COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

MEMBER/OFFICER POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM ☒ *Original* ☐ *Amendment*

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for travel taken in connection with a Member or officer's official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual *Financial Disclosure Statement*. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, **you must complete this form and *file it with the Clerk of the House by email at gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov*, within 15 days after travel is completed.** Please ***do not*** file this form with the Committee on Ethics.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Name of Traveler: James Himes

2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: Mary Himes ***OR*** ☐ None
   b. Relationship to Traveler: ☒ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____

3. a. Dates: Departure: 8/11/2025 Return: 8/18/2025
   b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ ***OR*** ☒ None

4. Departure City: New York City, NY Destination: Livingstone, Zambia Return City: New York City, NY

5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation & The Aspen Institute

6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended (attach additional pages if necessary): Attached.

7. Attached to this form are ***each*** of the following, *signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box*:
   a. ☒ a completed *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form*;
   b. ☒ the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* completed by the trip sponsor ***prior*** to the trip, ***including all*** attachments ***and*** the *Additional Sponsor Form(s)*;
   c. ☒ page 2 of the completed *Traveler Form* submitted by the Member or officer; ***and***
   d. ☒ the letter from the Committee on Ethics approving my participation on this trip.

8. a. ☒ I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the attached sponsor's agenda. *Signify statement is true by checking the box.*
   b. If not, explain: _____

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge. I have determined that all of the expenses on the attached *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form* were necessary and that the travel was in connection with my duties as a Member or officer of the U.S. House of Representatives and would not create the appearance that I am using publi

Member / Officer Signature: 

Date: 8/27/2025

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed trip sponsor form(s) and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection.

This form and any attachments may be submitted at 1015 Longworth House Office Building or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

Your completed request must be submitted to the Committee no less than 30 days before your proposed departure date. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 30 days before the trip commences. **You must receive explicit approval from the Committee before you depart on this trip.**

Name of Traveler: James Himes

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

I certify that the information contained on both pages of this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowlec

Signature: 

Name of Signatory (James Himes

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee):

Office Address: RHOB 2173

Telephone Number: 503-991-2285

Email Address of Contact Person: austin.calvo@mail.house.gov

☐ Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet, the purpose of the trip is to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity, *and* these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 30 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: You must complete all of the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

KEEP A COPY OF THIS FORM. Page 2 (but not this page) must be submitted to the Clerk as part of the post-travel disclosure required by House Rule 25. Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting paperwork for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

If there are any questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or via email: *travel.requests@mail.house.gov*.

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: James Himes

2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: The Aspen Institute & the Gates Foundations

3. City and State **OR** Foreign Country of Travel: Zambia & Botswana

4. a. Date of Departure: 8/11/2025 Date of Return: 8/18/2025

   b. Yes ☐ No ☒ Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?

   If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____

5. a. Yes ☒ No ☐ Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? **If yes:**

   (1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: Mary Himes

   (2) Relationship to Traveler: ☒ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____

   (3) Yes ☒ No ☐ Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age?

6. a. Yes ☐ No ☒ Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)?

   b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:

7. Yes ☒ No ☐ *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitation, invitee list, and any other attachments and Additional Sponsor Forms.

   NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.

8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties. **Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.**

   As Zambia is an active geopolitical hotspot Congressman Himes role as Ranking Member of the Intelligence committee is relevant here to receive briefings and understand what is going on in the region.

9. **Yes ☐ No ☒ Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip?**

10. For staff travelers, to be completed by your employing Member:

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

I hereby authorize the individual named above, an employee of the U.S. House of Representatives who works under my direct supervision, to accept expenses for the trip described in this request. I have determined that the above-described travel is in connection with my employee's official duties and that acceptance of these expenses will not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Signature of Employing Member: _____ **Date:** _____

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer, or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee together with a *Traveler Form* **at least 30 days before the start date of the trip**. The trip sponsor should *NOT* submit the form directly to the Committee. The Committee's website (ethics.house.gov) provides detailed instructions for filling out the form. The Committee will notify the House invitees directly of its decision and will not notify the trip sponsors.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

1. Sponsor who will be paying for the trip:
   The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
2. ☒ I represent that the trip will not be financed, in whole or in part, by a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent. *Signify that the statement is true by checking box.*
3. ***Check only one.*** I represent that:
   a. ☐ The primary trip sponsor has not accepted from any other source, funds intended directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip; **OR**
   b. ☐ The trip is arranged without regard to congressional participation and the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds only from entities that will receive a tangible benefit in exchange for those funds; **OR**
   c. ☒ The primary trip sponsor has accepted funds, services, or in-kind assistance from other source(s) intended directly or indirectly to finance all or part of this trip and has enclosed disclosure forms from each of those entities.
   If "c" is checked, list the names of the additional sponsors: Gates Foundation (formerly Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation)
4. Provide names and titles of **ALL** House Members *and* employees you are inviting. **For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited** (include additional pages if necessary): Please see appendix
5. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?
6. Date of Departure: August 11, 2025 Date of Return: August 18, 2025
7. a. City of departure: New York, NY
   b. Destination(s): Livingstone, Zambia
   c. City of return: New York, NY
8. ***Check only one.*** I represent that
   a. ☐ The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965; **OR**
   b. ☒ The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent; **OR**
   c. ☐ The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist / foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.

9. ***Check only one of the following.***
   a. ☒ I checked 8(a) or (b) above; **OR**
   b. ☐ I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**
   c. ☐ I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night; **OR**
   d. ☐ I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights. If you checked this box, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted. _____

10. ☒ Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities House invitees will be participating in during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities for trip invitees). *Indicate agenda is attached by checking box.*

11. ***Check only one of the following.***
   a. ☒ I represent that a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip. *Signify the statement is true by clicking the box;* **OR**
   b. ☐ *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is a U.S. institution of higher education.

12. For ***each*** sponsor required to submit a sponsor form, describe the sponsor's interest in the subject matter of the trip ***and*** its role in organizing and/or conducting the trip:
   With Africa facing complex security, economic, and development challenges amid growing geopolitical competition, this convening continues AICP's mission of helping lawmakers engage thoughtfully with the most pressing issues of our time. Please see house appendix (attached) for

13. ***Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary***:
   a. Mode of travel: Air ☒ Rail ☐ Bus ☒ Car ☐ Other ☐ (specify:_____)
   b. Class of travel: Coach ☐ Business ☒ First ☐ Charter ☐ Other ☐ (specify:_____)
   c. If travel will be first class, or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted:

14. ☒ I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). *Signify that the statement is true by checking box.*

15. ***Check only one.*** I represent that either:
   a. ☐ The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
   b. ☒ The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If "b" is checked:
      1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): _____
         $114
      2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: _____
         Livingstone, Zambia specifically was chosen as the US Government is a significant develop

16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:
   Hotel Name: The Royal Livingstone Hot City: Livingstone, Zambia Cost Per Night: $395
   Reason(s) for Selecting: Facility has required technology, meeting space, and is able to provide food
   Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
   Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
   Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
   Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

17. ☒ I represent that all expenses connected to the trip will be for actual costs incurred and not a per diem or lump sum payment. *Signify that the statement is true by checking the box.*

18. **Total Expenses for each Participant:**

☐ Actual Amounts ☒ Good Faith Estimates	Total **Transportation** Expenses per Participant	Total **Lodging** Expenses per Participant	Total **Meal** Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	$9,061	$1,975	$570
For each Accompanying Family Member	$9,061	-0-	$570

	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	$1,318	Security, Visa, Private meeting space, AV conference services
For each Accompanying Family Member	$1,318	Security, Visa, Private meeting space, AV conference services

19. ***Check only one:***
    a. ☒ I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below; **OR**
    b. ☐ *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is an individual or a U.S. institution of higher education.

20. **I certify by my signature that**
    a. **I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;**
    b. **I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent; and**
    c. **The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.**

Signature: Charles Dent Date: July 9, 2025

Name: Charles Dent Title: Vice President-The Aspen

Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

Address: 2300 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037

Email: lisa.jones@aspeninstitute.org Telephone: 202-736-5859

If there are questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.



US-AFRICA RELATIONS in UNCERTAIN TIMES

August 11-18, 2025 | Livingstone, Zambia

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

aspen institute

U.S.-Africa Relations in Uncertain Times

August 11-18, 2025 | Livingstone, Zambia

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AGENDA[1]

MONDAY, August 11:

U.S. participants depart the U.S. throughout the day.

TUESDAY, August 12:

U.S. participants arrive in Livingstone, Zambia throughout the day.

6 – 7 PM: Pre-Dinner Remarks: Sundeck at Royal Livingstone
U.S. Diplomacy in Africa: A Scene-Setter and Welcoming Remarks

As changes in U.S. foreign policy unfold, American diplomats across the African continent are confronting new challenges as well as seeking emerging opportunities to advance U.S. interests. The delegation will be welcomed by the current American Ambassador to Zambia and hear his thoughts about the top diplomatic priorities throughout the region.

Speaker:
Michael Gonzales, *U.S. Ambassador to Zambia*

7 – 9 PM: Working Dinner, Monkey Tree Lawn (next to sundeck)
Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on American diplomacy in Africa and other topics that are part of the conference agenda.

WEDNESDAY, August 13:

7:00– 8:00 AM: Breakfast available to all participants

[1] *Congressional Program Executive Director Charlie Dent moderates the discussion sessions, recognizes members of Congress who have questions, and is assisted by a timekeeper to ensure the conversation is quick paced and every member of Congress has an opportunity to ask questions and discuss the issues.*

7:00– 8:00 AM: Experts and Scholars meet for breakfast with Charlie Dent to review conference procedures

8:00 AM Vans departs Royal Hotel for Avani conferencing center

8:30 – 8:45 AM: Introduction and Framework of the Conference
This conference is organized into roundtable conversations, working lunches, and pre-dinner remarks. This segment will highlight how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as much engagement as possible.

Speaker:
Charlie Dent, *Vice President, Aspen Institute;*
Executive Director, Congressional Program

8:45 – 10 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
Chartering a New Course for the Future of U.S. Foreign Assistance: Implications for Africa

Since January 2025, the Trump Administration has both implemented and proposed substantial changes in America's foreign aid policies and resource allocations. In recent months, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has been dismantled with thousands of staff losing their jobs. Over 80 percent of the Agency's programs have been terminated while what remains is being folded into the State Department. The President's FY2026 budget request cuts State Department and other international affairs agencies by 49 percent compared with current levels and seeks the additional rescission of $21.6 billion in previously appropriated funds. Secretary of State Rubio justifies this reorientation of foreign aid, stating that going forward, the Department will only fund programs that make America "stronger, safer, and more prosperous" and eliminate divisive and ineffective foreign assistance activities.

For Africa, as U.S. foreign assistance downsizes, the State Department has outlined another approach for engagement with the continent based on commercial diplomacy with greater emphasis placed on supporting market reforms in coordination with African governments, strengthening the region's private sector, investing in infrastructure projects in priority countries and expanding opportunities for American businesses. The goal, according to senior State Department officials, is "to increase U.S. exports and investment in Africa, eliminate trade deficits and drive mutual prosperity".

These actions have been sharply criticized by those who believe in the three-pronged approach of defense, diplomacy and development as essential to American national security and economic interests globally, including in Africa. The sudden and chaotic nature of aid terminations, critics say, has badly damaged America's reputation as a reliable partner, left African finance ministries scrambling to cover financing gaps created by the U.S. withdrawal, placed the health and well-being of aid beneficiaries in jeopardy, and invited others, in some cases American adversaries such as China, to fill the vacuum left by the United States. They believe that "trade not aid" is a false dichotomy and question why it can't be both.

Panelists will discuss the implications of this reorientation of U.S. engagement with Africa and what might be the vision of foreign assistance moving forward.

Speakers:

Ambassador Mark Green, *President Emeritus of the Wilson Center, former U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania and former Member of Congress*
Ambassador Mark Dybul, *Professor at the Medical Center of Georgetown University, former Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and former U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator leading PEPFAR*

10 – 10:15 AM: **Break**

10:15 – 11:45 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
America's National Security Posture in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges

While the African continent is rarely perceived as central to U.S. national security and economic interests, currently and in the years to come, the people and countries in Africa will play a critical role in confronting global threats and challenges that are equally vital to America's well-being. For the second year in a row, the Sahel region of Africa has been characterized as the "epicenter" of global terrorism. Terrorist groups, such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and Al-Shabaab, take advantage of fragile pockets across the continent, posing direct threats to American interests. Africa retains 30 percent of the world's supply of critical minerals that are essential for U.S. national, economic, and environmental security. Africa also finds itself increasingly entangled in U.S. competition and confrontation with China and Russia. Senior American military leaders express concern over the uptick in China's efforts to replicate American defense training and military education exchanges across the continent. At the same time, these leaders are sending a message to their African counterparts that American efforts are focused on building the capacity of militaries in the region to manage their own security and to conduct independent operations.

A representative from the U.S. Africa Command and a retired senior military officer will survey U.S. national security interests on the continent, the nexus of security with American development and diplomatic efforts, as well as discuss policy opportunities to tackle pressing security challenges.

Speaker:
Vice Admiral Matt Kohler (USN, Ret.), currently a member of the Cohen Group

11:45 AM – 12:45 PM: Working Lunch, Avani
Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the future of foreign assistance and threats to American national security across the African continent.

1:20 PM Meet outside of the Royal to load vans for site visits

1:30 – 4 PM: Educational Site Visits, including drive times
Community Health Programs Focused on HIV, Malaria and Malnutrition
The delegation will be divided into small groups in order to permit personal conversations with community health care workers and household members to learn about the objectives of each program and hear how these interventions have impacted their lives. Each group will visit two or three of the sites and see the others on August 15.

Members will visit a program that aims to mitigate the impact of HIV and improve the health of adolescents and vulnerable children using a family-centered approach. The project is supported by the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), a program launched by President George W. Bush in 2003 and is credited with saving 25 million lives, mostly in Africa. Another site will showcase the work of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria where young members of the community serve as mentors to their peers in confronting sensitive health and social challenges. At another Global Fund site, participants will learn how a small village prevents malaria through spraying, bed nets and medications. Founded in 2002 with the U.S. having been the largest donor, the Global Fund has reduced the combined death rates of AIDS, TB and malaria by 61%. Members will also visit a lab that is part of Zambia's National Multi-Pathogen Diagnostic Program where the state-of the-art facility is able to quickly diagnose infectious disease tests. Finally, groups will observe the work of a Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM) clinic where infants who are suffering from insufficient energy, fat, protein and/or other nutrients are treated with the use of ready-to-use therapeutic food (RUTF), a highly fortified energy-dense paste. Each of the programs visited during the afternoon have received in the past U.S. government financial support.

6 – 7 PM: Pre-Dinner Remarks:
The Impact of Vaccinating Africa's Children

Speaker:
Dr. Sania Nishtar, *CEO, Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance*
With the support of the United States and other international aid donors, since 2000 Gavi has reached 469 million children in Africa with routine immunizations and averted an estimated 12 million future deaths across the continent. Gavi is an important contributor to global health security efforts with a portfolio of 21 infectious disease vaccines, including Ebola, malaria and mpox. Dr. Nishtar will discuss the state of child immunizations in Africa and challenges Gavi faces as financial support for the Alliance faces growing headwinds. At a June 25, 2025 pledging conference, the United States announced that it would no longer contribute to Gavi.

7 – 9 PM: **Working Dinner with Local Aid Implementing Offices,**
Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas with representatives from non-governmental organizations, including CARE, Project Concern Zambia, Save the Children, CGIAR, and Wildlife Crime Prevention Zambia. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on challenges faced by these organizations during a significant transition in U.S. foreign assistance policy and resources.

THURSDAY, August 14:

7:00– 8:00 AM: Breakfast

8:00 AM Vans departs Royal Hotel for Avani conferencing center

8:30 – 10 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
Severe Weather Patterns: Implications for African Food Security

Africa's economy is heavily dependent on agriculture, contributing 20% to the continent's GDP and employing more than 60% of the workforce. Nevertheless, recent estimates project that agricultural production will slip by 18% at a time when food supply demands will triple by 2050 due to rapid population increases. Food insecurity and malnutrition, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, already have grown significantly in recent years as a result of the global pandemic, a deepening climate crisis, land degradation, high energy and fertilizer costs, weakened supply chains, and protracted conflicts, including the war in Ukraine. According to the United Nations International

Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), in 2024, over 295 million people faced acute hunger in Africa following crop failures and six consecutive dry seasons.

Africa, however, also maintains untapped potential that could help close the agricultural "yield gap" that is less than 25% of what crop production could be. Strengthening local industries would also result in economic diversification and expand millions of skilled jobs. The United States has been at the forefront of partnering with African governments and communities to combat food insecurity through programs supported by USAID's Feed the Future initiative and humanitarian food assistance, various Millennium Challenge Corporation compacts, and investments by the Development Finance Corporation. Funding for these activities, however, is now in question as the administration has proposed budgets for FY2026 that would essentially eliminate Feed the Future, cut humanitarian aid by over 60%, and reduce MCC funding by 75%. Panelists will discuss the impact of these cuts by the United States and other donors and offer thoughts on innovative ideas to address Africa's agricultural "yield-gap" through science and research and the expansion of private sector investments.

