

**DEVELOPMENT, DIPLOMACY, AND DEFENSE:
PROMOTING U.S. INTERESTS IN AFRICA**

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED FIFTEENTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

DECEMBER 12, 2018

Serial No. 115-176

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



Available: <http://www.foreignaffairs.house.gov/>, <http://docs.house.gov/>,
or <http://www.govinfo.gov>

U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLISHING OFFICE

33-669PDF

WASHINGTON : 2018

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EDWARD R. ROYCE, California, *Chairman*

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey
ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, Florida
DANA ROHRBACHER, California
STEVE CHABOT, Ohio
JOE WILSON, South Carolina
MICHAEL T. McCAUL, Texas
TED POE, Texas
DARRELL E. ISSA, California
TOM MARINO, Pennsylvania
MO BROOKS, Alabama
PAUL COOK, California
SCOTT PERRY, Pennsylvania
MARK MEADOWS, North Carolina
TED S. YOHO, Florida
ADAM KINZINGER, Illinois
LEE M. ZELDIN, New York
DANIEL M. DONOVAN, JR., New York
F. JAMES SENSENBRENNER, JR.,
Wisconsin
ANN WAGNER, Missouri
BRIAN J. MAST, Florida
FRANCIS ROONEY, Florida
BRIAN K. FITZPATRICK, Pennsylvania
THOMAS A. GARRETT, JR., Virginia
JOHN R. CURTIS, Utah
VACANT

ELIOT L. ENGEL, New York
BRAD SHERMAN, California
GREGORY W. MEEKS, New York
ALBIO SIRES, New Jersey
GERALD E. CONNOLLY, Virginia
THEODORE E. DEUTCH, Florida
KAREN BASS, California
WILLIAM R. KEATING, Massachusetts
DAVID N. CICILLINE, Rhode Island
AMI BERA, California
LOIS FRANKEL, Florida
TULSI GABBARD, Hawaii
JOAQUIN CASTRO, Texas
ROBIN L. KELLY, Illinois
BRENDAN F. BOYLE, Pennsylvania
DINA TITUS, Nevada
NORMA J. TORRES, California
BRADLEY SCOTT SCHNEIDER, Illinois
THOMAS R. SUOZZI, New York
ADRIANO ESPAILLAT, New York
TED LIEU, California

AMY PORTER, *Chief of Staff* THOMAS SHEEHY, *Staff Director*
JASON STEINBAUM, *Democratic Staff Director*

CONTENTS

	Page
WITNESSES	
The Honorable Tibor P. Nagy, Jr., Assistant Secretary, Bureau of African Affairs, U.S. Department of State	4
Mr. Ramsey Day, Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Africa, U.S. Agency for International Development	16
LETTERS, STATEMENTS, ETC., SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING	
The Honorable Tibor P. Nagy, Jr.: Prepared statement	8
Mr. Ramsey Day: Prepared statement	18
APPENDIX	
Hearing notice	56
Hearing minutes	57
The Honorable David Cicilline, a Representative in Congress from the State of Rhode Island: Material submitted for the record	59

DEVELOPMENT, DIPLOMACY, AND DEFENSE: PROMOTING U.S. INTERESTS IN AFRICA

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 2018

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:00 a.m., in room 2172 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Edward Royce (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Mr. ROYCE. This hearing will come to order. This hearing is on Development, Diplomacy, and Defense: Promoting U.S. Interests in Africa, and today we will hear from the administration on U.S. policy toward Africa. This is particularly timely as tomorrow the administration will roll out a new Africa strategy.

There is longstanding bipartisan consensus in Congress that the U.S. must be fully engaged on the continent of Africa. U.S. diplomacy and assistance saves lives. It increases our security. It builds capacity. It advances conservation. It spurs economic opportunity for both Americans and Africans.

Africa is a continent of immense opportunity and challenge, blessed with tremendous resources, newly empowered consumers, entrepreneurial youth. In many places, this means significant potential for U.S. companies to increase their trade and investment. In other areas, however, despotic leaders continue to exploit power and pilfer resources for personal gain, ignoring pressing social and economic needs.

Meanwhile, unfortunately, in some parts of Africa, terrorists and transnational criminal organizations have found safe haven in vast, ungoverned spaces. This committee has been at the forefront in responding to these opportunities and challenges. Landmark legislation like the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act and Electrify Africa have energized U.S. economic engagement on the continent, and more recently the President signed into law the BUILD Act which increases our ability to support private sector investment.

These and other initiatives are helping the next generation of entrepreneurs and civil society leaders to create jobs in their communities and demand more accountability from their governments. Improved health, thanks in large part to programs like PEPFAR and the Global Food Security Act, means Africans are living longer and healthier lives.

The committee has also been a leader in efforts to crack down on poaching and illicit trafficking so that elephants and rhinos and magnificent natural resources are preserved and local communities

there benefit rather than be plundered by criminal and terrorist organizations. In tackling these challenges, we shouldn't engage with only the countries who are our friends. Our interests are diverse and continent-wide. We simply must work in the toughest places to defend these interests.

And we know what happens when the U.S. fails to engage. We know who fills that void, it is China and Russia. They already are by ramping up business investment, access to finance, arms sales, and military partnerships. Several of us on the committee have seen this firsthand. Last year, China opened its first permanent military base co-located with the U.S. base in Djibouti. We must get this right. Our diplomatic, economic, and national security interests are at stake.

We must deploy adequate resources to support our interests in Africa. We must continue to not back away from building partner capacity, to improve security, to foster trade, to foster economic development, strengthen health systems, combat wildlife trafficking, and support good governance. We must be steadfast in our support of the men and women, Americans and Africans, working to advance democracy, stability, peace, to ultimately create better lives. That is the foundation of an effective Africa strategy.

And I would like to thank Ranking Member Eliot Engel, as well as Chairman Chris Smith, and Ranking Member Karen Bass of the Africa Subcommittee for their dedication to these issues. This is my last hearing as chairman of this committee. It has been the honor of a lifetime to work with my colleagues to strengthen our country and advance neoliberal values worldwide. I am forever grateful to your support.

And, lastly, I want to thank Staff Director Tom Sheehy and Chief of Staff Amy Porter who are leaving the committee. They have been essential to our many successes. I now turn to the ranking member, Mr. Eliot Engel.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for calling this hearing. As you mentioned, I am guessing this will be the final hearing of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the 115th Congress and, Mr. Chairman, your final hearing as chairman. And so, this is a fitting subject to focus on, because there is not a member of this body who has done more than you when it comes to American engagement across the African continent.

Legislation to expand access to reliable electricity, to provide better sources of food and nutrition, to crack down on wildlife trafficking and the criminal networks responsible for it, to help foster growth and development and stability. Bill after bill after bill passed through this committee and the Congress are now law, thanks to the leadership and vision of Chairman Ed Royce.

And the committee's work on Africa has looked like the vast majority of the work this committee has done under Ed's chairmanship. It has been thoughtful, it has been bipartisan, it has reflected the commitment of this committee's members to push legislation that advances American interests and values leaving politics aside.

So, Ed, let me just thank you for the way you have run this committee. If I am elected chairman by the Democratic caucus it is my full intention to handle things with the same sort of fairness and collegiality that you have. So I want to thank you for everything

you have done. Thank you for being our colleague, thank you for being our friend. And we have made the lives of countless people better because of your hard efforts.

We always say that the Foreign Affairs Committee is the most bipartisan committee in Congress and we always say that partisanship should stop at the water's edge. And that is what you and I have tried to do and it has been a pleasure working next to you and working with you. Thank you.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you.

Mr. ENGEL. Turning to today's hearing, I want to welcome our witnesses. It has been rare in the last few years that we have had administration officials before the committee, so we hope this begins a new trend. So we are glad to see you.

We have seen a number of promising developments in Africa lately. In Senegal, a new Millennium Challenge Corporation compact worth more than \$5 billion will help meet the growing demand for reliable electricity in one of Africa's fastest-growing economies. In Ethiopia, after months of protests in a violent, destabilizing crackdown, the Prime Minister committed to reform has risen to power. We need to help sustain the momentum of the country's positive trajectory.

Nigeria's elections, planned for February of next year, will be massively consequential. The progress Nigeria has made demonstrates the importance of continued American support for Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission and other organizations like it.

At the same time, we are keeping an eye on some seriously troubling trends when it comes to human rights: In Uganda, the arrest and torture of opposition politicians even as that country receives massive American counterterrorism assistance; in Tanzania, crackdowns on free speech and press along with threats to the LGBTQ community; Cameroon's longtime leader just elected to a seventh term continues to cling to power in the face of a growing insurgency; and Zimbabwe, where July's elections were marred by fraud and intimidation and where the government has shown little interest in enacting desperately needed reforms.

So there are plenty of areas that demand our continued focus and I think that we need to work hard to make sure that these things are taken care of. After the Nigerian army massacred 40 unarmed civilians, they tweeted a clip of the President suggesting our own military use lethal force against asylum seekers on our southern border.

In August, the President tweeted a white nationalist conspiracy theory that offended our partners in South Africa, a country to which he has nominated an Ambassador. And in January, the President referred to African countries in general using a term that I won't repeat here. So these words send a troubling message, but our country's actions are even more important and that is why I am opposed to the administration's trying to slash funding for global health efforts.

The ongoing Ebola outbreak in the DRC's North Kivu province is the second largest in history and the region is so unstable that we have had to withdraw CDC personnel from the area. This crisis underscores why strong funding for global health is so critical. We

want countries to be able to stop epidemics quickly and effectively, hopefully before they start and definitely before they reach our shores. So we can't go along with fewer resources and it troubles me that the administration seems to be pushing in that direction.

And, broadly speaking, we should not have a foreign policy of withdrawal and isolation because we leave a void that our adversaries are only too happy to fill. Africa is a prime example. If we fail to stay engaged, there is no doubt that China and Russia will swoop in and exert influence. In my view, we simply cannot let that happen. So I am eager to hear from our witnesses about how we are going to advance American interests and values in this critical region.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you again and I want to point out the wonderful work that Karen Bass and Chris Smith have done in order to get to the point where we are really making a difference in people's lives. So thank you again, I yield back.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you very much, Mr. Engel. I appreciate it, Eliot.

So this morning I am pleased to welcome the Honorable Tibor Nagy, Jr. and Mr. Ramsey Day to the committee. Ambassador Tibor Nagy currently serves as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. Prior to his appointment, he served as U.S. Ambassador to Ethiopia, Ambassador to Guinea, and as the Deputy Chief of Mission in Nigeria. In total, Ambassador Nagy has 20 years of experience working across Africa.

Ramsey Day is with us, currently serving as the Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator for Africa at USAID. Previously, Mr. Day was the Senior Director for the Center for Global Impact at the International Republican Institute. He has held numerous positions within the international development and foreign policy communities both in the United States and various overseas posts.

And so we appreciate you both being with us today. Without objection, the witnesses' full prepared statements will be made part of the record. Members will have 5 calendar days to submit any statements or questions or extraneous material for the record.

Before proceeding, I would like to take a moment and recognize in the audience Florie Liser of the Corporate Council on Africa for her steadfast leadership to increase trade and investment in Africa; Troy Fitrell, who worked as a fellow on this committee, is just back from serving as Deputy Chief of Mission in Addis Ababa, in Addis; Kathleen Moody of the State Department who has been working on African issues for as long as I have; Tony Carroll who is with us, former Peace Corps, who has testified in front of this committee before on Africa.

So, and we see many other old African hands in the audience as well, so it is great to have you with us here in the audience. And so, Ambassador Nagy, I would ask you, please summarize your remarks. Thank you.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE TIBOR P. NAGY, JR., ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you, Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, members of the committee for the opportunity to testify

today on U.S. policy toward Africa, and to my colleague and friend, Ramsey Day of USAID, here with me today. I also want to express my gratitude and on behalf of the Africa Bureau at the State Department to Chairman Royce for his decades of service to Africa, Africa relations, and other members for your longstanding interest in Africa.

Today's hearing comes at an opportune time. We are at a critical juncture for the relationship between the United States and the nations and people of Africa. Africa faces an uncertain and challenging, but by no means predetermined future. The choices we make now will affect not only our relationship with the continent but will have ramifications worldwide.

Africa is facing a demographic tsunami. Its population will double by 2050 to around 2.5 billion people, 50 percent of whom will be under the age of 24. Challenges with infrastructure, corruption, and terrorism continue, and China is asserting itself on the continent economically, militarily, and politically.

We must remain a positive alternative and make clear that engaging with the United States will mean greater prosperity and security for Africa. I am very fortunate to be in my current position. Virtually, my entire career centered on Africa, much of it living there in eight different countries.

Since my first diplomatic assignment 40 years ago, Africa has changed dramatically. I recently concluded two trips to the continent in West Africa and East Africa where I also addressed the African Union. Let me assure you of this, our potential with Africa is limitless. With every challenge there is opportunity and we must capitalize on our successes.

Here, I would like to articulate some of the focus areas of the Bureau of African Affairs. First, we are promoting stronger trade and commercial ties between the United States and Africa, working with our African partners to build a level playing field across the continent's markets. African governments need to increase transparency and fairness in their commercial environments to attract more business and have predictable policies, laws conforming to international standards, and a credible dispute resolution process.

Second, more than 60 percent of sub-Saharan Africa or 600 million people is below the age of 25, representing 40 percent of sub-Saharan Africa's unemployed. We are working to match American investment and ingenuity with a dynamism and entrepreneurial spirit of young Africans, anchoring them to their countries and keeping them from resorting to migration, militancy, or crime.

The third area is working to advance peace and security through partnerships with African governments and effective regional mechanisms. Finally, we are focused on countering the Chinese narrative and setting the record straight. The United States has a longstanding commitment to Africa as a partner positively supporting economic growth, good governance, rule of law, enhance gender equality and the health of the African people.

Let me begin with the promotion of stronger trade and investment ties. Everywhere I speak to an African audience I emphasize we seek to do business not just in Africa but with Africa. Our promotion of free trade agreements with the United States communicates to Africans that transparency, fairness, and good govern-

ance attract U.S. investment and we hope to negotiate a first-ever free trade agreement with a sub-Saharan country.

Trade has greatly expanded. Under the African Growth and Opportunity Act, from 2000 to 2016, U.S. investment in sub-Saharan Africa increased from \$7 billion to \$29 billion, providing opportunities for hundreds of thousands of Africans.

Since 2000, U.S. exports to Africa rose from 6 to more than \$14 billion last year, and U.S. imports from Africa total nearly \$25 billion. The total two-way trade of \$39 billion in 2017, up 5.8 percent from 2015. The U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation provides assistance to the world's poorest countries who demonstrate commitment to good governance, economic freedom, and investing in their citizens.

This week I attended a ceremony with Secretary Pompeo where MCC and the Government of Senegal signed a \$550 million compact that will modernize Senegal's power sector to increase economic growth and reduce poverty through improved access to electricity. The BUILD Act, and thank you very much to Congress for the BUILD Act which President Trump signed into law in October with strong bipartisan support, will establish the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation. This new law consolidates, modernizes, and reforms the U.S. Government's development finance capabilities.

Africa is the largest regional exposure totaling more than \$6 billion and the BUILD Act will help mobilize additional private sector investment. With our second focus, we go beyond investing in Africa to invest in Africans. Through the Young African Leaders Initiative or YALI, we equip the next generation of Africans with leadership and entrepreneurship skills. The YALI network, a virtual community of more than .5 million members, helps young Africans develop skills and connections needed to make change in their communities.

Our third focus, promoting peace and security, is essential to secure Africa's opportunities and prosperity. We support African-led efforts against terrorism and other transnational threats. U.S. assistance has brought some success in the Lake Chad region, Somalia, and elsewhere. And we seek burden-sharing opportunities with non-African actors as well.

