Report of the Canadian Parliamentary Delegation regarding its participation at the Bilateral Mission to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Republic of Rwanda

Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Kigali, Rwanda
March 10 to 16, 2019
BILATERAL MISSION TO ETHIOPIA AND RWANDA

The Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association (the Association) conducted bilateral visits to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and Kigali, Rwanda, from 10 to 16 March 2019. The delegation was led by the Association’s Co-Chairs, the Honourable Senator Raynell Andreychuk and Robert Oliphant, M.P., and included the Honourable Senator Jim Munson, the Honourable Senator René Cormier, Pam Damoff, M.P., Greg Fergus, M.P., and Ramez Ayoub, M.P. The delegation was accompanied by Grant McLaughlin, Association Secretary, and Brian Hermon and Offah Obale, Association Advisors.

MISSION OBJECTIVES

This was the Association’s second bilateral mission to Ethiopia and Rwanda, following initial visits to these countries in 2011 and 2008, respectively.

In Ethiopia, the Association’s objectives were the following:

- to follow-up on its 2011 mission and to strengthen bilateral relations and parliamentary cooperation;
- to engage with parliamentarians on issues related to multi-party democracy, governance, human rights, and the rule of law;
- to meet with government officials to further the Association’s understanding of the political and economic reforms being undertaken in the country;
- to discuss regional security, including the situations in neighbouring Somalia, Kenya and South Sudan;
- to hear about progress toward the implementation of the Ethiopia-Eritrea joint declaration of peace;
- to meet with officials at the African Union (AU) to hear about the work of the AU, including with respect to human rights, peace and security, and regional economic integration;
- to engage with civil society organizations on issues related to human rights, freedom of the press, and the rule of law; and
- to learn about Canada’s development and humanitarian support for Ethiopia.

In Rwanda, the Association’s objectives were the following:

- to follow-up on its 2008 bilateral mission and to update members of the Association on the current political, economic and social situation in Rwanda;
- to engage with parliamentarians on issues related to multi-party democracy, governance, human rights, and the rule of law;
- to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda and to further the Association’s understanding of Rwanda’s national reconciliation process;
· to meet with business people and interested stakeholders to discuss the economic situation in Rwanda;
· to engage with civil society organizations on issues related to human rights, freedom of the press, and the rule of law;
· to learn about the role played by women in Rwanda’s Chamber of Deputies and Senate; and
· to hear about Canada’s support for Rwanda in the areas of development and peace and security.

In support of its objectives in Ethiopia, the delegation met with parliamentarians, government officials, and members of civil society. It also visited the headquarters of the African Union for meetings with AU officials. In Rwanda, the delegation engaged with parliamentarians from both houses of parliament, as well as with senior government officials, including Rwanda’s Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. The visit to Rwanda took place less than one month before the date marking the 25th anniversary of the Genocide against the Tutsi. During its visit, the Association had the opportunity to visit the Kigali Genocide Memorial to pay its respects to the victims of the genocide, and to hear about Rwanda’s national reconciliation process.

This report summarizes the delegation’s meetings in Ethiopia and Rwanda and offers its main observations based on those discussions.

A. Special Note about the Crash of Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302

The delegation arrived in Ethiopia the morning of Sunday, 10 March 2019, shortly before Ethiopian Airlines (ET) Flight 302 left Addis Ababa on route to Nairobi, Kenya. Tragically, at 08.44 local time, only six minutes after take-off, the plane crashed near the town of Bishoftu, killing all 157 people on board, including 18 Canadians. Among the victims were individuals who had been on the flight from Toronto to Addis Ababa, which brought the delegation to Ethiopia, and which had landed in Addis Ababa only 90 minutes prior to the departure of ET Flight 302.

The delegation was shocked and saddened by the crash and extends its deepest sympathies and condolences to all of those in Canada and around the world affected by the tragedy. It would like to recognize the extraordinary work of Antoine Chevrier, Canada’s Ambassador in Ethiopia, and the entire team at the Canadian Embassy in Addis Ababa, who acted diligently to provide consular support and other services to the loved ones of the victims of ET Flight 302 in the immediate aftermath of the crash and over the ensuing days. Delegates were impressed by the professionalism of Embassy staff, and by the compassionate way in which they responded to the crash. The delegation would also like to thank Ethiopian officials who, despite the tragedy, still found time to meet.

THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA

A. System of Government

Ethiopia is a federal republic with a bicameral legislature. The federal constitution entered into force in 1995 and defines the country’s structure as a multicultural federation based
on ethno national representation.\(^1\) The country comprises nine ethnic-based regional states\(^2\) and two federally administered city-states, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa.

Executive power is vested in the Office of the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers (cabinet), who are responsible to the House of People’s Representatives. The Prime Minister is elected by the members of the House of People’s Representatives and must come from the political party or coalition of political parties that have a majority in that chamber.

The bicameral Parliament consists of the House of People’s Representatives and the House of the Federation. The House of People’s Representatives is composed of 547 members who are directly elected by single member plurality vote for a five-year term. The House of People’s Representatives is responsible for passing legislation in areas of federal jurisdiction. Members of the 153-seat House of the Federation are either elected indirectly by the state assemblies, or directly elected by the people if the state assemblies so decide. Each nation, nationality and people is represented in the House of the Federation by at least one member.\(^3\) Members serve five-year terms. The House of the Federation is responsible for interpreting the constitution and for federal-regional issues.

**B. Recent Political Developments**

Ethiopia witnessed nationwide unrest between 2015 and 2017. The turmoil was rooted in several factors, including anger about restrictions on land rights, corruption, and frustration about a lack of civil and political freedoms. Popular anger was also driven by long-standing grievances held by the country’s two largest ethnic groups, the Oromo and the Amhara, who claimed enduring political marginalization. On 15 February 2018, in what was described as a bid to end the unrest and facilitate reform, Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn announced that he would resign pending a power transition. Following six weeks of deliberation within the ruling coalition, in April 2018, Abiy Ahmed was selected by the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front\(^4\) (EPRDF) to be the next Prime Minister of Ethiopia.

Since taking office, Prime Minister Abiy has introduced several political and economic reforms and announced a range of initiatives aimed at reducing divisions within the country and the region. He has spoken of a desire to move toward multi-party democracy, and his government has released an unspecified number of political prisoners, including opposition leaders, journalists and human rights activists.\(^5\) Restrictions on the media and the Internet have also eased somewhat under Prime Minister Abiy’s tenure.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) See: [Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia](https://www.fdrde.org/).

\(^2\) The nine regional states are: Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region, Gambella, and Harari.


\(^4\) The Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front is made up of a coalition of four main political parties: the Oromo Democratic Party, the Southern Ethiopian People’s Democratic Movement, the Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front and the Amhara Democratic Party.


Prime Minister Abiy also signalled his intent to improve relations with neighbouring Eritrea immediately upon assuming power. This shift culminated in a meeting on 8 July 2018 between Prime Minister Abiy and Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki in Asmara, Eritrea, where the two leaders signed a joint declaration that formally ended the bilateral conflict that had begun in 1998. On 18 July 2018, Ethiopian Airlines made their first commercial flight to Eritrea since 1998. The airline has since resumed daily flights between Addis Ababa and Asmara.\(^7\)

On the economic front, Prime Minister Abiy’s government has proposed reforms aimed at increasing private investment and ownership in several key sectors, including telecommunications, energy and air transport.\(^8\) Since 2007, Ethiopia has had one of the world’s fastest-growing economies, with an average annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate of about 10%. Despite a growing economy, however, Ethiopia fares poorly on global indices measuring business environments and competitiveness. Ethiopia ranks 159\(^{th}\) out of 190 countries on the World Bank Group’s 2018 *Ease of Doing Business Index*, and 122\(^{nd}\) out of 140 countries on the World Economic Forum’s 2018 *Global Competitiveness Report*.