Speakers:
Dr. Appolinaire Djikeng, *Director General of the International Livestock Research Institute and a Senior Director of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR)*
Christopher Barrett, *Professor of Applied Economics and Management, Cornell University*

10 – 10:15 AM: Break

10:15 – 11:45 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
Global Health Challenges Across Africa

The importance of a healthy population has long been recognized as a critical element of society's economic and social development. The United States has a long record of commitment to supporting Africa's severe health challenges, including the creation of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), the President's Malaria Initiative (both first implemented by President George W. Bush), and as the largest donor to Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. The U.S. has also played a large role in strengthening healthcare systems throughout Africa, building healthcare infrastructure, and promoting access to essential medicines and vaccines.

As part of the Administration's reorientation of foreign assistance, however, proposals to reduce funding for health programs, including those in Africa, are before Congress. The President's budget request for FY2026 would cut appropriations for global health programs by 62%, including reductions for PEPFAR and the Global Fund, and the elimination of funds for Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance. The State Department says the request prioritizes life-saving assistance to those suffering from HIV/AIDS, TB, polio, and malaria, and for global health security programs that protect Americans at home. But health advocates express deep concerns over these proposed funding cuts, including those for AIDS prevention efforts, and worry that the enormous achievements of programs like PEPFAR could be erased in the coming years.

This panel will focus on the impact of already terminated U.S. health activities in Africa, the implications of steep resource reductions proposed for next year, how governments across the continent are responding and what longer-term policy and financial options are available to maintain and improve a healthy Africa.

Speakers:

Peter Sands, *Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria*
Dr. Quarraisha Karim, *Associate Scientific Director, CAPRISA; Professor in Clinical Epidemiology, Columbia University*

11:45 AM – 12:45 PM: Working Lunch
Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on food security and health challenges facing Africa.

1:20 PM meet to load vans for site visits, in front of Royal Hotel

1:30 – 5 PM: Educational Site Visits, including drive times

Improving Food Production and Livelihoods and Building Resilient Farming Systems

Members will travel about an hour north of Livingstone to visit a demonstration farm and learn about CGIAR's Southern Africa Rapid Delivery Hub. The program's goal is to provide smallholder farmers with information and innovations needed, using market-based approaches, to mitigate the impact of price spikes for fertilizer and other inputs due to global events such as the war in Ukraine. The delegation will meet with Veronica Mushupa, owner of the farm, and observe innovative techniques of irrigation, planting and mechanization for thrashing and shilling. Members will also be able to interact with other farmers who can speak to the impact on their livelihoods of farming practices they are learning through CGIAR support. Several agriculture scientists and

researchers affiliated with CGIAR will also be able to answer questions the group may have.

7 – 9 PM: Working Dinner with Peace Corps Representatives
Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas with Natalie Gill-Mensah, Zambia Peace Corps Country Director, and Peace Corps volunteers. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on the work of the Peace Corps in Zambia and the opportunities and challenges confronting Volunteers.

FRIDAY, August 15:

7:00– 8:00 AM: Breakfast

8:30 – 10 AM: Roundtable Discussion:
U.S.-Chinese Competition on the Continent
For the past 25 years, China has been significantly increasing its presence and influence on the African continent, elevating its investment, educational and cultural programs, diplomatic posture, military cooperation, and political influence. Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), launched in 2013 as a massive global infrastructure program, further strengthened its commercial engagement with Africa. For 16 consecutive years, China has been the continent's leading bilateral trading partner, outpacing the United States by roughly four-fold. China surpassed the U.S. in terms of foreign direct investment in 2013 and remains the current leader. While trade and FDI have dominated Chinese engagement in Africa, the United States has provided significantly more development and humanitarian assistance to the continent. As the U.S. downsizes its foreign aid footprint across the region, it is an open question whether China will see this as an opportunity to expand its own health, agriculture and other development programs in order to gain greater influence in areas it has previously maintained a far smaller role compared with the United States. Likewise, with plans by the U.S. to expand trade, investment and commercial engagement in Africa, questions remain if it will be enough to offset the large advantage China has held for many years.

Speaker:
Dr. Cobus van Staden, *Managing Editor at the China Global South Project in South Africa*

10 – 10:15 AM: Break

10:15 – 11:45 AM: Roundtable Discussion:

Policy Reflections and Actions Wrap-up for Members of Congress

This time is set aside for members of Congress to reflect on what they have learned during the conference and discuss their views on implications for U.S. policy. Drawing on the full range of conversations throughout the week, members will seek to identify for each other the most promising takeaways for the United States policy process, with a special focus on opportunities for bipartisan cooperation. This is a members-only conversation.

11:45 – 12:45 PM: Working Lunch
Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on reflections throughout the week's presentations and potential policy options for enhancing U.S.-Africa engagement.

1:20 Board vans for site visits

1:30 – 4 PM: Educational Site Visits, including drive times
Community Health Programs Focused on HIV, Malaria and Malnutrition
Similar to the August 13 afternoon schedule, the delegation will be divided into several small groups to permit personal conversations with community health care workers and household members to learn about the objectives of each program and hear how these interventions have impacted their lives. Today, group members will be able to visit the sites they did not see on August 13.

Members will visit a program that aims to mitigate the impact of HIV and improve the health of adolescents and vulnerable children using a family-centered approach. The project is supported by the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), a program launched by President George W. Bush in 2003 and is credited with saving 25 million lives, mostly in Africa. Another site will showcase the work of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria where young members of the community serve as mentors to their peers in confronting sensitive health and social challenges. At another Global Fund site, participants will learn how a small village prevents malaria through spraying, bed nets and medications. Founded in 2002 with the U.S. having been the largest donor, the Global Fund has reduced the combined death rates of AIDS, TB and malaria by 61%. Members will also visit a lab that is part of Zambia's National Multi-Pathogen Diagnostic Program where the state-of the-art facility is able to quickly diagnose infectious disease tests. Finally, groups will observe the work of a Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM) clinic where infants who are suffering from insufficient energy, fat, protein and/or other nutrients are treated with the use of ready-to-use therapeutic food (RUTF), a highly fortified energy-dense paste. Each of the programs visited during the afternoon have received in the past U.S. government financial support.

6 – 7 PM: Pre-Dinner Fireside Chat:
Access to Critical Minerals – Supporting U.S. Interests and Promoting Economic Growth on the Continent

Africa is home to roughly 30% of the world's reserves of critical minerals essential for the global energy transition and technological advancements. Minerals, such as graphite, cobalt, lithium and rare earth elements, are crucial for production of electric vehicles, renewable energy infrastructure, and digital devices. With this degree of mineral wealth, Africa is positioned to leverage these resources that will drive economic development, create jobs, and foster sustainable growth. At the same time, it also raises concerns over how mineral extraction is managed through sustainable and transparent practices that guard against the potential for exploitation.

Another aspect of Africa's mineral wealth is the competition between the United States and China for access to these critical resources. China maintains the dominant position following many years of investment and mining across the continent. The U.S. and Europe, however, are ramping up their own partnerships and activities to counter Chinese influence. The Lobito Corridor, an initiative to link the port in Lobito, Angola, with the mineral-rich areas of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia through improved transportation infrastructure, is an example of more recent efforts on the part of the United States and the European Union to gain greater access to critical minerals. Kobold Metals, an American company, is a leading player in the Lobito Corridor using its AI-driven mineral exploration technology to develop copper mines in northern Zambia.

Speakers:
Mfikeyi Makayi, *CEO KoBold Metals Africa*

7 – 9 PM: Working Dinner
Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on U.S.-Africa policy issues raised over the course of the week's presentations.

SATURDAY, August 16:

5:45 AM Meet to board bus to Botswana

6:00 AM Drive to Chobe National Park, Botswana

8:00 AM – 4 PM: Educational Site Visit:

Focus on Wildlife Conservation in Africa

Conserving and protecting wildlife in Africa yields multiple benefits in terms of preserving biodiversity, supporting local economies through tourism, and maintaining healthy ecosystems. Community-based conservation efforts, involving local populations in wildlife management, have a strong record in overcoming tensions between animals and humans, safeguarding species, and improving livelihoods of local households.

The delegation will travel to Chobe National Park in Botswana and will be hosted by the International Conservation Caucus Foundation (ICCF). ICCF is a non-profit global organization helping partner countries develop protected-area strategies and enhance wildlife management and conservation. Members of Congress will learn about ICCF activities in Botswana and elsewhere in southern Africa to build capacity within governments and communities for conservation and sustainable development, promote collaboration across borders in the management of shared conservation areas, combat illegal wildlife trade and strengthen wildlife security, and promote legal frameworks to address wildlife and zoonotic diseases that will prevent future pandemics.

11:30 AM – 1 PM: Working Lunch

4 – 5:30 PM: Drive from Chobe National Park to Livingstone, Zambia

7 – 9 PM: Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussions will focus on reflections of the day in Chobe National Park and the importance of wildlife conservation.

SUNDAY, August 17:

Participants depart for the U.S. throughout the day.

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND THEIR SPOUSES:

Rep. Robert Aderholt

Rep. Jim Baird and Danise Baird

Rep. Ami Bera and Janine Bera

Rep. Julia Brownley

Rep. Salud Carbajal

Rep. Ed Case and Audrey Nakamura Case

Sen. John Curtis and Sue Curtis

Rep. John Garamendi and Patricia Garamendi

Rep. Tony Gonzales

Rep. Morgan Griffith and Hilary Griffith

Rep. Jim Himes and Mary Himes

Rep. Steve Horsford

Rep. Jonathan Jackson and Marilyn Jackson

Rep. Ted Lieu and Betty Lieu

Rep. Tracey Mann and Audrey Mann

Sen. Jeff Merkley and Mary Sorteberg

Rep. Greg Murphy and Wendy Murphy

Rep. Dan Newhouse and Joan Galvin

Rep. Randy Weber and Brenda Weber

SCHOLARS AND EXPERTS:

Chris Barrett	*Stephen B. & Janice G. Ashley Professor of Applied Economics, International Professor of Agriculture, and Professor of Public Policy, Cornell University*
Appolinaire Djikeng	*Director General of the International Livestock Research Institute and a Senior Director of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR)*
Amb. Mark Dybul	*Professor at the Medical Center of Georgetown University, former Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and former U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator leading PEPFAR*
Amb. Michael Gonzales	*U.S. Ambassador to Zambia*
Amb. Mark Green	*President Emeritus of the Wilson Center, former U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania and former Member of Congress*
Quarraisha Karim	*Associate Scientific Director, CAPRISA; Professor in Clinical Epidemiology, Columbia University*
Vice Admiral Matt Kohler (USN, Ret.)	*Senior Counselor, The Cohen Group*
Mfikeyi Makayi	*CEO, KoBold Metals Africa*
Connie Mudenda	*Counselor Mentor, Centre for Infectious Disease Research in Zambia (CIDRZ)*
Sania Nishtar	*CEO, Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance*
Peter Sands	*Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria*
Cobus Van Staden	*Managing Editor at The China-Global South Project in South Africa*

CONFERENCE RAPPORTEURS:

Matt Rojansky	*Rapporteur and Counselor to the Aspen Institute Congressional Program*
Larry Nowels	*Co-Chair, Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network*

FOUNDATION REPRESENTATIVES:

Paloma Dallas	*Senior Program Officer for Democracy around the Globe, Charles F. Kettering Foundation*
Vilas Dhar	*President and Trustee, Patrick J. McGovern Foundation*
Mindy LaBreck	*Vice President for People & Culture, Charles F. Kettering Foundation*
William Moore	*President and CEO, Eleanor Crook Foundation*
Amit Paley	*Special Advisor and Head of Global Advocacy, Eleanor Crook Foundation*
Naveen Rao	*Senior Vice President - Health Initiative, The Rockefeller Foundation*
Ritu Sharma	*Vice President, Policy Advocacy, CARE*

ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM:

Charlie Dent and **Pamela Dent**	*Executive Director, Congressional Program and Vice President, Aspen Institute*
Tyler Denton	*Deputy Director*
Jennifer Harthan	*Senior Manager of Congressional Engagement*
Galen Voorhees	*Senior Conference Manager*

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS



Rep. Robert Aderholt represents Alabama's Fourth District. He serves on the House Appropriations Committee, chairing the Labor, Health & Human Services, and Education Subcommittee, and sits on the Agriculture and Defense Subcommittees. Aderholt champions conservative values through the Values Action Team and prioritizes constituent services. A strong advocate for job creation, national security, and economic development, he previously served as a municipal judge and advisor to Governor Fob James. He and his wife, Caroline, live in Haleyville. Their daughter, Mary Elliott, married Grant Whitt in March; their son, Robert Hayes, attends Auburn.

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Rep. Jim Baird represents Indiana's 4th District in the U.S. House of Representatives. A lifelong Hoosier and decorated Vietnam Veteran, he was awarded a Bronze Star with V device and two Purple Hearts for his service. He previously served as a State Representative and County Commissioner, where he focused on balanced budgets and infrastructure improvements. Baird earned his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in animal science from Purdue University and a Ph.D. in monogastric nutrition from the University of Kentucky. In Congress, he serves on the House Committees on Agriculture, Foreign Affairs, and Science, Space, and Technology.

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Danise Baird is a licensed registered nurse, entrepreneur, and longtime business leader. A graduate of Purdue University's nursing program, she founded a home healthcare agency in 1981, which she owned and operated as President and CEO for over 40 years. Under her leadership, the company grew into a multimillion-dollar enterprise with more than 50 employees, delivering compassionate care across West Central Indiana. Alongside her husband, Congressman Jim Baird, she has launched and managed several successful ventures. Danise is known for her dedication, resilience, and commitment to service in both business and her local community.



Rep. Ami Bera, M.D., has been a Member of Congress since 2013 and is the longest-serving Indian American. He is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where he serves as Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on East Asia and Pacific and a Member of the Subcommittee on South and Central Asia. Rep. Bera also serves on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Before Congress, he had a twenty-year medical career practicing medicine in the Sacramento area and serving as Sacramento County's Chief Medical Officer. Rep. Bera has lived in Elk Grove for over 20 years with his wife Janine and his daughter Sydra.

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Dr. Janine Bera is proud to be the Chief Health Officer for WellSpace Health. WellSpace provides comprehensive medical, dental, behavioral health, and supportive services to more than 125,000 people each year at 31 locations in Sacramento and Placer counties. Before joining WellSpace Health, Dr. Bera was a longtime Primary Care physician specializing in preventive medicine and the role of nutrition and exercise in improving the overall management of chronic disease. She is a graduate of the UC Davis Medical School and their Internal Medicine Primary Care Residency program. Outside her professional roles, Dr. Bera is a motivational speaker and active community leader. Dr. Bera is

married to Congressman Dr. Ami Bera with one delightful adult daughter. Dr. Bera's philosophy is to "Work hard. Make a difference. And, have fun!"



Rep. Julia Brownley has represented California's 26th Congressional District since 2012, which includes most of Ventura County and the Conejo Valley. A proven leader in Congress, she serves as Ranking Member of the House Veterans' Affairs Health Subcommittee and also sits on the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and the House Natural Resources Committee. Brownley has delivered results on climate action, veterans' health care, infrastructure, and women's equality.

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Rep. Salud Carbajal proudly represents the 24th Congressional District of California, which includes the entirety of Santa Barbara County and portions of San Luis Obispo and Ventura counties. Congressman Carbajal sits on the House Committees on Armed Services, Agriculture, and Transportation and Infrastructure, where he serves as the Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation. Salud emigrated from Mexico to the United States at age 5, earned a bachelor's degree from the University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB), and later earned a master's degree in organizational management from Fielding University. Salud also served eight years in the United States Marine Corps Reserve, including being mobilized to active-duty service during the 1992 Gulf War. Salud is married to Gina, and they have 2 grown children and 2 grandchildren.

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Rep. Ed Case has proudly represented Hawaii's First Congressional District since 2019. He previously represented Hawaii's Second Congressional District from 2002 to 2007. He practiced law in Honolulu for over two decades, served as Hawai'i State Representative from Manoa from 1994 to 2002 in various positions including Majority Leader, and worked for five years as Senior Vice President and Chief Legal Officer of Outrigger, one of Hawaii's oldest and largest hotel and resort companies. Congressman Case is married to Audrey Nakamura. They have four children, two daughters-in-law and three grandchildren.

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Sen. John Curtis was elected to the United States Senate in November 2024 representing the great state of Utah. Previously, he represented Utah's Third Congressional District for seven years. Before his time in Congress, Senator Curtis was a small business owner and a proven problem solver. He served as Mayor of Provo City for eight years, earning a 94% approval rating and being named the "Top Elected Official on Social Media" in 2015. Senator Curtis has been married to his wife, Sue, for 42 years. Together, they have six children and 17 grandchildren.

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Sue Curtis is a physical therapist by profession, and is recently enjoying retirement by taking friends to ski at Sundance during the winter months, and playing tennis, pickleball, biking, and waterskiing during summer. She also enjoys hanging out with her husband, John, their six kids + spouses, and 18 grandkids.



Rep. John Garamendi is serving his eighth term in Congress, representing California's 8th district, which includes the Cities of Vallejo, Fairfield, Richmond, and Martinez. He serves on the House Armed Services Committee, where he is the top Democrat on the Subcommittee on Readiness, and the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee. He graduated from University of California, Berkeley, with a degree in Business and subsequently served in the Peace Corps in Ethiopia. After returning from the Peace Corps, he attended Harvard Business School where he received his MBA.

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Patricia Garamendi has served as a deputy secretary at both the California Business, Transportation and Housing Authority and the California Technology, Trade and Commerce Agency. She also served as deputy administrator for the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Foreign Agriculture Service Agency. Previously, she served as an associate director for the U.S. Peace Corps, which she and her husband, Rep. John Garamendi, served as volunteers for in Ethiopia. Patricia holds a B.A. from the University of California, Berkeley, and a J.D. from UC Berkeley's Humphrey's School of Law.