We have provided training to peacekeepers from more than 20 African countries with substantial impact. Ten years ago, Africans comprised only 40 percent of the continent's peacekeepers. Now that figure has exceeded 60 percent. U.S.-funded programming is vital to these forces as it is to the G5 Sahel Joint Force and African-driven efforts in the Lake Chad region to counter terrorism in West Africa.

Our African partners are working to ensure stability and defeat terrorist organizations in East Africa as well. The AMISOM mission composed of regional states is helping Somalia become more stable and prosperous and we are providing development and security assistance to the Somalis to govern themselves. Additionally, we support efforts by African partners to strengthen their maritime and border security and their efforts to address trafficking in arms, drugs, and wildlife.

Finally, we want to be clear to all Africans that the United States has an unwavering commitment to the continent shown through our longstanding partnerships and support for good governance, security, human rights and economic growth, and provision of humanitarian assistance. African countries should know that some infrastructure projects and seemingly attractive loan terms from other countries can lead down a dangerous path to indebtedness, loan defaults, and concessionary extraction of natural resources stifling the economic growth needed to create jobs.

In contrast, the United States is pursuing sustainable alternatives for African growth and development. U.S. programs like AGOA, PEPFAR, Power Africa, and Feed the Future opened the U.S. market to African goods, countered HIV/AIDS, brought electricity to rural areas, protected vulnerable women and children, supported youth entrepreneurship, and helped Africans in innumerable ways.

As we continue to engage with Africa we must assess how to best work with each country and multilateral institution to advance our mutual interest and priorities. The State Department cannot do this alone. We need to continually synchronize our approach among all elements of national power. Only by balancing resources among development, diplomacy, and defense can we speak with a coordinated voice to the governments and the people of Africa.

I do not exaggerate when I say Africa is the continent of the future, but a future envisioned by Africans and not one seen as forced upon them, and success must ultimately come from developing African solutions to African problems. We must look at Africa through the windshield not through the rearview mirror.

Thank you for the opportunity to speak today. I look forward to your support as our nation continues our engagement with Africa.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Nagy follows:]

**Statement of Assistant Secretary Tibor Nagy
Bureau of African Affairs, U.S. Department of State
House Foreign Affairs Committee
“Development, Diplomacy, and Defense: Promoting U.S. Interests in Africa”
Wednesday, December 12, 2018**

Thank you Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, and Members of the Committee for the opportunity to testify today on U.S. policy toward Africa, and to my colleague and friend Ramsey Day of USAID here with me today. I also want to express my gratitude to Chairman Royce and other members for your longstanding interest in Africa.

Today’s hearing comes at an opportune time. We are at a critical juncture for the relationship between the United States and the nations and people of Africa. Africa faces an uncertain and challenging, but by no means predetermined, future. The choices we make now will affect not only our relationship with the continent, but will have ramifications worldwide.

Africa is facing a demographic tsunami. Its population will double by 2050 to around 2.5 billion people, 50 percent of whom will be under the age of 24. Challenges with infrastructure, corruption and terrorism continue, and China is asserting itself on the continent economically, militarily, and politically. We must remain a positive alternative, and make clear that engaging with the United States will mean greater prosperity and security for Africa.

I am very fortunate to be in my current position. Virtually my entire career centered on Africa, much of it living there in eight different countries. Since my first diplomatic assignment forty years ago, Africa has changed dramatically.

I recently concluded two trips to the continent, in West Africa and East Africa, where I also addressed the African Union. Let me assure you of this: Our potential with Africa is limitless! With every challenge there is opportunity, and we must capitalize on our successes.

Here I would like to articulate some of the focus areas of the Bureau of African Affairs.

First, we are promoting stronger trade and commercial ties between the United States and Africa, working with our African partners to build a level playing field across the continent's markets. African governments need to increase transparency and fairness in their commercial environments to attract more business, and have predictable policies, laws conforming to international standards, and a credible dispute resolution process.

Second, more than 60 percent of sub-Saharan Africa, 600 million people, is below the age of 25, representing 40 percent of sub-Saharan Africa's unemployed. We are working to match American investment and ingenuity with the dynamism and entrepreneurial spirit of young Africans; anchoring them to their countries, and keeping them from resorting to migration, militancy, or crime.

A third area is working to advance peace and security through partnerships with African governments and effective regional mechanisms.

Finally, we are focused on countering the Chinese narrative and setting the record straight. The United States has a longstanding

commitment to Africa, as a partner positively supporting economic growth, good governance, rule of law, enhanced gender equality, and health of the African people.

Let me begin with the promotion of stronger trade and investment ties. Everywhere I speak to an African audience, I emphasize we seek to do business not just **in** Africa, but **with** Africa.

Our promotion of free trade agreements with the United States communicates to Africans that transparency, fairness, and good governance attract U.S. investment, and we hope to negotiate a first-ever Free Trade Agreement with a Sub-Saharan African country.

Trade has greatly expanded. Under the African Growth and Opportunity Act, or AGOA, from 2000 to 2016 U.S. investment in sub-Saharan Africa increased from seven to 29 billion dollars, providing opportunities for hundreds of thousands of Africans. Since 2000, U.S. exports to Africa rose from six to more than 14 billion dollars last year, and U.S. imports from Africa totaled nearly 25 billion dollars, a total two-way trade of 39 billion dollars in 2017, up 5.8 percent from 2015.

The U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation provides assistance to the world's poorest countries who demonstrate commitment to good governance, economic freedom, and investing in their citizens. This week, I attended a ceremony with Secretary Pompeo where MCC and the Government of Senegal signed a 550 million dollar compact that will modernize Senegal's power sector to increase economic growth and reduce poverty through improved access to electricity.

The BUILD Act, which President Trump signed into law in October with strong bipartisan support, will establish the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation. This new law consolidates, modernizes and reforms the U.S. government's "development finance" capabilities. Africa is the largest regional exposure totaling more than six billion dollars and the BUILD Act will help mobilize additional private sector investment.

With our second focus, we go beyond investing in **Africa**, to investing in **Africans**.

Through the Young African Leaders Initiative, or YALI, we equip the next generation of Africans with leadership and entrepreneurship

skills. The YALI Network, a virtual community of more than a half million members, helps young Africans develop skills and connections needed to make change in their communities.

Our third focus, promoting peace and security, is essential to secure Africa's opportunities and prosperity. We support African-led efforts against terrorism and other transnational threats. U.S. assistance has brought some success in the Lake Chad region, Somalia and elsewhere, and we seek burden-sharing opportunities with non-African actors as well.

We have provided training to peacekeepers from more than 20 African countries, with substantial impact. Ten years ago, Africans comprised only 40 percent of the continent's peacekeepers. Now that figure has exceeded 60 percent. U.S.-funded programming is vital to these forces, as it is to the G5 Sahel Joint Force and African-driven efforts in the Lake Chad region to counter terrorism in West Africa.

Our African partners are working to ensure stability and defeat terrorist organizations in East Africa as well. The AMISOM mission composed of regional states is helping Somalia become more stable and

prosperous, and we are providing development and security assistance so the Somalis can govern themselves.

Additionally, we support efforts by African partners to strengthen their maritime and border security and their efforts to address trafficking in arms, drugs, and wildlife.

Finally, we want to be clear to all Africans that the United States has an unwavering commitment to the continent, shown through our long-standing partnerships and support for good governance, security, human rights and economic growth, and provision of humanitarian assistance.

African countries should know that some infrastructure projects and seemingly attractive loan terms from other countries can lead down a dangerous path to indebtedness, loan defaults, and concessionary extraction of natural resources stifling the economic growth needed to create jobs.

In contrast, the United States is pursuing sustainable alternatives for African growth and development. U.S. programs like AGOA, PEPFAR, Power Africa, and Feed the Future opened the U.S. market to

African goods, countered HIV/AIDS, brought electricity to rural areas, protected vulnerable women and children, supported youth entrepreneurship, and helped Africans in innumerable ways.

As we continue to engage with Africa, we must assess how to best work with each country and multilateral institutions to advance our mutual interests and priorities.

The State Department cannot do this alone; we need to continually synchronize our approach among all elements of national power. Only by balancing resources among development, diplomacy, and defense can we speak with a coordinated voice to the governments, and the people, of Africa.

I do not exaggerate when I say Africa is the continent of the future, but a future envisioned by Africans and not one seen as forced upon them, and success must ultimately come from developing African solutions to African problems. We must look at Africa through the windshield, NOT through the rear-view mirror.

Thank you for the opportunity to speak today. I look forward to your support as our nation continues our engagement with Africa.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Ambassador.

Mr. Day? And feel free, Mr. Day, to just summarize those remarks. Try to keep to 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF MR. RAMSEY DAY, SENIOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU FOR AFRICA, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Chairman.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, sir.

Mr. DAY. Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, members of the committee, I am grateful for the opportunity to testify before you today. I would like to extend a special thank you to the committee and your colleagues in Congress whose longtime bipartisan commitment to the peoples of the African continent provides the foundation for USAID programs and the springboard for their success.

And while challenges remain, I truly believe that Africa's future is bright. The investments and commitment of the American people to the people of Africa are paying off and USAID has set its priorities to capitalize on the region's emerging opportunities. Under Administrator Green's leadership, USAID is focusing its resources in places where the conditions are right to establish and sustain progress.

U.S. assistance in Africa certainly saves lives and it also spurs trade and investment and advances peace and security. Take the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief or PEPFAR, this program is a powerful expression of the compassion and generosity of the American people. In 2016, a PEPFAR assessment showed the first evidence of the epidemic becoming controlled in three key African countries—Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

These same countries have reduced the new HIV infections by as much as 75 percent since the start of the PEPFAR program. And with continued focus, the U.S. Government is poised to help control the HIV epidemic in ten African countries over the next 4 years. The United States is also the world's leading humanitarian donor. USAID provides humanitarian assistance across the continent including in Nigeria, South Sudan, and Somalia where conflict and instability are fueling food insecurity and displacement.

USAID experts have also been deployed to the Democratic Republic of Congo or DRC to help respond to the current Ebola crisis. But even as USAID mobilizes the best of American generosity, we also work to prepare for future shocks and equip countries with the tools they will need to feed themselves.

USAID is also highly focused on the immense trade and international investment opportunities, which we believe is the fastest way for Africa to boost its economic growth, which is in the interest of the United States. We believe that African nations can tap the trillions of dollars in private sector resources needed to advance the continent's development and ultimately eliminate the need for unsustainable foreign-backed loans.

One area where we are using a market approach or private sector engagement is the power sector, an area where we greatly appreciate Chairman Royce's leadership with the enactment of the Electrify Africa Act. Power Africa, a whole of government effort led

by USAID, employs a partnership approach to engage U.S. Government agencies, international donors and finance institutions, host country counterparts, and of course the private sector. Power Africa has helped add over 12.5 million new electrical connections, which means more than 57 million people have access to electricity who did not have access prior to the initiative's launch.

USAID Trade and Investment Hubs in Africa are helping to transform African economies and deepen the U.S.-Africa trade and investment relationship. They reduce regional trade barriers and promote trade and investment under the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act or AGOA, legislation that this committee championed. The Trade and Investment Hubs have also directly leveraged \$1.3 billion in African exports under AGOA and many of the jobs created are held by women who tend to invest job-related income into their families and communities.

However, we can't talk about successful economic future for African countries without addressing peace and security. USAID works with our African partners to address the underlying factors that allow transnational crime, violent extremism, and internal conflict to flourish. Working in partnership with African governments and civil society, our support strengthens institutions; protects the democratic gains that have been made all across the continent.

USAID is also combating the threat of wildlife trafficking in countries across sub-Saharan Africa. USAID and its partners are making it more difficult for people to poach, move, and sell wildlife products across borders. This helps secure our natural resources and fight the criminal networks that threaten security and the rule of law and ultimately undermine development progress.

Our focus is on helping countries on their journey to self-reliance. USAID's goal is to end the need for foreign assistance. As Administrator Green has said, it is our core belief that each country must lead its own development journey. We are focusing on ending the need for foreign assistance not because we wish to retreat from our friends, but because we believe in them.

If a country is willing to take on the difficult journey to self-reliance, we want to walk alongside them along that journey. At USAID, we are looking toward the day when the transition to a new kind of relationships that move beyond traditional assistance and enduring relationships, a relationship in which countries move from recipients of aid to partners to even fellow donors.

And on a personal note, I am truly honored to be here today. I am deeply committed to USAID's goals and the integrated role that USAID plays with the Department of State as well as the Department of Defense in advancing U.S. policy and national security objectives. So thank you for the opportunity to be here and I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Day follows:]

Statement of Ramsey Day
Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Africa
United States Agency for International Development
Before the
House Foreign Affairs Committee
on
DECEMBER 12, 2018

Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, members of the Committee, I am grateful for the opportunity to testify before you today as the Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for Africa at the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). I would like to extend a special thank you to this Committee and your colleagues in Congress, whose long-time bipartisan commitment to the peoples of the African continent has provided the foundation for USAID programs and the springboard for their success. Whether meeting with you here in Washington or at USAID missions overseas, USAID staff always value the opportunity to discuss the Agency's work and demonstrate how our investments there are making a difference in people's lives.

Some Americans see only Africa's seemingly intractable problems, but I truly believe that Africa's future is bright. The investments and commitment of the American people to the people of Africa are paying off, and USAID has set its priorities to capitalize on the region's emerging opportunities. Under Administrator Green's leadership, USAID is focusing its resources, policy tools, and engagement in places where the conditions are right to establish and sustain progress.

U.S. assistance in Africa saves lives; spurs trade and investment, and advances peace and security.

Take the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) for example. This program is a powerful expression of the compassion and generosity of the American people. In 2016, a PEPFAR assessment showed the first evidence of the epidemic becoming controlled in three key African countries: Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. These same countries have also reduced new HIV infections by as much as 76 percent since the start of PEPFAR. With continued aggressive focus, analysis, and partner alignment, the U.S. Government is poised to help control the HIV epidemic in 10 African countries over the next four years. PEPFAR has provided 12.8 million men, women and children in sub-Saharan Africa with antiretroviral medicine, meaning they can now live long, healthy lives with HIV.

We are also seeing progress on The U.S. President's Malaria Initiative. In fact, this past January, during the 30th African Union Summit, Madagascar, The Gambia, Senegal and Zimbabwe were honored for reducing malaria cases by more than 20 percent from 2015 to 2016. PEPFAR and the U.S. President's Malaria Initiative together have significantly improved the health status of Africans, especially children. Under-five mortality rates in Africa dropped 50 percent between 2000 and 2015.

We work through PEPFAR and with all of our partners in the fight against these devastating diseases to empower communities and countries to gradually assume ownership of their own healthcare challenges. That means incentivizing reforms, strengthening in-country capacity. We are helping prepare a generation to claim their rightful leadership roles, propelling them on their journey to self-reliance.

USAID's generosity extends beyond development. The United States is also the world's leading humanitarian donor. USAID is providing humanitarian assistance across the continent, including in Nigeria, South Sudan, and Somalia, where conflict and instability are fueling food insecurity and displacement. USAID disaster response experts have been deployed to the Democratic Republic of the Congo to help respond to the current Ebola crisis there and we continue to support Ebola preparedness efforts in neighboring countries. And even as USAID mobilizes the best of American generosity to feed hungry people and provide lifesaving aid, we also work to prepare vulnerable populations against future shocks and equip countries with the tools they will need to feed themselves.

In a country like South Sudan, which has been embroiled in conflict for the past 5 years, I saw firsthand that USAID assistance is literally saving the lives of women, men, and children, providing clean water, basic health care, and emergency food to people across the country. I visited South Sudan this past May and was incredibly inspired by what USAID is doing to assist the people and uplift the country. From life-saving food and nutrition assistance for infants on the brink of starvation, to a youth center where young people learn computer skills and access the Internet, television and radio, to a traditional authorities court that helps resolve disputes and break cycles of violence, USAID is making an impact.