C. Humanitarian Situation

Ethiopia is one of the 47 countries listed on the United Nations (UN) index of “least developed countries” (LDCs). LDCs are low-income countries that are confronting “severe structural impediments to sustainable development” and are considered “highly vulnerable to economic and environmental shocks.”\(^9\) According to the United Nations Development Programme, the poverty rate in Ethiopia declined from approximately 45.5% in 2000 to 23.5% in 2016.\(^10\) Despite this reduction, the current rate of poverty translates to about 25 million Ethiopians, out of a total population of approximately 108 million, living below the international poverty line of $1.90 per day (in terms of purchasing power parity). Children are disproportionately affected by poverty in Ethiopia.

Food insecurity has historically been one of Ethiopia’s most significant humanitarian challenges. Ethiopian government estimates indicate that almost 8 million people require food assistance.\(^11\) While the UN has applauded the efforts of the Ethiopian government to respond to recent droughts, food insecurity remains a continual threat. At 38.4%, Ethiopia’s rate of stunting for children under five years of age is considered “high” and verging on “very high” according to World Health Organization guidelines.\(^12\)

The humanitarian situation in Ethiopia has been exacerbated by intercommunal and ethnic violence, as well as by climate-related shocks. More people are estimated to have

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\(^7\) Ethiopian Airlines, [*Ethiopian to Resume Flights to Asmara*](https://www.africaeachday.com/ethiopian-to-resume-flights-to asmara/), 10 July 2018.

\(^8\) Yoseph Badwaza and Jon Temin, *Reform in Ethiopia: Turning Promise into Progress*, Freedom House, September 2018.

\(^9\) United Nations, Economic Analysis & Policy Division, [*Least Developed Countries (LDCs)*](https://www.un.org/development/desa/data/least-developed-countries-ldc).\(^10\)


been newly displaced in Ethiopia in 2018 than anywhere else in the world.\textsuperscript{13} According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, approximately three million people are internally displaced in Ethiopia.\textsuperscript{14} Ethiopia also hosts more than 900,000 refugees, some 90\% of whom originate from South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, and Sudan.\textsuperscript{15}

Notwithstanding these and other challenges, Ethiopia has made significant development progress over the past several decades. For example, the International Monetary Fund reports that the number of maternal deaths per 100,000 live births fell from 1,080 in 1995 to 253 in 2015.\textsuperscript{16} Ethiopia has also seen a significant acceleration in access to primary education. According to UNICEF, primary school enrolment in Ethiopia tripled between 2000 and 2016 and is now universal.\textsuperscript{17}

D. Foreign Relations and Engagement

Ethiopia has historically played an important role on matters of multilateral cooperation and integration in Africa, as well as in relation to regional peace and security. Ethiopia was a founding member and host of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the predecessor of the African Union. When the OAU was disbanded and replaced by the AU in 2002, Ethiopia remained its headquarters, with Addis Ababa becoming the seat of the African Union Commission. Ethiopia is also a member of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).\textsuperscript{18}

Ethiopia is the largest contributor of uniformed personnel to UN peacekeeping in the world. As of 31 March 2019, Ethiopia had a total of 7,519 uniformed personnel serving primarily in the UN peacekeeping missions in South Sudan, Darfur (Sudan), and Abyei (a special administrative region on the border between Sudan and South Sudan).\textsuperscript{19} Ethiopia also contributes more than 4,000 uniformed personnel to the African Union Mission in Somalia.

In addition to its deployment of troops to the UN Mission in South Sudan, Ethiopia hosted several rounds of peace talks between South Sudan’s warring parties after civil war broke out in that country in 2013. It was a guarantor of the IGAD-mediated peace agreement that was signed in 2015, but which ultimately collapsed. Ethiopia played host to the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Tom Gardner, “\textit{Ethiopia’s neglected crisis: No easy way home for doubly displaced Gedeos},” The New Humanitarian, 28 February 2019.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], “\textit{Ethiopia},” Operational Portal, Refugee Situations.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} International Monetary Fund, “\textit{Ethiopia: Remarkable Progress Over More Than a Decade},” 4 December 2018.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} UNICEF Ethiopia, \textit{Learning and development}.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa is a free trade area of 21 African countries, which seek greater economic regional integration. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development [IGAD] is a regional organization composed of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda, which is focused on supporting peace, security, economic opportunity and integration in the IGAD region.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} United Nations Peacekeeping, \textit{Troop and Police Contributors}.
\end{itemize}
renewed peace talks in 2017 and 2018. Those talks culminated in a revitalized peace agreement signed in Addis Ababa in September 2018 by South Sudan President Salva Kiir, former First Vice President Riek Machar, and several opposition parties.

THE DELEGATION’S MEETINGS IN ETHIOPIA

1. Briefing by Embassy Staff

The delegation was briefed by Alyssa Nunes, Second Secretary (Political) and Deputy Mission Security Officer, and Lajos Àrendàs, Counsellor and Consul. Ambassador Antoine Chevrier, who would have led the briefing, did not participate as he was occupied managing the Embassy’s response to the crash of Ethiopian Airlines Flight 302.

Ms. Nunes and Mr. Àrendàs provided the delegation with an overview of the political and economic situation in Ethiopia. This included a summary of the reforms initiated by Prime Minister Abiy since April 2018, as well as a discussion about preparations for parliamentary elections in 2020. The delegation was also briefed about Canada-Ethiopia bilateral relations, including Canadian humanitarian and development assistance in the country.

2. Briefing by the Institute for Peace and Security Studies

The delegation was briefed by Michelle Ndiaye, Director of the Africa Peace and Security Programme at the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS). IPSS was established in Ethiopia in 2007 as an institute for education, research and policy dialogue on peace and security issues in Africa. Ms. Ndiaye spoke about the work of the institute and provided an overview of some of the key contemporary issues facing the AU. For example, she explained that, pursuant to a decision in July 2016, the AU is working to implement a 0.2% levy on all eligible goods imported into Africa. The levy is intended to provide secure and sustainable financing for the AU’s operational, program and peace support operations.20 At the time of the delegation’s visit, 22 countries had started the process of implementing this levy. On the subject of institutional reform, she indicated that the AU is in the process of consolidating the portfolios of its eight commissioners into six portfolios by 2021.

Ms. Ndiaye told the delegation that the African Continental Free Trade Agreement, which was signed in March 2018, is envisioned as a key mechanism for African economic integration. This agreement seeks to create a single market across Africa for goods and services, and to better facilitate the free movement of businesspeople and investments throughout the continent. At the time of her presentation, Ms. Ndiaye said that 19 countries had ratified the agreement, with 15 other countries in the process of ratification.21 Ms. Ndiaye also spoke about the AU’s peace and security agenda, including

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21 On 30 May 2019, the African Union announced that the 22nd ratification of the agreement had been deposited, the threshold required to bring the agreement into force. According to Ambassador Albert Muchanga, AUC Commissioner for Trade and Industry, the unified market established by the agreement
efforts by member states to develop and reinforce mechanisms for conflict prevention, as well as post-conflict reconstruction and development.