Rep. Tony Gonzales served 20 years in the U.S. Navy, retiring at the highest rank of Master Chief Petty Officer before representing Texas' 23rd Congressional District. He serves on the House Appropriations and Homeland Security Committees, is the Chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Conference, and is founder and Co-Chair of the Bipartisan School Safety and Security Caucus. Rep. Gonzales lives in San Antonio with his wife, Angel, and their six children.

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Rep. Morgan Griffith is serving his eighth term representing Virginia's 9th District. He chairs the Energy & Commerce Subcommittee on Health and serves on the Environment and Communications & Technology Subcommittees. He is Vice-Chair of the House Rules Committee and a Member of House Administration. From 1994 to 2011, he served in the Virginia House of Delegates, representing the 8th District. In 2000, he became the first Republican elected House Majority Leader in Virginia history.

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Hilary Griffith is the juvenile court judge of the 23rd Judicial District of Virginia. She was elected by the Virginia Legislature to this post on February 25th, 2015. Hilary is a graduate of Hollins University, as well as a law school graduate from Indiana University. In the years following law school, Hilary returned to Southwest Virginia. Prior to her appointment to the bench, she was an attorney in a private practice and served as a substitute judge. From 1998-2010, she served as a Botetourt County assistant commonwealth attorney. During that time, she became Chief Deputy.



Rep. Jim Himes represents Connecticut's 4th District in the United States House of Representatives where he is serving his ninth term. He serves as Ranking Member of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and on the House Financial Services Committee. Jim began his professional career at Goldman Sachs & Co. where he worked his way up to Vice President over the course of a 12-year career. There he worked extensively in Latin America and headed the bank's telecommunications technology group. Jim lives in Greenwich with his wife Mary and has two daughters.

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Mary Himes is the Co-Founder and Executive Director of the Unload Foundation, a project that uses arts events to catalyze inclusive conversations that drive consensus and change so we can reduce the amount of gun violence in the United States. Mary is also a breast cancer survivor, artist/art teacher, and skier. Mary lives in Greenwich with her husband and has two daughters, Emma and Linley.



Rep. Steven Horsford represents Nevada's 4th District. In the 119th Congress, he is committed to getting Nevada's economy back on track and restoring public faith in American institutions. Rep. Horsford previously led the Culinary Training Academy, the largest job training program in Nevada, helping thousands of workers find quality careers in the hospitality industry. Rep. Horsford made history as Nevada's first African-American State Senate Majority Leader and passed the "Clean Energy Jobs Initiative" and positioned Nevada as a leader in renewable energy.

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Rep. Jonathan Jackson is serving his second term in Congress, representing Illinois' 1st Congressional District, which includes the City of Chicago, South Side Chicago, Bronzeville, Auburn-Gresham, Robbins, Mokena, Channahon, Manteno, Kankakee, etc. He serves on the House Committee of Foreign Affairs and House Committee on Agriculture and is the co-chair to the DEI Caucus. He graduated from North Carolina A&T in Greensboro, NC and Northwestern University with an MBA in Business in Chicago, IL.

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Marilyn Jackson was born in Jamaica and raised in Brooklyn. Marilyn lives in Chicago with her husband, where they have raised their three children amid the city's vibrant cultural landscape. Marilyn Jackson is the President & CEO of the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), the only organization representing the full spectrum of museums across the United States. She is the 10th person to lead AAM since its founding in 1906. Under her leadership, AAM continues to champion museums through advocacy, resources, and professional development.



Rep. Ted Lieu is serving his sixth term in Congress, representing California's 36th District, which includes coastal Los Angeles County. He was re-elected by his colleagues to serve as Vice Chair of the Democratic Caucus, making him the highest ranking Asian American to have served in the House. He serves on both the House Judiciary Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee and was Co-Chair of the House's Bipartisan Task Force on Artificial Intelligence in the 118th Congress. The Congressman holds degrees in Computer Science and Political Science from Stanford University, and earned a J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center.

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Betty Lieu is a two-term Governing Board Member of the Torrance Unified School District and a California Commissioner on Special Education. A former Deputy Attorney General, she holds J.D. and B.A. degrees and has served in both state and federal courts. Betty has led numerous legal, educational, and environmental organizations, including the Southern California Chinese Lawyers Association and the Coalition for Clean Air. She has received multiple community service awards and remains deeply engaged in education advocacy, parent involvement, and public service in the South Bay.



Rep. Tracey Mann is serving his third term in the House of Representatives representing Kansas' 1st Congressional District, which includes the cities of Manhattan, Lawrence, Salina, Dodge City, and Hays. He serves on the House Committee on Agriculture as well as the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee. Rep. Mann graduated from Kansas State University with a degree in Agricultural Economics.

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Audrey Mann has been married to Rep. Tracey Mann for 23 years. They have four children—Quincy 14, Austin 11, Whitney 10, and Elise 7. Audrey earned a degree in biology and has worked in the design field for over 20 years. She now partners with the Children's Literacy Project to help improve early reading outcomes across Kansas. Audrey is actively involved at her kids' school and especially loves serving as the Friday lunch lady. She has a heart for the developing world, enjoys traveling and trying new foods, and loves spending time outdoors—whether on the water, a bike, or a pickleball court.



Sen. Jeff Merkley of Oregon is a champion for working families and the four foundations they need to thrive – housing, health care, education, and good-paying jobs. He is the top Democrat on the Senate Budget Committee and serves on the powerful Appropriations and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. Prior to his election in 2009, he served as Speaker of the Oregon House of Representatives. Before that, he led WorldOregon and Portland Habitat for Humanity after working at the Pentagon and the Congressional Budget Office.

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Mary Sorteberg is from Minneapolis, Minnesota, where her father – a Lutheran pastor – worked to empower underserved communities. This perspective greatly influenced Mary's life. She became a nurse to serve those with the most need. Mary has worked overseas, including on medical missions in Oaxaca and Peru. In Calcutta, India, she worked with MotherTeresa's sisters serving the poorest of the poor. Mary then worked providing healthcare to homeless men and women. She later spent years working in hospice care, assisting patients and families on their end of life journey. Mary and Jeff have two adult children – Jonathan and Brynne – and enjoy their Airedale dog, Roxy.



Rep. Gregory Murphy, M.D. is serving his fourth term in Congress, representing North Carolina's Third Congressional District. The district covers much of Eastern North Carolina including New Bern, Jacksonville, Washington, and the Outer Banks. He serves on the House Ways and Means Committee as well as the House Veterans' Affairs Committee and the Committee on House Administration. He Co-Chairs the House GOP Doctors Caucus. Rep. Murphy graduated magna cum laude from Davidson College and with honors from the University of North Carolina's School of Medicine. He is the only practicing surgeon in Congress today.

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Wendy Murphy is a native North Carolinian who has been married to Greg for 30 years. They have three grown children. Wendy is a RN, BSN who is currently working to obtain her masters in nursing education. She and Greg share a passion for travel and living lives of service including providing medical assistance on trips to Nicaragua and Haiti.



Rep. Dan Newhouse is serving his sixth term in Congress, representing Washington's Fourth District, which includes the Tri-Cities and the Yakima Valley. He serves on the House Appropriations Committee, the House Agriculture Committee, and the House Select Committee on Strategic Competition with the Chinese Communist Party. He is a graduate of Washington State University, and operates a hops farm in Sunnyside, Washington.

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Joan Galvin (Newhouse) is a Washington DC native who, when not in DC, splits her time between her home in Florida and Dan's family farm in Central Washington state. A former Capitol Hill staffer, Joan holds a bachelor's degree in Business, Economics, and Public Policy from George Washington University, where she also graduated from law school. For over 7 years she ran the government affairs division for Feld Entertainment, the parent company of Ringling Bros Circus, Disney on Ice, and Monster Jam/Monster Trucks. She currently has her own consulting and advocacy business.



Rep. Randy Weber is a public servant, proven conservative, former small business owner, and third-generation Texan representing the 14th District of Texas. In Congress he serves on the House Energy and Commerce (E&C) and the Science, Space, and Technology (SST) Committee. He serves as Chairman of the Energy Subcommittee on SST Committee and as Vice Chairman of the Energy Subcommittee on the E&C Committee. Weber has lived in a 20-mile radius all his life and has been married to Brenda Weber for over 48 years. Randy and Brenda have three children, eight wonderful grandchildren, and two great-granddaughters.

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Brenda Weber is the wife of Congressman Randy Weber. She is a devoted mother of three, a nana of eight, and a great-grandmother to two precious little girls. Between raising a family and being actively involved in the community, Brenda taught 4th grade in Pearland for 26 years. Brenda has served on numerous boards, such as Gulf Coast Big Brother/ Big Sister, the Children's Service Board of Galveston County, the Alvin Community College Foundation Board, and the Crisis Pregnancy Center of Texas City. She enjoys hanging out with the grandchildren in her spare time, gardening, and cheering on the Astros.

SCHOLARS AND EXPERTS



Chris Barrett, *Stephen B. & Janice G. Ashley Professor of Applied Economics, International Professor of Agriculture, and Professor of Public Policy, Cornell University*

Chris Barrett is an agricultural and development economist at Cornell University. He is the Stephen B. and Janice G. Ashley Professor of Applied Economics and Management, and an International Professor of Agriculture at the Charles H. Dyson School of Applied Economics and Management, a Professor in the Jeb E. Brooks School of Public Policy, Faculty Director of the Cornell Collaboration on International Development Economics Research, and a Senior Faculty Fellow of the Cornell Atkinson Center for Sustainability. He is co-editor-in-chief of Food Policy, edits the Palgrave Macmillan book series Agricultural Economics and Food Policy, and serves on the Editorial Board of the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. He is an elected Member of the National Academy of Sciences, and an elected Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Agricultural and Applied Economics Association, and the African Association of Agricultural Economists, and an Honorary Life Member of the International Association of Agricultural Economists.

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Appolinaire Djikeng, *Director General of the International Livestock Research Institute and a Senior Director of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR)*

Professor Appolinaire Djikeng is Senior Director, Livestock-Based Systems, CGIAR, and Director General, International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI). Please read the official announcement about the successors of ILRI and IITA's Directors General.

He joins ILRI and CGIAR from the University of Edinburgh, where he is currently Professor and Chair of Tropical Agriculture and Sustainable Development, as well as the Director, Centre for Tropical Livestock Genetics and Health (CTLGH) based at the

Roslin Institute. He will retain his affiliation with the Roslin Institute of the University of Edinburgh to strengthen the partnership with ILRI and the CGIAR System. Professor Djikeng previously worked with ILRI from 2009-2016 as Technology Manager and then Director of the Biosciences eastern and central Africa (BecA)-ILRI Hub. He has received numerous awards, including the 2020 Nelson Mandela Justice Award. He was also recognized by the Decade of Health as one of the 10 people in the United Kingdom changing health.

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Amb. Mark Dybul, *Professor at the Medical Center of Georgetown University, former Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and former U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator leading PEPFAR*

Amb. Mark Dybul, MD, is a Professor in the Department of Medicine at Georgetown University Medical Center where he serves as Chief Strategy Officer of the Center for Global Health Practice and Impact. He is also Chair of the Board of Purpose Africa.

Mark has worked on HIV and public health for more than 25 years as a clinician, scientist, teacher, and administrator. He was a principal architect of, and ultimately led with the rank of Ambassador at the level of an Assistant Secretary of State, the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). More recently, he served as the Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria.

After graduating from Georgetown Medical School in Washington D.C., Mark joined the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, as a research fellow under where he conducted basic and clinical studies on HIV virology, immunology and treatment optimization, including the first randomized, controlled trial with combination antiretroviral therapy in Africa.

Mark was one of the founding architects in the formation of PEPFAR. After serving as Chief Medical officer, Assistant, Deputy and Acting Director, he was appointed as its leader in 2006, becoming U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator, with the rank of Ambassador at the level of an Assistant Secretary of State. He served until early 2009. He also served as Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria from 2013 to 2017.

Mark has written extensively in scientific and policy literature, and has received several Honorary Degrees and awards, and is a member of the National Academy of Medicine.

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Amb. Michael Gonzales, *U.S. Ambassador to Zambia*

Mike Gonzales was sworn in as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Zambia in August 2022, serving concurrently as the U.S. Special Representative to the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). He previously served as the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for West Africa and African Regional Peace and Security and as the acting U.S. Special Envoy for the Sahel Region.

A career member of the Senior Foreign Service with the rank of Minister-Counselor, Mike's previous senior positions include service as the Director for Analysis of Africa in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and as Deputy Chief of Mission and Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., at the U.S. Embassies in Kathmandu, Nepal and Lilongwe, Malawi.

Throughout his career, Mike has built partnerships with host governments, international partners, the private sector, and civil society organizations to promote good governance, improve business environments, fight corruption, and expand economic opportunity. His previous assignments include service as the Counselor for Political and Economic Affairs at U.S. Embassies in Zimbabwe and Ethiopia; the Horn of Africa Unit Chief in the Office of East African Affairs; Deputy Public Affairs Officer in Kampala, Uganda; Information Officer and Embassy Spokesman in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; and Environment, Science, and Technology Officer in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Mike was an economic analyst in the Antitrust Division of the U.S. Department of Justice.

In 2009, the American Foreign Service Association awarded Mike the William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent. In 2022, Mike was recognized with a Presidential Meritorious Service Award. He is a five-time recipient of the Department of State's Superior Honor Award. A native of Seaside, California, Mike received a Master of Arts degree in international development from American University and a

Bachelor of Arts degree in Diplomacy and World Affairs from Occidental College. He has studied Spanish, French, Italian, and Bengali.

Contact: WeedLE@state.gov



Amb. Mark Green, *President Emeritus of the Wilson Center, former U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania and former Member of Congress*

Ambassador Mark Green (ret.) is President Emeritus of the Wilson Center and author of the "Stubborn Things" blog.

Green served as Administrator of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) from 2017 to 2020. Before that he served as President of the International Republican Institute, one of the world's leading democracy promotion organizations. Green served as the US Ambassador to Tanzania from mid-2007 to early 2009, as well as four terms in the US House of Representatives representing Wisconsin's 8th District. He has also served as Executive Director of the McCain Institute, President of the Initiative for Global Development, and Senior Director at the US Global Leadership Coalition.

While in Congress, among other things, he played a leading role in crafting legislation establishing both the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC). At USAID, he pioneered an approach to development assistance he called the "Journey to Self-Reliance" and launched a new emphasis on private sector engagement and collaboration.

Green has also served on the MCC's Board of Directors during both the Obama and Trump Administrations, on the Bush Institute's Human Freedom Advisory Council, and on the Board of Consensus for Development Reform. He holds a law degree from the University of Wisconsin Law School and a bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin–Eau Claire. He has received special honors from President Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania and President Ivan Duque of Colombia, as well as an honorary Doctor of Science from Georgetown University.



Quarraisha Karim, *Associate Scientific Director, CAPRISA; Professor in Clinical Epidemiology, Columbia University*

Quarraisha Abdool Karim, (PhD) is an infectious diseases epidemiologist and co-founder and Associate Scientific Director of CAPRISA. She is Professor in Clinical Epidemiology, Columbia University, New York and Pro-Vice Chancellor for African Health, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Abdool Karim is the President of The World Academy of Sciences (TWAS).

Prof Abdool Karim is the UNAIDS Special Ambassador for Adolescents and HIV. She is the Executive Group Member of the Steering Committees for the WHO Covid-19 Solidarity Therapeutics Trial, the WHO Covid-19 Solidarity Vaccines Trial and the WHO Ebola Vaccine Trial. Abdool Karim co-chairs the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 10 Member Technology Facilitation Mechanism (TFM); is a member of the PEPFAR Scientific Advisory Board and serves on the Board of Directors of Friends of the Global Fight Against AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (USA). Prof Abdool Karim is Deputy-Chair of the WHO Alliance for Sexual and Reproductive Health; the Scientific Advisory Board Member of the Indlela: Behavioural Insights for Better Health and Member of the CAPRISA Board of Control.

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Vice Admiral Matt Kohler (USN, Ret.), *Senior Counselor, The Cohen Group*

Vice Admiral Matthew Kohler (Retired) joined The Cohen Group in June 2025 as a Senior Counselor following a distinguished 36-year military career. A career naval intelligence officer and information warfare professional, Vice Admiral Kohler has been highly successful throughout his career in innovating and advancing warfighting capabilities at every level of warfare in joint, international, and operationally intensive environments.

He most recently served at the Pentagon as the Director of Naval Intelligence, directing global intelligence operations, leading one of the Intelligence Community's

member organizations, and working closely with international partners. He concurrently served as Deputy Department of Navy Chief Information Officer, implementing sweeping cloud and global and tactical network advances; and as Deputy Chief of Naval Operations for Information Warfare (OPNAV N2N6), directing a $10 billion portfolio across intelligence, cyber, communications, IT, SIGINT, and meteorology and oceanography. Prior to that, Vice Admiral Kohler established and led Naval Information Forces (NAVIFOR), the Navy's newest Type Command in over 60 years, implementing some of the most significant changes in Navy warfighting in decades.