USAID also looks to the opportunities presented by trade and international investments – they are among the fastest ways for Africa to boost its economic growth, which is in the interest of the U.S. We advance enterprise-driven solutions to unlock the continent's growing markets. We work closely with the private sector to identify and resolve the binding constraints to investment. We believe that by leveling the playing field for free, fair, transparent investment, African nations can increasingly tap the trillions of dollars in private-sector resources needed to advance the continent's development and ultimately eliminate the need for unsustainable foreign-backed loans.

One area where we are using a market approach -- or private sector engagement -- is the power sector, an area where we greatly appreciate Chairman Royce's leadership with the enactment of the Electrify Africa Act. Nearly two out of three people in sub-Saharan Africa do not have access to electricity, which limits access to quality health care, education, and economic opportunities for more than 600 million people.

Power Africa, a whole-of-government effort with the Departments of Commerce, Energy, and others, but led by USAID, employs a partnership approach to engage U.S. Government agencies, international donors and finance institutions, host-country counterparts, and the private sector, to level the playing field and encourage investments in electricity infrastructure.

Power Africa, along with more than 160 public- and private-sector partners, about half of which are U.S. companies, seeks to add 30,000 megawatts and 60 million connections of electricity in sub-Saharan Africa by 2030. Partnering in this way has leveraged billions of dollars in additional financing critical for development of the sector.

To date, Power Africa has helped 119 projects, comprising over 9,500 megawatts, reach financial close. Power Africa has helped add 12.5 million new electrical connections, which means more than 57 million people have access to electricity who did not have access prior to the initiative's launch.

Additionally, through Power Africa's investment in Beyond the Grid, USAID is helping to accelerate off-grid electricity access, focusing on two strategic priorities – household solar and micro-grids – to add 25-30 million new connections by 2030, in support of achieving Power Africa's overall goal.

Another facet of our work seeks to enhance the ability of African businesses to supply the U.S. market.

In Madagascar, where 80 percent of the world's vanilla is sourced, USAID partnered with Baltimore-based McCormick and Company and the National Cooperative Business Association to counter the corruption degrading the quality of vanilla exports. The result is better wages for farmers in Madagascar and direct access to high-quality products for American businesses.

In addition, USAID's Trade and Investment Hubs in East, West, and Southern Africa help to transform African economies and deepen the U.S.-Africa trade and investment relationship. They work on the ground to reduce regional trade barriers, deepen regional economic integration and promote trade and investment under the African Growth and Opportunity Act, legislation that this committee championed. The Trade and Investment Hubs have directly leveraged \$1.3 billion in African exports under AGOA.

The Trade and Investment Hubs attract investment and leverage private-sector partnerships with businesses ranging from micro-enterprises to multinational corporations.

Since 2010, the Trade and Investment Hubs have created 46,000 African jobs. Many of these jobs are held by women who tend to invest job-related income into their families and communities. The Trade and Investment Hubs have also assisted 2,300 private enterprises and non-governmental organizations working on food security.

Across sub-Saharan Africa, growth in agriculture has been associated with reductions in extreme poverty. The Global Food Security Act continues to demonstrate the U.S.'s commitment to ending global poverty, hunger, and malnutrition. Thanks to your strong support, the Feed the Future initiative has made an incredible impact.

In countries like Ethiopia and Ghana, Feed the Future investments have improved agricultural productivity, boosted harvests, and connected farmers to markets. For example, in Ethiopia, poverty dropped by more than 12 percent in Feed the Future target regions between 2013 and 2015.

Our work in Feed the Future focus countries in Africa reduced child stunting by an average of 32 percent between 2012 and 2017 in the regions where we work. Stunting occurs when a child is subjected to chronic malnutrition early in their lives. By reducing stunting, children's growth is not limited by impaired brain development, lower IQ, weakened immune systems, and greater risk of serious diseases.

Feed the Future is helping governments in our partner countries create better policies and systems for food security and to ultimately help them move away from vulnerability to self-reliance. In Africa, Feed the Future partner countries have increased their domestic investments in agriculture by 25 percent, a rate four times that of African countries as a whole and representing an additional \$719 million per year.

And it's not just a handful of individual countries that are seeing the positive impact USG assistance brings. United States assistance has had a transformative impact across sub-Saharan Africa. Between 2000 and 2015, the percentage of Africans living in extreme poverty declined from 57 to 41 percent.

However, we cannot talk about a successful economic future for African countries without addressing peace and security. USAID works with our African partners to address the underlying factors that allow transnational organized crime, violent extremism, and internal conflict to flourish. Central to these efforts is citizen-responsive democratic governance. According to the latest survey of African citizens, democracy is the preferred form of government. A 2016 study by USAID shows that there has been an unprecedented wave of social and political protest across Africa, with citizens voicing their demands for services, accountability, and citizen-responsive democratic governance. While we have witnessed recent declines in political rights and civil liberties in some countries, the long term trend points to the fact that more than half of all Africans today live in functioning democracies that are demonstrably freer than the regimes that previously dominated the continent.

The United States helps advance democracy, human rights and good governance in Africa by promoting the rule of law, respect for fundamental freedoms, credible and legitimate election processes, a politically active civil society, and accountable and participatory governments. Working in partnership with African governments and civil society in countries as diverse as Kenya, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, our support strengthens governance institutions and protects the democratic gains that have been made across the continent. I believe that democracy, human rights, and governance underpins all other development programming, and this is a key priority for USAID.

USAID is also combating the threat of wildlife trafficking in countries across sub-Saharan Africa. Wildlife trafficking is a major threat to biodiversity. The value of wildlife and wildlife products, and the minimal risk of punishment for poaching or illicit trade, have attracted the involvement of transnational criminal organizations. Illicit wildlife is one of the largest black markets in the world, worth tens of billions of dollars.

Through more than 65 projects in 25 countries, USAID and its partners are making it more difficult for people to poach, move and sell wildlife products across borders. This helps secure our natural resources and fight the criminal networks that threaten security and the rule of law, and undermine development progress.

In southeast Angola, USAID funded comprehensive management plans for the newly created Luengue-Luiana and Mavina National Parks. The plans will bring jobs to the 12,000 people in the area, and improve the management of more than 6.8 million hectares of important habitat—an area larger than West Virginia.

Supporting and protecting these resources also protects local communities' ability to raise their own food, and make their own income – key elements of global prosperity and self-reliance.

Our focus is on helping countries on their journey to self-reliance. USAID's goal is ending the need for foreign assistance. As Administrator Green has said, it's our core belief that each country must lead its own development journey. We are focused on ending the need for foreign assistance not because we wish to retreat from our friends, but because we believe in them.

If a country is willing to take on the difficult journey to self-reliance, we want to walk alongside them on that journey. At USAID, we are looking towards the day when we transition to a new kind of relationship that moves beyond traditional assistance. An enduring relationship, in which countries move from recipients of aid to partners to fellow donors.

We tailor our programs, and the partnerships we forge, to address each country's unique journey to self-reliance, and to build their capacity to manage their own development.

Administrator Green has set a clear path forward for the Agency, and we are excited to advance his priorities. The dedicated staff in the Bureau for Africa gladly continues in USAID's tradition of supporting African partner countries on their development journey to progress beyond assistance.

On a personal note, I am honored to be here, deeply committed to USAID's goals and the integrated role that it plays with the Department of State and the Department of Defense in advancing U.S. policy and national security objectives.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I welcome any questions.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Day.

Let me bring up some testimony last December. Deputy Secretary Sullivan and Department of Defense Under Secretary Trachtenberg testified that as terrorist groups are facing defeats in the Middle East, we are seeing activity increase and expand elsewhere, including and especially in Africa.

So we know that terrorist groups benefit from poor governance and instability, which is present in parts of Africa, and we know that terrorists abroad pose a direct threat to U.S. interests even here at home. The State Department leads on our counterterrorism efforts through train and equip authority and other law enforcement capacity programs. The committees work to ensure that this remains the case.

And I know it has been reported that the administration intends to shift to combating great power competition in Africa and shift away from the robust counterterrorism engagement that we have had our eye on here, and I wanted to ask you, Ambassador, how will this shift in priorities impact our progress toward building the capacity of partner nations in Africa to counter these dangerous security threats themselves?

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you very much, Chairman. During my last two trips to the continent just concluded a couple of days ago, that is one of the questions and one of the issues that I looked into extensively both in discussions with the host government, also I stopped off both in London and Paris to discuss with some of our allies some of those considerations. And this time I was with AFRICOM Commander General Waldhauser both in Ethiopia and then I stopped off in Stuttgart to have extensive discussions there and I also visited Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti again to discuss that various issue.

And while I have to leave any details and specifics to the Department of Defense, I just want to assure you that that is at the top of our list in discussions to make sure that we continue to move forward with the counterterrorism, because as you say it is extremely problematic. Also during my time in West Africa, I had held discussions with the Prime Minister of Togo and with the President of Guinea, and both the Guineans and the Togolese now are concerned over the terrorism seeping into their own countries from the previous area in the Sahel.

So I assure you that issue is very much front and center and we are going to continue focusing on it and coordinating with our friends at AFRICOM.

Mr. ROYCE. I understand. But I reached out to the Department of Defense and they are not here today and so it falls on you—
Ambassador NAGY. Yeah.

Mr. ROYCE [continuing]. To convey to us the intentions here, because this committee is going to continue to have a focus on exactly this issue.

But I will ask both of you, we have got to engage with countries across Africa even the most challenging countries with which we have significant differences. Too many policy priorities, frankly, depend on it. You know better than we do just how true this is, just as we are dealing now in Congo with the Ebola crisis in the East.

So if we were take an example of wildlife trafficking, we have a tenuous relationship with a number of East and Central African countries yet we support their park rangers. We support their law enforcement agencies to combat poaching and trafficking. We try to enforce the bill we passed here to abolish the ivory trade, right.

So if we shift away from working with challenging nations what happens to these partnerships? I would like to hear you articulate, Ambassador, and Mr. Day as well, what is the intent here? I haven't seen the plan rolled out yet so I would like to hear your thoughts on this.

Ambassador NAGY. Exactly, Chairman. The partnerships in those critical areas will certainly go on. We have both a bilateral strategy and we will continue our discussions with AFRICOM with a region-wide strategy.

During my visit to Stuttgart, we discussed some of these very issues both for the Sahel, for Lake Chad, for East Africa, Somalia, for Djibouti, and then also especially for providing for the safety and security of U.S. personnel and properties throughout Africa.

So again I can't give you any specifics, but I can assure you that that is an ongoing discussion. We had a general meeting here with AFRICOM several weeks ago. I met with the entire AFRICOM staff when I was in Stuttgart, had the same discussions in Djibouti at Camp Lemonnier, so that goes on.

Mr. ROYCE. My time has expired, so we will follow up—

Ambassador NAGY. Absolutely.

Mr. ROYCE [continuing]. Afterwards with you.

Karen Bass of California.

Ms. BASS. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Let me just begin by saying that, one, I want to join in with my colleagues to thank you for your leadership and say that it is particularly meaningful that you chose your last hearing to be on this region of the world.

And I just wanted to take note of that and to let you know that when I am in the community or in the press or whatever, when they are always attacking us for never working on a bipartisan basis, I always use this committee and I especially talk about your leadership, as over these years you have always led this committee in a bipartisan way and you will be missed. But I will also put you on notice that you are from Southern California, as am I, and so you might be retiring from Congress but I don't intend to let you just retire. I will be calling on you, in other words.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you.

Ms. BASS. Let me fire off a series of questions and then leave it to the two of you to respond. You mentioned, Ambassador, about AGOA. And I appreciate you mentioning that because a number of African countries are getting concerned with a push toward free trade agreements that what does that mean for AGOA and especially recognizing that some countries might be ready but others aren't. And so what does the future of AGOA hold?

In terms of elections coming up, we have DRC in just a couple of weeks, we have Nigeria in February and want to know what role we are playing and particularly concerned in DRC. And you mentioned, Mr. Day, about Ebola and that we are there, but it is my understanding that CDC is not allowed there and so maybe you can respond to that.

So if you two could respond to both of those.

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you very much. I think on AGOA I want to make it clear that AGOA goes on for another 5 years.

Ms. BASS. Right.

Ambassador NAGY. So we have that time to figure out how we want to move beyond it because we do want to move beyond it. Up to now, I didn't even know this until I came back to work in the diplomatic side, we don't have any free trade agreements with sub-Saharan Africa.

Ms. BASS. Right.

Ambassador NAGY. The only one we have on the African continent is with Morocco.

Ms. BASS. Morocco, right.

Ambassador NAGY. Meanwhile, the Africa Union is heartily pursuing the continent-wide free trade agreement—

Ms. BASS. Yes.

Ambassador NAGY [continuing]. Which we totally support. We think that is a phenomenal idea and hopefully at some point we can engage with them through that format. But right now, and this is of special interest to me, we would like to identify, start with one sub-Saharan country to explore a model free trade agreement that we can then perhaps expand on with other countries. We have had several, about a handful of countries come to us and ask specifically to engage with them.

Ms. BASS. So let me—and I am sorry. I am going to have to cut you off to make sure I can cover it all.

Ambassador NAGY. Sure.

Ms. BASS. In those 5 years we know that a lot of countries are not even taking, aren't even able to utilize AGOA.

Ambassador NAGY. Exactly.

Ms. BASS. But we might think about a two-tiered approach because for AGOA to just go away in 5 years doesn't seem to make sense. But could you respond to the DRC.

Ambassador NAGY. Elections?

Ms. BASS. Yes.

Ambassador NAGY. Absolutely, okay. In Nigeria, when I visited Nigeria I specifically looked at what we were doing on the elections and I was so proud of Ambassador Symington and his mission. They engaged with everybody. They sent everybody everywhere. He had me meet with the National Electoral Commission chair. He had me meet with the chairs of both parties, ask them to sign a peace agreement. Last night President Buhari and his party did sign a peace agreement.

Ms. BASS. Great. DRC?

Ambassador NAGY. DRC, 2 weeks to go, some major concerns remain especially with the voting machines. They have 100,000 voting machines coming. We will see. They have a great opportunity to have the first peaceful transition of power since 1960.

Ms. BASS. And there is also some signaling that maybe the elections are premature too, so coming from both sides which we know that that is false, but just to flag that.

Ambassador NAGY. It is false. Hopefully, I see no reason why they cannot go forward.

Ms. BASS. Ebola in DRC?

Mr. DAY. On Ebola, thank you for the question, Congresswoman. We are deeply concerned about the Ebola outbreak in the DRC. This is the tenth outbreak. It is the largest we have seen.

Ms. BASS. Is CDC allowed?

Mr. DAY. The security environment in the immediate area of Beni town is not permissible for U.S. Government employees, but we do, USAID in partnership with CDC and WHO and the Ministry of Health of the Government of DRC does have, we have contractors on the ground and we are working in partnership.

Ms. BASS. So what are we doing specifically then? We are providing what?

Mr. DAY. So we are doing everything from disease surveillance, case management, risk communications, ensuring that information is getting out and getting out properly.

Ms. BASS. And you can let me know later who our partner is that we have on the ground there?

Mr. DAY. Of course.

Ms. BASS. Thank you.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Chris Smith of New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very, very much, Mr. Chairman. And I do want to join Eliot Engel and other members of the committee in thanking you for your extraordinary leadership especially on Africa. As former chairman of the committee, I thank you for that leadership, but it continues to this moment. So thank you, Ed, great job.

I want to welcome our two very distinguished witnesses, thank them for their leadership as well, and Greg Simpkins, our former staff director on the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, Global Human Rights, and International Organizations working over at USAID on behalf of the continent.

Let me just ask very quickly some questions. The festering crisis in Cameroon, Ambassador Nagy, you had said that the last thing we need is a growing radicalization in response to the actions of security forces. You compared it to the response to Boko Haram and how that actually caused it to worsen not get better. You might want to please speak to that and what we are doing to try to mitigate that danger.