Members of the delegation posed questions on what role Canada could play to better support and engage with the African Union. Ms. Ndiaye indicated that Canada could play a particularly important role in providing capacity-building and educational support in relation to the work of the AU. She highlighted better research capacity in the area of agriculture, as well as training for conflict management as two practical areas where Canadian assistance would be useful. She also noted that Canadian support for women peacebuilders and conflict mediators would be beneficial.

Following the presentation by IPSS, the delegation participated in a moment of silence with Ambassador Chevrier and staff at Canada’s Embassy for the victims of ET Flight 302.

3. Meeting with El-Ghassim Wane, Chief of Staff to the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, and other AU officials

The delegation visited the headquarters of the African Union Commission (AUC) for a meeting with El-Ghassim Wane, Chief of Staff to the Chairperson of the AUC. Also present at the meeting were Ambassador Rosette Nyirinkindi Katungye, Advisor on Regional Integration in the Office of the Chairperson; Ambassador Salah S. Hammad, Advisor in the Department of Political Affairs; Nadine El-Hakim, Technical Advisor for Strategic Partnerships; and Frank Mugyenyi, Advisor in the Department of Trade and Industry.

Mr. Wane began his remarks by thanking Canada for its history of commitment to the AU and to Africa, especially in the areas of peace and security. In particular, he highlighted the role that Canada played with respect to the negotiation and implementation of the international Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction, and Canada’s support for the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali. Mr. Wane then discussed some of the key opportunities in Africa. He noted, for example, that Africa has the world’s youngest workforce and that AU member states are pursuing deeper economic integration. He informed the delegation that many African countries have recently taken steps to ease travel restrictions with the aim of increasing mobility and facilitating deeper trade and tourism opportunities.

Mr. Wane indicated that the AU is pursuing a reform agenda which is focused on reinforcing relations with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) of Africa. He said that, for the first time, the AU will be devoting a mid-year summit in 2019 to working with the RECs on ways to deepen integration. Ambassador Katungye also underlined the importance of regional integration with respect to infrastructure. She noted that the AUC is working with AU member states to boost intra-Africa trade by addressing both tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade. For his part, Mr. Mugyenyi said that the AUC is looking at ways to ensure that Africa’s vast mineral wealth better contributes to social development.

outcomes. He underlined that the AUC was developing a commodities strategy to ensure that countries that depend on mineral resources are protected from large price fluctuations. Members of the delegation also engaged with Mr. Wane and the other AU officials about how Canada could deepen its trade and investment relations with African countries.

4. Roundtable Meeting with the President of the House of the Federation, Ethiopian Parliamentarians, and representatives of the Forum of Federations

The delegation participated in a roundtable meeting with the Honourable Keria Ibrahim, President of the House of the Federation, Ethiopian parliamentarians, and representatives of the Forum of Federations. The Forum of Federations is an international organization that brings together parliamentarians, government officials, and experts on federalism. The forum was established by the Government of Canada in 1999. It is headquartered in Ottawa and has field offices in six countries, including Ethiopia. Some 10 governments, including the Canadian and Ethiopian governments, have signed partnership agreements with the forum. Its main objective is to “strengthen inclusive and responsive governance, including pluralism and gender equality, in federal, decentralized and transitioning countries.”

President Keria made remarks that focused on Canada-Ethiopia bilateral relations and her desire to see deeper parliamentary and economic relations between the two countries. She also provided an overview of the political situation in Ethiopia, including recent reforms of the Abiy government. For example, she mentioned that the government is working to appoint more women to senior-level positions; to widen the democratic space for civil society, opposition groups and former political prisoners; and to privatize state-owned enterprises. She also discussed the recent rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

President Keria thanked Canada for its development and humanitarian assistance for Ethiopia, and its support for the Strengthening Federal Governance and Pluralism project, implemented by the Forum of Federations. The representatives of the Forum of Federations spoke about the objectives of this project, which is being funded with a $5.7 million contribution from Canada over five years (2017–2022). The delegation was told that the main objectives of the project are to improve and institutionalize the management of intergovernmental relations in Ethiopia in the context of the country’s multicultural federation. The project is also aimed at improving the understanding of Ethiopian citizens about the constitution and their civil and political rights. As part of this project, several workshops have been held between members of the federal and regional governments in Ethiopia, as well as with stakeholders from civil society and government agencies.

In the discussion that followed, delegates engaged with participants on issues related to parliamentary democracy, governance and federalism. The discussion also touched on

22 Forum of Federations, Who We Are.
23 For more information on the project, see: Forum of Federations, FOF and GOC – launch the project: “Strengthening Federal Governance and Pluralism in Ethiopia.”
topics related to displacement, land rights in the context of recent protests in Ethiopia, and on the mandate of the newly established Ministry of Peace.

5. Meeting with the Honourable Markos Tekle Rike, State Minister of Foreign Affairs

The delegation met the Honourable Markos Tekle Rike, Ethiopia’s State Minister of Foreign Affairs, for a meeting that focused on the political situation in Ethiopia and Canada-Ethiopia bilateral relations. State Minister Markos said that Ethiopia was approaching the one-year anniversary of Prime Minister Abiy’s swearing into office. He noted that rapid change has occurred over this period of time, especially in terms of the opening up of political and economic space. Furthermore, he said that many opposition leaders have returned to Ethiopia in the past year, and the ability of journalists and civil society organizations to operate freely has improved significantly.

Delegates posed questions about how Canada could better support and engage Ethiopia. State Minister Markos emphasized that Ethiopia would welcome deeper trade and investment relations with Canada. He also suggested that Canada and Ethiopia should strengthen their academic ties by building partnerships between universities. State Minister Markos further indicated that Ethiopia would welcome Canadian electoral support ahead of the 2020 parliamentary elections. Finally, he underlined that continued development support from Canada was important in helping Ethiopia meet the needs of the large number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees that reside in the country.

6. Meeting with the Institute for Security Studies

The delegation met Meressa Kahsu Dessu, Senior Researcher and Training Coordinator, and Omar S. Mahmood, Senior Researcher, of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). ISS is an African non-governmental organization with offices in South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia and Senegal. Its work focuses on research in the areas of transnational crimes, migration, maritime security and development, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, crime prevention and criminal justice, and the analysis of conflict and governance. ISS also provides capacity building and technical training to governments and civil society.

Delegates engaged in a wide-ranging discussion with ISS researchers on issues related to peacekeeping, peacebuilding, the women, peace and security agenda, and regional security. The discussion focused on the situations in several countries, including Somalia. The delegation heard about the current transition plan that envisions a handover of security responsibilities from the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to federal Somali forces by 2021. The researchers also discussed relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea in the context of the joint declaration of peace that was signed in 2018. While the delegation was told that the agreement is a positive step, the ISS researchers said that its implementation currently depends too greatly on the personal relationship between the two countries’ leaders and needs to be institutionalized.

Delegates posed questions to Mr. Mahmood and Mr. Deesu about the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, regional displacement and climate change. On the subject of climate change, the delegation was told that weather patterns in the Horn of Africa have become
increasingly erratic, resulting in more frequent droughts and flooding and challenges related to food security. There was also discussion about the situation in South Sudan and whether the revitalized peace agreement is more likely to be implemented than previous peace agreements that have failed. The delegation was told that, while the support of Uganda and Sudan as guarantors of the agreement was a positive step, the implementation of the agreement remains fragile and uncertain.

