be twice the size of the entire U.S. population. Indeed, the African Development Bank projects the African middle class will be 1.1 billion by 2060, almost four times the size of the current total U.S. population. This makes Africa an essential future market of American goods, services, and technologies. But it must be understood: Africa is no longer reliant on traditional Western partners. China, India, Brazil, South Korea and Russia are major new actors. Their addition is clearly a net plus for Africa, but it radically alters the competitive landscape for Western actors unused to encountering com-

petition on the continent.

These new actors stimulate economic growth, but their interest in good governance is less clear. They will certainly compete with the United States for resources, trade, and influence—something to be welcomed. But they also need to be incentivized toward the most responsible forms of *stakeholder* behavior, and that is unlikely without America's vigorous engagement. In this hotly competitive environment, acts of kindness will not suffice, for Africa or the United States. To truly do good in ways that will matter in Africa's history, the U.S. must think and act strategically.

It is time to reexamine the word "development," which comes attached to a vast infrastructure that too often implies dependency and assistance. An African family does not wake up and say, "In the next decade, we want to develop." They say, "We want to be more prosperous, safer, and have a chance at a better life for ourselves, our children, and their children." The process must be seen through their eyes to sharpen the understanding of why the next 20 years of "development" must be dramatically different from the past 50. It is time for a paradigm shift into the realm of mutual self-interest. The true definition of "country ownership" is when people, societies, institutions, and their governments shape their own future and determine their own destiny. Outsiders can help to enable that pathway, but they cannot traverse it. This journey is for Africans to undertake. Yet it is in the interest of all to build interconnected prosperity for this crowded planet.

SOURCES AND NOTES

1 Throughout this paper, the term "Africa" is used to refer to sub-Saharan Africa. The terms are used interchangeably

2 HIV/AIDS may have contributed to this decline. Population growth is likely to decline more slowly hereafter

3 Population Reference Bureau: 2014 World Population Data Sheet

4 Agriculture that is primarily rainfed, with no or little inputs such as fertilizer, or other investments, such as irrigation, soil and water conservation techniques

5 Source: UN Population Division

6 "Africa's Mobile Economic Revolution". The Guardian, July 23, 2011

7 "Internet Use on Mobile Phones in Africa Predicted to Increase 20-Fold". The Guardian, June 5, 2014

8 The "middle class" in Africa starts at a much lower dollar threshold than in the West or East Asia because of a lower cost of living. Some can slip back into poverty because they are just above the poverty line. The African Development Bank estimates the "stable middle class" – those well beyond the poverty line – is 123 million and growing rapidly.

9 In 1989, a British company turned down the opportunity to obtain cell phone rights in Nigeria for \$285 million, because of the stipulation that half a million cell phones must be in place within five years. MTN, a South African company, took the challenge. It reached the half million mark within 6 months. There are now 110 million cell phones in Nigeria.

10 Ernst and Young, survey of more than 562 global executives, called "It's Time for Africa," predicted that foreign direct investment (FDI) into the continent would reach \$150 billion by 2015 from \$84 billion in 2010.

11 "Foreign direct investment in Sub Saharan Africa on the rise" EY, Johannesburg and London, 15 May, 2014

12 FEWS-Net, USAID

13 "The New Aid Paradigm", Speech by Australian Foreign Minister, the Honourable Julie Bishop, National Press Club, Canberra, 2014

14 Managing Change. A. Shaikh and S. Schnrech, 1992.

15 Population Research Bureau

16 "Sub-Saharan Africa's Youth Bulge: A Demographic Dividend or Disaster?",

The Brookings Institution, January 5, 2012

17 This number is conservative. It could easily be twice this size. Estimating the exact number would be speculative. The key point is that it is an extremely large number.

Africa's Emergence: Challenges and Opportunities for the U.S.

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August 9 -14
Arusha Tanzania

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and Judy Benishek

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and David Brooks

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Africa's Emergence: Challenges and Opportunities for the U.S.

AGENDA

August 9 –14, 2015
Arusha, Tanzania

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8

American participants travel to Arusha

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9

Working Dinner

Scholars and members of Congress explored topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily.

MONDAY, AUGUST 10

A Political And Economic Survey of Sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) comprises 49 diverse countries, each with their own histories, levels of economic and political development, cultures, and languages. Many countries, including the United States, Europe, China, and Russia, view SSA as having strategic value for its oil, mineral resources, and land. Nonetheless, political instability and poverty may be factors feeding the growing radicalization of some groups. Since gaining independence, many African nations have experienced conflict and poverty while others have made great strides toward middle-income status. This session will survey the political geography of SSA, highlighting its politics, economic potential, and natural resources.