Congratulations on the breakthrough with Ambassador Yamamoto being deployed to Somalia. Your historic meeting in Eritrea, which I think is just incredible, you might want to comment on that briefly. And Karen Bass and I visited Ethiopia and met with Prime Minister Abiy in Addis last August. We were very impressed. We held a follow-up hearing about what we thought were significant progress, release of prisoners and all. Obviously there is so much more to be done. Please, if you could spend a little time on that.

On the issue of China, we know that China is attacking the dollar as the world's reserve currency and of course if that goes our ability to hold countries to account is diminished, it is lessened. Fourteen African countries met in Zimbabwe in early spring talking about looking at the yuan as a potential reserve currency.

A few months ago, African leaders met in Beijing and were offered some \$60 billion in financing, which shows—and we know what they are after. They are after minerals. They are after wood.

They are after fossil fuels, and the spread of a bad governance model under Xi Jinping who is cracking down in his own country on Muslims.

I just had a hearing on the Uyghurs, the fact that 1 million people are now in concentration camps in Xinjiang, the autonomous region. Just the wrong country to be partnering with African countries given the fact that their abuse of human rights almost has no, maybe North Korea has very parallels anywhere in the world. So if you could speak to this Chinese influence, I know there is not much time, but on those issues.

And on Chemonics, we did have a hearing and the subcommittee and the full committee has been on oversight on the lateness of ARVs, you know, if you are late that could be a death sentence. Is that being rectified, Mr. Day?

But Ambassador?

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you, sir. I will make this as quick as possible. On Cameroon, not much improvement. We were hoping that after the election of President Biya he would make some moves to open up some dialogue with the Anglophone provinces, he has not. Extremely disappointing, the problem goes on. We continue to engage, but right now unfortunately not much optimism, just pessimism.

On Isaias, absolutely. I spent 2 hours with the President, extremely interesting points of view on the region. I hope that it leads to further discussion because of course we continue to have our bilateral problems with Eritrea and hopefully we can resolve them in the future going forward, but Eritrea is one of the key participants in the region and thanks to Prime Minister Abiy for opening up that political space.

Yes, sir, your views on Ethiopian Prime Minister are right on. I had a chance to engage with him as well. He is continuing to move forward energetically not getting much sleep at night, so let's hope for the best with him on both his external and his internal changes.

On China, very interesting. I engaged about China with all of my contacts and with the business communities at all of my stops. I do have to say that I think the bloom is finally starting to wear off as countries realize that China represents a lot of debt, not much employment created, and not necessarily the types of companies and business environments that they want, especially the young people. I think if the United States can capture the young people, I will leave the venal autocracy to the Chinese and I will stop there.

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Congressman. On the program that you are referencing, the Global Health Supply Chain, I will get the latest status on—I know there was a report that was released last month, but I would like to say that we certainly appreciate the oversight role that the committee plays and we are absolutely committed to ensuring the highest standards of accountability. But I will get a status on the report.

Mr. SMITH. Finally, I just want to thank the President. Yesterday, he signed into law a 5-year reauthorization of PEPFAR. And, obviously, I was here with many of us who were here when George W. Bush and our former chairmen, Henry Hyde and Tom Lantos,

led the effort for what is now, in my opinion, the most successful global health initiative ever, anywhere in the world.

It has ended largely the pandemic, 16 million to 17 million people's lives have been saved, 2 million kids have been born without HIV/AIDS, which they probably would have gotten as they were being born through mother to child transmission. So congratulations on that signing yesterday and thank you and I yield back.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Brad Sherman of California.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It has been an honor to serve with you and I want to join the praise from the entire chorus here.

And, Ambassador, I am thrilled to see you here, not out of personal respect, although I certainly have personal respect for you, but an administration witness who is actually confirmed and not holding the position temporarily, it has been 2 years since I remember that occurrence.

Uganda is one of the largest recipients of U.S. security assistance. Bobi Wine is free but still has this charge held over him. Has the United States made it clear to the government and Museveni that we are watching how Bobi Wine is treated?

Ambassador NAGY. Absolutely. As a matter of fact, I met with the Angolan Prime Minister on the margins of the United Nations and underlined that fact and a number of other concerns.

Mr. SHERMAN. You said the Angolan?

Ambassador NAGY. Pardon me? The Ugandan—

Mr. SHERMAN. Ugandan, okay.

Ambassador NAGY. Ugandan Prime Minister on the margins and underlined that fact very strongly. We continue to do that with our engagements. Unfortunately, President Museveni shows no signs of thinking about a transition and unfortunately—

Mr. SHERMAN. I want to move on to Uganda to talk about the North Korean contractors to their security forces. Obviously the North Koreans don't bring a dedication to the rule of law and conduct of military operations in a humane manner. The Wall Street Journal did a major report on this just a few days ago and says, in part, U.S. officials say that Trump administration has been instructed to remain quiet on North Korean involvement in Uganda over concern that speaking out would undercut the image of an effective sanctions regime.

Have you been instructed to, or I will put this in the positive, can you now speak out against and describe what the North Koreans are doing in Uganda?

Ambassador NAGY. Absolutely, Congressman. Our instructions are and it is always included in our points of engagement with all governments in Africa to urge them to comply with all Security Council resolutions to minimize—

Mr. SHERMAN. Is Uganda complying?

Ambassador NAGY. I cannot answer that technically. I can get back to you on that. I don't want to give you the wrong answer. I do know that we urge them at every opportunity—

Mr. SHERMAN. Given the importance of the North Korean nuclear program how would that not be something you would already have an opinion on? I know the chairman has already answered the question for us, so I yield to him.

Ambassador NAGY. I don't want to say that they are compliant right now if they are not, but I will double check that and get back to you. But I can assure you that that is one of our strongest points in every engagement with every African government.

Mr. SHERMAN. China is using this debt trap. They have used it in Sri Lanka where they offer and then say, well, you didn't pay so we are taking this or that over. And these are sovereign countries, so they could simply say no, we are not going to pay and no, you are not going to take our port. The problem they have is that American and other financial institutions would regard that as a default.

I wonder if you could work with me and perhaps others on this committee to establish an international financial order where if you don't pay a China debt trap debt your FICO score still remains at 800, that there is basically no harm, no foul. What can we do to make it plain to the financial markets that it is simply illegal for them to count against a country that its failure to pay one of these debt trap debts to China?

Ambassador NAGY. I would look forward to further discussion on that and see exactly what we could do, because that is the last thing we also want to do is see these countries get into that trap.

Mr. SHERMAN. And I assume the State Department could look at individual deals, identify which ones constitute this debt trap financing, and declare that those are particular debts with the non-payment of which should not be considered by any financial institution doing business in the United States.

Finally, Human Rights Watch has reported that the Government of Tanzania is shutting down basically everything involving the LGBTQ community. What is our approach to protect the community in Tanzania?

Ambassador NAGY. Our approach is to raise our extreme concern with that, to engage with civil society every means that we can possibly do that to protect them, because Tanzania is closing political space everywhere.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you.

Mr. ROYCE. Mr. Rohrabacher of California.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and congratulations to you for making it through this difficult assignment of being the chairman of this committee. And I know I have made it a little more difficult myself for you at times, but we certainly appreciate your effort and those of Eliot. You have been a good team and done good things for America and the world.

So let me just suggest that the job that our witnesses have had to do has been equally difficult and that trying to balance off stability with reform and progress in Africa has got to be one of the most daunting tasks of any group of our professionals that are out there in our Foreign Service. And I would note that I am going to mention a couple of negative things, but let me just say that that does not mean that I don't also recognize the positive things.

I think one of the worst things that we have done in our country in terms of Africa is when our government suggested to Ethiopia that they could negate and they could just ignore the arbitration of the fight between Ethiopia and Eritrea. That did more to under-

mine peaceful solutions in Africa than anything I have seen in my lifetime.

And the fact is that the peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea seems to be something that came from within and not something that we actually pushed on. In fact, the repression and the corruption of the Ethiopian Government over the years was not ended because we, the United States, pulled back from that corrupt and repressive regime. Instead, it came from within even when there were signs for all of us.

I don't think that—I would hope that we learn from that, that we should really be supporting reformers as came to power in Ethiopia via a people's movement. And the signs of corruption were everywhere in Ethiopia before the current government, before the current Abiy came forward and led his people toward peace with Eritrea and actually reforms.

Let me note that for years I have been active in pressuring Ethiopia to try to give back the property, especially the property of Americans that was confiscated by the Ethiopian Government. Now the chairman and I have a family in Orange County which we represent, the Berhane family, who owned some very important and valuable assets, property in Ethiopia, and the Ethiopian Government in the past never gave it back and that is because some people were profiting from that.

I think that we should have been much more aggressive on that and I would hope the Ethiopian Government, the current government, moves on this problem because we have an American family whose property is not being returned. And that is wrong and it should be a symbol to us that that Ethiopian Government is not going to be, or it will be corrupt. We are going to watch to see what happens there and other pieces of property.

And to the degree that we had OPIC even denied Ethiopia the right to have OPIC funds until that and other issues were resolved, I suggest we continue that but I would hope we can discard that type. I would hope that we could discard all of those pressures on Ethiopia and Eritrea and promote their peace and progress rather than looking at their faults. But it is up to them to give us the sign that they mean real reform.

I would, as I say what can we do? We just had some reference to China and how that makes these countries vulnerable and I want to add to that but what can we do that would prevent corruption in these African countries? What can we do to regulate our own bankers not to profit by taking money that was earned by corruption in these African countries?

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you very much for that. In my view, the best thing we can do is encourage civil society because they are a great watchdog on government wrongdoing. You know, sir, in many of these countries there has not been a tradition of any kind of civil society, and governments, especially corrupt governments, are scared to death of civil society. That is why they often go after them and try to close the political space exactly because they hold them accountable.

And also of course a free and vigorous press, because the media tends to be a wonderful watchdog as well, and then a level playing field so that other businesses besides the ones from the large coun-

try in East Asia have an equal chance at contracts and dispute resolution. Thank you, sir.

Mr. ROYCE. Greg Meeks, New York.

Mr. MEEKS. Mr. Chairman, I want to join the chorus in thanking you for your leadership as chairman of this committee and the way that you have conducted yourself and I do think it says a lot about this hearing being your last is to show your continued focus on the continent. I have traveled with you several times to the continent. I have seen firsthand and I was so inspired by what you do on this committee I decided to take your old office. [Laughter.]

Thank you, gentlemen, for being here. I actually just came back from South Africa with Global Citizens and they had pledges to raise for worldwide \$7 billion as a result of what they are doing to eradicate poverty by 2030 and moving quite briskly in trying to get attention particularly to the continent of Africa as to what we need to do.

Unfortunately, oftentimes or as just happened at this time while I was in Africa I asked about U.S. involvement, U.S. investment, U.S. trade, and they are saying that they don't see enough of us and so they have to deal with the individuals that seem to have interest. Oftentimes that has been China.

And so I know and I am, as you have indicated how Africa's on track to have 25 percent of global population in just 30 years, I believe that leveraging the resources of the U.S. Government to support greater private sector investments which I think is key is a win-win. And so from your perspective, especially with DFI's ability to make equity investments in Africa, will it encourage U.S. financial investors such as pension funds, because that is, you get everybody to scale up their investments alongside the new DFI, putting it together, working in a combination way to help our presence and make a difference and have some real equity investments in Africa.

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you, sir, absolutely. I have found so much enthusiasm amongst American businesses wanting to take their money to Africa because they have so much money available right now looking for a place. And at the same time, in all my travels I found the African governments equally enthusiastic at wanting to bring U.S. businesses because U.S. businesses offer something totally different than what Chinese investors do.

That is why I really want to thank you all for the BUILD Act, because I think it finally puts some arrows in our quiver that we didn't have before because it offers, with its \$60 billion plus the possibility of equity investment, it offers opportunities that we have not had before. And I can tell you that the U.S. business community in Africa is enthusiastic about it and all of the African governments we engage with really wanted to know more about it. So we are going to energize our Embassies to be there to come up with bankable projects and to engage directly. And I told the African governments, I can push you as businesses, but they need to do the pulling by putting in place environments that actually welcome and are fair to you as businesses. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MEEKS. And we need to work and continue that because I know even if you look at the work of China doing in there, but even in China, China looks at the U.S. businesses, at least the Chinese

they wouldn't want to work for our companies in China. So I know what we can do a better job in Africa than what we have.

And also I know that USAID created a partnership with NASP which was very important to target infrastructure investments in Africa and I know that some of my New York pension funds have been involved including the New York State Common Retirement and the New York City Employees Retirement Funds. And I think this is a tremendous initiative that moves in the right direction and we oftentimes before when we want to divest from bad things, we want to make sure now we are investing in that regard.

And so I am a big supporter of initiatives like NETA, however, what my concern is and what I think that would give us even greater more investments would be is the fact that there is a lack of diversity and inclusion of small, women, and minorities in development finance opportunities at USAID and OPIC. So how can we do better, because I think that diversity will help us more on the continent also in that regards.

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Congressman. You are absolutely right. We at USAID believe we are facing immense challenges of course on the African continent and we truly believe that those challenges cannot be addressed with USAID official development assistance alone. The private sector is absolutely critical to this. In fact, Administrator Green is actually rolling out a USAID private sector engagement policy as we speak.

So this is something that is at the forefront of our vision for how USAID is going to be engaging with our African partners so we fully agree with your vision as well.

Mr. MEEKS. I yield back. And I just look forward to working with you because we have small, minority, and women owned businesses that I know are very interested if we can work together on that.

Mr. CHABOT [presiding]. Thank you very much. The gentleman's time has expired. I now recognize myself for 5 minutes and I would like to start off with, a couple of our colleagues have already talked about, China. I know Mr. Sherman did and I think Mr. Smith did as well.

But Ambassador Nagy, let me ask you this. If you were in a room with a number of, let's say, African countries specifically, but they could be from other parts of the world, where they were really trying to decide whether it made sense to take advantage of the loans and opportunities that China is putting out there versus working with the United States or other countries, banks, et cetera, what would you tell—and we have already talked about some of this. But what would you tell them to look out for with China versus why it makes sense to work with the U.S. or the West?

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you very much for that question. What I would tell them to look out for is, number one, are they going to bring over every single employee above turning a shovel from China instead of hiring locally? How much technology and professional transfer will there be when the project is done? How good is the quality of the work that will be done? Will they also bring over shopkeepers who will open up shops to service the company's employees who will then displace African mom and shopkeepers?

And when everything is done how much debt will there be left, and by the way what will the environmental impact be? Will there

also be wildlife trafficking? Maybe timber cutting in addition to that. So I would urge them to look at the entirety of the project and what will be the true benefits not only to putting down that road but to the country at large.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you. And having seen and followed this closely firsthand for quite a few years now, what do you if they said, well, what do you think on these things will happen, what would you expect? Could you answer those questions that you just asked what is likely to happen?

Ambassador NAGY. Well, I think that there is, as I said, a shift in perceptions of the type of projects that they provide. I just have to tell you one of the things that really, really irritated me during my trips to Africa is you go to an African city and there is a stadium invariably built by the Chinese.

And then the people say to me, well, what have the Americans—I said, well, what about the millions and millions of people we keep alive because of PEPFAR, what about the tremendous educational programs that we have done to educate the young people. And as I mentioned before, the young people in Africa really do get this. They want American companies. They want the type of expertise Americans have. They want the transfer.

So I am actually very encouraged by the future and I think that this BUILD Act will now really give our businesses some weapons to compete fairly.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you very much. Ms. Bass was asking a question before about and you were talking about the bilateral free trade agreements, because I know the administration, bilateral agreements are more appealing than regional deals, I understand that. I am basically a free trader and I will accept both.

But getting back to the bilateral agreements in sub-Saharan Africa, you were about to say, I think, what countries are we kind of working with or thinking about and then she had a limited amount of time so you never really got into that.