7. Meeting with the Honourable Fetlework Gebregziabher, Minister of Trade and Industry

The delegation met the Honourable Fetlework Gebregziabher, Minister of Trade and Industry, to learn about the economic opportunities and challenges that lie ahead for Ethiopia. Minister Gebregziabher began the meeting by speaking about the economic situation in the country. She said the Government of Ethiopia is privatizing specific sectors of the economy such as telecommunications, energy and transportation. She added that the Parliament of Ethiopia is expected to ratify the *African Continental Free Trade Agreement* in the coming months, which will create new trade opportunities for the country. She further noted that Ethiopia is in the process of acceding to the World Trade Organization.

Following the briefing, delegates posed questions to Minister Gebregziabher about trade and investment opportunities for Canadian firms in Ethiopia. Minister Gebregziabher said that Ethiopia and Canada signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the Generalized System of Preferences in 2003, under which Canada grants duty-free access to imports from Ethiopia. She stated that the Government of Ethiopia wishes to see commercial relations progress beyond the MoU to a bilateral trade agreement with Canada. The delegation heard that opportunities exist for Canadian firms to invest in the mining and agricultural sectors, as well as in electric power generation and transmission. The State Minister of Investment, who was also present at the meeting, added that investors may benefit from incentives, such as an income tax exemption period of up to six years.

8. Meeting with the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission

The delegation visited the offices of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) for a meeting with Eshet Gebre, the Deputy Chief Commissioner. Mr. Gebre explained that the EHRC, which is composed of 11 commissioners, is accountable to the House of People’s Representatives. The EHRC has a mandate to report on the human rights situation in the country, and to educate the public and raise awareness about human rights. Mr. Gebre also noted that the EHRC has the power to receive complaints and conduct investigations into allegations of human rights violations.

During the discussion, delegates asked questions about the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender persons in Ethiopia, and about the humanitarian situation for IDPs in Oromia and the southern part of the country. Regarding IDPs, Mr. Gebre said that

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24 *The Agreement Establishing the African Continental Free Trade Agreement* was signed on 21 March 2018 in Kigali, Rwanda.
the EHRC has organized a field investigation to Oromia and the southern region and will provide a report to the government regarding the conditions facing the displaced persons in those areas.

9. Meeting about Canada’s Development Cooperation with Ethiopia

The delegation had a working lunch with Ivan Roberts, Minister-Counsellor and Senior Director for Development, and Darren Brazeau, Project Officer for Gender and Governance, Canadian Embassy in Ethiopia. Mr. Roberts and Mr. Brazeau provided an overview of Canada’s development assistance and humanitarian programs in Ethiopia. The delegation was told that Ethiopia is the largest recipient of Canadian bilateral international assistance in Africa. The discussions also touched on Ethiopia’s preparedness for the upcoming parliamentary elections in 2020 and possible technical assistance that the Government of Canada could provide ahead of that vote.

10. Meeting with the Honourable Shitaye Minale, Deputy Speaker of the House of People’s Representatives

The delegation visited the House of People’s Representatives for a meeting with Deputy Speaker Shitaye Minale. Also present at the meeting were members of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Peace of the House of People’s Representatives. Deputy Speaker Minale briefed the delegation about Ethiopia’s changing political landscape since Abiy Ahmed became Prime Minister in April 2018. She described the political reforms the government is carrying out, which have included the release of political prisoners, and efforts to promote human rights.

Deputy Speaker Minale told delegates that the government has more work to do to address Ethiopia’s economic challenges, which include a high rate of youth unemployment. She further underlined that the ruling EPRDF coalition must improve its collaboration with regional as well as national political parties as part of the reform process. In this regard, she expressed an interest in learning from Canadian parliamentarians about Canada’s model of federalism, as well as learning about best practices in the area of gender-based analysis.

11. Roundtable discussion with Media and Civil Society Organizations

The delegation participated in a roundtable discussion about Ethiopia’s political reforms and the human rights situation in Ethiopia with representatives of media and civil society organizations. Following introductory comments, in which a representative of each organization gave an overview of their respective activities and priorities, the delegation engaged in a discussion with participants about the political and human rights situation in Ethiopia. Delegates were informed that, while Ethiopians are widely supportive of the political reforms introduced by Prime Minister Abiy, many continue to have concerns about respect for the rule of law. In addition, the delegation heard that intercommunal conflict continues to affect both rural and urban parts of the country, and may have actually increased in recent months.
Participants also discussed Ethiopia’s upcoming national population census and its potential impact on the legislative elections in 2020. The delegation heard about the technical challenges of conducting the census, and about the difficulties associated with counting the country’s approximately three million IDPs. Delegates were told that, if counted incorrectly, the census could result in either the over- or under-representation of some ethnic groups in the House of Federation.\textsuperscript{25}

12. Meeting with United Nations Agencies

The delegation met the following representatives of UN agencies:

· Alexandra de Sousa, Deputy Head of Office for Ethiopia, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA);

· Shalini Bahuguna, Deputy Representative, United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), Ethiopia Country Office;

· Vincent Kwesi Parker, Deputy Representative, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Ethiopia Country Office.

The discussion focused on the situation of refugees and IDPs in Ethiopia. The delegation heard that Ethiopia hosts approximately 900,000 refugees, which come mainly from neighbouring countries, making it the second highest refugee-hosting country in Africa, after Uganda. More than 90% of the refugees originate from South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan, and they are dependent on humanitarian assistance. The delegation was told that the Government of Ethiopia has adhered to the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, a series of commitments to protect people on the move that were set out by the UN General Assembly in its 2016 \textit{New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants}.

According to the UN representatives, intercommunal violence triggered by ethnic tensions and land disputes, in addition to drought, are the main causes of internal displacement. The UN representatives also noted that intercommunal violence and climate-related shocks have caused food insecurity.

THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

A. System of Government and Recent Political Developments

Executive power in Rwanda is exercised by the President who serves as Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The President is elected by universal suffrage by plurality vote in one round of voting. In 2015, a constitutional amendment was approved by referendum (with 98% support) to reduce the presidential term from seven to five years, with the possibility of one re-election. However, the amendment included an exception that allowed President Paul Kagame, who has led the country since 2000, to

\textsuperscript{25} Each state, nationality or people is represented by at least one member in the House of the Federation. Each nationality and people are represented by one additional representative for every one million of its population. Inter-Parliamentary Union, \textit{Ethiopia: Yefedereshein Mekir Bete (House of the Federation)}. 
run for another seven-year term in 2017. Those elections saw President Kagame win with 99% of the vote.

The President appoints the Prime Minister, who is Head of Government, as well as members of the Cabinet, following consultation with the Prime Minister. In October 2018, President Kagame appointed a Cabinet of 26 ministers, 13 of whom were women. Rwanda, Ethiopia, and South Africa are the only African countries with gender equal cabinets.

The legislative branch is composed of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The Chamber of Deputies is composed of 80 seats. Of those, 53 seats are filled by members who are elected directly by proportional representation using closed party lists. Of the remaining 27 seats, 24 are reserved for women, 2 for youth, and 1 for a person living with a disability. All members serve five-year terms. The constitution requires that women occupy at least 30% of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Rwanda’s most recent elections to the Chamber of Deputies were held in September 2018. The election saw the RPF coalition win 40 of the 53 directly elected seats. Women hold 61% of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies, which makes Rwanda the top country in the world with respect to the representation of women in a unicameral or lower house of Parliament. The next elections to the Chamber of Deputies will take place in 2023.

The Senate is composed of 26 members, 14 of whom are indirectly elected, while 12 are appointed. Of those elected, 12 are chosen by members of local councils and 2 are selected by institutions of higher learning. Eight members of the Senate are appointed by the President, while the remaining four are selected by the National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations. Members of the Senate serve eight-year terms. The last elections for the 14 indirectly elected seats in the Senate were held in 2011. At least 30% of the seats must be occupied by women. As of the last renewal date, women held 10 of the 26 seats in the Senate (38%).