Earlier, Vice Admiral Kohler led the National Security Agency's Tailored Access Operations, directing the United States' most advanced global cyber operations. As Deputy Commander of Fleet Cyber Command/10th Fleet, he led global cyber operations as a component of US Cyber Command, operated and defended the Navy's global 700,000 person classified and unclassified networks, and conducting global SIGINT and communications operations in support of the US Navy, Department of Defense, and interagency. As Director of Intelligence for US Africa Command, Vice Admiral Kohler coordinated counterterrorism and ISR operations with interagency organizations while conducting partnership engagement for the region. Other significant assignments included Joint Interagency Task force South, Director of Intelligence; and Special Operations Command, Joint Intelligence Center Director.

He was commissioned as a naval intelligence officer in 1984. He received his bachelor's degree from Indiana University of Pennsylvania and has master's degrees from the Naval Postgraduate School and US Army Command and Staff College.



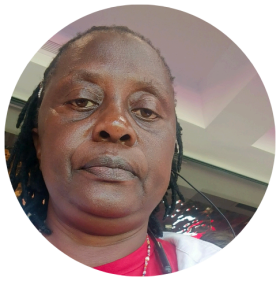
Mfikeyi Makayi, *CEO, KoBold Metals Africa*

Mfikeyi is a seasoned mining professional with over 17 years of experience in the industry, she is leading one of Zambia's major exploration and mine development projects, the Mingomba project. She worked at one of Zambia & Africa's largest copper mines, First Quantum's Kansanshi Copper-Gold mine in plant and mining operations and the global internal audit division covering Australia, Finland, Mauritania and Panama's operations. She was also the Country Manager and Director of one of Zambia's largest mining and construction equipment supply and services companies, Barloworld Equipment, supplying Caterpillar products to various industries. Her portfolio

covered First Quantum's Kansanshi and Sentinel Mines, Barrick's Lumwana Mine, Mopani Copper Mines, and Gemfields' Kagem Mine, the world's largest emerald mine.

Mfikeyi has an MBA from Lagos Business School at Pan-Atlantic University, Nigeria. She also received an M.Sc. in Mining Engineering from Camborne School of Mines at the University of Exeter, United Kingdom. She holds a Masters of Engineering in Environmental Engineering and a BSc in Civil Engineering both from Old Dominion University in the US.

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Constance Mudenda, *Counselor Mentor, Centre for Infectious Disease Research in Zambia (CIDRZ)*

Constance Mudenda is an experienced mental health counselor, psychosocial counselor, adherence counselor, child counselor, couple counselor, HIV activist, advocate, and (RED) and Global Fund ambassador.

With over 20 years of experience in the HIV world, and living with HIV for over 35 years, Constance specializes in counselling people who are HIV positive and have mental health problems, using cognitive behavioral change therapy to help improve their viral load and adherence to medication, to retain the 95/95/95 strategy. Passion for people living with HIV allows Constance to leverage the latest tools and innovations to optimize retention for people living with HIV. Constance holds a Master of Science in Peace, Leadership, and Conflict Resolution from the University of Zambia. When she's not working, Constance enjoys reading, dancing, and exploring the world when she can.

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Dr. Sania Nishtar, *Chief Executive Officer, Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance*

Dr Sania Nishtar joined Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance as Chief Executive Officer (CEO) on 18 March2024. A trained medical doctor, Dr Nishtar has built an outstanding career over 30 years as a national and global leader. She served as a Senator in her home country of Pakistan; as Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on Social Protection and Poverty Alleviation; and as a Federal Minister with responsibility for re-establishing the country's Ministry of Health. Dr Nishtar has fulfilled several leadership positions in civil society and international organisations; founded a health reform non-profit NGO think tank in Pakistan; co-authored dozens of academic papers and books; and published in leading newspapers. A graduate of Khyber Medical College and King's College London, she has received many international awards; in 2020, the BBC named her among 100 inspiring and influential women around the world.

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Peter Sands, *Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria*

Peter Sands has served as the Executive Director of The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria since March 2018. Under Peter's leadership, the Global Fund has raised over $34 billion to fight infectious diseases in over 100 countries. Prior to his time at the Global Fund, Peter was a Research Fellow at Harvard University (2015-2017), dividing his time between the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government at Harvard Kennedy School and the Harvard Global Health Institute. Peter was Group CEO of Standard Chartered PLC from 2006 to 2015, having joined the Board of Standard Chartered as Group CFO in 2002. Prior to joining Standard Chartered, Peter was a Senior Partner at McKinsey & Co. Peter has served on various boards and commissions, including for the UK's Department of Health, the World Economic Forum, and the International Advisory Board of the Monetary Authority of Singapore.

Peter graduated from Oxford University with a First Class degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics. He also received a Master in Public Administration from Harvard University, where he was a Harkness Fellow. Peter, who grew up in Singapore and Malaysia, is married to author Betsy Tobin and has four children.

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Cobus van Staden, *Managing Editor at The China-Global South Project in South Africa*

Cobus van Staden is the managing editor of The China-Global South Project, a Ford Foundation-supported startup dedicated to the non-partisan tracking and analysis of China's relationship with the Global South. Van Staden has a research fellowship with Stellenbosch University, and his academic work focuses on Chinese public diplomacy in Africa. He holds a PhD from the University of Nagoya in Japan.

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CONFERENCE RAPPORTEURS



Larry Nowels, *Co-Chair, Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network*

Larry Nowels is a co-chair of the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network and an Aspen Institute consultant. He has worked with a number of foundations and global development advocacy organizations, including the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition, the ONE Campaign, and the HELP Commission on foreign aid reform, aid effectiveness and international affairs budget issues.

Previously, he was a specialist in foreign affairs at the Congressional Research Service. During his 33-year career at CRS, he wrote extensively on U.S. foreign assistance policymaking, including the congressional role in legislating, and overseeing American foreign aid programs.

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Matthew Rojansky, *Rapporteur and Counselor to the Aspen Institute Congressional Program*

Matt serves as President of the U.S. Russia Foundation. He was formerly director of the Kennan Institute at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Matt has advised governments, intergovernmental organizations, and major private actors on conflict resolution and efforts to enhance shared security throughout the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian region.

He was previously Deputy Director of the Eurasia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Executive Director of the Partnership for a Secure America, where he orchestrated high-level bipartisan initiatives aimed at repairing the U.S.-Russian relationship, strengthening the U.S. commitment to nuclear arms control and nonproliferation, and leveraging global science engagement for diplomacy.

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FOUNDATION REPRESENTATIVES



Paloma Dallas, *Senior Program Officer for Democracy around the Globe, Charles F. Kettering Foundation*

Paloma Dallas serves as the senior program officer for Democracy around the Globe at the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. In this role, she spearheads the foundation's international work at a time of democratic backsliding and rising authoritarianism. Dallas leads the Democracy around the Globe team as they shape the foundation's global initiatives, focusing on fostering democratic resilience, countering othering and identity-based attacks, and championing the development of inclusive democratic narratives.

In her earlier capacity at the foundation, Dallas distinguished herself as an editor and writer, and later as a program officer. She played a pioneering role in exploring how arts and culture can strengthen democratic civic life in communities. Dallas later led the foundation's efforts in the crucial nexus of journalism and democracy, leveraging her background as a former journalist to convene innovative journalists from diverse corners of the world. In 2023, she coedited a book of essays for the foundation, titled Reinventing Journalism to Strengthen Democracy, which stemmed from work in this field.

Dallas holds a bachelor's degree in political science and Spanish from Macalester College, and a Master of International Affairs from Columbia University's School for International and Public Affairs. She also has a graduate certificate in creative nonfiction from Spalding University.

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Vilas Dhar, *President and Trustee, Patrick J. McGovern Foundation*

Vilas Dhar is a global expert on artificial intelligence policy and a leading voice on policy in a tech-enabled world. As President and Trustee of the Patrick J. McGovern Foundation, he leads a $1.5 billion philanthropic initiative

dedicated to advancing AI and data-driven solutions for an equitable and sustainable future.

Recognized as a thought leader on AI governance, ethics, and global policy, Vilas was appointed by UN Secretary-General António Guterres to the UN High-Level Advisory Body on Artificial Intelligence, serves as the US Government Nominated Expert to the Global Partnership on AI, and is a member of the OECD AI Futures Working Group. He is a contributor to the World Economic Forum's Global Future Council on AI and serves on the Advisory Council at Stanford's Institute for Human-Centered AI (HAI).

Vilas is a regular contributor to world conferences such as the Munich Security Conference, the World Economic Forum, the UN General Assembly, and the Paris AI Action Summit, bringing attention to the role of AI in shaping a more just, inclusive, and sustainable world. His LinkedIn Learning course, Ethics in the Age of Generative AI, is the most widely viewed AI ethics course in the world, with over 500,000 learners globally.

With a background spanning human rights, engineering, and public policy, Vilas holds a J.D. from NYU School of Law, an M.P.A. from Harvard Kennedy School, and dual degrees in Biomedical Engineering and Computer Science from the University of Illinois

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Mindy LaBreck, *Vice President for People & Culture, Charles F. Kettering Foundation*

Mindy LaBreck is Vice President for People and Culture at the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, where she has served for over 20 years. She leads the foundation's strategic efforts to align people, culture, and operations in support of its mission to advance inclusive democracy. Her work spans organizational development, HR leadership, oversight, development, and implementation of organizational policies and oversight of people operations and IT services.

Mindy is a SHRM Senior Certified Professional (SHRM-SCP) and is known for her thoughtful, mission-driven leadership style that emphasizes equity, collaboration, and long-term organizational resilience.

She holds a bachelor's degree in Humanities and a master's degree in Management from Antioch University, as well as a graduate certificate in Employment Law from the Cornell University ILR School.

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William Moore, *President and CEO, Eleanor Crook Foundation*

William Moore is the President and Chief Executive Officer of the Eleanor Crook Foundation. In his role as the first CEO and first full-time employee of ECF in 2015, he has led the organization in developing an ambitious strategy and investment plan, building partnerships across the global health and development community, and serving as a vocal spokesperson on the issue of global malnutrition. He was formerly Chief Storyteller at the United Nations Millennium Campaign, where he helped coordinate UN country office engagement plans for the Sustainable Development Goals and worked to highlight the human aspect of data and development.

Moore serves on the Board of Directors for Bread for the World and The Alliance to End Hunger, as well as the United Nations Foundation's Global Leadership Council. Additionally, he is the Chair of the Coalition of Philanthropies for Nutrition. A North Carolina native, Moore is a graduate of Columbia University.

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Amit Paley, *Special Advisor and Head of Global Advocacy, Eleanor Crook Foundation*

Amit Paley is a Senior Advisor and Head of Global Advocacy at the Eleanor Crook Foundation, where he contributes strategic expertise and leadership to the foundation's efforts to invest in a world where no child dies of malnutrition.

Before joining the Eleanor Crook Foundation, Amit led the Movement Against Malnutrition, an ambitious initiative focused on ending childhood hunger. Previously, Amit was the CEO and Executive Director of The Trevor Project—the world's largest mental health and suicide prevention organization for LGBTQ young people. Under his leadership, the organization scaled its impact significantly and pioneered AI-driven tools that earned recognition as one of TIME magazine's 100 Best Inventions.

Earlier in his career, Amit was an Associate Partner at McKinsey & Company, advising top-tier corporations, public agencies, and mission-driven nonprofits, with a focus on healthcare and social impact. He began his professional journey as a reporter for The Washington Post, where he covered finance and served as a foreign correspondent in Iraq. His work there earned critical acclaim, including a Pulitzer Prize nomination.

Amit's insights and leadership have been featured in The New York Times, USA Today, CNN, NPR, and all major broadcast networks. He has also shared his expertise serving on numerous national boards and committees, such as the Center for Public Integrity, the National Action Alliance for Suicide Prevention, and the Hebrew Free Loan Society. He graduated magna cum laude from Harvard College and holds both an MBA from Columbia Business School and a master's degree from Columbia Journalism School.

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Naveen Rao, *Senior Vice President - Health Initiative, The Rockefeller Foundation*

Dr. Naveen Rao is the Senior Vice President of the Health Initiative at The Rockefeller Foundation where he leads the Foundation's efforts to shape the field of Climate and Health, transforming the world's health systems to be more equitable, inclusive and resilient to climate change and improving the ability to predict, detect, and respond to climate-sensitive disease threats.

Dr. Rao previously led the Foundation's COVID-19 pandemic efforts, including the Global Vaccination Initiative, which increased vaccination uptake in low and middle-income countries, as well as the Foundation's Pandemic Prevention Initiative, which strengthened global pathogen surveillance and response around the world.

Dr. Rao joined The Rockefeller Foundation after a 25-year career with Merck & Co., Inc., where he most recently led Merck for Mothers, the company's 10-year, $500 million initiative to reduce maternal mortality around the world. Prior to Merck, he was the Associate Director of the Department of Medicine at Beekman-Downtown Hospital and practiced Internal Medicine in New York City for 10 years.

Dr. Rao is Board Certified in Internal Medicine and is a Fellow of the American College of Physicians.

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Ritu Sharma, *Vice President, Policy Advocacy, CARE*

Ritu Sharma, MPH, is the Vice President for US Programs and Policy Advocacy at CARE. She guides the organization's advocacy towards the US Government, international institutions and across more than 40 national governments. In addition, Ritu leads CARE's nascent work across the United States providing emergency response to disasters and economic opportunities for women post-disaster.

Ritu is one of three co-chairs of the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN), a bipartisan coalition of international development and foreign policy practitioners, advocates, and experts. MFAN promotes more effective and accountable U.S. foreign assistance.

Prior to CARE, Ritu was a Regional Director at the International Youth Foundation (IYF) working on young women's economic opportunity, and a Senior Fellow with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) leading the joint CSIS-IYF Youth, Prosperity, and Security Initiative.

Ritu is author of Teach a Woman to Fish: Overcoming Poverty Around the Globe (Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).

Ritu holds a BSFS in international economics from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and an MPH from Johns Hopkins University's School of Hygiene and Public Health.

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ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM



Charlie Dent, *Executive Director, Congressional Program; Vice President, Aspen Institute*

Congressman Charlie Dent is Executive Director and Vice President of the Aspen Institute Congressional Program, where he leads bipartisan, bicameral policy education programs for sitting members of Congress. In addition to his role at the Aspen Institute, Congressman Dent is a Senior Policy Advisor to the global law firm, DLA Piper and appeared as a political contributor on CNN for five years and continues to comment regularly on various networks.

Congressman Dent also serves on the Boards of CARE USA and the National Archives Foundation. Further, he served as a Distinguished Advisor for Pew Charitable Trusts, the Inaugural Visiting Fellow at Penn State's McCourtney Institute for Democracy, and a former Visiting Fellow for the University of Pennsylvania (UPENN), Perry World House.

Prior to those positions, Congressman Dent served 7 terms in the U.S. House of Representatives representing the 15th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. During his time in Congress, Congressman Dent distinguished himself as a strong, independent leader who is well respected on both sides of the aisle. Congressman Dent was a senior member of the House Appropriations Committee where he chaired the Subcommittee on Military Construction, Veterans Affairs and Related Agencies. Further, he served as the Chairman of the House Committee on Ethics from 2015 – 2017. In addition to his role as a senior Appropriator, Congressman Dent was the co-chair of the Tuesday Group (now called The Republican Governance Group), a caucus of more than 50 center-right Republicans, where he played an important role in many of the most challenging policy and political issues confronted by Congress. Congressman Dent was a member of the Speaker of the House's weekly cross section lunch and was a member of the Majority Leader's Chairman's Table. Before his time in the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman Dent served for six years in the Pennsylvania State Senate and eight years in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.

Congressman Dent holds a Bachelor of Arts in Foreign Service and International Politics from the Pennsylvania State University and a Master of Public Administration from Lehigh University. He is a recipient of the Order of Merit from the Federal Republic of Germany. In 2015, Moravian College conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon Congressman Dent. He is married to his wife, Pamela, and they have three grown children, Kathryn, William, and Jack.

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Pamela (Pam) Dent has been married to Charlie Dent since 1991, and they have three adult children: Kate, Will, and Jack. Pam proudly supported Charlie as a congressional spouse since his term started in 2005 until his congressional retirement in 2018. When not busy being a spouse or a mom, Pam focuses on her hobby of creating art — acrylic and needlepoint mediums — in workshops or in her sunroom studio.



Tyler Denton, *Deputy Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program*

With more than twenty years of experience working in Africa and around the world, Tyler Denton has built a global network of strategic relationships, connecting policy makers with influential constituencies, designed to achieve transformational experiences and meaningful outcomes. He previously served as the Managing Trip Director for the ONE Campaign and (RED), where he led delegations of high-profile influencers around the world on low-profile, high impact listening and learning tours. He spent over a decade working for President Bill Clinton and Secretary Hillary Clinton, working in the White House, for their foundation in Lilongwe, Malawi and at the Presidential Library in Little Rock. He is a graduate of the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville.

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Jennifer Harthan, *Senior Manager of Congressional Engagement, Aspen Institute Congressional Program*

As Senior Manager of Congressional Engagement, Jen Harthan is the point person for assembling and recruiting key bipartisan, bicameral groups of Members of Congress for the Program's international educational conferences. She also manages the member breakfast and senior congressional staff lunch policy series at the Capitol, conducts strategic programming for engagement with Members of Congress and their staff, and analyzes critical data and outcomes from all aspects of programming. Prior to the Aspen Institute, Jen was a legislative staffer for Senator Jon

Tester's foreign/military/veteran affairs, environment, energy, commerce, science, and transportation portfolios. Before Senator Tester's office, she was a member of the donor management team for an international development nonprofit. Jen is a native of the small town of Stevensville, Montana, and graduated from Montana State University in Bozeman.