Ms. BASS. Thank you.

Mr. CHABOT. What countries are we talking about?

Ambassador NAGY. Can I respectfully not mention them yet, because we haven't really fully engaged on that yet. So we are at the point of actually just looking at possibilities and I would not like to offset progress before we can start.

Mr. CHABOT. How many are we talking about?

Ambassador NAGY. At least four have come forward and then there are a couple of others that we would like to look at on our own.

Mr. CHABOT. Okay. Thank you.

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you, sir.

Mr. CHABOT. We mentioned, I think, briefly before Museveni in Uganda too. My very first codel was back in 1997 and one of the countries we visited was Uganda and I remember particularly memorable because Lady Di happened to die while we were on that version so I remember specifically when this was. And I remember Museveni at that time was being talked about as the new African leaders and he had been in office, what, 12 years or so then, so he was getting a little long in the tooth at that point.

Well, we are two decades later. And don't get me wrong, I think compared with previous and obviously in Uganda what a breath of fresh air. He has been there awhile now. Could you comment on that without asking a specific question about?

Ambassador NAGY. Absolutely. I have to tell you, sir, that actually Museveni was one of my early heroes because of his willingness to engage on HIV/AIDS when others were not. And at that time Uganda's ABC strategy was the world leader in confronting HIV/AIDS and also he did quite a lot of empowering women politically in Uganda.

Unfortunately that was decades ago and the decades go on and at some point leaders have to consider political transitions and right now there seems to be an awful lot of focus on keeping in power instead of the future of Uganda.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you very much. My time has expired.

The gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Sires, recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SIRES. Thank you. First, I would like to thank the chairman. He is not here, but 26 years of service always in a bipartisan fashion in this committee and I just want to thank him even though he is not here.

Mr. Ambassador, I sit here and I listen to all the things that you have said, all the things that you are accomplishing, and I can only imagine it must be a very difficult job for you to do especially with the rhetoric coming out of the White House when he calls shithole countries, he calls people from Western Hemisphere criminals, sick, and everything else.

When you get off the plane how do you deal with that? I mean do you ignore what the President says? I don't want to put you on the spot, you don't have to answer if you don't want to. But I have got to tell you, it has got to be very difficult for you getting off a plane and trying to work these deals.

Ambassador NAGY. Congressman, I have to be absolutely honest. I have never had a problem getting off the plane because I engage and talk about the wonderful things that America as a whole is doing and I also talk about Africa is one of the leading nonpartisan issues of our day and programs, involvement, engagement.

Mr. SIRES. I mean we all know China's effort in Africa and certainly in the Western Hemisphere. Basically it is the same tactics, wouldn't you say so, what they are doing in the Western Hemisphere in countries? I mean I just read an article where in Panama, China bought a big piece of property and what they are trying to do is build this warehouse to equal Amazon and they want to be the Amazon of the Western Hemisphere. I guess the tactics are the same and how do you coordinate fighting this?

Ambassador NAGY. I have to admit, and this is one of the things I told my African interlocutors is that up to now I have not blamed them in dealing with China, because when there was a knock on the door for an investor and they opened it and only China was standing there that is who they had to deal with. I want to make sure that the next time there is a knock on the door that there is American investors standing there as well and that we can present what is more attractive about dealing with the United States of America. So I would like to be very aggressive in pursuing that, sir.

Mr. SIRES. And in terms of you are talking free trade, free trade, free trade, and again the rhetoric out of the White House seems to be let's look inward, not let's look outward. I mean it is just, to me it is two and two don't really add to four with this particular administration.

Ambassador NAGY. Well, I get a lot of support from the White House on expanding the free trade agenda and on engaging U.S. businesses in Africa, so I can tell you that is my experience, sir.

Mr. SIRES. All right. I won't put you on the spot anymore. Thank you very much. I yield back.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Would my friend yield?

Mr. SIRES. Absolutely.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I thank my friend.

Ambassador Nagy, I appreciate the diplomatic skill with which you answered my friend from New Jersey, but that White House support certainly doesn't extend to USAID programming in Africa. I mean last year he cut it 37 percent in his budget and this year he has cut it 33 percent. How do you explain that to African nations when you travel? We don't mean it? We are kidding? We are counting to Congress to restore it? Don't read anything into it in terms of the value we put in the relationship or Africa? And what does it mean in terms of the void it creates vis-a-vis China that has fortyfold increased its trade posture vis-a-vis Africa in the last 20 years.

Mr. Day?

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Congressman. I would also echo Assistant Secretary Nagy's comments in that every time I am on the continent USAID and our officials are welcomed with open arms. And that is, I think, a reflection of the seven decades—

Mr. CONNOLLY. Mr. Day, excuse me. That really was not my question. I have been to Africa too. I know USAID very well. I helped write the last foreign aid bill passed by Congress in 1985. I have been around awhile. My question wasn't are you welcome, my question was how do you explain the fact that the administration you represent cut their budget 37 percent last year and another 33 percent this year?

We didn't go along with it because we actually see the primacy of the relationship and the fact that is the world's fastest-growing market. But nonetheless, a statement of value is being made to those African countries and I am asking you how you handle that on the ground. I am repeating, I am building on the question my friend Mr. Sires asked Ambassador Nagy.

Mr. DAY. Congressman, at USAID we are laser-focused on ensuring that taxpayer investments on the African continent are deployed in the most efficient and effective manner and to the benefit of the American people and the African people as well.

Mr. CHABOT. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. CONNOLLY. Well, thank God, because I don't know what that answer meant.

Mr. CHABOT. I thought it was a great answer.

The gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. CONNOLLY. I bet you did.

Mr. CHABOT. Mr. Wilson is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WILSON. And thank you, Mr. Chabot. And I want to join with everyone commending Chairman Royce for his service. It is really an indication of our appreciation of his service, the portrait which is hanging up front which indicates again what an extraordinary person Ed and his wife Marie have been on behalf of our country.

And, Ambassador, thank you for being here. Mr. Day, thank you. I saw your background with the International Republican Institute. I was a volunteer with IRI. I know what a difference it makes promoting freedom and democracy around the world. Also, your work now with USAID with Administrator Mark Green, how incredible.

As we travel around the world it is so impressive to see the signs as I saw in rural Afghanistan of a school that had been built by USAID, to see the food supplies being provided to the refugees in Sudan, to be present with Chairman Royce in Tacloban, The Philippines, to see the recovery efforts for persons from Super Typhoon. USAID makes such a difference and I hope more American citizens find out how significant it is.

With that, Ambassador, this year has been very hopeful with Ethiopia and Eritrea signing an agreement in September that ended the 20-year conflict and reopened land crossings to allow people and goods to move freely between the countries—a 20-year war concluded. To what extent can the very positive reforms implemented by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed in Ethiopia have toward assisting internal challenges in Eritrea?

Ambassador NAGY. Indeed, sir, the changes have been incredible. In my 40 years of following Africa, I don't think I have ever seen anything that positive. And I would like to ensure you that the United States Government is engaged in a whole of government response to figure out how best we can support those openings both on the internal side with Prime Minister Abiy opening political space for his own citizens, but also on the external side as literally waves of peace wash over the whole subregion.

And as Ethiopians like to say, they are renaming the Horn of Africa to the Hope of Africa and in many respects that is a true characterization. So we are sending teams to engage directly with different components of the government and we have been invited to engage with many sectors and institutions in Ethiopia to help rebuild them in a noncorrupt, totally different model. Thank you, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Well, again, your positive attitude just is reflected by the hope of Africa. That is great. Additionally, what are the prospects for reestablishing diplomatic relations between Eritrea and the United States?

Ambassador NAGY. Sir, thank you for the question. As I said, when I was in Eritrea my dream is to eventually for the United States to have the same positive relations with Eritrea that we have with Ethiopia now. We have started the first steps. We will continue the steps and hopefully it will lead there. We still have some outstanding bilateral issues, which they very well know, but we will deal with them one at a time and it is a very valuable country to have as a friend and we look forward to that, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Well, again it has just been so hopeful to see the developments in Ethiopia and now Eritrea too, hopefully. Next, what is the extent of African-based terrorist groups, what challenges do they have as a direct threat to the American people?

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you, sir. The problems with those terrorist groups are as they occupy space which is not occupied by governments it gives them freedom of action. And they may start off as local terrorist groups, but as we can see that they can then develop into interregional and even intercontinental types of terrorist groups especially once they affiliate with global ISIS or al-Qaeda. So they present an imminent and a long-term danger, sir.

Mr. WILSON. And we saw, sadly, the attack last night in Strasbourg.

Ambassador NAGY. Exactly.

Mr. WILSON. So we need to be ever-vigilant. And with that, what more can the United States working with our African partners do to prevent the spread of extremist ideologies to protect the people of Africa and around the world?

Ambassador NAGY. Sir, that involves what we are doing is closely working with the African states with outside interested parties such as France, the European Union, the United Kingdom, African Union, and the United Nations, and with the various U.N. peacekeeping forces, because they are an imminent threat, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Well, again thank you for your efforts. And the thought of having the agreements between Eritrea and Ethiopia, which would have been unimaginable, have occurred so best wishes for continued success. Thank you.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you. The gentleman's time has expired. The gentleman from Rhode Island, Mr. Cicilline, is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I too want to begin by thanking outgoing Chairman Royce for his extraordinary leadership of this committee and the bipartisanship which he has always demonstrated. And I hope the letter that you sent to us about your tenure as chairman you will make an official part of the record, because I think it really recounts in a very meaningful way the great work that has been done under your leadership. And I just want to thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CHABOT. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you.

Thank you to our witnesses. Ambassador Nagy, I would like to start with you. As I am sure you are aware, U.N. peacekeeping missions are currently deployed in several countries on the African continent including South Sudan, Mali, Central African Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Congo where they work to promote stability in conflict-torn societies, protect civilians from violence, and facilitate humanitarian assistance to communities in need as well as monitoring human rights abuses and supporting the rule of law and the creation of democratic institutions.

The U.N. successfully wound down two peacekeeping missions in Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire just this year. The United States has long supported U.N. peacekeeping operations as a cost effective method of conflict mitigation that helps prevent fragile states from collapsing, keeps civil wars from morphing into unwieldy regional disputes, and creating the conditions necessary for long-term, sustainable peace.

In fact, the GAO recently found that U.N. peacekeeping missions are eight times more cost effective than a unilateral U.S. military

engagement. Yet, Secretary Pompeo recently made some troubling assertions about U.N. peacekeeping missions claiming that they drag on for decades and bring us no closer to peace.

I would certainly welcome a clarification on the Secretary's remarks. And, specifically, my first question is, does the Trump administration, which has voted to renew the mandates of 12 U.N. peacekeeping missions since it took office, still find value in their work?

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you very much, Congressman. Yes, absolutely. There are phenomenally effective U.N. peacekeeping missions, then there are some others that may be less effective. And I think that is the whole focus of the administration is to evaluate each mission on its own terms to see if it is accomplishing its tasks, or if it is not do the tasks need to be realigned. For example, I would like to point to the one in Mali.

In February, the Secretary General, the U.N. Secretary General will be issuing a report specifically on how that peacekeeping mission is achieving its mandate and will take a look to see if it needs to be modified or adjusted or whatever else needs to be done, because as you know, sir, Mali is in a very critical situation and there are a number of other peacekeeping missions like that.

So absolutely, I agree with you totally, even though we are paying, I think, right now 28 percent of the total cost of peacekeeping missions. Some are phenomenal.

Mr. CICILLINE. At a fraction of the cost of what it would be if it were a military engagement obviously.

Ambassador NAGY. Absolutely.

Mr. CICILLINE. I hope you will share those strong sentiments with Secretary of State Pompeo. Do you see, Mr. Ambassador, any missions today that you think should close?

Ambassador NAGY. Not any today, sir.

Mr. CICILLINE. Okay, thank you. As you are aware, the U.N. peacekeeping mission to Liberia wound down this year after nearly 15 years in that country. Would you characterize that mission as a success and can you also tell us what assistance the U.S. is currently providing bilaterally to continue the progress and the momentum in Liberia?

Ambassador NAGY. I would consider that one a success, absolutely, because I remember when it started under ECOWAS and then it transgressed to the U.N. But I will turn that over to my colleague from USAID for what we are doing to continue to support the country.

Mr. DAY. Sure. Thank you, Congressman. We of course have had a tremendous partnership with the Liberian Government for a number of years and we have a robust program based in Monrovia, everything from humanitarian assistance to health to supporting civil society, democratic governance. There are still tremendous challenges of course. Extreme poverty is one of the major issues that we are dealing with.

But we have a good partner in the Liberian Government and the new President, President Weah, has been actively engaged with USAID programs. And so where we have good partners and good partnerships we feel like USAID programs are the most successful,

so we have a very good partnership with the Government of Liberia.

Mr. CICILLINE. And, finally, if I would ask both of you to comment on the current status of our work in the Central African Republic. I traveled there at a time when I think it was sort of a very critical moment and either the progress could continue or there could be a significant retreat of that. And I know there has also been some new reporting that the Russians have engaged in a significant way. So if you could each share the current status of CAR.

Mr. DAY. From the USAID perspective we are primarily focused on health and humanitarian assistance for the people of CAR.

Ambassador NAGY. From the diplomatic perspective we are really, really encouraging the African Union to be hyper-engaged in the peace process there, because the Russians are looking at the Central African Republic as an opportunity and they are very much trying to work into a parallel peace process to put themselves forward. So we really are calling on the African Union to be very engaged and to make sure that there is only peace process to bring the country back, sir.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you very much. I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you. The gentleman's time has expired.

It was noted earlier today it is the last Foreign Affairs Committee meeting for a number of members of this committee and one of those is Darrell Issa from California, who I would just note for the record has been an extremely valuable and thoughtful member of this committee for a long time and thank him for his service as well. And the gentleman is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you. That is very kind. It has been a quick 18 years, but I am leaving it with good people behind and this committee, I am sure, will function next Congress in the same bipartisan way it has for so many years.

I have got a bunch of questions and let me try to go through them. The first one is an umbrella one. With EXIM Bank currently not able to fully function, with good intention by USAID and the funding you have, obviously USTDA could be mentioned in that group and OPIC, all of it together in Africa, if you had to say what is our effort worth and what is China's effort worth in dollars and capability, how would you measure those, our dollars and capability and their dollars and capability, based on the effort they are placing and the money they are putting in?

Mr. Day, you probably see it every day.

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Congressman. I say that is an excellent question. I think when we think about how USAID and the Americans engage with our partners on the African continent compared to other potentially—

Mr. ISSA. No, and I want you to answer that. I fully buy that we go in there giving. We go in there with a real effort to develop countries and their own independence. We go in there as a gift to the rest of the world for safety and security, and perhaps the Chinese have a different intent.

I want people to understand for the record, if we are looking at the size of the army, so to speak, the size of the guns, the size of the programs coming in from just China, there are players, Russia

and so on, and their effort in dollars and capacity regardless of our good intention and regardless of the goodwill we have, what are you faced with, their efforts, your efforts, and some of the results?

Mr. DAY. From a cash perspective in terms of an infusion into Africa, we are not on the same level with China. However, the value, the superior value proposition—

Mr. ISSA. Meaning we give more almost anywhere in the world, but they put more into Africa in dollars.

Mr. DAY. In cash dollars. However, the superior value proposition of American innovation and American companies investing and two-way trade between Africa and the U.S., I don't think that is a comparison either. I would put my money on America every day.

Mr. ISSA. Well, and there is one follow-up question that I have been keenly looking at for many months. The difference in a country which goes to based on, if you will, the 20- or 30-year cost of building out, and particularly Power Africa, if they go out based on lowest initial cost, isn't it true that China wins every time?

And if they go out based on what is going to happen over the life of those loans and support and maintenance that in fact many Western countries including the United States almost always would be better choices. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. DAY. I believe that is a fair statement.