B. Justice and Reconciliation

Rwanda and the international community have pursued justice for the victims of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, in which an estimated 800,000 mostly Tutsi were killed. As a 2018 decision by the UN General Assembly noted, “during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, Hutu and others who opposed it were also killed.” In November 1994, the UN

26 This coalition is made up of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF], the Centrist Democratic Party, the Ideal Democratic Party, the Party for Progress and Concord, the Democratic Union of the Rwandan People, and the Rwandan Socialist Party. The RPF has 36 of the 40 seats held by the coalition in the Chamber of Deputies.
27 IPU, Women in national parliaments.
28 The National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations was established by the Rwandan constitution with the aim of bringing “together political organisations for the purposes of political dialogue, and building consensus and national cohesion.” For more information, see: National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations, Historical Background of the NFPO.
29 IPU, Rwanda, Sénat (Senate).
Security Council created the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to prosecute persons responsible for the genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law. Located in Arusha, Tanzania, the ICTR issued its first indictments in 1995 and held its first trials in 1997. Between 1997 and its closure in 2015, the ICTR indicted 93 individuals for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in 1994.\(^{31}\)

Along with the ICTR, Rwanda tried genocide cases through its domestic courts, as well as through a community-based dispute resolution mechanism called gacaca. These courts were utilized in part to deal with the massive prison population that had emerged in the years following the genocide. Between 2005 and when they closed in 2012, the gacaca courts processed more than one million cases related to the genocide.\(^{32}\) Thousands of genocidaires continue to be imprisoned in Rwanda.

In addition to these judicial processes, Rwanda embarked on a national reconciliation process beginning in the late 1990s. In 1997, the Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission was established as an autonomous government institution charged with planning for and implementing the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants.\(^{33}\) According to the World Bank, since its establishment, the commission has facilitated the demobilization and reintegration of more than 70,000 ex-combatants.\(^{34}\) In 1999, a National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was established through an act of parliament with a mandate to promote national unity and reconciliation and to “propose measures and actions that can contribute to the eradication of divisionism among Rwandans.”\(^{35}\)

C. Economic and Social Development

In 2000, Rwanda launched a development strategy called “Vision 2020,” which identified the country’s development goals for the next 20 years.\(^{36}\) Under this strategy, Rwanda has sought to transform itself from a low-income, agricultural-based economy to a knowledge-based, service-oriented one with middle-income status by 2020.\(^{37}\) While observers

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\(^{31}\) The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda concluded proceedings for 80 of the 93 accused, with 61 of those having been found guilty of a crime and sentenced. Of the other 19 cases where proceedings had concluded, three of the individuals charged had died before judgement, 14 were acquitted, and two had their indictments withdrawn. Five of the other 13 cases where indictments had been issued were referred to national jurisdictions (three to Rwanda and two to France). As of February 2019, the eight other individuals remained at large as fugitives. See: United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, Key Figures of ICTR Cases.

\(^{32}\) Outreach Programme on the Rwandan Genocide at the United Nations, Background Information on the Justice and Reconciliation Process in Rwanda.

\(^{33}\) For more information, see: Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission [RDRC], The RDRC Background.

\(^{34}\) The World Bank, New Beginnings for Ex-Combatants in Rwanda, 28 January 2019.

\(^{35}\) National Unity and Reconciliation Commission [NURC], NURC Background.


\(^{37}\) According to the World Bank, for the 2019 fiscal year, low-income economies are defined as those with a gross national income [GNI] per capita of US$996 or less. The World Bank defines lower middle-income economies as those with a GNI per capita between US$996 and US$3,895; upper middle-income economies are those with a GNI per capita between US$3,896 and US$12,055; high-income economies
suggest that Rwanda will not meet that target by 2020, it has witnessed a steady rise in GDP per capita over the past two decades.\textsuperscript{38} Going forward, Rwanda has set a new long-term development target of reaching upper-middle-income country status by 2035 and high-income country status by 2050.\textsuperscript{39} 

Despite the rapid rate of economic growth that Rwanda has experienced over the past decade, it continues to have a high prevalence of poverty and underdevelopment. Rwanda ranks 158\textsuperscript{th} out of 189 countries on the United Nations 2018 \textit{Human Development Index}, which is a composite measure of health, education and income indicators.\textsuperscript{40} Rwanda is also listed as one of the “least developed countries” by the UN. According to World Bank estimates, 47\% of the population of Rwanda lives below the international poverty line of US$1.90 a day (based on purchasing power parity in 2011 terms). That figure, however, is down from the 56\% that was recorded in 2013.\textsuperscript{41}

Food security and malnutrition are among the development challenges that Rwanda experiences. The World Food Programme (WFP) estimates that about one-fifth of the population is food insecure.\textsuperscript{42} Levels of malnutrition among children aged 6–59 months are high, at 35\%. According to the WFP, poor rainfall, drought, floods and the limited amount of land that is suitable for agriculture, are all factors that pose a risk to food security.\textsuperscript{43} The Government of Rwanda has set a target of reducing rates of malnutrition for children under 60 months of age to 18\% by 2024.\textsuperscript{44}

According to the UN, food insecurity is most pronounced in rural areas, as well as in refugee camps. Rwanda hosts approximately 150,000 refugees; as of 31 March 2019, it hosted close to 80,000 refugees from the DRC and more than 70,000 from Burundi.\textsuperscript{45} According to the WFP, many of these refugees have been in Rwanda for decades “with limited prospects for repatriation in the immediate future.” The WFP further indicates that these refugees rely almost completely on WFP food assistance.\textsuperscript{46}

D. Foreign Relations and Engagement

Rwanda plays a significant role in regional peace and security efforts. With more than 6,500 uniformed personnel deployed to UN peacekeeping missions, Rwanda is the third-largest contributor to UN peacekeeping in the world after Ethiopia and Bangladesh. More than half of those personnel are serving in the UN Mission in South Sudan. Rwanda also

\textsuperscript{38} For more information on Rwanda’s economic and development progress against the targets of Vision 2020, see: Pereez Nimusima, Nathan Karuhanga and Dative Mukarutesi, \textit{An Evaluation of Rwanda Vision 2020’s Achievements}, East Africa Research Papers in Economics and Finance, 2018.
\textsuperscript{39} Republic of Rwanda, \textit{Key Statistics on Rwanda}, October 2018.
\textsuperscript{40} Nations Development Programme, \textit{“2018 Statistical Update”}, Human Development Reports.
\textsuperscript{41} The World Bank, \textit{“Rwanda”}, Macro Poverty Outlook for Sub-Saharan Africa.
\textsuperscript{42} People are considered food insecure when they lack access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food necessary to maintain a healthy and active life. World Food Programme [WFP], \textit{Rwanda}.
\textsuperscript{43} WFP, WFP Rwanda – Country Brief, December 2018.
\textsuperscript{44} WFP, Rwanda country strategic plan (2019–2023), 30 October 2018.
\textsuperscript{45} According to the UNHCR, Rwanda also hosts around 60 refugees from more than a dozen other countries. For information on the refugee population in Rwanda, see: UNHCR, \textit{Rwanda}.
\textsuperscript{46} WFP, \textit{Rwanda}.
has large contingents of troops deployed to the UN missions in the Central African Republic and Darfur, and a smaller contingent deployed to the UN mission in Haiti.\textsuperscript{47} President Kagame was Chair of the AU from 28 January 2018 to 10 February 2019, during which time he prioritized institutional reform and regional economic integration.\textsuperscript{48} In addition to its memberships in the UN, the AU and several regional and international organizations, Rwanda is also a member of both the Commonwealth and the Francophonie. Rwanda joined the Commonwealth in 2009, becoming one of only 10 countries (a total that includes Canada) to be full members of both the Commonwealth and the Francophonie.\textsuperscript{49} On 12 October 2018, Louise Mushikiwabo was elected as the Secretary General of the Francophonie. Prior to her election, Ms. Mushikiwabo was Rwanda’s Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, a position she had held since 2009.