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Galen Voorhees, *Senior Conference Manager, Aspen Institute Congressional Program*

Galen Voorhees is the Senior Conference Manager for the Aspen Institute Congressional Program where she organizes bipartisan policy forums for sitting members of Congress. Prior to the Aspen Institute, she served as Manager for Global Partnerships at the United States Chamber of Commerce overseeing strategic projects and events as well as managing their economic index publications and productions. Before her time at the Chamber, she served as Special Assistant to the British Ambassador to the United States in Private Office at the British Embassy Washington, and then as Deputy Chief of Staff. Originally from Bellevue, Washington, Galen graduated from Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington.

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SCHOLARS' ESSAYS

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12

Amb. Michael Gonzales	*Promoting a Competitive Business Enabling Environment to Foster Investment-led Development and Growth in LDCs*

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13

Amb. Mark Dybul	*Statement before the House Appropriations NSRP Subcommittee*
Amb. Mark Green	*Africa In Motion: A Survey Of the Forces And Questions Shaping Africa's Future* *Excerpts from "Stubborn Things" and "Moments Along the Way" Blogs*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14

Chris Barrett	*The Case for Revitalized, Reoriented United States Investment in African Food and Nutrition Security*
Peter Sands	*Ending Malaria Makes Everyone Healthier, Safer And More Prosperous* *The First Generation Without AIDS Is Within Reach — If We Refuse to Settle for Less* *How AI Is Accelerating the Fight Against an Ancient Killer*

Promoting a Competitive Business Enabling Environment to Foster Investment-led Development and Growth in LDCs[2]

Amb. Michael Gonzales

U.S. Ambassador to Zambia

As many Least Developed Countries reach their 6th decade of independence, perhaps the cruelest irony is that so many of them remain among the "Least Developed Countries." Real GDPs, especially real GDPs per capita, have not kept pace with other countries. And, perhaps most regrettably, economic growth and development have not reached levels reflective of either countries' potential or the expectations of their citizens.

Having lived and worked among the least developed countries in the world, from Bangladesh to Ethiopia to Malawi to Nepal, I have seen throughout my career that it is not governments or donors who create growth. Responsive governments can provide the conducive environment, and donors can provide much needed support. But, ultimately it is private sector investment that drives growth. It is investment that creates jobs, drives productivity, and pays taxes to fund public services.

We have seen over recent decades that significant foreign assistance might provide phenomenal impacts on people's lives. But sadly, the assistance-led development model has broadly failed to spur the sustained, systemic reforms needed to drive real per capita growth and development. Regrettably, the fiscal and policy space that aid provides has not been used to enact such reforms. So, despite significant potential, accountable and transparent businesses are not investing in proportion to that potential. As a result, the development of LDC economies remains unrealized despite the interest and availability of literally trillions of dollars in available capital.

In my experience, much of the difference between countries that attract that investment and those that do not is a matter of government orientation. From Ethiopian coffee to Chilean mining, those countries and sectors that create conducive environments to foster innovation and business within a transparent and stable policy environment – using government to enable business while monitoring and enforcing compliance – are the countries able to unleash their potential. In contrast, those countries that insist on controlling – be it through opaque, complex, and redundant licenses and approvals; vulnerabilities from human intervention; or ever shifting rules and regulations – consistently fail to secure the investments of even those companies who are interested.

[2] Remarks originally written for the LDC Future Forum on April 2, 2025.

Apart from the truly phenomenal business opportunity, too often, the companies that do invest in the controlling environment do so by buying their ways around regulations or officials, extracting and exploiting to the detriment of the host country.

In this competitive global economy, capital is like water, it follows the path of least resistance. Companies do not just wait for the opportunity to invest in your country. They will invest somewhere. But, if your country makes it difficult, they will go elsewhere. I often hear governments complain that investors are not serious. "Just look at the massive potential that exists," they lament. The reality is that while the potential is significant, the costs of realizing that potential continues to outstrip it. Put another way, potential revenues are great, but the costs of realizing a profit remain higher still.

Accountable companies are not necessarily looking for a special deal. They seek transparent, consistent, and predictable policies and processes that provide a level and stable playing field to minimize risk. In a world where time is money, one-stop shops and automated processes help reduce opportunity costs. A new market entrant's first stop is typically to talk to others already in the market. If what they hear is about corruption, byzantine processes, and long delays, they may not even stick around to meet with your governments or actually explore opportunities. So, the first key to attracting new trade and investment is to facilitate business practices for those companies already in your market.

Against this backdrop, Western embassies and governments often share your objective of increasing mutually beneficial commercial ties. Because companies talk to their embassies when exploring new markets, we often have clear insights into what attracts a company. We also hear what keeps them away. And, we have close contact with companies across the economy. Partnering with embassies in your countries to understand the perspectives of the private sector can help your governments develop and prioritize an action plan for reforms to turn that potential into real investment, meaningful jobs, and increased tax revenues.

The United States is often happy to advise on prospective business process reforms or regulations, so too are other partner countries or multilateral partners like the World Bank. A true partner is not one that insists on non-disclosure agreements or wants special benefits for themselves. More often than not, those opaque arrangements come at the expense of recipient economies. Genuine partners are those who support you in creating level playing fields where transparent processes ensure investor confidence and foster competition to bring both the companies and your people value for money.

Statement before the House Appropriations NSRP Subcommittee[3]

Amb. Mark Dybul

Professor at the Medical Center of Georgetown University, former Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and former U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator leading PEPFAR

Good morning Chairman Diaz-Balart, Ranking Member Frankel and distinguished members of the Committee. It is a great privilege to come before this group, which I have had the opportunity to testify on PEPFAR and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria since the days of Jim Kolbe in and Nita Lowey in 2006.

It has been the honor of a lifetime to have been one of the architects of the original PEPFAR plan, and to have been deeply engaged with the program for two-thirds of my professional life. Please accept heartfelt thanks to all the Members and Staff who have provided steadfast support in a bipartisan way for more than two decades.

I hope we can all agree that this Committee and the American people's investment in PEPFAR have made our country safer, stronger and more prosperous. In that regard, please accept deep appreciation for maintaining appropriations for the most effective US development programs, including PEPFAR and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria despite substantial reductions in the Subcommittee's overall envelope.

Averting Disaster

It seems important to recall the state of the epidemic at the turn of the Century. In the most impacted countries, more than 30 percent of the adult population was infected with HIV. In certain districts in Botswana, 75% of pregnant women carried the virus. There were entire villages run by orphans or grandparents because there were no adults left alive.

Unlike many diseases that target the young and the old, HIV infects those who are not only in their reproductive – but also their productive – years. There was a persistent misunderstanding that the poorest were most vulnerable. The greatest risk was among those who had begun to climb the economic ladder - factory and mine workers, doctors and nurses, corporate executives and government officials. There were projections for substantial decreases in economic growth. Indeed, Ford was among the first Corporations to provide life-saving treatment to its workers in Africa so they could keep their assembly lines moving.

[3] Remarks originally written for the House Appropriations National Security, Department of State, and Related Programs (NSRP) Subcommittee on April 8, 2025.

Soldiers were at very high risk. Africa struggled to field peace keeping forces. There were reports from the US national security sector raising the alarm about the risks of HIV. It had the potential to tumble fragile states and leave a huge cadre of desperate young people susceptible to terrorist recruitment. So we ensured that the first ever UN Security Council meeting on an infectious disease was on HIV.

Fortunately, and largely because of US led global intervention, the dire predictions of global instability and economic harm did not occur.

Our great country acted decisively and effectively to avert disaster and, in doing so, offered the world a shining example of who and what we are when we are at our best.

Helping America to be Safer, Stronger and More Prosperous

PEPFAR has been called – and I believe in fact is - "the most successful global health program in history." That powerful statement is no small part due to the astounding success of the program:

- More than 26 million lives saved – that bears repeating – more than 26 million lives saved.
- More than 7.5 million babies saved from HIV infection around the time of birth.
- More than 8 million children saved from becoming orphans.

But its impact is much wider and deeper – from villages to State Houses, from Africa to Asia to Latin America – in improved diplomatic relations – which translates directly to our national security, stronger health systems, in particular remarkably robust data systems for a results-focused, transparent accountability that can serve as a foundation for enhanced health security and pandemic preparedness and response, and potential for a healthy, growing market for US goods and services – legacies that have helped America to be safer, stronger and more prosperous in the future.

In other words, PEPFAR has been a transformational model that helped drive reforms throughout US and international development programs.

With your indulgence, I would like to tell a story that remains vivid in my memory. In 2006, while I was the US Global AIDS Coordinator, I was fortunate to visit Axum, Ethiopia, believed to be the birthplace of Christianity in Africa. At dawn, with the mist over the town blocking the electrical wires, it looked as it might have centuries ago. Local farmers winding through the streets with donkey-drawn wagons, the spires of the churches peeking through the haze, bells ringing to call all to prayers and the market. We were met at the local clinic by the director and his team. In a town that small, the clinic director was also a town elder and leader in the community. He kept referring to PEPFAR. I was cranky from too little sleep so asked him what PEPFAR means. His answer knocked me over. He said, "PEPFAR means the American people care about us."

That wonderful phrase captured the sentiments I have heard from nearly every corner of Africa. And that soft power – as many leading generals, admirals and commanders on the ground have clearly said is essential for our national security - can be quantified. Senators Frist and Daschle, who were the Senate's Majority and Minority leaders when PEPFAR was first authorized, led an assessment by the Bipartisan Policy Center of the impact of the program on perceptions of the United States in Sub-Saharan Africa. In PEPFAR supported countries, 68 percent of respondents had a positive view of our country, compared to only 46 percent in non-PEPFAR supported countries. In fact, many PEPFAR-supported countries have a higher percent positive view of the United States than people in the United States.

The sentiment expressed in Axum has grown with every life saved and as individuals, families, communities and nations moved from total despair to hope for the future. Hope is not just a matter of faith or a good feeling. It awakens a lost desire to find a job, go to school, feed a family, care for your community. It is, in fact, the basis for economic growth and the development of markets for US goods and services. That is not just a theory. The Kaiser Family Foundation reported that PEPFAR-supported countries had a 2.1 percentage point increase in the GDP growth rate per capita from 2004 to 2018.

Indeed, prior to the COVID pandemic, Africa, as a region, had the second fastest growing regional economy in the world. It also has a rapidly growing population. By the 2030s Africa will be larger than either India or China. While the latter has an aging population, 70% of Africa is under the age of 30.

Africa is a key and growing market for US goods and services.

While PEPFAR is an HIV program it has remarkable ripple effects on the broader health system. Treatment and prevention of HIV is a life-long enterprise requiring well trained health care providers including community health care workers, pharmacists and pharmacies, lab technicians and laboratories, logistics, supply chains and communications systems and much more. These systems are public but also private, including faith-based organizations.

At the beginning, because of stigma and discrimination, many HIV services were provided in separate locations. However, the vast majority of HIV-related activities now occur in general health care settings. So the doctors, nurses, lab techs, pharmacists, community health workers – and all the support systems – serve non-HIV roles as well.

In that regard, a recent analysis by the American Foundation for AIDS Research (amfAR) found that countries supported by PEPFAR have seen a 235% greater increase in the number of trained nurses and midwives than countries not supported by the program. For that reason, it is not surprising that studies have shown that PEPFAR is associated with a significant improvement in 6 out of 7 key indicators of maternal and child health including rates of mortality for women and children and childhood immunization.

The dramatic life-saving results are linked to prevention as well as treatment. Effective prevention is key to reducing the number of new infections which is essential for sustainability. For example, using treatment to prevent infections has shown great promise. Similar to taking anti-malaria drugs when traveling, pills – and recently a single injection that can last three to six months – provided to those most at risk of infection including women and men of reproductive age could help bring new infections down to very low-levels. Combined with an expected increase in deaths as those who started treatment more than 20 years ago begin to die of natural causes, it is possible to substantially reduce the number of persons requiring treatment in 7 to 10 years. With expected advances in other technologies, including vaccines, it is now possible to conceive of nearly eliminating HIV in our lifetime.

Among the most important investments in systems were transparent data for monitoring and evaluation to help drive rapid and continual pivots to maximize results and taxpayer investments. Those systems also provide a backbone of transparency and accountability for Congressional oversight, but also for country management and ownership.

The power of those improved health systems was clearly demonstrated during the height of the COVID pandemic. PEPFAR-supported HIV testing was used to detect SARS-Cov-2. Clinics, hospitals and community workers, and commodities procured were all used to help combat the deadly disease. Looking to the future and the threat of another pandemic, the best way to ensure early detection and to respond rapidly is to maintain and strengthen the capacity to respond to an ongoing pandemic, such as HIV, with an intentional design for surge capacity when needed promoting our health security and national security.

Key Role of the Global Fund

As a former Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, I'm proud the partnership has saved over 65 million lives from AIDS, TB and malaria. I would like to thank the Committee for its support of that important organization. With the 33 percent cap on contributions from the United States, it is a potent means to help ensure the American taxpayer is not alone in this fight. The Global Fund also plays a key, and complementary, role in building health systems and pandemic preparedness and response. In fact, the success of PEPFAR and the President's Malaria Initiative are intertwined with the Global Fund and serve as a model for how US investments in bilateral and international programs can be synergistic. And our engagement in a results-driven international organization contributes to our diplomatic relations.

Transitioning from Funding to Stronger Economic, Diplomatic and National Security Partnerships

I hope we can all agree that few US Government programs have been as impactful as PEPFAR. It has rightly been called the best policy decision by any President in the past half century. And few international programs have been as impactful as the Global Fund.

However, neither PEPFAR nor the Global Fund can or should be forever.

The health care capacity that has been built provides a foundation for a structured transition to fully country led and owned programs. In addition, countries have also increased their financial commitments to health and HIV programs. Domestic sources accounted for 59% of all HIV-related spending in 2023. However, the increases are very uneven and much work remains to be done.

While substantial work has been done to prepare for transitions, now is the time to execute a comprehensive plan with clear, annual and transparent benchmarks on progress, including reductions – beginning now in funding.

Countries are in different stages on their journey to self-reliance. It could be useful to group them based on the amount of external funding they receive, socio-economic factors and others and, in working with countries within each group, to set accountable, clear targets for progress within each category and progress towards a final transition.

In my view, there are a handful of countries – in particular in Asia and Latin America - who could rapidly have full transitions. There are at least a dozen countries, some with large PEPFAR and Global Fund allocations, that could successfully transition within a few years, including regular reductions in funds during that time. Others will take longer – some much longer, but they can and should begin now.

It is essential that PEPFAR and the Global Fund function as a single team, working with Heads of State, Ministries of Finance, Health, Economic Planning and others as well as sub-national structures, e.g., Governors and States as appropriate. Grants, loans and private sector investments must be available in a coherent way with a different mix of mechanisms based on where each country is on their journey to self-reliance. For too long, the various Departments and Agencies responsible for grants, loans and effective engagement of the private sector have acted – and received appropriations – in disparate and unaligned ways. Sustainability and effective transitions will require bold, new approaches to an “all of government” approach here in Washington, in partner countries and by International Organizations and Development Finance Institutions.

It is also essential that faith- and community-based organizations, who often provide substantial health services, be fully engaged from the beginning. Those organizations are likely to bear the brunt of rapid resource reductions. Many partner governments have no clear systems to transfer funds to faith- and community-based organizations. But with time and effort, those mechanisms can be created.

The strong data systems that have been developed are key to effective and rapid transitions. It is essential that they remain active to help ensure that countries maximize impact and to have visibility into current externally financed programs – in particular for faith- and community-based organizations – to ensure the vital services they provide do not fall through the cracks. Over time, the countries can fully absorb the systems to enhance transparency and accountability within the health sector as a model for other sectors – as has already been done in several places. Finally, those data systems are indispensable for continued oversight by the Administration and Congress.

The private sector must be at the table from the outset. Often, the private sector is a second, third or fourth thought – or not even considered at all. We also approach them from a public sector lens rather than working with them based on their needs and limits. There can be no sustainability without revenue generation from health programs – moving from "health to wealth". There are opportunities for American investors and companies to reap rewards and for Asian, African and Latin American investors and companies to grow their economies to create markets for our goods and services. There are important US Government financing instruments as well as African, Asian and Latin American Development Finance Institutions – some have already begun to engage in health – which could play key roles identifying projects, co-financing including providing first-loss investment.

While it is important that every country transitions from external financing for their HIV and health services, it is equally important that they transition to become stronger economic and diplomatic partners of the United States for the long-term.

I have remained very active in Sub-Saharan Africa, and I can assure you that there are ready and willing partners to enact clear, accountable and successful transition plans from State Houses to Ministries of Finance and Health to villages, faith and community-based organizations, private sector investors who see "health to wealth" opportunities and African Development Financing Institutions, including the African Export-Import Bank and African Development Bank. Indeed, those key actors have already been engaged in increased health financing towards sustainability.

The alternative to successful transitions is frightening to contemplate. Moving too rapidly to dismantle one of the most successful programs in history threatens millions of lives, reverses decades of stronger diplomatic gains affecting national security, and substantially limits opportunities for stronger economic partnerships and markets for US goods and services.

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As this Committee knows, the United States is now in a worldwide struggle to remain a beacon on the hill and to ensure that we are safe, strong and prosperous. While we must lead, we must have allies including, and perhaps particularly, in Africa where democracy

is threatened and where we have lost ground as the number one trading partner – and where the opportunity for the future is so vast. Clearly, PEPFAR alone is not sufficient.