Mr. ISSA. So one of the questions I have because a lot of what we do as America is to help people temporarily, but we always use that term that if you teach someone how to fish they will be fed for a lifetime. What are the winning programs in Africa that you either have or want to have that are funded, but you might want to have funded more to teach them how to fish so that the decisions and the programs and the long-term Power Africa are sustainable and go further? What is it that we need to do?

Mr. DAY. You are absolutely right. I think Power Africa is probably the shining example of a successful program in Africa that really catalyzes American investment. I certainly believe that a whole of government effort to coordinate all of the interagency resources to bring those to bear to actually go to our African partners and demonstrate the superior value proposition that the U.S. has I think would be well received.

Mr. ISSA. Okay. One last question, if I may. I was at the change of current leaders in Zimbabwe some time ago. It is one of those things you only get to do every 36 years or so. We, the United States Government, are currently keeping out of Zimbabwe, either a little bit here and maybe more for the record.

What is it that you could accomplish if you were allowed to come up with systems that would isolate the current government from USAID or programs but at the same time would have some positive? You are engaged in war-torn countries, you are engaged in other dictatorships. Zimbabwe uses only \$20 bills for their money and they have been cut off from everyone except basically the South Africans for a long time.

So, let me rephrase that. The Chinese are actively in there, but would you give me your, for that particular country because I was so recently there.

Ambassador NAGY. Yes, sir. And, interestingly enough, we had a trade delegation from Zimbabwe not long ago visit here and they

were warmly welcomed. They had some of the government ministers with them. And we told them exactly as did I in my meetings with the high level officials, if they could take a couple of steps then we could start reevaluating our whole relationship because Zimbabwe has phenomenal potential.

And I am passionate about Zimbabwe because my triplets were born there and I know what the country can do. So if they could very quickly return to a prosperous path if the government would just—they are saying the right things. It would be nice if they actually did some of the things that they are talking about.

But I think the United States business community would stand ready to engage with them very quickly because there are a number of sectors where we could have very fruitful relations, sir.

Mr. CHABOT. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you. And if you would just for the record share with us, if you can, the request you made that would allow for that.

Ambassador NAGY. Is that okay, sir?

Mr. CHABOT. Yes, briefly.

Ambassador NAGY. All right. Yes, very quickly. There are two acts that they have passed, one is the Public Order and Security Act and the other is the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act, which is if they would just withdraw those that would be quite significant. Thank you.

Mr. ISSA. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CHABOT. Another gentleman from California, Mr. Bera is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BERA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I will echo the remarks of our colleagues with thanks to Chairman Royce as he moves on to his next endeavors as well as the other members of this committee. And certainly with incoming chairman Eliot Engel hopefully we will continue to operate in a bipartisan way.

Also, while I disagree with the President's approach to foreign policy, I appreciate the lifetime of service of our diplomats and our aid and development workers all around the world and applaud the work that both of you are doing. We have had Ambassador Green in front of this committee several times and I do think USAID is moving in the right direction looking at capacity building and certainly expect Congress to support that.

So given we have talked about the potential in Africa. If I were to just frame the challenges that we see, we obviously see a tremendous youth bulge that is occurring. Thirty thousand Africans entering the job market on a daily basis, that is a tremendous challenge. We see millions of people displaced throughout Africa. We see future challenges of food and water and security on the continent which will continue to create some instability.

I was just in Sierra Leone, a fledgling democracy that is coming out of years of civil war and had tremendous challenges with the West African Ebola crisis where we are engaged, but I would say I saw more Chinese while I was there as well, which again presents a challenge that many of my colleagues have talked about.

So we are framing the challenges, but I am an optimist and we have been spending some time trying to understand how PEPFAR came about being in a Republican administration with Democratic Members of Congress. And really underlying that was a national

security threat assessment that if millions of people died of HIV/AIDS it would create massive instability on that and create governmental instability. And what we have just laid out suggests that if we don't take a long-term view of these challenges in Africa you will continue to have an unstable continent.

I think my question to both of you is as Congress reasserts its authority and Members of Congress tend to be here longer than one administration to another, we have to take a nonpartisan approach to looking at Africa in the long term and often we don't. We shift from one administration. So that is if we were looking at long-term strategies, what would that time frame look like and then if you were recommending Congress looking at what the foundational strategies would be for the continent, what would you recommend our focus be? And I think the BUILD Act is a real strong first step.

Ambassador NAGY. Exactly, sir. I want to again congratulate the Congress with the BUILD Act because that has strengthened my talking points when I go to Africa. The other one I would really point to is the Young African Leaders Initiative, because as you said, sir, Africa's future is its youth and there is going to be millions and millions and millions of young Africans that are going to be wanting good jobs and if they don't get them they will either go to Europe or choose a very destructive path.

So programs such as that I have found to be so successful because everywhere I go to visit in Africa I run into the Young African Leaders Initiative network and those people are so dynamic, so entrepreneurial, and we are teaching exactly the skills that the future Africa will need.

Mr. BERA. The programs like that don't require a lot of taxpayer dollars and in fact they are capacity building.

Ambassador NAGY. No, they don't. And no, they are just phenomenal programs. So those are the two that—how we can encourage foreign direct investment from U.S. businesses and how we can build on this huge youth bulge to make sure that they look to the Western models for the future and not other places.

Mr. BERA. And then, Mr. Day, if I could just ask a quick question. As we think about aid and development in the 21st century, we have already touched on it won't just be U.S. taxpayer dollars, it will be trying to leverage private investment, public investment, and then also working with the international community as well. And if you could just briefly give a vision of what you think aid and development looks like in the 21st century.

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Congressman. I think Administrator Green has laid out a very clear vision for how he views USAID's future and that future is what we term the journey to self-reliance, which is working with our African partners to help them on their path toward self-reliance, which we ultimately define as their ability to plan, finance, and implement their own development solutions to their own challenges.

And so if we have the level of commitment which is so critical and we have a good partner on the ground, then in many cases our programs are more successful, we get much better results. And so the private sector is absolutely a critical component of this, but it is also important that we have good partners on the ground. And in many cases we do, in some cases we do not.

Mr. BERA. All right. My time has expired.

Mr. ROYCE [presiding]. We will go to Mr. Mike McCaul of Texas.

Mr. McCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just got out of my monthly threat briefing as chairman of the Homeland Security Committee, and I think the good news is that in the last—well, in 2016, the threat from ISIS was extreme. External operations, we were arresting one per week in the United States it seemed like, and I think over the last 2 years we have crushed them and the so-called caliphate.

But the threat hasn't completely gone away. I think the good news is it has been downgraded to some extent, but then they have moved. They are still maybe in the Euphrates area, but the threat seems to be emerging more in Africa. And so I know there are about 10,000 ISIS and al-Qaeda jihadists in Africa today and to put that in perspective, before 9/11 there were about 100 al-Qaeda that existed.

So it concerns me. I think, and I look forward to next Congress in this committee focusing on this issue because I think we are going to be looking at foreign adversary nation states, but I think the threat of radical Islamist terror is going to be focused in northern Africa and the Sahel.

Then-Congressman Pompeo and I, we traveled to Sinai and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, Camp North, they evacuated it the day we left due to the threat. We were in Tunisia, got briefed by the Libyan team in exile. It is very much a hot threat there and it is very hot in the Sahel region. We passed, thanks to the chairman, my Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership Act out of this committee which authorizes a program that you all are working on. I think it is very valuable and I just wanted to maybe just get your general assessment of what I am talking about in terms of the threat in Africa and what can we do.

And we also passed a fragility of states bill which I think deals with fragile nations where terrorism can breed out of. Can you kind of talk about holistically what the State Department is doing to counter this threat?

Ambassador NAGY. Yes, sir. Thank you very much. Indeed, the threat is increasing in Africa especially in the Sahelian region, a whole number of reasons which would take a long time to discuss, but basically the fundamental issue remains. We can get rid of the terrorists thanks to the efficiency of forces and allies and people that we are with, but once you get rid of the terrorists you have to fill that space with the government because if you don't then another group of terrorists will come along, which is in many cases worse than the last group, which is exactly what had happened in Somalia up to now.

So we are working very, very closely with the French, with the Malians, with the Nigerians, with the Chadians, with this new G5 force that five of the countries have set up and we are supporting them exactly, so that not only is it a military campaign but it is also a governance campaign that once you recapture territory then you do start providing the services that the people demand so it is not another terrorist group that comes along and does the exact same thing, sir.

Mr. MCCAUL. I agree. I think Libya is a good example where even the military can't get General Haftar in the east and one in the west and they can't get—if you have no military, you have no governance and so it is a big problem there.

Mr. Day?

Mr. DAY. I certainly agree with the Assistant Secretary's comments. Particularly in the Sahel there are just chronic vulnerabilities, water scarcity, low access to education, low access to health services and we think that this is absolutely critical to address. And so we have robust programs throughout the region, particularly in Burkina Faso and in Niger that is where our best partnerships are, but we continue to be very concerned about the situation.

Mr. MCCAUL. Well, thank you. And I look forward to addressing this again next Congress. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I am going to yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. ROYCE. Well, thank you, Mr. McCaul. Thanks for introducing that resolution for wildlife trafficking and rhino horn in China. I think keeping Beijing engaged on this issue is important.

Mr. MCCAUL. And will the gentleman yield? I think that is another issue where they illegally sell rhinos and wildlife and then it is a terror-financing operation. And so I look forward to—thank you, Mr. Chairman, for—

Mr. ROYCE. Yeah, we appreciate the fact that when we put the legislation forward to abolish the ivory trade that Beijing stepped up and closed those carving stations. But keeping the pressure on is going to be important.

We go to Lois Frankel of Florida.

Ms. FRANKEL. Thank you. It is sort of sad that I say thank you, Mr. Chair, to you, Mr. Royce, for the last time here. I just want to thank you. It has been such an honor and a pleasure to serve with you. And I think it is very fitting, I think of how many times I have ended up being here with you at the end with hardly anyone around.

So I think it is—

Mr. ROYCE. You always saw these hearings through and thank you.

Ms. FRANKEL. And so did you.

And I want to thank you two gentlemen for the work that you do. I want to start with a story and then I will make a point, and it is the story of a 30 year old HIV positive mother of two living in Mozambique who lost her husband to AIDS last year and she turned to a local clinic for help when she discovered she was HIV positive, the clinic gave her medicine to stay alive and healthy.

Now because of the expansion and expanded global gag rule, her clinic is one of dozens in Mozambique that has been forced to shut down and she has nowhere to go. Now I want to be kind to you because I don't think you invented this policy, but I am very alarmed. I am very worried about what is happening to women all over the world because some of the policies of the Trump administration.

And I will say this. No matter what you want to talk about and talk about progress, if we don't advance girls and women there will be no progress. There will not be economic progress, there will not

be progress in security of the world. Now I saw a chart that has shocked me and this chart shows me what the Trump's global gag rule is doing.

Now what we have had other administrations have gag rules which is basically prevents, they have prevented U.S. foreign aid for family planning to be cut off if even there is a mention of abortion or referral to a service that does abortion. Now under the Trump version—and that cut off \$575 million in foreign aid which is terrible. I don't think the original gag rules are good. I think it is inhumane and I think it is stupid, all right.

But here is Trump's version. It can cut up to \$8.8 billion in U.S. foreign aid for health programs including family planning, HIV, tuberculosis, malaria, maternal and child health because it is cutting off funding to these entities even if with their own money either perform a legal abortion or they refer to a legal abortion or they give all the information that is necessary for women to understand what her choices are.

And I just, it would be absolutely, you would be outraged—I don't mean you personally, but we would be outraged and we are if women were forced to have abortions. That would be wrong and inhumane, but to force women to have children against their will is also to me inhumane. And now that is not all that is going on though. I wish I could say that.

The Trump administration has also cut off millions and millions of dollars in funding to the U.N. Population Fund which works in 150 countries to provide critical services including maternal care, treatment for survivors of sexual violence, and combating harmful practices like child marriage, genital mutilation. So, I mean, you can talk all day about advances, but if we are holding women back, we are pushing them back, there is not going to be advances. So I guess my question to you is what is the replacement for all these maternal and women's health services that are being cut off?

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Congresswoman. And I certainly agree with you that for communities to progress women and children must progress as well. That said, the U.S. remains by far the largest donor of global health programs in the world and we remain committed to supporting the health of women and children. And we have programs all around the world. I will certainly check on the particular issue—

Ms. FRANKEL. Thank you.

Mr. DAY [continuing]. In Mozambique, but ending child marriage, ending FGM, gender-based violence, these are all issues that USAID continues to have robust programs in support of all across the continent of Africa.

Ms. FRANKEL. Well, to just finish up here, Mr. Chair. This is not a criticism of USAID which does very, very good work. But what, from my point of view, the Trump administration has been eliminating many, many good partners and what I would ask is that you bring back to this committee a full report as to who is making up the difference for all these programs that are potentially defunded because of the expansion of the global gag rule and because of the cutting off of the money to the U.N. Population Fund.

And I thank you again for your service and with that, Mr. Royce, I am so sorry for the last time to yield back, but again it has been an honor.

Mr. ROYCE. Congresswoman Frankel, it has been an honor for me to work with you. Thank you very much.

And I want to thank Ted Yoho here because we have been talking about the BUILD Act and as we have heard today that is going to double your book of business and all the new authorities that you have there. I appreciate his travels to Africa, his work also in Asia, but on this BUILD Act as a counterweight to Beijing, this is really critical. And I also thank him for his work on wildlife trafficking.

And Congresswoman Frankel, thank you for your work and traveling with me on so many occasions. I really appreciate it.

Congressman Yoho?

Mr. YOHO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I too want to reiterate what everybody says. But I know I am in good hands because I have got you looking right over my shoulder up there on the wall of the Foreign Affairs past chairmen looking over us, so I know we will do well. We will miss you and I thank you for your leadership and your mentorship.

Moving on, it is apparent that the U.S. must be fully engaged in Africa as the chairman stated in his opening statement, because if we do not, a void is created and grows as Africa grows and others will fill that, primarily China, Russia, or terrorist organizations. With the right lack of governance and all that they can expand, as we have seen. And with Boko Haram, there are 2 million displaced because of them and so that void has to be filled.

But how we engage matters and I know you will agree with that, we can engage post breakdown of societies or not the development of societies or then conflicts are there and it is a rougher way to go in there to try to fix something that is broken, or we can be proactive and help direct the direction of those countries to be able to fulfill the needs of what those wants are in that country. And the best way is through smart investments and infrastructure leading to economic development and to develop those countries it is essential that we move.

And, Mr. Day, I heard you talking about transitioning from the aid and trade, and our mantra has been saying we want to transition countries from aid to trade as quick as we can and if we look at our top 15 trading partners, of those where 12 of them were once recipients of foreign aid. Saying that, my questions are recognizing the diversity among African countries, what is your assessment on the region's economic growth and how do you choose the best country to work with?

We will start with you Ambassador Nagy.

Ambassador NAGY. How do we choose the best countries to work with. That would come through our engagement with them on which countries are really, really ready to move forward and to accept the types of business environments which exactly you were talking about, low levels of corruption, being really interested in their own people bilaterally, but also there is another factor because the regions also matter.

And this time I am really, really encouraged because the MCC is able to do regional projects, so that is also very important because Africa's natural units are in fact its regions because of the old colonial boundaries—

Mr. YOHO. Right.

Ambassador NAGY [continuing]. But often regions make a lot more sense. So we can really engage to see which of the regions are ready, which of the countries are really ready to move forward to put into policies and priorities which will benefit their own people.

Mr. YOHO. It perplexes me, because we look over there and there are places that don't have water. They don't have electricity. This is the 21st century. We know how to do these. And what we see prohibiting that are bad government or the despots they don't care about the people, they care about their personal gain.