THE DELEGATION’S MEETINGS IN RWANDA

1. Meeting with the Honourable Donatille Mukabalisa, Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies

The delegation visited the Chamber of Deputies for a meeting with the Honourable Speaker Donatille Mukabalisa. Also present for the meeting were the Honourable Musa Fazil Harerimana, the Honourable John Ruku Rwabyoma and the Honourable Marie Claire Mukasine. Speaker Mukabalisa welcomed the delegation and provided an overview of Rwanda's recent history, current affairs and projections for the future.

The delegation engaged in a discussion with Speaker Mukabalisa about post-genocide reconciliation and reconstruction in Rwanda, and about the country’s leadership role in genocide prevention. She said that, in the past, Rwanda had been characterized by bad governance, violations of human rights and exclusion that culminated in the Genocide against the Tutsi. However, Speaker Mukabalisa said that Rwandans made a choice after the genocide to become a unified and indivisible nation.

2. Briefing by High Commissioner Lisa Stadelbauer and Mission Staff

High Commissioner Lisa Stadelbauer and Julie Crowley, Head of Office, Office of the High Commission of Canada in Kigali, briefed the delegation about Canada-Rwanda relations, including Canadian development support for Rwanda. High Commissioner Stadelbauer also spoke about the current political and economic situation in Rwanda and about Rwanda’s national reconciliation process.

Regarding its socio-economic development, the delegation was told that Rwanda’s GDP has grown at an average rate of 7.5% over the past decade. Despite strong economic

\textsuperscript{47} United Nations Peacekeeping, Rwanda.
\textsuperscript{48} President Kagame was succeeded as African Union [AU] Chair by President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi of Egypt. For more information on President Kagame’s tenure as AU Chair, and future AU priorities, see: International Crisis Group, Eight Priorities for the African Union in 2019, 6 February 2019.
\textsuperscript{49} In addition to Rwanda and Canada, the other countries to be full members of both the Commonwealth and the Francophonie are Cameroon, Cyprus, Dominica, Ghana, Mauritius, Saint Lucia, the Seychelles, and Vanuatu.
growth, however, delegates heard that the national poverty rate continues to be high. Indeed, the delegation heard that, according to statistics from Rwanda’s Fifth Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey, approximately 70% of Rwandan households bought less food in mid-2017 compared to the end of 2016 because of higher food prices.

3. Visit to the Kigali Genocide Memorial

The delegation visited the Kigali Genocide Memorial. Inaugurated in 2004, the memorial houses a museum, and is the burial place of more than 250,000 victims of the Genocide against the Tutsi. The Kigali Genocide Memorial comprises three exhibition sections, including one that documents the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. There is also a children’s memorial and an exhibition on the history of genocidal violence around the world.

The delegation laid a wreath and observed a moment of silence in remembrance of the victims of the genocide. The delegation then walked through the memorial exhibits to learn about the history of the genocide. The exhibition details the causes and consequences of the Genocide against the Tutsi and provides information on post-genocide reconciliation and reconstruction in Rwanda.

4. Meeting with the Honourable Bernard Makuza, President of the Senate

The delegation met the Honourable Bernard Makuza, President of the Senate, along with other members of the upper chamber. President Makuza briefed the delegation about the responsibilities of the Rwandan Senate, which include monitoring the application of the fundamental principles specified in Article 10 of the Rwandan Constitution. These fundamental principles consist of fighting the ideology of genocide, working to eradicate ethnic and regional divisions, and promoting national unity. President Makuza informed the delegation that the Senate also approves the appointment of senior public officials and judges of the Supreme Court.

President Makuza expressed gratitude on behalf of Rwandans to the Canadian House of Commons for its 2004 decision to declare April 7 as a Day of Remembrance of the victims of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. He also recognized Canada for its decision to deport to Rwanda a person convicted by a Canadian court of incitement to commit genocide in Rwanda. He further recognized Canada for its role in the establishment of the National University of Rwanda in 1963.

President Makuza expressed his desire to see that Canada-Rwanda relations move beyond the provision of development assistance toward a deeper two-way trade and investment partnership. He also touched on the importance of building diplomatic ties with Canada through the two countries’ common memberships in the Commonwealth, the Francophonie and the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

5. Meeting with the Members of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Security, and the Rwandan Women’s Parliamentary Forum

The delegation met members of the Chamber of Deputies Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Security, and the Rwandan Women’s Parliamentary
Forum. In total, more than 20 members of Rwanda’s Parliament participated in the
meeting.

The discussion began with a presentation by Fidèle Rwigamba, Chairperson of the
Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Security about the main
legislative and oversight responsibilities of the Chamber of Deputies. The Chairperson
explained that the President of the Republic and the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies
must belong to different political parties. Delegates also heard about the mandate of the
Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Security. Among other things,
the committee is responsible for issues related to international relations, relations and
cooperation with other parliaments, loan and grant agreements between Rwanda and
foreign countries or international organizations, international agreements signed by
Rwanda, security and territorial integrity, cooperation in military matters, and the
declaration and cessation of war.

The delegation engaged in a discussion with Rwandan parliamentarians on several
topics, including the progress made by the country to promote gender equality. The
delegation was told that women hold 61% of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and
38% of the seats in the Senate.

6. Lunch Meeting with Civil Society Representatives

The delegation had a working lunch with members of civil society to discuss the human
rights situation. While freedom of the press is constitutionally guaranteed in Rwanda, the
delegation heard that journalists frequently refrain from analysing or reporting on certain
subjects deemed politically or socially sensitive, or on complex national security issues.
Yet, the delegation also heard that journalists and others in the media have made the
choice to carry out their work within this context and have therefore adopted a
collaborative rather than a confrontational approach towards the government.

The participants said that the principles that have guided Rwandan society since the
genocide have been reconciliation, constructive dialogue and consensus. During the
discussion, the participants further elaborated on the legal environment in Rwanda,
including with respect to due process rights and the right to a defence.

7. Meeting with the Rwanda Development Board

The delegation met Mark Nkurunziza, Chief Financial Officer, and Karim Tushabe, Head
of Doing Business Unit, of the Rwanda Development Board (RDB). Mr. Tushabe
discussed the economic situation in Rwanda and the country’s growth strategy. He said
that Rwanda has demonstrated sustained economic growth over the past decade. The
delegation was told that the RDB’s focus is enabling the private sector to create jobs that
can transition much of the population from subsistence agriculture to high-skilled jobs. He
also indicated that the RDB is working to attract more investment to Rwanda, to support
Rwandan businesses seeking to export to regional and global markets, and to substitute
imports with locally manufactured or produced goods.

The delegation was told that Rwanda is a hub for a rapidly integrating Africa. Rwanda is
part of the East African Community, a market of more than 132 million people, and a
signatory to the *African Continental Free Trade Agreement*. Mr. Tushabe said that the Government of Rwanda wants to transform Rwanda into a regional centre for business, investment and innovation. He noted that Rwanda is ranked second in Africa on the World Bank’s *Ease of Doing Business Index*. As one example of Rwanda’s efficient business environment, Mr. Tushabe said that it takes six hours to register a business in Rwanda. Delegates were also told about RDB’s One Stop Centre, which provides a single portal for multiple services, including the processing of investment certificates, immigration services and notary services.