But after nearly a quarter Century of working with and supporting Africans at all levels, the wisdom of the words from Axum 15 years ago rings truer than ever.

People know what we stand for when we stand with them. With your continued support and a clear plan for successful transitions from external financing and to stronger economic and diplomatic partners, untold millions of lives will continue to be lifted up and saved, strengthened health systems for the ongoing HIV pandemic will continue to improve the health of mothers, children, communities and nations. Those systems will better prepare us for, and help respond to, the next pandemic threat. And our values and our economy will flourish. That will be another remarkable legacy for this Committee and the American people.

The choice before us is clear: do we have a well-planned, structured, successful transition over time that begins today – one that helps make America safer, stronger and more prosperous – or do we squander one of America's greatest achievements, retreating too quickly and chaotically, risking the lives of millions and leaving a void for others to fill. That choice is ours to make.

Thank you for listening and I look forward to your questions.

Africa In Motion: A Survey Of the Forces And Questions Shaping Africa's Future

Amb. Mark Green

President Emeritus of the Wilson Center, former U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania and former Member of Congress

"Africa has her mysteries, and even a wise man cannot understand them. But a wise man respects them." Miriam Makeba a/k/a "Mama Africa"

INTRODUCTION

It's impossible to capture all that is going on in Africa in just a few short pages. For one thing, Africa is unimaginably diverse. For another, it is always in motion. What we *can* do is try to recognize the forces and influences that are flowing across Africa and impacting every part of the continent. These forces present both challenges and opportunities for African leaders, and the decisions these leaders make will shape the continent for decades to come.

I believe U.S. policymakers should seize the opportunity to walk with African leaders as they make their choices. Why? Because while I've always believed that Africa matters, I'm absolutely certain of it for the years ahead.

What follows are glimpses of what's shaping Africa's future, as well as a few of the questions leaders will need to address. In addition, for the more ambitious, I've attached some excerpts and links to recent essays that provide some additional context for our discussion.

GLIMPSES OF WHAT'S SHAPING AFRICA

Africa is young. Very young.

- 60% of Sub-Saharan Africans are under 25; 70% are under 30.
- The world's 10 youngest countries are all in Africa. The median age in Niger is 15, in Angola,16, and in Zambia, the 11th youngest country, it's just over 18. In the US, it's about 39.
- 60% of Africa's unemployed are between 15 and 24. (Source: Federation of Kenya Employers)
- According to the World Economic Forum, by 2035, more young Africans will be entering the workforce each year than in the rest of the world *combined*.

Africa is diverse. Very diverse.

- Africa is home to more than 2,000 different languages, the most of any continent. Nigeria itself has over 500 languages and 300 ethnic groups.
- How African governments have dealt with linguistic and ethnic diversity has often had far reaching consequences.
    - Tanzania has approximately 120 distinct ethnic groups. When Julius Nyerere became the country's first president, he created a single official language (Kiswahili) and required every young Tanzanian to undertake national service—and to do so outside of his/her home area.
    - In apartheid-era South Africa, the white minority government used ethnicity and language to divide and disenfranchise Black citizens. Apartheid actually means "separate." South Africa still has 12 official languages.

2/3 of African nations are middle income. Nearly all have a vibrant, entrepreneurial citizenry.

- World Bank data classifies 31 of 54 African nations as Lower Middle Income or higher.
- African entrepreneurs have often harnessed "frugal innovation" to get around infrastructure limitations. M-PESA, launched in 2007 by Kenyan mobile provider Safaricom, brought mobile banking to people without traditional bank accounts—long before it became a part of Western banking services. To get around a weak rural road system, Rwandan health officials partnered with an American start-up to harness drones to deliver fresh blood to any part of the country in less than an hour.
- According to the African Development Bank's 2022 African Youth Survey, 3/4 of all young Africans say they plan to start a business in the next five years.

Africa's biodiversity matters…for Africans and everyone else.

- Africa has every type of landscape and a wide, wide range of ecosystems, habitats, and species. It has approximately 1/4 of the world's bird and mammal species, 1/6 of the world's remaining forests, and 8 of the world's 36 recognized biodiversity hotspots (areas with exceptional concentrations of endemic species).
- The Congo basin area is sometimes referred to as earth's "second green lung" (Amazonia being the first) because it absorbs more in carbon emissions than the continent itself emits.
- Nearly 3/4 of Africans make their living through agriculture—many at a subsistence level.
- In 2021-24, conflict between farmers and herders in Chad killed over 1,200 people and injured more than 2,200. (The International Crisis Group.) The competition over dwindling land resources in many parts of Africa is fueling violent clashes that extremists and criminal gangs are exploiting —and weak governments are struggling to keep under control.

The new "Scramble for Africa": Precious minerals, hot commodities

- Botswana has the world's 2nd largest diamond reserves. Angola the 3rd, DRC the 4th, and South Africa the 5th.
- Regarding minerals critical to emerging technologies, DRC produces more than 70% of the world's cobalt; Guinea has the world's 2nd largest bauxite reserves; South Africa produces 40% of the world's chromium; Madagascar and Mozambique have the 2nd and 3rd largest graphite reserves; Zimbabwe has the 8th largest lithium reserves; South Africa is the largest producer of manganese with Gabon 2nd and Ghana 4th; and Namibia is the world's largest exporter of uranium.
- Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana together account for over 40% of the world's cocoa production; Ethiopia and Uganda are 2 of the world's top 10 coffee producers.

Africans on the move; Africans in need

- Across borders: South Sudan is the world's 5th largest source of refugees; Uganda is the 5th largest host of refugees.
- Inside countries: Sudan has the world's highest number of internally displaced people (IDPs). 5 of the 10 largest hosts of IDPs are in Africa (DRC, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan).
- 10 of the world's 13 most vulnerable countries in humanitarian terms are in Africa. (International Rescue Committee)
- Burdened by weak health systems: In 2023, according to a BBC analysis, malaria was linked to more than a half million deaths, the vast majority of those were African children under five. PEPFAR has prevented more than 25 million deaths, but without it, HIV/AIDS is poised to return in vulnerable communities. The world's 5 unhealthiest countries are all in Africa. (Legatum Institution Fdn)
- The number of outbreaks caused by zoonotic pathogens increased 63% from 2012-22 compared to the preceding 10 years. (World Health Organization)

PRESSING QUESTIONS FOR AFRICAN LEADERS

- What steps can they take to create the 15+ million jobs per year the IMF says they'll need in order to keep pace with the number of new entrants into the workforce?

- How can they alleviate the poor access to health care and nutrition that is hampering worker productivity?

- The continent is rich in raw materials, but they're largely processed and refined elsewhere, reducing Africa's share of revenues and reducing chances for skilled job opportunities. What can African leaders do to change that?

- Population growth, changing weather patterns, and the demand for work are combining to place new stresses on already overburdened land resources. How can

Africans simultaneously benefit from the natural bounty of biodiversity, while enhancing meaningful economic opportunities for rural communities?

- Africa continues to lag behind the rest of the world in the foreign direct investment needed for infrastructure development. Many countries are strapped with crushing external debt, and China is very often the largest creditor. What is the smartest path forward that meets immediate economic demands while not mortgaging the future?

- Given the record numbers of IDPs and refugees, what can be done to connect those who are displaced with humane opportunities for education, health care, and self-reliance?

HOW CAN THE U.S. BE HELPFUL? SOME POSSIBILITIES…

The proven: Millennium Challenge Corporation, PEPFAR, Feed the Future, USDFC, innovative financing tools (e.g., development impact bonds)

The Latest: Lobito Corridor Project, alternative livelihood investments, new collaborations between conservative community and development leaders

Excerpts of Stubborn Things/Moments Along the Way Blogs[4]

Amb. Mark Green

President Emeritus of the Wilson Center, former U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania and former Member of Congress

By 2050, Nigeria will likely have the world's third largest population (surpassing the US) and one of its ten largest economies.[5]

One of every five Africans is Nigerian, and Nigeria boasts Africa's largest economy. It has the world's second largest film industry ("Nollywood"), is a major producer of oil and gas, has significant reserves of lithium and other critical minerals, and has rapidly expanding IT and financial services sectors. A Nigerian start up recently beat out an Israeli consortium for a drone-based security services contract. … Despite its size and significance, there hasn't been a U.S. presidential visit to Nigeria in 10 years.

Even before President Trump took office this year, China had a larger diplomatic presence in Africa than the US.[6]

China is Africa's largest trading partner, and has been for more than a dozen years. And the momentum in the China-Africa relationship seems to be building….But it's also important to understand the broader story of how we got to this point. Beijing has been paying attention to Africa for years and making serious investments in its relationships on the continent. Its diplomatic presence now surpasses that of any other country —including the US. According to the Lowy Institute's 2024 Global Diplomacy Index, China has now established sixty diplomatic posts in Africa. That's 4 more than the US and over 20 more than Russia. … Every official sent out by Beijing in support of a diplomatic post represents Chinese eyes and ears in the field. Each is a Chinese voice on the continent and a new channel for China to spot economic opportunities, press its interests, and pitch for its businesses.

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[4] Stubborn Things can be found on Amb. Green's Substack; older posts are at WilsonCenter.org.
[5] https://substack.com/@ambmarkgreen1/note/c-125642325?r=2a16ct&utm_medium=ios&utm_source=notes-share-action
[6] https://substack.com/@ambmarkgreen1/note/p-167806122?r=2a16ct&utm_medium=ios&utm_source=notes-share-action

As of 2020, Africa's natural resources[7] were pledged to back nearly $66 billion in loans made for the most part from China's state-controlled Development and Exim Banks.

Africa has enormous economic potential. It is the youngest continent in the world, and nearly half of the world's working-age population will be African in 30 years. With that youth comes not only a vast source of ready labor, but also a potential treasure trove of new ideas and innovations. The continent is also home to a large portion of the world's most valuable natural resources: 40% of global gold, nearly 90% of chromium and platinum and, overall, about a third of the world's known critical minerals supply. The value of these natural resources will only grow as the global search for new sources of energy and components for ever-faster microchips intensifies. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates demand for nickel will likely double by 2050, triple for cobalt, and increase ten times for lithium. Given these demand projections, the IMF estimates that African countries could reap 10% of cumulative global revenues from copper, nickel, cobalt, and lithium—which together are estimated to reach $16 *trillion* dollars—over 25 years.

40% of the world's cocoa beans are produced in Côte d'Ivoire. In February, China opened that country's largest cocoa factory.[8]

Nearly everyone loves chocolate. Increasingly, that includes those living in China, the world's second most populous nation….Meanwhile, China has been proactively keeping up with increased domestic demand for chocolate products. In 2019, China signed a deal with Côte d'Ivoire to open two cocoa processing facilities in San Pedro and Abidjan, the country's economic capital. Each plant can produce 50,000 metric tons of chocolate end-products each year and can store up to 300,000 tons. The Abidjan plant, built by the Chinese company China Light Industry Nanning Design Engineering, is now the largest cocoa bean processing facility in the entire country….Interestingly, when China loaned Côte d'Ivoire $200 million to build these two factories, it negotiated for part of the loan to be repaid in cocoa beans. Accordingly, 40% of the output from both plants will be dedicated to China.

Malaria kills roughly 600,000 people each year, and is now present in four US states. Yet it's largely preventable, and an affordable new vaccine is ramping up in production.[9]

As anyone who has lived or worked in Africa can tell you, malaria has long been a terrible challenge for the continent, imposing considerable human and economic costs.

[7] https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/africas-natural-resources-africans
[8] https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/china-and-chocolate-factory
[9] https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/malaria-largely-preventable-and-yet

The disease kills more than 600,000 people annually, and Africa accounts for 95% of all malaria cases—and 96% of its deaths. Among Africans, pregnant women and young children, who have lower natural immunity, are hit hardest. About 80% of malaria-related deaths are from children under the age of five.…When the US government's President's Malaria Initiative (PMI) came on to the scene in 2005, it dramatically expanded the world's access to proven interventions (e.g., insecticide treated bed nets, indoor residual spraying, rapid diagnostic tests, and more), and boosted training for vital health care workers. Together with the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria, (known as the Global Fund), and other partners, PMI has helped save an estimated 7.6 million lives, and prevented more than 1.5 billion malaria cases.

Ninety-five percent of the animals in Gorongosa National Park were destroyed in Mozambique's civil war. Investments in the people and the communities surrounding the park are bringing the wildlife back[10]—102,000 animals at last count.

Mozambique's Gorongosa National Park has been called "Africa's most successful rewilding effort." Ironically, it's the investments made in the people and communities that are key to that success being sustained.…large swaths of the Gorongosa ecosystem were engulfed in the Mozambican civil war that erupted in 1977—a war which caused nearly a million deaths, and the forced displacement of millions more. Fighters often took refuge in the park, killing vast quantities of animals for food, or for money; selling items like elephant tusks helped finance their operations. The war's end only brought partial relief to Gorongosa as economic fallout and ongoing political instability left the area vulnerable to poachers. By 2001, the wildebeest population had dropped from 5,500 to 1, hippos declined from 3,500 to 44, and both elephant herds and lion prides were reduced by 90%.…Gorongosa's fortunes finally took a turn for the better when, in 2004, the park captured the attention (and the heart) of American entrepreneur and philanthropist Greg Carr. "The Gorongosa Project" is now the largest employer in central Mozambique. In addition to traditional conservation operations, a growing number of Mozambicans have jobs with innovative SDZ projects that both pay good salaries and incentivize ecosystem preservation.

A study by the Infrastructure Consortium of Africa shows that poor infrastructure—roads, railways, harbors, etc.—adds 30-40% to the costs of goods traded among African countries.[11]

[10] https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/rewilding-investing-people
[11] https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/why-africa-talks-so-much-about-infrastructure

Part of what holds Africa back in its journey to self-reliance is that many countries there lack the reliable infrastructure that private investment often needs. An analysis by Deloitte shows that the lack of physical infrastructure in Sub-Saharan Africa is still keeping many investors at bay. Large commodity finds—such as oil, gas, iron ore, platinum, coal, and copper—are driving the need for infrastructure. Yet, at the same time, investment in infrastructure needed to extract and transport these commodities to the global market is also driving Africa's economic growth….African leaders are striving to accelerate infrastructure improvements and are looking to both China and the West for assistance. As we read about nearly every day, China is answering their call. Are we?

On average, 500 nurses leave Ghana for the West every month.[12]

According to the World Health Organization's WHO health workforce support and safeguards list 2023, some 55 countries have significant health staffing shortages—by the numbers, that means fewer than the median of 49 health workers per 10,000 people—and 40 of them are in Africa. In other words, roughly 80% of Africa is experiencing medical staff shortages and high rates of healthcare professionals leaving to work in other countries. … Unfortunately, high rates of healthcare professionals leaving the continent is neither a new phenomenon, nor limited to Ghana. Egypt's former health minister recently lamented that 65% of Egyptian doctors are working abroad, and a report from the UK's House of Commons found that more than 3,000 Ghanaian health professionals had left that country for the United Kingdom from 2018 to 2021. At least 9,000 doctors left Nigeria to work in the UK, United States, and Canada from 2016 to 2018. And, when looking at 2015 data, the WHO found that Liberia had a mere 51 doctors for a population of 4.5 million, and Sierra Leone only had 136 doctors for 6 million people, making the doctor-to-population rate 0.1 and 0.2 per 1,000 people respectively.

A larger share of the world's terrorism-related deaths come from Africa's Sahel region than South Asia and MENA combined.[13]

Each year, the Australia-based Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) produces Global Terrorism Index, or GTI, for 163 separate countries. The most recent GTI finds that, by the numbers, terrorism deaths dropped slightly during 2022. However, much of that "decline" is a result of the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan: since the Taliban is now the government, it isn't included in GTI's terrorist calculations.

But the index's most eye-opening finding? The Sahel now accounts for 43 percent of the world's terrorism deaths—more than South Asia and the MENA region combined. That percentage is on the rise. According to GTI, two Sahel countries—Mali and Burkina

[12] https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/africas-healthworker-brain-drain
[13] https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/sahel-now-accounts-43-global-terrorism-deaths

Faso—are among the world's five countries most impacted by terrorism deaths. With 1,135 terrorism deaths in 2022, Burkina Faso now accounts for more terrorism deaths annually than any other country.

By the end of 2024, only 10% of the US Representatives who voted to create PEPFAR will still be in office—and none of the legislation's original co-authors will remain.[14]

In 2008, Tanzania President Jakaya Kikwete implored, "Let me just make an appeal: Let PEPFAR continue…Can you imagine if this program is discontinued or disrupted? There would be so many people who lose hope, and certainly there will be death. You create more orphans … for PEPFAR not to continue, it's a recipe for disaster for us." Standing next to him at a joint public appearance, US President George W. Bush said, "It appalled me very early on in my administration to realize that an entire generation of people could be lost to HIV/AIDS, and that those of us who were comfortable weren't doing much about it."

[14] https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/pepfar-looking-back-looking-ahead

The Case for Revitalized, Reoriented United States Investment in African Food and Nutrition Security

Chris Barrett

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This year, the United States government (USG) began a historically unprecedented disengagement from Africa. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID)[1] and Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC)[2] have effectively closed. Only a temporary court order has (as of the time of this writing) kept the (very small) United States African Development Foundation (ADF)[3] open. Billions in USG contributions have been rescinded from multilateral agencies actively working in Africa, such as the African Development Bank, Gavi The Vaccine Alliance, the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAids), the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the World Health Organization (WHO), and UN Peacekeeping operations, among others. The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR),[4] which has saved tens of millions of African lives, barely escaped rescission and faces a sharply reduced budget. Other governments have followed the USG lead in disinvesting, compounding the damage. A strong case can certainly be made for major reforms to and portfolio reallocation within US foreign assistance. I make several such arguments below. But the present strategy reflects unwise retreat, not sage reform.