- Which African nations are experiencing high levels of economic growth? To what is this success attributed?
- To what degree does U.S. foreign assistance contribute to development?
- How has Africa's colonial past affected its political and economic development? To what extent are European nations still engaged with their former colonies?

- What are the current “hotspots” with regard to conflicts, and how do they affect U.S. interests?
- Some African countries have valuable natural resources, such as oil and minerals. How do these resources affect development?
- How well are the continent’s democracies functioning, and what are some of their challenges?

*Steve Radelet, Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Development,
School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University*

US SECURITY THREATS AND POLITICAL INTERESTS IN AFRICA

Continuing from the morning session, the discussion turned to the strategic interests of the United States with regard to ongoing and potential conflicts; the rise of militant groups such as al-Qaeda, al-Shabaab, and Boko Haram; disease outbreaks; and competition among nations for influence on the continent, to name just a few. The United States has taken a strong interest in Africa with a large number of development and trade initiatives. A military combatant command, AFRICOM, was stood up in 2006 to work with African militaries and to respond to humanitarian crises.

- What are the United States’ strategic interests in Africa?
- How severe is the threat of African Islamic extremist movements, and what has been the U.S. role in countering these movements? What other nations participate?
- What are the interests of China, Russia, and others in Africa; and how does it comport with U.S. goals?
- What is the role of AFRICOM in the region?
- How have countries that have experienced genocide, such as what occurred in Rwanda in the 1990s, recovered? What is the extent or probability of other genocides occurring?
- Peacekeeping troops have been stationed in response to which conflicts, and of those, in which is the United States leading or participating? What is the U.S. contribution to these efforts?

*Jendayi Frazer, former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs;
Executive Professor, Texas A&M University*

COUNTER-POACHING & COMMUNITY-BASED CONSERVATION

The epidemic of wildlife poaching and illicit trafficking continues to plague African nations. Tanzania, for example, has lost a staggering two thirds of its elephant population since 2009, with an estimated 10,000 elephants killed per year for their tusks. While the problem is complex and driven by high demand in Asia and the U.S., there are boots on the ground and men and women striving every day to combat poaching and to gain the support of communities in villages surrounding wildlife areas. Such efforts and community-based approaches can help turn the tide against poaching in Africa.

Jeremy Swanson, Conservation Director, The Honeyguide Foundation, Arusha, Tanzania

Working Lunch

We visited Arusha National Park, with commentary provided by ANP Chief Warden Betty Loiboki and Damian Bell and Jeremy Swanson from the Honeyguide Foundation, who will explain the impacts of poaching and the merits of conservation practices.

Working Dinner

Scholars and members of Congress explored topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11

ASSESSING THE U.S. ROLE IN AFRICAN AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SECURITY: HUMANITARIAN AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

It is estimated that the global population will grow to more than nine billion by 2050. Simultaneously, changing diets and increased urbanization will change demand, and environmental stresses will put pressures on agricultural productivity. Africa's agricultural development has been stagnant for several decades. Severe weather events, soil erosion, deforestation, pressures on water resources, and bad governance have produced some of the world's worst humanitarian crises and high levels of chronic hunger. The United States has committed significant resources to promote food security and agricultural development, and African nations have made similar commitments to raise productivity.

- How food insecure are populations in SSA, and what are the trends for the future? Have we left the era of starvation in Africa? What are the prospects of future episodes?
- Why should Americans care? What is the relevance of food insecurity in Africa to the United States? How does the United States benefit from these types of investments?
- To what extent is the current Feed the Future program addressing the needs of African farming?
- How do investments in the farm sector promote economic growth?
- How have U.S. producers reacted to supporting agricultural development outside the United States?
- How much does the United States export to Africa?
- What are the barriers to improving food security in Africa?
- What is the extent of African exports to the United States? What are the barriers to exporting more to the United States, Europe, and within the African continent?
- Does controversy surrounding genetic engineering, such as GMOs, in the United States and Europe prevent their use in Africa?