8. Meeting with Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe

The delegation met Emma Marie Bugingo, Executive Secretary, Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe, and other representatives of the organization. Pro-Femme Twese Hamwe is a civil society organization that aims to improve the socio-economic status of women and promote “the culture of peace for sustainable development through coordination and capacity building of member associations.”

Ms. Bugingo provided an overview of Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe, its history and objectives, and some of its main programs. She spoke about a project called “Women can do it,” which is aimed at building the capacity of women to become leaders in their communities and in decision-making institutions. She said that the work of Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe has contributed to the revision of discriminatory laws and the adoption of new policies on issues related to maternity leave. Ms. Bugingo also spoke about several challenges that Rwanda continues to face in the area of women’s rights and empowerment. She explained, for example, that there is still a culture of silence surrounding issues of sexual- and gender-based violence (SGBV) and a lack of services for the victims of SGBV.

The delegates engaged in a discussion with members of Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe on several issues, including with respect to early and forced child marriage, teenage pregnancy and HIV/AIDS. On HIV/AIDS, delegates were told that the Government of Rwanda is working to address the issue of stigma and to prevent the transmission of HIV. According to UNAIDS, new HIV infections in Rwanda dropped by 20% between 2010 and 2017.

9. Field Visit to Ruhombo Health Centre in Burera

The delegation visited a Canadian-funded maternal and child health project at the Ruhombo Health Centre in Burera, a district located in the Northern Province of Rwanda, about a two-hour drive from Kigali. The project is being implemented by Primate’s World Relief and Development Fund Canada in collaboration with Partners in Health Rwanda. Antoinette Habinshuti, Deputy Executive Director, Partners in Health, told the delegation that the project is focused on improving health outcomes for newborns, children under five and women of reproductive age.

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50 For more information, see: Pro-Femmes Twese Hamwe, Mission and Vision.
51 UNAIDS, “Rwanda’s leadership provides model for advancing global agenda towards ending AIDS,” 10 December 2018.
The delegation toured the facility and posed questions to staff. The delegation heard that the project takes a holistic approach to improving the health of patients by investing in social support as part of the package of care.

The delegation also used this as an opportunity to meet with representatives of Butaro Maize Cooperative, which is composed of 529 families engaged in agricultural activity. As part of an effort to combat malnutrition among children and women, the representatives of the cooperative indicated that they are provided with seeds, manure and training on vegetable garden cultivation methods. The delegation also heard about the experiences of some members of the community during the genocide. Delegates concluded their visit by planting trees at the Ruhombo Health Centre with both groups.

10. Meeting with the Honourable Richard Sezibera, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation

Senator Andreychuk, accompanied by the High Commissioner, met the Honourable Richard Sezibera, Rwanda’s Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, concurrent with the visit of the other delegates to Burera. Minister Sezibera and Senator Andreychuk discussed a range of topics, including Canada-Rwanda bilateral relations and cooperation at the multilateral level. Minister Sezibera expressed a desire to see stronger development, academic and economic cooperation between Canada and Rwanda. He also looked forward to bilateral cooperation in the leadup to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting that Rwanda will host in 2020.

Senator Andreychuk and Minister Sezibera exchanged views on regional African integration. In particular, they discussed the work of the East African Community (EAC), which President Kagame is chairing in 2019. Minister Sezibera, a former Secretary-General of the EAC, explained that the organization is actively working on issues related to fiscal harmonization, monetary policy and trade facilitation. Minister Sezibera also discussed recent tensions that had developed between Rwanda and Uganda. He indicated that the two countries were working to resolve their differences that, at the time of the delegation’s visit, had resulted in the closure of several transit points along their shared border.

11. Meeting with the National Commission for Human Rights

The delegation met Madeleine Nirere, the Chairperson of Rwanda’s National Commission for Human Rights (NCHR), along with other members of the commission. Ms. Nirere provided an overview of the objectives and activities of the NCHR. As the delegation was told, the constitutionally-established commission has a mandate to promote and protect human rights in Rwanda. Among its functions, the NCHR works to educate and sensitize the population on matters relating to human rights and ensures that national laws or regulations are in conformity with fundamental principles of human rights. According to Ms. Nirere, NCHR has a process for receiving, examining and investigating complaints related to human rights violations in Rwanda, and to make recommendations aimed at ensuring an effective remedy to such complaints.

Questions were posed to Ms. Nirere on issues related to the effectiveness and influence of the commission and about some of the main human rights challenges facing Rwanda.
The delegation heard, for example, that many of the complaints received by the NCHR concern property, education, justice, and sexual violence. Ms. Nirere informed the delegation that the NCHR is working to better monitor issues related to child protection, both at home and in the school system. She also noted that the NCHR is advocating for the rights of people with disabilities.

12. Meeting with the National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide

Delegates engaged in a roundtable discussion with Jean-Damascène Bizimana, Executive Secretary, and Dr. Diogene Bideri, Principal Legal Officer, of the National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide (CNLG). CNLG was established by law in 2007 as an independent, national and permanent institution with administrative and financial autonomy. Its overall purpose is to “prevent and fight against Genocide, its ideology and overcome its consequences.”

Mr. Bizimana said that the main focus of the CNLG is to support the remembrance of the Genocide against the Tutsi and related education initiatives. He explained that most of the Rwandan population is under the age of 25 years old, and therefore were not alive at the time of the genocide. He indicated that the CNLG teaches youth about the genocide and its consequences, including by engaging directly with survivors. Mr. Bizimana said that CNLG supports the work of researchers to document the genocide and to tell the stories of survivors. He further noted that CNLG engages with similar institutions in other countries, such as Cambodia, that have experienced genocide or other mass atrocities.

Mr. Bizimana described how the genocide affected all Rwandans. It was because of the ubiquitous nature of the genocide that Mr. Bizimana said the gacaca community tribunals were so important. He indicated that the gacaca tribunals took place across the country and provided a way for people at the community level to express themselves and explain the trauma they experienced. The delegation heard that attention is also being paid to the issue of victims and perpetrators resuming their lives in the same communities.

According to Mr. Bizimana, while Rwanda is today a peaceful country, there is still a problem with the ideology of genocide. He indicated that some individuals remain intent on promoting “divisionism and revisionism” about the genocide. In this respect, he spoke in favour of a decision by the UN General Assembly in January 2018 to designate April 7th as the International Day of Reflection on the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. That decision recalled a 2003 UN General Assembly resolution that designated April 7th as the International Day of Reflection on the Genocide in Rwanda.

Mr. Bizimana indicated that, by noting explicitly that the genocide was committed against the Tutsi, the 2018 decision speaks to the reality of what took place in Rwanda in 1994. He encouraged Canada and other members of the international community to refer to the 1994 genocide in that same way going forward.

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52 For more information on the commission, see: Republic of Rwanda, National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide
13. Meeting with Musa Gbow, Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative

The delegation met Musa Gbow, Regional Training Manager–Africa, Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative, for a briefing on the work of the Dallaire Initiative in Rwanda and about the issue of child protection in Africa more generally.