USG investments in African nutritional and food security had long enjoyed bipartisan support because they represented an exceptionally cost-effective means for the US to project 'soft power' and to promote US-based businesses around the world, and an impactful way to advance distinctively American values concerning democracy, human rights, and market-based economies. This essay's central argument is that not only was this disengagement ill-advised, but for moral, national security, and economic reasons the USG should invest far more heavily in Africa, especially in the region's food and nutrition security, albeit with some reorientation relative to past practices.

The Moral Case

The moral case for investment is straightforward: the humanitarian imperative to save lives and relieve avoidable human suffering on the basis of need, without discrimination. For decades the US has supplied most of the world's humanitarian aid, reflecting longstanding bipartisan support for the humanitarian imperative.

Africa represents less than 20% of the world's population yet is home to roughly 40% of the world's hungry people. Low agricultural productivity and limited import capacity, combined with pockets of recurring conflict and the increasingly frequent extreme weather events, conspire to make Africans unusually unlikely to afford a nutritious diet.

That causes high rates of child stunting and diet-related diseases, especially those related to mineral and vitamin (i.e., micronutrient) deficiencies. Children who suffer undernutrition early in life –especially before their 2nd birthday, in the first 1000 days post-conception – run a high risk of irreversible loss of adult physical and neurocognitive function, as well as increased morbidity and mortality. In Africa, 70 out of every 1,000 children die before their fifth birthday, ten times the rate in the US. This is avoidable human suffering.

Most severe acute malnutrition occurs in places and times of crisis. That's where humanitarian response is most essential. The world's only officially declared famines of the 21st century have plagued Africa (Somalia in 2011, South Sudan in 2017), as have the large majority of near-famine declarations (in Ethiopia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan). Rapid, cost-effective humanitarian response is essential in such contexts.

USAID was the global pacesetter in famine early warning, rapid deployment of (US-made) ready-to-use therapeutic foods, and humanitarian food assistance. Congressional restrictions on international food assistance long created inefficiencies that USAID has effectively minimized over the past generation.

A comprehensive recent assessment estimates that USAID funding from 2001-21 saved 91.8 million lives, including 30.4 million children younger than five years, partly from health interventions that achieved, for example, a 50-65% reduction in mortality from HIV/AIDS, malaria and neglected tropical diseases, and partly from feeding programs. Those gains are now being lost, with gross waste and grave consequences. Just this month the State Department destroyed ~500 tons of emergency food rations, wasting ~$1 million of taxpayer funds. More tragically, without reversal of these funding reductions, an estimated 14.1 million people, including 4.5 million children under the age of five, are projected to die avoidable deaths by 2030.

The most cost-effective, sustainable way to promote nutritional security is to avoid food emergencies by boosting the incomes of the poor. 45% of Africa's population falls beneath the global extreme poverty line (US$3.00/day per person in 2021 purchasing power parity terms), and at least two-thirds of them live in rural areas and work in agriculture. A large research literature shows that boosting agricultural productivity – through improved inputs (fertilizers, machinery, seed), soil and water management, and physical and institutional infrastructure (roads, commodity exchanges) – has far bigger poverty reduction bang per dollar invested than any other development interventions.

The National Security Case

As a recent Wall Street Journal headline highlighted, "Africa has entered a new era of war." While less widely covered by media than the conflicts in Gaza or Ukraine, Africa is now experiencing more conflicts than at any time post-World War II. More conflict causes more poverty and more acutely malnourished people, stretching even more thinly the world's already-underfunded humanitarian aid programs.

It is equally true and concerning, however, that causality also flows the other way: more food emergencies result in more conflict. Since the 2008 global food price crisis, recurring episodes of sociopolitical unrest and violent conflict have been fueled partly by food insecurity. Rising food insecurity highlights a government's failure to safeguard its constituents' ability to feed their family, sowing unrest and fertile ground for insurgents to recruit combatants. Rising food prices make land and water more valuable resources over which groups become more willing and likely to fight. A hungrier world with more expensive food is a more dangerous world.

As the USG withdraws from supporting Africans in their time of need – and retreats from educating Africa's future leaders – it weakens US influence in global fora like the UN, which undercuts our national security. Moreover, US withdrawal facilitates regimes hostile to US national interests gaining footholds and influence throughout Africa. African conflict is internationalizing as Russia, China, and Iran engage more, with serious potential consequences for the US military and our national security. We can reduce these pressures by investing in reducing the prevalence and severity of malnutrition and improving the livelihoods of rural Africans.

Pandemics and antimicrobial resistance represent another national security concern. The 2014 Ebola scare and the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic underscore how quickly local problems overseas can spread, with calamitous consequences as we combat microbial adversaries. Agrifood systems are the source of most zoonoses emergent in humans since World War II. Plausibly COVID-19, and certainly Ebola, bird flu, swine flu, plague, and other zoonoses arise largely due to agricultural expansion into wildlands. We can and must preempt pandemics that arise from agrifood systems by identifying and stopping them at their point of origin. Africa is the locus of most agricultural land expansion today and thus the most likely incubator of the next horrific pandemic. We also face a looming antimicrobial resistance crisis due in part to the rapidly rising use of (poorly managed) antibacterial agents in livestock and aquaculture production to meet the growing demand for animal-source foods. That demand growth is greatest and regulation weakest in Africa. Averting such threats requires investing in improvements to African agrifood systems to stem conversion of forests and wetlands that are the reservoirs of pathogens modern medicine cannot yet combat effectively.

The Economic Case

The economic case for investing in African nutritional and food security is simple: the return on investment is exceptionally high, far higher than virtually anything else in the USG budget. Recent, careful World Bank analysis estimates that every dollar invested in combating malnutrition yields an average return of $23 through improved health, education, and adult productivity. Hundreds of studies of such investments consistently return similarly high estimates of the return on investment in international agricultural research, at least $10 returned per dollar spent. Those returns are even higher – more than $30 return per dollar invested! – in African food and agricultural R&D because of massive underinvestment. By contrast the average economic multiplier on USG spending is just $1.50 per dollar. Investment in African nutrition and food security returns 15-20 times the gains of the average USG expenditure.

Good nutrition translates into good health, which results in better educated, more productive workers. The earlier in life one starts being reliably well-nourished, the bigger the gains. The median age in Africa is just 19 years. It is the only major world region poised for significant population growth by 2100, to a projected 3.5 billion. As the U.S. population ages, and soon begins to shrink, Africa will become a crucial source of working age adults, especially in high-demand sectors like health care and information technology, in which U.S. businesses and non-profits already struggle to find qualified workers. Investments in African children today help ensure a high-quality U.S. workforce of the future. If you want your children to have non-robot nursing and health care aide options when they become senior citizens, invest in Africa's children today.

Investments in Africa today also build consumer demand for US-made products tomorrow. Although Africa today accounts for less than ten percent of a roughly US$8 trillion global food market, that will change dramatically in the coming decades. Africa is the only world region where the market for food products – indeed for consumer goods, more broadly – will grow substantially. Africa will lead the world in population growth, and possibly also in income growth rate, and because Africa is the poorest continent, the share of that income growth that converts into food demand is also the world's highest. As a result, 60-75 percent of global food demand growth to 2100 will occur in Africa, at least tripling the region's global market share and making it an increasingly important market for U.S. farmers and food-related businesses. As African agricultural productivity grows, incomes rise and demand for U.S. products does as well. This trend is already evident. Inflation-adjusted annual revenue growth in Africa's food retail and food service sectors far outpaced that of any other world region over the past decade, more than five times the U.S. growth rate.

What To Do?

Feeding an extra 2+ billion Africans this century will be a massive challenge because African farmers suffer the world's lowest agricultural productivity and the vast majority of the supply needed to meet that new demand must be produced in Africa, not imported from abroad. Roughly 60% of the world's remaining arable land is in Africa and >70% of food consumption occurs in the same country that grew the underlying commodity(ies), even more in poorer, land-locked countries. So reaping the moral, national security, and economic rewards requires investing in boosting sustainable, science-based agricultural productivity growth in Africa.

The highest single priority is to sustainably boost healthy food productivity growth. That requires investing more and differently. U.S. public agricultural research, development and extension (R&D&E) investment has fallen by one-third in 20 years and remains trapped in turn-of-the-millenium designs. The same is true of CGIAR, the international network of agricultural research centers that birthed the Green Revolution that rescued humanity from the last food-related poly-crisis, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, earning a plant breeder, Norman Borlaug, the 1970 Nobel Peace Prize. The returns to CGIAR research historically have been extremely high. But CGIAR funding and science have stagnated. There is a direct link from reduced and outdated R&D&E to poly-crisis.

Much of R&D&E investment expansion must occur in Africa because technological advances developed for U.S. agrifood systems do not translate well to radically different agroecosystems. Crop varieties developed for the U.S. lose ~80% of gains when used in Africa. African agricultural research and extension systems presently lack the scale and expertise to adapt, translate, and extend new agrifood systems discoveries. African farmers are not our competitors so much as they can be our customers and partners.

Seven principles should guide policy design and implementation:

1) **Emphasize basic and applied science for impactful innovation.** The highest returns come from tackling the most basic, universal challenges: photosynthetic processes, animal and plant disease resistance, soil health, improved water management, etc. Most US foreign assistance historically has been local, bilateral programming, with uneven returns. We must rebalance the USG aid portfolio to invest far more in 'global public goods', innovations that transcend boundaries, unlocking the considerable, untapped potential of Africa's and the world's food systems – and in complementary biomedical, energy, and computational science and engineering (e.g., renewable energy, shelf-stable vaccines). Such innovation also requires investment in the brightest young minds. Today China hosts more than twice as many African university students as the US, building business, cultural, and political ties. A large share of those future African leaders study agricultural and food issues in China, although the US Land Grant University system remains the world's finest, for now. Not only will those future business and political leaders' primary allegiance favor China rather than the US, but those students are currently helping China leapfrog the US in agrifood (and many other) industries.

2) **Move beyond staple crops.** The USG should maintain R&D&E on calorie-rich staple grains, roots, and tubers, which get the lion's share of agricultural R&D&E funding now. But the USG should sharply expand R&D&E on micronutrient-rich, high-value foods to address diet-related health problems and farm profitability. There is tremendous promise in so-called 'specialty crops' – fruits, nuts, and vegetables – and many neglected – or 'orphan' – crops in Africa. Also, novel foods based on synthetic biology or chemosynthetic processes reduce reliance on conventional agriculture. Genetic advances to biofortify staple crops with essential micronutrients can address nutrient-deficient diets. Meanwhile, improved animal nutrition and genetics to reduce methane emissions and antibiotic resistance, and circular systems that cost-effectively convert waste products into fertilizers and livestock feed can accommodate rising animal-source food consumption within planetary boundaries, boosting nutrition and productivity both.

3) **Reduce water, land, antibiotics, and agrochemicals use.** Nature and human health cannot endure expanded use of these inputs and feedback (e.g., from climate change or soil nutrient loss) wipes out productivity gains. Novel production processes for familiar foods – e.g., cultivated proteins, vertical farming – as well as novel foods, including many 'alternative proteins', are especially helpful here, complementing advances based on crop and livestock genetics accelerated by new genomic techniques such as those involving gene editing.

4) Look beyond the farm. Three-quarters of the value of global consumer food expenditures accrues to firms beyond the farmgate, such as processors, manufacturers, retailers, and restaurants, who also employ far more workers than farms do. These are the most concentrated parts of agrifood value chains. Enforce competition policy, set clear, science-based standards for food manufacturing, retail, and wholesale – for example, more nutrient fortification and less unhealthy ultra-processing – and use public food procurement policies to induce a race to the top, not the bottom, among food producers, processors, and wholesalers. Improved practices in the U.S. spill over into other markets, including Africa's.

5) Leverage private sector financing. The public sector cannot and should not foot the R&D&E bill. An extra $5 billion for public agricultural R&D&E is a heavy lift for the USG and especially for African governments. But it is pocket change for corporate America. We can better leverage taxpayers' and philanthropists' current investments by using policy tools that attract significant private agrifood systems R&D&E and disaster finance.

6) Respond promptly, generously, and cost-effectively to crises as they emerge. Humanitarian response has become considerably more cost-effective over the past generation, boosting the payoffs to modern emergency food assistance. Yet the U.S. – and especially other rich countries –respond inadequately, especially in Africa. Three of the four nations with the largest populations at risk (≥20 million each) are African: DR Congo, Ethiopia, and Sudan. In 2023, humanitarian assistance to those three countries covered only 34-43% of assessed needs. This is a penny-wise, pound-foolish policy. The costs of addressing food emergencies only rise the longer one waits. As children's malnutrition intensifies, the cost per child increases dramatically, with irreversible cognitive and physical developmental impacts if response is too little or too late. Desperate families risk dangerous migrations to high-income countries, including the U.S., and serving displaced persons, much less refugees, is far more expensive than supporting them in their homes. Radical groups prey on the fears and needs of food-insecure people to sow sociopolitical instability.

7) Prioritize children and pregnant and lactating women. Good nutrition during a baby's first thousand days, from conception through the child's second birthday, lays the foundation for adult cognitive, emotional, and physical potential. They are the highest return subpopulation to target. Of course, that requires prioritizing pregnant and lactating women as well. These interventions are relatively cheap. Providing pregnant women with free prenatal vitamins, vitamin A supplementation drops for young children, breastfeeding promotion, and mandatory food fortification (e.g., iodized salt, fortifying flour and vegetable oils with folic acid, iron, and zinc) sharply reduce maternal and child malnutrition, yielding great returns.

What specific steps can the Congress take, based on those seven guiding principles?

A. Set explicit productivity growth targets: Legislatively target 1.5-2.5% annual growth in agrifood system total factor productivity (that is, the value of output divided by the value of all inputs), domestically and globally. Globally, we have dipped to about 1.1% annually, and essentially no growth in the U.S. and in Africa. Moreover, set targets in terms of essential nutrients (e.g., iron, calcium, vitamin A), not just in monetary value terms. We can and should grow the supply of essential nutrients by 3-4% per year. Hold federal agencies and international partners – e.g., the World Bank, Constructive Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) – accountable for meeting those targets. Empower agency leadership and their technical experts to develop and implement strategies to deliver those results, based on the best available scientific evidence, without political micro-management. Do this via both guidance in Farm Bill Title VII (Research) and various foreign affairs appropriations (e.g., Feed the Future, Global Food Security Act (GFSA), CGIAR, World Bank) as well as through directives to U.S. Government representatives in multilateral organizations.

B. Give agencies the resources to meet those targets. Agricultural R&D&E is one of the very highest return public investments in the federal budget, with an average benefit/cost above 20! Yet U.S. public agricultural R&D&E has fallen by one-third over the past two decades. China has overtaken the U.S.; soon Brazil and India will too. We need to reverse course. Double federal agrifood systems R&D&E budgets through USDA research enterprises, at a cost of approximately $5 billion/year. Simultaneously, to generate innovations customized to African food systems, triple US support for CGIAR (via the World Bank), a cost of just $400 million/year, and appropriate the $1 billion needed to resuscitate the recently-dismantled Feed the Future Innovation Labs that put the best US science from Land Grant Universities to work on the targets advanced above. Direct the US Executive Directors of the World Bank and the regional development banks to prioritize those same targets in their institutions' grant and loan portfolios.

C. Prioritize African-led agricultural R&D&E for Africa. Africa outsources much of its agrifood systems R&D&E because it lacks adequate institutional capacity to reap the economies of scale and scope that drive much of the return on such investments. The high returns already enjoyed on U.S. and CGIAR R&D&E would rise further if complemented by African R&D&E institutions with the scale, scope, and scientists to do the adaptive research and extension needed to promote commercial distribution of improved genetic and other inputs and practices. U.S. matching funding, directly and through the multilateral development banks, can induce greater, concerted investment by African governments in multi-national regional programs organized around agroecological zones common to many countries, possibly under the direction of the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa. Resolving the technology mismatch problem that plagues African agricultural R&D&E requires adequate funding for vibrant, problem-oriented science led by and serving Africans.

D. Leverage the private sector better. Public and philanthropic R&D&E investments can be multiplied many times over by policies that incentivize private

firms appropriately. Advanced market commitments – like those used to accelerate investment in and discovery and delivery of COVID-19 and pneumococcal vaccines – can be used in the agrifood space. For example, direct VA hospitals to commit to purchasing antibiotic-free alternative proteins with attractive nutrient profiles at the prevailing price of conventional protein sources. That ensures a profitable market for a high-quality product, eliciting private investment and accelerated R&D&E. Use benevolent patent extensions to induce cash-rich firms with expiring patents to support CGIAR or Africa-based laboratories presently starved for funding. Use modern financial tools – such as catastrophic drought insurance – that have proved highly impactful and more cost-effective than many cash transfer programs.

E. Restore, then expand support for rural infrastructure in rural and small-town America (like the Rural Energy America Program - REAP) and in Africa development projects. Roads and communications infrastructure are the backbone of healthy market economies. Renewable energy is equally essential. Help farmers harness sunlight, methane from manure lagoons, wind, and geothermal energy to boost post-harvest processing, reduce food loss and waste, and stimulate job creation and economic growth to reduce hunger. Enable small cities and towns to convert vacant factory, military, and warehouse space to controlled environment agriculture and novel feeds/foods production, which can restore high quality jobs to rural areas while reducing the use of land, water, antibiotics, and toxic chemicals as well as crop loss to pathogens and pests. MCC was good at this before it was shuttered.