Robert Paarlberg, Adjunct Professor of Public Policy, Harvard University

Salif Romano Niang, Co-Founder, Malô SARL Trading, Bamako, Mali

Agnes Kalibata, President, Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa, Nairobi, Kenya

EXPANDING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AMONG SMALLHOLDER COMMUNITIES: A LYNCHPIN FOR AFRICA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH

Katy Button, Policy and External Relations Officer, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

Working Lunch

We visited smallholder farmers in Manyire, southeast of Arusha, who have learned to apply modern agricultural efficiencies and techniques to greatly expand their productivity of cassava and other crops, and they have organized as a group to market these yields collectively through “commercial villages.” The Expanded Commercial Village Processing Program, a project of Farm Concern International, targets 75,000 smallholder farmers in Kenya and Tanzania. With 70 percent of Tanzania’s population dependent on agriculture, the potential for increased yields and greater income through collaborative organization has the potential for significant positive economic impact in the country. Melinda Gates, Co-Chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Dan Glickman, former Secretary of Agriculture and Executive Director of the Aspen Institute Congressional Program, and Agnes Kalibata, President of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa President will elaborate on the results of this initiative and the larger implications for food security in Africa as it relates to U.S. policy interests.

Working Dinner

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WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12

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

There has been a wave of democratization in SSA with the majority of governments fully or nominally democratic. Despite this progress, a number of governments score poorly on Freedom House’s index of political freedoms. These deficits include limitations on the press, political organizations, civil society, and electoral transparency. In many areas, the rights of women are not protected: young women are subject to forced marriages, genital mutilation, and human trafficking. In others, religious sects face discrimination.

The role of democracy and the robustness of civil society is thought to significantly affect a country’s economic development. Many experts believe that economic development will come only when governments become more democratic and transparent. According to this view, democratic governments should be more willing to work for the benefit of their citizens on policies that support markets and growth while also rejecting corruption. A seemingly equal number of experts believe that citizens must be economically empowered before democracy will ever flourish.

According to this argument, wealthier citizens are able to put greater demands on governments to be more open and democratic. African nations offer a variety of examples all along this spectrum, some more successful than others.

- What appear to be the best ways to deepen democracy, as well as freedom of press, social media, and civil society?
- How vibrant is civil society in African nations, and to what extent do these organizations support democracies and economic development?
- What is the appropriate U.S. role in promoting democracy in Africa?

- How well do Africa's diverse religions co-exist? To what extent are some religious faithful persecuted?
- Some countries, such as Ethiopia, offer a model of steady economic growth amidst what some believe is a clear lack of democracy. Are other African states following this model? Is this a viable option?
- Other countries have both thriving democracies and economic growth. To what extent do democracy and economic growth work together?
- Can corruption contribute to the downfall of either the democracy-led or economic-led models, or does one model provide more opportunities for corruption to take hold?
- What is the role of U.S. development assistance in promoting economic growth and democracy, and is it effective?

Aidan Eyakuze, Executive Director, Twaweza East Africa, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

*Johnnie Carson, former Assistant Secretary of State for Africa;
Senior Advisor, U.S. Institute of Peace*

Working Lunch

We visited the Masaai Women's Workshop, a USAID/PEPFAR- funded project located in a poorer area of Arusha. Women are the primary labor force for household food production in Tanzania, and 30 percent in rural areas have no formal education. Lilian Badi of the NGO World Education explained how this initiative is designed to support vulnerable children by providing local women with not only a means of income to support their families, but also the added benefit of reducing HIV risk. Self-managed savings groups empower members to grow small businesses. Women make original handicrafts as a means of self-employment.

Working Dinner

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THURSDAY, AUGUST 13

US LEADERSHIP IN ADDRESSING HEALTH CONCERNS IN AFRICA: SUCCESSES AMONG CONTINUING CHALLENGES

The outbreak of Ebola in West Africa highlighted the poor health systems that exist in large swaths of the continent. With a lack of both facilities and a sufficient number of trained health care providers, the disease destroyed lives, families, and economies. Many believed that the U.S. fight against HIV/AIDS was helping to build the capacity of health systems to respond to a wide range of health issues. At the height of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, SSA was considered the poster child of bad practices with regard to disease management and treatment. Since the President's Emergency Plan for HIV/AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), prevalence rates have stabilized and even declined in some areas, and effective treatment has extended lives. African countries are increasingly taking on a greater role in prevention and treatment, with some observers urging wealthier countries, such as South Africa, to transition off PEPFAR funding. The quick spread of Ebola has raised concerns that other disease outbreaks will be equally difficult to contain despite more than a decade of PEPFAR support. In addition, malnutrition plagues many parts of the continent that suffer from food insecurity. The

prevention of stunting through better nutrition in the first 1,000 days has become a major focus at the same time that obesity is becoming more prevalent.