We can't fix every country today, but if we can build on the success. And you were talking about the mission in Liberia was a success and we know success breeds success. So can we build around countries in that same area and that same region that say I want what they have and we are willing to come to the table and do what we have to, are you finding that, Mr. Day? We will ask you.

Mr. DAY. We are, the short answer. And I think also to answer your question about how do we choose, how USAID engages with our partners on the ground, USAID is transforming the way that we do business and that is all part of the journey to self-reliance.

But part of that is we want to be more data-driven in our decision making. In fact, we have developed these self-reliant road maps that actually can bring together 17 third-party objective open source data sources so that we can have a better picture as to where these countries are on that path and then also helps us guide some of those investments. It is not determinative, but it is a conversation starter and a tool that we use.

Mr. YOHO. Okay. We wanted, when we started to draft the BUILD Act our goal was to move countries from aid to trade.

Mr. DAY. Yeah.

Mr. YOHO. We wanted to build on the OPIC model that has returned money to the American taxpayers 40 out of 41 years. How will the BUILD Act improve U.S. companies' competitiveness in Africa and what should their key areas of focus be as they look to better support U.S. companies? And I have only got a few seconds.

Ambassador NAGY. With each country that will be different, sir, because in some, for example, the tourism sector could really, really be exploited to create work. Others it is agricultural development and productivity and processing, so it depends country to country. But thanks to the BUILD Act it is a wide spectrum and again I heard that from the American business community and the African leaders themselves.

Mr. YOHO. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I take this opportunity to yield back to you for the last time and it has been an honor.

Mr. ROYCE. It has been an honor, Mr. Yoho, to work with you. Ambassador Ann Wagner.

Mrs. WAGNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for hosting this hearing and I will echo my colleagues. I cannot think of a more fitting

way for you to close out your esteemed time and leadership on this committee than to reflect on the immense progress we have seen in relations between the United States and our African partners and a chart path toward future shared growth.

Ambassador Nagy, I am deeply concerned about China's attempts to expand its control over the global cobalt market to African producers. It has recently come to my attention that China is now seeking to derail a U.S.-Cameroonian memorandum of understanding on cobalt production. This strikes me as a serious national security risk. Already the U.S. military buys most of the cobalt it uses for guided missiles production from China, and frankly a partnership on cobalt production with Cameroon would greatly benefit both countries.

How is the State Department working with the Cameroonian Government to get the memorandum of understanding back on track?

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you for the question. Unfortunately I am not familiar with the issue so I will have to get back to you on that.

Mrs. WAGNER. Mr. Day, anything?

Mr. DAY. I will defer to the Assistant Secretary.

Ambassador NAGY. But I will—can I just add one quick—during my last visit to West Africa, interestingly, the President of Guinea said that they had some potential cobalt there and we are following up on that one.

Mrs. WAGNER. We could use the extra partnership. It would be helpful to both, and I do not want China once again interfering in a very important memorandum of understanding.

So moving on, my colleagues and I have long sought to counter Boko Haram's campaign to use unspeakable violence against schoolgirls to gain international notoriety. Last February, I was appalled to learn that Boko Haram had abducted 112 schoolgirls from a town in northeast Nigeria. While most were thankfully released a month later, one brave little girl, a 15-year-old, Leah Sharibu, remains in captivity because she refused to abandon her Christian faith.

Ambassador Nagy, how is the United States working to secure Leah's safe release?

Ambassador NAGY. Leah Sharibu definitely remains a priority for us. Our Ambassador is seized with it as is the rest of the mission. We bring her up and as a matter of fact President Buhari himself is following up on that on a continuous basis. But one of the things that we have avoided is mentioning it too much in public because then the value to the terrorists keeps going up. But I can assure you that we are working very energetically as much as possible to obtain her release.

Mrs. WAGNER. Thank you. Although Rwanda's authoritarian government under Paul Kagame recently acquitted opposition leader Diane Rwigara of trumped up charges brought against her, many worry that the government's intent is to intimidate its critics and political enemies.

Mr. Day, what does Ms. Rwigara's acquittal mean for dissent and free speech in Rwanda?

Mr. DAY. USAID has been working in Rwanda for quite some time and with a wide variety of different programs. And you will have to forgive me, I will have to look into that particular issue. Our primary support has been for the Rwandan people. We certainly have been concerned with some of the closing spaces in Rwanda, but we continue to work with civil society and a variety of different groups to support the people of Rwanda so that they have a voice into their own future. But I will look into that particular issue.

Mrs. WAGNER. Thank you. A few months after Emmerson Mnangagwa replaced strong man Robert Mugabe as President of Zimbabwe, we have seen disappointingly few improvements. Mr. Day, what is the situation on the ground in Zimbabwe and how does USAID support the growth of Zimbabwe's civil society?

Mr. DAY. I will defer this to the Secretary on the political analysis, but similar to Rwanda we are certainly very concerned about the political situation in Zimbabwe in terms of an operating space. Our priority of course continues to be the support of the Zimbabwean people who have been under tremendous distress for a number of decades. And so our programs are focused on humanitarian assistance and supporting civil society so they again can have a voice in their own.

Mrs. WAGNER. Thank you. Ambassador Nagy?

Ambassador NAGY. Yes, ma'am. On the ground, the Zimbabwean Government is saying some fairly positive things, but we are still waiting for some action on the two laws that I mentioned previously.

Mrs. WAGNER. Right. All right, well, thank you. I look forward to some responses to some of the questions that I had and I appreciate your service and your time today.

Mr. Chairman, I also for the last time yield back. It has been an honor and a privilege to work with you here in Congress.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Ambassador.

We go to John Curtis of Utah.

Mr. CURTIS. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, I would, like many of my colleagues, like to emphasize two themes that we have heard throughout these hearings. One is thank you for your service. It has been an honor to be the youngest member of your committee and to be here.

The second theme is this influence of China, and I think you have adequately answered this over and over in today's hearing, so I am not going to really ask you a question other than to join my colleagues in expressing concern and acknowledging that despite the amazing work that we do, the over \$8 billion of investment that we make there, that sometime China comes in and negates all of that with these tempting short-term offers. So just add my voice to the concern and the reality of that. Usually around the globe you see as a partner in crime Russia in many regions and we haven't really touched on that. Could you share with us the influence of Russia on the continent and tell us what concerns you have there?

Ambassador NAGY. Thank you very much, exactly right. Russia, while in no way bringing the amount of resources that China has, they are trying to be very opportunistic and transactional where for a low investment they can maximize their influence. I point specifi-

cally to the Central African Republic where the Russians used an authorization from the U.N. Security Council to provide some weapons to the Central African Government to bring in several hundred private security people.

Now the President's security advisor is a Russian. The Russians have trained the presidential guard. They are also exploiting some mineral resources, so they have inserted themselves into the Central African Republic at relatively low cost. Those are the types of opportunities that they are looking at and they will continue looking at and we have to be very vigilant and monitor their activities closely, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Thank you. Botswana is home to a large population or a high percentage of the elephants in the region. And we talked and you have referred a little bit to the illegal hunting and problems that we have had and we have had almost no discussion about potential legal opportunities there, and the ban on elephant hunting is viewed in many regions in Botswana as harmful. Some of the economic development of the small villages is dependent, was dependent on that.

So while the illegal trafficking is going on, we have kind of shut this down, the folks on the ground will tell you they don't mind reasonable restrictions based on scientific data, but that there has been almost no scientific data put behind the ban. What role would be appropriate for the United States in determining what is good for legal harvesting of elephants in the region?

Mr. DAY. I would be happy to look into the issue and get back to you. The only thing I will say is that we have had a long-standing and good partnership with the Botswanan Government and we have robust wildlife trafficking programs. Our programs particularly in Botswana have been focused on HIV and AIDS, but I will look into the particular issue of them.

Mr. CURTIS. Thank you. I walked in—I was here for almost 2½ hours of the hearing but stepped out for a moment and when I came back in you were talking about Rwanda. And so I don't know if you touched on this while I was gone, but if not could you address the problem with the closing of the churches? And Rwanda has made so much progress it seems to be a step backward. Is that on the radar of the administration and are we seeing some improvements there?

Ambassador NAGY. It is. We have not seen any improvements lately, but it is very much on the radar screen of the administration because we believe that that particular law was very counter-productive. We understand the purpose that they were trying to get at, but we felt that the mechanism was totally wrong because it was infringing on freedom of religion instead of—if there is a problem with certain churches that are breaking the law or are not real churches, then you use the law to affect them, not with a sledgehammer.

Mr. CURTIS. That is what it felt like.

My final question is that oftentimes in these voids of uncertainty and disruption you will find ISIS and al-Qaeda. We haven't talked about that much today. Can you tell us what you are seeing in the region with the growth of these terrorist organizations and what we need to be looking for?

Ambassador NAGY. Absolutely. Both of those are very opportunistic and different terrorist groups in Africa have aligned themselves with one or the other global organizations. And sometimes they do that as a mark of trying to be recognized, and other times, for example, the new group that has crept up in Mozambique are also calling themselves that even though there is absolutely no ties to them.

Mr. CURTIS. Right.

Ambassador NAGY. But as I mentioned before, the terrorist threat is growing. It is becoming much more serious. It is creeping into places and countries where it has not existed before. That is why we have to be very, very active and engaging with international partners, with the African countries, and all of our friends to confront them wherever they exist. Mozambique is a good example because it has just started and there is still an opportunity to stop it in its infancy. So it is critically important to give it attention there, not to let happen what happened with, say, Boko Haram, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Good. Thank you. I am out of time. Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you very much, John. We go now to Mr. Ted Poe of Texas.

Mr. POE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to echo my colleagues' comments. Thank you for chairing this committee for so many years. It has been a wonderful privilege to be here with you. We are both leaving Congress. I am back to Texas and you are back to the foreign country of California. It has been a pleasure working with you and best wishes in the future. I think the country is better because of your leadership over the last 6 years and even longer than that. You chaired the same subcommittee that I am chairing, the Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade Subcommittee, so thank you on behalf of the people of Texas for your leadership in foreign affairs.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Judge. I might come see you sometime in the winter in Texas.

Mr. POE. You are always welcome. You are always welcome, sir.

Gentlemen, thank you for being here. I want to cut right to the chase. Wildlife trafficking in Africa is a great concern especially as I see things taking place and it is not getting better for the animals. You have corruption with governments in Africa. You have the slaughter of rhinos for their horns. And the horns, I understand, are grounded down into powder and shipped illegally to Vietnam.

You have the elephants and the tusk being sold in China on the illegal market, but the bottom line is you got the disappearance of wildlife in Africa that may become extinct. My 12 grandkids, it may be the only time they see rhinos or elephants are in Disney movies or Disney cartoons in the future. I am not being facetious. So what is the plan to improve that situation especially in those two areas, those two animals?

Mr. DAY. Thank you, Congressman. As you said this is an absolutely critical issue. Biodiversity conservation is absolutely critical to the health of African communities. USAID has prioritized this issue and will continue to do so. Twenty-five percent of the agency's biodiversity funding goes directly toward wildlife trafficking. We

have 65 projects in 25 countries and so it is something that we work tirelessly at protecting.

Mr. POE. Excuse me, Mr. Day.

Mr. DAY. Yes.

Mr. POE. Are we winning, are we losing?

Mr. DAY. It is a complex issue and it is—

Mr. POE. That means we are losing. We are losing. Complex means we are losing. I am not faulting you, I am just, I want to know because this is a—I guess, really, the question is what can we do better to make sure that these animals don't become extinct. What can we do, Congress, administration?

Mr. DAY. I think from our perspective if we had more greater engagement both at the host country level, the international donor community, as well as the private sector, as I mentioned earlier in the testimony we can't do this without the engagement of the private sector. And that is not to say that they are not engaged now, but we do need more engagement from the private sector. We believe that that is where the vast majority of the force and the power is going to come from.

Mr. POE. And I agree with you on that too, the private sector as well.

Ambassador, do you want to weigh in on this?

Ambassador NAGY. The only thing I would add, sir, is that I think it is also critically important to engage local communities, because if you can persuade them of the value of the wildlife for their own livelihood when it is tourism, economic development, and factors like that, then that helps us win that much easier because the local folks know what is going on.

Mr. POE. It seems to me I can understand why the bad things are happening. You have everybody involved. You have the local game wardens, if I can use that phrase, who make almost nothing a year, all of a sudden being given a bribe to look the other way while terrorists or whoever wants to kill animals on the property and it just seems that the international community, especially the United States, needs to be directly involved in this before it is too late. And then we will wring our hands and say, oh, I wish we would have done something different in the past.

I don't know if it is going after the Vietnamese Government, going after the Chinese Government, certainly going after the terrorists who were involved in doing this and getting rid of those do-bads, in my opinion. I would just hope that Congress, the administration, the private, and God bless those private entities that are trying to do what they can to preserve animals.

Is there any talk about—one last question, Mr. Chairman—any talk about removing those species from certain areas of Africa and relocating them somewhere else?

Mr. DAY. I would have to check on those types of discussions. I do know that removal of certain species from certain areas is extraordinarily expensive, so I know there are resource issues there. But I am happy to look into what the current discussions are.

Mr. POE. I would appreciate you getting back with me on that. We certainly can bring some of them to Texas, it would be fine with me. I am just speaking on my behalf.

Thank you both, gentlemen. Thank you again, Mr. Chairman. And that is just the way it is.

Mr. ROYCE. Well, thank you. I share the judge's sense of urgency on this and I think that is why we need fully funded programs. That is why we need full diplomatic engagement and also why we need the Departments of State and Defense, both working with the game wardens whose lives are on the line there in Africa who are trying to stand off these poachers where they are outgunned and outnumbered.

But let me thank Ambassador Nagy and Mr. Day for being here to testify before us and I hope the entire administration is listening to us today. Clearly there is strong bipartisan support for well-resourced, broad engagement in Africa. We have got to be present there. We have got to continue our effort there to be active in Africa, to build partner capacity, to combat terrorism, to foster trade and development.

As the judge said, to end wildlife trafficking there, to strengthen health systems there, and of course to support good governance. Too much is at stake, too much for Americans, too much is at stake for Africans alike. And with that, this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:21 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

A P P E N D I X



MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

**FULL COMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128**

Edward R. Royce (R-CA), Chairman

December 12, 2018

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to be held in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live on the Committee website at <http://www.ForeignAffairs.house.gov>):

DATE: Wednesday, December 12, 2018

TIME: 10:00 a.m.

SUBJECT: Development, Diplomacy, and Defense: Promoting U.S. Interests in Africa

WITNESSES: The Honorable Tibor P. Nagy, Jr.
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of African Affairs
U. S. Department of State

Mr. Ramsey Day
Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Africa
U. S. Agency for International Development

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5021, at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.



HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS*FULL COMMITTEE HEARING*

<i>PRESENT</i>	<i>MEMBER</i>
X	Edward R. Royce, CA
X	Christopher H. Smith, NJ
	Ilcana Ros-Lehtinen, FL
X	Dana Rohrabacher, CA
X	Steve Chabot, OH
X	Joe Wilson, SC
X	Michael T. McCaul, TX
X	Ted Poe, TX
X	Darrell Issa, CA
	Tom Marino, PA
	Mo Brooks, AL
	Paul Cook, CA
X	Scott Perry, PA
	Mark Meadows, NC
X	Ted Yoho, FL
	Adam Kinzinger, IL
X	Lee Zeldin, NY
	Dan Donovan, NY
	James F. Sensenbrenner, Jr., WI
X	Ann Wagner, MO
	Brian J. Mast, FL
	Brian K. Fitzpatrick, PA
	Francis Rooney, FL
X	Thomas A. Garrett, Jr., VA
X	John Curtis, UT

<i>PRESENT</i>	<i>MEMBER</i>
X	Eliot L. Engel, NY
X	Brad Sherman, CA
X	Gregory W. Meeks, NY
X	Albio Sires, NJ
X	Gerald E. Connolly, VA
X	Theodore E. Deutch, FL
X	Karen Bass, CA
	William Keating, MA
X	David Cicilline, RI
X	Ami Bera, CA
X	Lois Frankel, FL
	Tulsi Gabbard, HI
X	Joaquin Castro, TX
	Robin Kelly, IL
	Brendan Boyle, PA
X	Dina Titus, NV
	Norma Torres, CA
X	Brad Schneider, IL
X	Tom Suozzi, NY
X	Adriano Espaillat, NY
X	Ted Lieu, CA

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR RECORD BY THE HONORABLE DAVID CICILLINE, A
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

EDWARD R. ROYCE, CALIFORNIA
CHAIRMAN

AMY PORTER
CLERK OF STAFF

THOMAS SHEEHY
RANKING MEMBER



ELIOT L. ENGEL, NEW YORK
RANKING DEMOCRATIC MEMBER

JASON STENBAUM
DELEGATING STAFF DIRECTOR

One Hundred Fifteenth Congress
U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Foreign Affairs
2170 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
www.foreignaffairs.house.gov

November 27, 2018

Dear Foreign Affairs Committee Colleagues:

As I conclude my time as Chairman, I would like to thank you for your contributions to the Committee. I also want to recognize our Ranking Member, Eliot Engel – a dedicated lawmaker and true friend – and our hardworking Subcommittee Chairs and Ranking Members. Their commitment and initiative made our many key achievements possible.

U.S. foreign policy is at a critical juncture, with threats to U.S. interests mounting and a global order in flux. Nevertheless, this Committee has shown a steadfast commitment to maintaining U.S. leadership on the world stage, which has been challenged and questioned as never before, and we have worked diligently to advance a number of important causes – almost always on a bipartisan basis. It is one of my proudest achievements as Chairman that, despite these challenging times, the Committee has continued its legacy of working constructively across the aisle. I am confident that this critical spirit of cooperation will continue. Our nation demands it.

This letter highlights some of the Committee's considerable accomplishments over the last several years. I hope that you feel as proud of our work as I do.

Confronting Security Challenges. The Committee confronted a range of threats to U.S. national security, often leveraging America's economic strength to target our adversaries while strengthening cooperation with our partners.

- **Maintaining Maximum Pressure on North Korea.** The Committee worked tirelessly to profile and counter the North Korean regime's nuclear threat, including by enacting successive sanctions to further isolate the regime from the international financial system, pressing two Administrations to once again rightfully identify North Korea as a sponsor of terrorism, and successfully pushing to impose additional sanctions under the *Chemical and Biological Weapons and Warfare Elimination Act* after the regime's brazen assassination of Kim Jong-nam in Malaysia in 2017. Moreover, because sanctions must be enforced to be effective, the Committee pursued rigorous oversight of existing laws,

Committee Colleague
November 27, 2018
Page 2 of 7

sending bipartisan delegations to the region to encourage partner countries to reject North Korean forced labor and shipping industry, among other efforts to isolate this dangerous and brutal regime. The Committee also continued to raise awareness of the regime's horrific human rights record, including by reauthorizing the North Korea Human Rights Act, which updated critical U.S. programs to help North Koreans access basic news and information.

- **Opposing the Full Range of Iranian Threats.** Tehran's rogue regime is waging an increasingly successful effort to bolster its influence across the Middle East, fomenting conflict and violence in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and Lebanon and threatening regional stability. The Committee supported the self-defense capabilities of regional U.S. partners, including by reauthorizing critical security assistance to Israel at historically high levels and streamlining arms sales to Jordan. In addition to conducting vigorous oversight and scrutiny of the nuclear agreement with Iran, the Committee successfully enacted multiple pieces of bipartisan legislation to sanction Iran's ballistic missile program, and its foremost regional proxy, Hezbollah. The Committee also profiled, through public hearings and House resolutions, Iran's support for terrorist proxies, wide-scale corruption, and gross human rights abuses, and pressed the Obama and Trump Administrations to improve U.S. broadcasting of these abuses into Iran.
- **Countering Russian Aggression and Disinformation.** The Committee condemned and worked to respond to Russia's systematic campaign to undermine Western democratic institutions. After profiling the Kremlin's "weaponization of information" in eastern Europe, the Committee pressed for the successful enactment of bipartisan legislation to overhaul U.S. international broadcasting efforts and counter state-led propaganda through the creation of the Global Engagement Center within the Department of State. After the 2016 U.S. election, Ranking Member Engel and I also worked to enact last year's *Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act*, which levied powerful sanctions on Russian hackers, intelligence agents, and industry. Following Russia's use of a military-grade chemical weapon to poison British citizen Sergei Skripal and his daughter on British soil in March of 2018, the Committee successfully pressed for the imposition of mandatory sanctions on Russia under the *Chemical and Biological Weapons and Warfare Elimination Act*.
- **Standing with our European Partners.** The Committee reaffirmed Congress' commitment to our NATO allies, including by passing resolutions supporting the alliance through the House with overwhelming support, and holding hearings and briefings with Administration officials and foreign delegations to discuss how best to counter Russia's increasing aggression in Central and Eastern Europe. The Committee strongly condemned Russia's aggression against Ukraine, adopting tough sanctions against Russian officials and businesses, and authorized lethal defensive military systems to Ukraine.
- **Addressing Threats in Cyberspace.** Through legislation and diligent oversight, the Committee pressed the Obama and Trump Administrations to develop a strategy for U.S. leadership on critical issues in cyberspace, including security, the digital economy, internet

Committee Colleague
November 27, 2018
Page 3 of 7

governance, and internet freedom. The House passed the Cyber Deterrence and Response Act, to name, shame, and sanction foreign actors who carry out cyber attacks against the United States, including attacks on our infrastructure, economy, and elections.

- **Challenging the Brutality of Assad, Russia, and Iran in Syria.** In 2014, the Committee heard the harrowing testimony of Syrian army defector "Caesar," who produced thousands of photos documenting the Assad regime's horrific brutality, including detention and torture of thousands of Syrians. The Committee passed legislation to sanction Assad and his backers, including Russia and Iran; hold war criminals accountable; and support justice for the victims of Assad's atrocities.
- **Degrading ISIS and Terrorist Networks.** The Committee held numerous hearings and briefings with Administration officials and private experts to track the rise of terrorist organizations like ISIS, Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, and al-Shabaab. The Committee advanced bipartisan legislation to help partner countries defend themselves from these threats and improve management of U.S. security assistance, including military education and training. The Committee also successfully enacted legislation to limit the black market for Syrian antiquities looted by ISIS, denying a source of funding to the organization and improving coordination around U.S. government efforts to preserve cultural property.

Advancing Diplomacy and Strengthening U.S. Foreign Assistance. The Committee continued its work to strengthen and reform U.S. diplomacy and foreign assistance so that U.S. dollars stretch further and improve and save more lives.

- **Investing in Diplomacy, Development and Defense.** U.S. Foreign Service Officers and other personnel serve our country abroad with distinction, often in difficult circumstances and without their families, to advance American interests. But supporting our allies, opening markets for U.S. businesses, and combatting terror networks and global health threats takes resources and commitment from Washington. The Committee successfully fought back against proposals for disproportionate budget cuts that would have undermined critical diplomatic and development efforts, while continuing to pursue reforms to make U.S. foreign assistance more efficient and accountable.
- **Promoting Economic Development and Trade.** The Committee successfully enacted landmark legislation to move countries from aid to trade by establishing a modern U.S. development finance institution, which will catalyze U.S. private-sector investment in emerging markets. The Committee also enacted critical reforms to strengthen U.S.-Africa trade at no cost to taxpayers. These reforms not only support America's exports and jobs, they strengthen U.S. national security by offering the developing world a rules-based alternative to the predatory practices of authoritarian regimes like China.
- **Combatting Hunger and Promoting Food Security.** U.S. overseas food assistance saves millions of lives every year, but has long been plagued by inefficiencies and outdated regulations. Through successive pieces of legislation, including the Global Food Security

Committee Colleague
November 27, 2018
Page 4 of 7

Act, the Committee secured common-sense reforms to our food-assistance programs, allowing us to stretch our dollars further, reduce long-term dependence upon food aid, and ultimately, save more lives.

- **Advancing Global Health.** The Committee worked to reauthorize the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), which is widely regarded as the most effective U.S. foreign assistance program since the Marshall Plan. Since its inception, PEPFAR has saved and improved millions of lives, prevented millions of HIV infections, and changed the course of the global HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Protecting Human Rights Worldwide. The Committee remained a vigorous advocate of human rights and a voice for oppressed people around the globe.

- **Demanding Accountability for Genocide and War Crimes.** The Committee continued to play a leading role in demanding accountability for war crimes and mass atrocities. Through hearings and legislation, the Committee pressed the Obama and Trump Administrations to declare a genocide in the face of mass atrocities committed by ISIS in the Middle East and Burmese security forces in Myanmar. The Committee also enacted legislation to support efforts to collect and preserve evidence of crimes against humanity carried out by ISIS, so that, ultimately, justice may be served.
- **Supporting Democracy in Africa.** The Committee continued its legacy of supporting democracy in Africa by enacting legislation to outline congressional expectations for benchmarks the Government of Zimbabwe must meet regarding free and fair elections, respect for human rights, and economic reforms in order to receive relief from existing sanctions and debt. The Committee also pushed to codify sanctions against the Democratic Republic of Congo in response to the government's continued refusal to schedule elections, and the deteriorating human rights situation. The Committee also advanced resolutions supporting freedom and democratic values in Liberia, Ethiopia, Kenya, and elsewhere.
- **Promoting Human Rights and Condemning Corrupt Regimes.** The Committee enacted the "Global Magnitsky Act" to sanction individuals responsible for significant corruption and gross violations of human rights. The Committee also continued to shed light on corrupt regimes, especially in the Western Hemisphere. Members traveled to the region to observe the humanitarian crisis caused by Venezuela's dictator Nicolas Maduro, and pushed for legislation to continue humanitarian assistance for the Venezuelan people and impose targeted sanctions on Maduro's regime. The Committee also responded actively to escalating violence in Nicaragua, and conducted oversight of U.S. democracy promotion and anti-corruption programs in the region.

Conducting Rigorous Oversight. The Committee continued a tradition of robust oversight of the agencies and laws under its jurisdiction, holding over *eight hundred* hearings, markups, briefings, and meetings over the last six years. The Committee also secured a number of important reforms to modernize and refocus key U.S. diplomacy and development activities.

Committee Colleague
November 27, 2018
Page 5 of 7

- **Revitalizing America's International Broadcasting.** Through persistent oversight, the Committee pushed Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, and other U.S.-backed broadcasters to be more effective in combatting propaganda from ISIS, Russia, and others. The strategies employed by the Kremlin today, for example, are highly sophisticated and designed to help Putin both consolidate power at home and divide societies abroad. Unfortunately, the U.S.-backed outlets that were critical in taking down the Iron Curtain with timely and accurate reporting have since lost their edge. The Committee led a successful push to reform the agency – widely deemed “defunct” – that oversees U.S. international broadcasters, empowering a CEO to improve management at the newly-named “U.S. Agency for Global Media,” so that American can ultimately win the information war against authoritarian regimes and terrorist groups.
- **Reforming Export Controls.** Following years of diligent oversight and hearings, the Committee successfully enacted the most comprehensive export-control reform in decades, closing critical gaps in U.S. export controls that could otherwise permit the transfer of cutting edge technologies – like artificial intelligence and advanced semiconductors – to China and other countries of concern. The legislation also ensures that our controls are regularly updated to support continued U.S. leadership in science, technology, engineering, manufacturing. These reforms ensure that U.S. national security and our technological edge are protected *without* creating a sprawling new bureaucracy or unnecessarily burdening U.S. job creators competing in overseas markets.
- **Bolstering Embassy Security.** The Committee passed legislation to improve the security, functionality, and efficiency of America's embassies and consulates through enhanced oversight of the selection, design, and construction of new facilities. The Committee also conducted rigorous oversight of the newly constructed training facility for diplomats in Southwestern Virginia. This oversight is a continuation of this Committee's efforts last Congress, which ultimately saved taxpayers roughly \$500 million in unnecessary construction costs.
- **Strengthening the Global Health Supply Chain.** After conducting dozens of interviews, reviewing thousands of pages of documents, traveling to the region, and holding a subcommittee hearing on the issue, Committee members released an extensive report outlining problems with USAID's largest-ever contract that jeopardized access to life-saving health commodities. Among other recommendations, the report outlined key ways in which the Department of State and USAID must improve communication, coordination, and oversight. As a result, resources will be better spent, and lives will be saved abroad.
- **Using our Aid as Leverage to End Support for Terrorism.** The Committee successfully enacted legislation to cut off funding that directly benefits the Palestinian Authority (PA), unless and until the PA stops making payments to Palestinian terrorists and their families. The PA's abhorrent practice of rewarding terrorism incentivizes violence and jeopardizes the security of our ally, Israel. The *Taylor Force Act* was named after a courageous and patriotic young American, Taylor Force, whose life was tragically cut short when he murdered by a Palestinian terrorist in Israel.

Committee Colleague
November 27, 2018
Page 6 of 7

- **Supporting Anti-Corruption Efforts.** The Committee conducted rigorous oversight of U.S. anti-corruption efforts, particularly in the northern-triangle region of Central America. The Committee investigated allegations of overreach on the part of the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) and proposed reforms to address legitimate concerns, while defending the organization's overall efforts to combat corruption and impunity. When the Guatemalan government announced its plans to expel CICIG, the Committee demanded written goals and plans for the transfer of capacity from CICIG to the Guatemalan Attorney General's office.

Empowering Women and Girls. The Committee worked to ensure that women and girls around the world are included in and empowered by ongoing U.S. investments in diplomacy, development, and security.

- **Promoting Peace Processes.** While women are frequently excluded from negotiations to bring an end to war and conflict, peace processes that *include* women are much more likely to succeed in restoring peace. The Committee successfully enacted legislation to require a government-wide strategy to promote women's participation in preventing and resolving conflicts globally, along with training for State and Defense Department personnel on women's inclusion and efforts to protect civilians from violence and exploitation.
- **Improving Economic Empowerment and Access to Digital Resources.** The Committee passed legislation to address gender-related barriers to economic growth and support women-led enterprises, by expanding microenterprise assistance to small and medium-sized women-owned businesses. Additionally, the Committee pushed for legislation to promote internet access in developing countries, with special attention to women and underserved populations, to improve education and economic opportunities.
- **Protecting Girls' Education.** The Committee led the way in enacting legislation to expand girls' access to quality basic education in developing and conflict-affected countries, by encouraging attention to some of the unique barriers girls face, such as child marriage and gender-based violence.

Championing Conservation. The Committee worked to protect the world's most unique landscapes, the iconic animals that inhabit them, and the communities that call them home.

- **Ending Wildlife Trafficking.** The Committee passed the END Wildlife Trafficking Act to target the international criminal syndicates poaching wildlife and selling their ivory on the black market – often to the benefit of terrorists and other criminal gangs.
- **Strengthening Conservation Coordination.** The Committee continued to promote international conservation efforts, including passing two major pieces of legislation that help conserve the Okavango River Basin, home to the largest remaining elephant population in Africa, and use existing State Department global rewards programs to target transnational wildlife traffickers. These important pieces of legislation, along with those

Committee Colleague
November 27, 2018
Page 7 of 7

previously enacted, not only serve to protect some of the world's most endangered animals, but provide the State Department with tools to capture and convict wanted transnational criminals and terrorists who profit from the illegal wildlife trade.

In conclusion, I thank each of you for your role in securing these and our many other important policy achievements. I also want to thank the talented and hardworking Committee staff, including Amy Porter, Tom Sheehy, Jason Steinbaum, and Doug Campbell, who have led the Committee's Republican and Democratic staff over the last six years.

I am grateful for the opportunity I have had to serve as your Chairman, and wish you the best in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,



EDWARD R. ROYCE
Chairman