F. Expand support for global safety nets. For generations, the United States has been the world's most generous humanitarian donor. That must continue post-USAID and our diplomats must push others to offer their fair share of support, too. That support needs to heed the evidence of the past twenty years, using the most flexible, cost-effective, contextually appropriate policy instruments in emergency and non-emergency food assistance, and resist interest group pressures to try to capture humanitarian programs for commercial gain. Safety nets to protect lives and livelihoods during emergencies are an essential complement to technological advances. They save lives and livelihoods, while depriving hostile actors from using food insecurity grievances as a recruiting tool.

Producing affordable, healthy food in Africa using environmentally sustainable practices while effectively and generously addressing disasters where they arise will be the world's biggest social, environmental, technical, and humanitarian challenge in the final two-thirds of the 21st century. Directing public investment, diplomatic efforts, and private sector activity towards meeting this challenge promises enormous national security, moral, and economic gains in the coming decades.

REFERENCES

[1] USAID, launched in 1961, operated in all 55 member states of the African Union. A large share, almost surely more than half, of USAID's >$40-50 billion in annual appropriations supported activities in Africa.

[2] MCC was founded in 2004 by President George W. Bush to support compacts with a small, competitively selected group of low- and lower-middle-income countries (LLMICs). MCC supported country-led strategies to promote sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction, following a model advanced by critics of conventional foreign aid practices, like those employed by USAID. It was the only USG agency that supported public sector infrastructure in the region, offering a counterweight to China's Belt and Road Initiative, launched in 2013. At the beginning of 2025, MCC had multi-year agreements in force in 12 African nations – Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritania, Mozambique, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Zambia – totaling just over $3.5 billion.

[3] ADF, launched in 1980, provides grants of up to $250,000 and capacity-building assistance to African enterprises and entrepreneurs, leveraging host country government and private sector investments. It's most recent (FY2025) Congressional appropriation was just $45 million.

[4] Like MCC, PEPFAR was founded in 2003 under President George W. Bush. It's roughly $5 billion annual budget has always concentrated overwhelmingly on sub-Saharan Africa.

Ending Malaria Makes Everyone Healthier, Safer And More Prosperous[15]

Peter Sands

Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria

Alarm bells rang across global health networks a few months ago as a mysterious disease emerged in a remote corner of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The outbreak seemed to defy easy explanation — it was circulating in the remote parts of the country and primarily struck children under the age of 5 with surprising severity. It hit its patients with a cocktail of symptoms, including fever, headache, cough and sometimes difficulty breathing. The disease was also spreading swiftly, infecting hundreds and claiming dozens of lives within a few weeks. Amid the growing panic, global health officials hastily labeled it "Disease X" — a catch-all term for an unknown pathogen that could unleash similar consequences to those wrought by COVID-19.

When a coalition of health partners, led by the government of DRC, rushed to the location, collected samples and investigated the outbreak, they discovered that Disease X was not some new pathogen. It was, in fact, a strain of severe malaria presenting itself as a respiratory illness. Complicated by malnutrition, which had weakened people's immunity, an age-old disease had become more lethal.

This story serves as a stark reminder of two urgent realities. First, malaria remains a deadly disease, claiming the life of a child nearly every minute. Ending it would save the lives of millions of children and pregnant women. Second, tackling malaria is not just about saving lives today — it's also about strengthening global health security and making the world safer for everyone. The disease remains a potent threat to all of us, wherever we live. It's a killer we should see not just through the usual humanitarian lens, but also through the lenses of health security and economic opportunity.

As we saw in DRC, even diseases we thought we understood can present new challenges. Malaria is a disease we know how to prevent and treat, and one that should not be allowed to continue unabated. To secure ourselves from future pandemics, we must urgently end the diseases killing people today, building a future where a Disease X emerging from complications of an existing infectious disease does not happen.

The health system infrastructure and capabilities put in place to defeat malaria, such as medical supply chains, laboratories, community health workers and disease surveillance, are what is needed to identify and respond to new outbreaks.

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[15] This article was originally published in Forbes on April 23, 2025: https://www.forbes.com/sites/petersands/2025/04/23/ending-malaria-makes-everyone-healthier-safer-and-more-prosperous/.

Take disease surveillance — in a typical rural clinic in malaria-endemic areas, most people presenting with fever are suffering from malaria. There are more than 250 million cases every year, of which 94% are in Africa. Accurately diagnosing malaria is one way to rule out or identify other disease outbreaks, so the better we are at diagnosing malaria, the better our overall disease surveillance and health security will be.

More generally, in the most afflicted areas, malaria often overwhelms health systems, with a significant portion — and in some cases, the majority — of health facility activities devoted to this one disease. In such contexts, it is extremely difficult to tackle other pressing health needs, let alone identify and respond to new threats. At the height of the pandemic, COVID-19 squeezed out other health priorities, leaving a legacy of problems that still affect many health systems, even in the richest countries. In the highest burden countries, malaria has this impact all the time. Investing in the fight against malaria is a powerful way to free up the capacity of health systems, meet other urgent health care needs and tackle dangers arising from new pathogens.

Additionally, investing in malaria control not only saves lives, it also boosts productivity and creates economic opportunities. There is compelling evidence that reducing the malaria burden in malaria-endemic countries could unlock substantial economic growth. One recent study estimated that getting back on the path to ending malaria between 2023 and 2030 could boost the GDP of malaria-endemic countries by US$142.7 billion. Moreover, the benefits would extend further, increasing global trade by US$80.7 billion during the same period, including US$3.9 billion in additional exports for G7 countries.

Ending malaria is not just the right thing to do, it's also the smart thing to do. If saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of young children and pregnant women through investments in malaria isn't persuasive enough to global donors, they should recognize that ending malaria is crucial to ensuring their own safety and prosperity.

Now is the time to ramp up efforts to end malaria. Progress against malaria has stalled in recent years due to a combination of factors, including violent conflict, extreme weather events, stagnant funding and the emergence of drug and insecticide resistance. Any decline in political commitment or funding risks sharp reversals. But if we can scale new innovations, improve efficiencies, and — perhaps most critically — sustain the pace of investment, we can still defeat this disease once and for all.

This is not the time to take our foot off the accelerator. Doing so would risk losing the gains we have fought so hard to achieve. Instead, we must reaffirm our commitment to beat malaria. Investing in the fight against malaria is one of the most cost effective and powerful ways to save lives, improve the health of some of the poorest communities in the world, and deliver a safer and more prosperous future for us all.

The First Generation Without AIDS Is Within Reach — If We Refuse to Settle for Less[16]

Peter Sands

Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria

This isn't about managing the AIDS pandemic. It's about ending it — and letting a new generation grow and thrive free of its threat.

We stand at the edge of an extraordinary possibility: to end the AIDS pandemic, eliminating HIV as a public health threat. Over the last few decades, more than 40 million people have died of AIDS and there are another 39 million people living with HIV. But now we could see the first generation of children growing up free of the threat of being infected with HIV. This would be a historic achievement.

The science makes this goal achievable. The data makes the case undeniable. What's uncertain is whether we have the courage to grasp this opportunity.

Today, we are still losing the equivalent of a couple of packed jumbo jets of people to AIDS-related illnesses every day — 630,000 deaths in 2023 alone. In the same year, 1.3 million people were newly infected with HIV. These are not just statistics. These are children, parents, friends and neighbors.

While we have made huge progress against HIV, with deaths down by 73% since 2002 in the countries in which the Global Fund invests, there is a real risk of complacency and incrementalism. We've perhaps grown too comfortable treating HIV and AIDS as chronic conditions to be contained, rather than a crisis to be finished. But epidemics don't end when we stop paying attention. They end when we confront hard realities, back what works and refuse to settle for anything less than success.

The most glaring failure is in prevention. Despite huge progress in treatment access — now reaching nearly 30 million people — HIV prevention has flatlined. This is not good enough, particularly for the adolescent girls and young women in sub-Saharan Africa who account for three-quarters of new infections in their age group. No epidemic has ever been ended without stopping transmission.

That's what makes the arrival of long-acting PrEP so significant. Lenacapavir, a twice-yearly injectable for HIV prevention, has the potential to change the game — not just for individuals, but for public health. For young women who face stigma taking

[16] This article was originally published in Forbes on July 9, 2025: https://www.forbes.com/sites/petersands/2025/07/09/the-first-generation-without-aids-is-within-reach-if-we-refuse-to-settle/.

daily pills, or for key populations living under the threat of criminalization, lenacapavir offers discretion, durability and dignity.

On 9 July 2025, the Global Fund announced an agreement with Gilead, the manufacturer of Lenacapavir, to ensure affordable access to this ground breaking innovation in low- and middle-income countries. Together with partners, we aim to make Lenacapavir available to 2 million people in the next three years. The Global Fund is already working with countries, communities and partners to prepare for rapid, equitable rollout — supporting regulatory readiness, delivery infrastructure and community engagement.

Yet biomedical innovations like Lenacapavir only make a difference if they reach the people who can benefit the most. Since 70% of new HIV infections occur among key populations and their sexual partners, that means tackling the barriers to access these communities often face. Without action on stigma, discrimination and criminalization, we will not realize the full potential of Lenacapavir.

Empowering communities to take the lead on HIV prevention is vital: where communities lead, outcomes improve; where they're sidelined, infections grow. That's why the Global Fund channels much of our investment in HIV prevention — about a third of our total spend on HIV — through civil society networks that can reach the people most at risk.

Cutting the number of new infections is also critical to ensuring the longer-term sustainability of the fight against HIV. Countries must accelerate their journey toward nationally owned and nationally financed HIV responses, no longer dependent on external support. Yet this transition is a pathway, not a switch. Too abrupt a transition would derail progress, leave people behind and cost millions of lives. The lower the rate of new infections, the faster and more feasible the path to countries' self-reliance. Taking on responsibility for a long duration but declining health issue is a much more manageable challenge than taking on a still rapidly growing problem.

That's why we see Lenacapavir as an integral part of our sustainability and transition strategy. It's also why the Global Fund supports countries in building systems that will outlast us — including integrated service delivery, robust supply chains, health workforce capacity and digital data systems.

Reducing funding for prevention would defer the end of the AIDS pandemic and cost many more lives. It would also delay the transition away from external funding. Ending AIDS is one of the most achievable and cost-effective goals in global health. For every $1 invested in HIV prevention, $7 are saved in treatment and care costs later. We either pay to end the epidemic now, or we pay the human and economic price for decades to come.

This isn't just a technical challenge — it's a test of values. Do we believe that a girl born in rural Malawi deserves the same chance to live HIV-free as a girl born in Manchester

or Minneapolis? Do we believe that access to lifesaving services should not depend on who you are, whom you love or where you live?

The first generation without AIDS is not a dream. It is a choice. But it's a choice that requires urgency, clarity and courage — not next year, but now. History won't remember how well we managed AIDS, but will record whether we ended it.

How AI Is Accelerating the Fight Against an Ancient Killer[17]

Peter Sands

Executive Director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria

Tuberculosis (TB) remains the world's deadliest infectious disease – an ancient killer that still claims over a million lives each year, mostly among the world's poorest and hardest-to-reach. Yet we are on the brink of a new era of progress in the fight against the disease. This transformation is driven by a range of innovations, including artificial intelligence (AI).

AI is rapidly improving our ability to detect TB in people and places that conventional health systems often fail to reach. With AI-powered software that analyzes digital chest X-rays, health workers can quickly identify people with TB. Mounted on mobile vans, these tools are bringing lifesaving care directly to underserved communities – prisoners, refugees, poor rural communities and the socially marginalized – helping us reach people with the disease who have long been missed by health systems.

This is a breakthrough in how we deliver equitable access to TB diagnosis, treatment and care. In Pakistan – one of the countries with the highest TB burden – mobile clinics equipped with AI-assisted digital X-rays screen people on the spot, flagging potential cases for follow-up. This leads to earlier diagnosis, faster treatment, fewer people with TB missed and ultimately, more lives saved. Even better, these platforms aren't limited to detecting TB. They can also identify other lung diseases – pneumonia and whooping cough – as well as other noncommunicable diseases such as cardiomegaly.

This is just one example of how AI is driving greater capacity, increasing efficiency and providing novel ways of reaching people where they are. For funders, this translates into a higher return on investment – one tool serving multiple functions, strengthening frontline care and improving efficiency across the health system.

Scaling AI effectively will require focused investment to support countries in defining their priorities and shaping their own agenda. As we have seen with pharmaceuticals, the most impactful tools are those developed in collaboration with the people they are supposed to serve. Countries and communities must be supported to lead. Just as our partnerships on biomedical products have advanced health equity, AI must do the same -- delivering impact that is not only effective, but also inclusive and equitable.

At the Global Fund, we have invested over US$193 million between 2021 and 2025 to roll out AI-enabled TB screening in more than 20 countries. But this is just the start. We see AI not only as a tool to beat TB, but as a platform that can power a much more

[17] This article was originally published in Forbes on July 10, 2025: https://www.forbes.com/sites/petersands/2025/07/10/how-ai-is-accelerating-the-fight-against-an-ancient-killer/.

efficient use of resources, support integrated service delivery spanning infectious diseases and noncommunicable conditions, and also strengthen pandemic preparedness and response.

Our use of AI in the fight against TB – and the progress our partnership is making in reaching underserved communities – is a compelling proof of concept. The world is making significant gains in finding more people with TB. In 2023, 8.2 million people were identified as ill with the disease, up from 7.5 million in 2022 and 7.1 million in 2019. This is a dramatic improvement over the COVID-era lows of 5.8 million (2020) and 6.4 million (2021). The number of people with TB who go undiagnosed is also shrinking rapidly: just 2.7 million in 2023, down from about 4 million in both 2020 and 2021, and below the 2019 pre-pandemic level of 3.2 million.

This progress is imperative. Without treatment, tuberculosis is often fatal, and a person with active, untreated TB can infect up to 15 others in a single year. Every individual we identify and treat brings us one step closer to ending this age-old disease and strengthening global health security.

We know that AI can be a powerful tool for good in the fight against deadly infectious diseases. The question is whether our will to deploy it at scale will match its proven effectiveness and its transformative potential. For philanthropists and private sector partners, this is a moment where they can choose to make a huge difference. In resource-constrained settings, philanthropic funding and partnership will be essential to support countries to lead, define, develop and scale AI solutions that work. With this, we can deliver high-impact, scalable solutions that strengthen primary care, enable earlier treatment, and ensure we reach those most in need and those left furthest behind, as we are seeing in TB.

That's a powerful promise – but it's one we'll only fulfill if we get it right. AI must be developed and deployed responsibly, with transparency, respect for local context and equity as its guiding principles. It must work for the people who are often excluded from the benefits of innovations.

For donors seeking to invest in high-impact innovation, this is an opportunity to support solutions that are not only effective but truly transformational, saving lives and helping to build a healthier, more equitable future for all.

SITE VISITS

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13

Site Visit	*Community Health Programs Focused on HIV, Malaria and Malnutrition*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14

Site Visit	*Improving Food Production and Livelihoods and Building Resilient Farming Systems*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15

Site Visit	*Community Health Programs Focused on HIV, Malaria and Malnutrition*

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16

Site Visit	*Focus on Wildlife Conservation in Africa at Chobe National Park, Botswana*

NOTES

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. **Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.**

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

1. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor for this trip: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

2. Name of your organization: Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

3. Yes ■ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?

4. Yes ☐ No ■ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?

5. ***Check one.*** I certify that my organization:

   a. ■ Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. **OR**

   b. ☐ Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to

   Destination: _____ on Date: _____

   that is being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor. **OR**

   c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (*e.g.,* meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).

6. ***Check only one:***

   a. ■ My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent **OR**

   b. ☐ My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.

7. **I certify by my signature that**

   a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
   b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
   c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
   d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Mark Iozzi Digitally signed by Mark Iozzi Date: 2025.07.01 10:49:38 -04'00' Date: 07/01/2025

Name: Mark Iozzi Title: Senior Program Officer

Organization: Gates Foundation

Address: 1300 I St NW, Washington, DC 20005

Telephone: 206-617-2686 Email: mark.iozzi@gatesfoundation.org

If there are questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

last updated 7/2023

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Ranking Member

John H. Rutherford, Florida
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ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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August 7, 2025

The Honorable James A. Himes
U.S. House of Representatives
2173 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your and your spouse's proposed trip to Zambia,[1] scheduled for August 11 to 18, 2025, sponsored by Aspen Institute, Inc., Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, and Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Inc. (CARE).

You must complete a Member/Officer Post-Travel Disclosure Form and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than $480 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House Members may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), gifts "of minimal value [currently $480] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of minimal value received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

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[1] Please be aware that the Committee's review of the proposed trip does not extend to either the security situation in the destination country or security related to foreign travel in general. We recommend you contact the Office of House Security (OHS) for a safety and security briefing prior to your departure. OHS may be reached at (202) 226-2044 or ohsstaff@mail.house.gov. House travelers should also register for the U.S. State Department's Smart Traveler Enrollment Program at https://step.state.gov.

If you have any further questions, please contact the Committee's Office of Advice and Education at extension 5-7103.

Sincerely,



Michael Guest
Chairman



Mark DeSaulnier
Ranking Member

MG/MD:mc