- Given the investments the U.S. has made with PEPFAR funds, what are the prospects of transitioning countries to other forms of health cooperation without undermining previous progress?
- Have U.S. programs helped to build the capacity of African countries to attend to the health needs of their citizens? Given the Ebola outbreak, what is the latest thinking on strengthening the capacity of health systems in Africa? What triggers international responsibility in the area of potential disease outbreak?
- How can future disease outbreaks be contained?
- How do food security and nutrition programs connect with broader health issues?
- What other current health challenges does the continent face?

*Dr. Mary Mwanyika-Sando, Deputy Chief Executive Officer,
Africa Academy for Public Health, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*

AFRICA AND THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE OF DEVELOPMENT: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF U.S. AID AMID NEW INITIATIVES, NEW ACTORS, AND NEW SOURCES OF FINANCING.

Following a recent international conference (Financing for Development, Ethiopia) and looking toward international endorsement of a new set of development targets (Sustainable Development Goals, or SDGs), traditional foreign assistance is now comprising a much smaller portion of international financial flows than in previous decades. This has led some observers to advocate for a greater role for trade and the private sector in promoting development. Equally, many major U.S. corporations see the continent as a growth market and are making significant investments. Yet hurdles to building a conducive business environment remain—largely in the form of corruption, infrastructure deficits, regulatory burdens, and a poorly educated workforce. At the same time, new actors such as China, India, and Brazil have become increasingly significant sources of foreign assistance and private investment. Even as aid is playing less of a role in international financial flows, there have been a number of new U.S. aid initiatives that reflect a greater commitment to transparency, accountability, and country ownership. Some of these programs, such as the Millennium Challenge Corporation, have a proven track record. Others, such as Partnership for Growth, the New Alliance for Food Security and Agriculture, Feed the Future, and Power Africa are still finding their way. An additional challenge is assisting countries that are experiencing or emerging from conflict. From Liberia to Rwanda, the Congo, and Sudan, resuming economic growth and development has been a challenge in areas with histories of conflict. The challenges in post-conflict states can be daunting, yet some are beating the odds.

- With the impressive growth rates in many African countries, how necessary is foreign assistance?
- To what extent, or when, can other forms of cooperation—in the form of trade and private investment for example—supplant assistance?
- How can the resources of developing countries be harnessed in conjunction with U.S. programs? What is domestic resource mobilization?
- What has been the role of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act in supporting development? What are its current limitations?
- How will the new Power Africa initiative incorporate a role for the private sector?
- How do multilateral organizations, such as regional development banks, support development?
- What are the SDGs, and to what extent are they important to U.S. programs and approaches?

*Steve Radelet, Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Development,
School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University*

Asif Shaikh, Senior Advisor, Center for Strategic & International Studies

Working Lunch

We visited Off-Grid Electric, an Arusha-based private entity that received significant USAID start-up support, as well as Overseas Private Investment Corporation engagement for the Power Africa initiative, with their solar home system service delivery and mobile payment model. OGE founder Erica Mackey will explain their ambitious goal of being in one million Tanzanian homes within the next two years. OGE's home offices are in San Francisco.

Working Dinner

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14

We met with Peace Corps volunteers Ven and Kelly Anderson, a couple teaching math and English respectively at Boloti Secondary School, outside the town of Moshi. Ven is from St. Paul, Kelly is from Minneapolis, and they have served for one year at this private, Lutheran boarding school.

A pair of strong teachers, they have parlayed the trust gained through quality teaching into effective secondary activities that address the cross-cutting sectors in which the volunteers are trained: food security, sustainable agriculture and malaria. They have worked with their students and staff colleagues in these areas, developing a perma-garden (along with a water project) to improve the soil while addressing nutrition education and serving as a field-training site. They have also engaged in bed net awareness and distribution through the Peace Corps' Stomp out Malaria Initiative. In all their extracurricular activities, Ven and Kelly depend on their students and colleagues to learn and bring those lessons home, and they have systems in place to encourage this extension of new ideas. Food security training of Peace Corps volunteers and their counterparts is funded through USAID's Feed the Future program and Stomp out Malaria work by PMI, the President's Malaria Initiative.

This school is a field laboratory, a venue at which participants can consider all the issues thought about and discussed, and sites visited, during the week, as well as how these issues can affect individuals, families, and their communities.

This Peace Corps site had added commentary from:

Carrie Hessler-Radelet, Director, The Peace Corps

Working Lunch

Participants depart this evening for return travel to the U.S.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15

Participants arrive in the U.S.