Mr. Gbow explained that the Dallaire Initiative signed a memorandum of understanding with the Rwandan Ministry of Defence in 2016 to provide training to members of the Rwandan Defence Forces (RDF). The training is aimed at ensuring that members of the RDF have the awareness and practical skills required to effectively prevent the recruitment and use of child soldiers. As Mr. Gbow explained, Rwanda is one of the world’s top contributors to UN peacekeeping. He informed the delegation that the Dallaire Initiative delivered seven training courses over the past year. Mr. Gbow noted that the Dallaire Initiative is also interested in establishing a centre of excellence for training and learning on issues related to child protection for troops from around the region.

According to Mr. Gbow, there has been a reduction in the recruitment of children into the armed forces of African countries in recent years. However, he also indicated that children continue to be recruited and used as soldiers in large numbers by non-state actors, including by militias and terrorist groups. He spoke about the need to ensure that governments and civil society organizations provide support services related to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of child soldiers.

Finally, Mr. Gbow said that the Dallaire Initiative was seeking new and additional funding from the Government of Canada that would enable it to expand its work in the area of child protection to a broader range of countries. He indicated that such funding would align with Canada’s support for the Vancouver Principles on Peacekeeping and Preventing the Recruitment and Use of Child Soldiers.54

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The Association chose to visit Ethiopia and Rwanda to follow up on previous bilateral missions and to gain an up-to-date picture of the situation in two dynamic sub-Saharan African countries. The mission also provided a broader window into the situation in two different parts of Africa, namely the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region. Through meetings with government officials, parliamentarians, civil society organizations and others, the delegation was able to reflect on ways that Canada can deepen its partnership with Ethiopia and Rwanda from parliamentary, bilateral and multilateral perspectives. The sections below outline the delegation’s key observations and conclusions from its mission to Ethiopia and Rwanda.

A. Ethiopia

Ethiopia has witnessed rapid political and economic reform since Abiy Ahmed became Prime Minister in April 2018. Most notable among these reforms have been measures to expand the democratic space, to release political prisoners and to encourage former political opponents to return home. These reforms have also included efforts to increase

54 For more information on these principles, see: Government of Canada, The Vancouver Principles.
media freedom, reform legislation governing the operations of civil society organizations, and create the conditions for the holding of free and fair multi-party elections in 2020. The bilateral mission left the delegation with the impression that Prime Minister Abiy’s commitment to these reforms is genuine and that progress is being made.

The speed at which Ethiopia is witnessing democratic reform should not, however, obscure the challenges that lie ahead. The delegation heard that decades of restrictions on the activities and operations of civil society organizations and independent media have fostered a cynical and mistrusting view by much of the citizenry toward the state. Moreover, the delegation was told that Ethiopia’s judiciary remains weak and is still regarded with some popular suspicion. The continued fragmentation of the opposition and the weak institutional capacity of arms-length institutions such as the National Election Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) were also identified as challenges that stand in the way of genuine multi-party and free and fair parliamentary elections in 2020.

**Electoral assistance was one of the most frequent requests that Ethiopian interlocutors made during the delegation’s mission.** Delegates were told that Ethiopia requires institutional assistance for bodies such as the NEBE, as well as support geared toward strengthening electoral systems and laws. Several Ethiopian officials also appealed for capacity-building and training support in the area of elections. The delegation was told that this kind of assistance is all the more critical in the context of the heightened expectations that Prime Minister Abiy has created for multi-party and free and fair elections in 2020. With these elections fast approaching, the Association urges the Government of Canada to consider Ethiopia’s request for electoral support.

**The Association also encourages the Government of Canada to continue to support Ethiopia in the areas of inclusive governance and pluralism.** The delegation heard during its mission that intergovernmental and federal-regional cooperation will be critical to addressing the country’s displacement crisis. As noted above, Ethiopia is home to approximately three million IDPs, the majority of whom were displaced because of inter-communal and ethnic conflict and tension. Delegates were pleased to hear about the timely project that Canada is supporting through the Forum of Federations, which aims to improve intergovernmental relations and to ensure greater inclusiveness in the context of Ethiopia’s multicultural federation. **The Association firmly believes that projects of that kind, which are focused on fostering inclusion, pluralism and reconciliation, are critically important and worthy of continued Canadian support.**

Regional peace and security was another central theme of the Association’s mission. While the regional security picture in the Horn of Africa remains a concern, the delegation was encouraged to hear about the ongoing efforts of Prime Minister Abiy to improve relations with Eritrea. That said, notwithstanding the significant progress that has been made since the joint declaration of peace was signed in July 2018, delegates were told that the rapprochement between Ethiopia and Eritrea remains fragile. In particular, the delegation heard that further efforts are required to institutionalize the peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Put another way, formal mechanisms need to be established to oversee and monitor the implementation of the peace agreement and to entrench the peace. **The Association encourages the Government of Canada to work with its partners in the AU and IGAD to support the implementation of the peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea.**
Finally, the Association believes that the Government of Canada should explore ways to build stronger trade ties with Ethiopia. Canada exported $130.2 million in merchandise to Ethiopia in 2018, making it Canada’s 74th largest export destination that year. While Canadian merchandise exports to Ethiopia increased by more than 30% in 2018 compared to 2017 (when they were $87.8 million), exports actually fell from their total in 2014 (when they were $136.9 million). Moreover, despite being the second-most populous nation in Africa, Ethiopia was Canada’s ninth-largest destination for exports on the continent in 2018.

The Association believes that Canada’s trade relationship with Ethiopia is significantly underdeveloped for a market of its size. During its mission, the delegation heard about the many commercial opportunities that exist for Canadian companies in Ethiopia, including in the agricultural, mining, energy, infrastructure and aerospace sectors. The delegation was also told about opportunities that exist for Canadian companies in the information and communications technology sector, particularly with respect to telecommunications. The Association believes that the Government of Canada should increase its efforts, including through its Trade Commissioner Service, to support Canadian companies looking to export to and do business in Ethiopia.

B. The African Union

The delegation’s visit to the African Union Commission, and its meeting with El-Ghassim Wane, Chief of Staff to the Chairperson of the AUC, provided an important opportunity to hear about the priorities of the AU and the current challenges that it faces. The two main AU priorities that were identified by Mr. Wane and other AUC officials were a desire to deepen regional economic integration and to reinforce the AU’s peace and security architecture. In this regard, the delegation took note of the sense of momentum that has been building around the African Continental Free Trade Agreement. It was also pleased to hear about the AU’s commitment to peacekeeping, as well as to conflict prevention and post-conflict development.

The visit to the AUC and the meeting with the Institute for Peace and Security Studies underscored for delegates that Canada should have a stronger partnership with the AU. As Michelle Ndiaye of IPSS told the delegation, the AU requires and is seeking assistance in several areas where Canadian support could be valuable, including in the area of governance. Some of this support is already underway. The delegation notes that Canada is providing $5 million (2017–2019) in support of a project aimed at improving the management of the AUC’s capacity and advancing continental integration and collaboration. This funding is also being used to support the efforts of the AUC to empower women and girls, tackle climate change and promote good governance.

56 In order of ranking, Canada’s 10 largest export markets in Africa in 2018 were: Botswana, Algeria, Nigeria, Morocco, South Africa, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania. See: Industry Canada, Trade Data Online, search by total Canadian exports to Africa (excluding Middle East) and Middle East.
The delegation believes that the Government of Canada should look for opportunities to strengthen its engagement with the AU and to make the relationship more prominent and institutionalized. In this regard, the Association suggests that the Government of Canada explore the possibility of appointing a dedicated Ambassador to the AU, separate from the position of Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia. This step could be modelled along the lines of the 2014 decision by the Government of Canada to establish a position of dedicated Canadian Ambassador to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

That decision decoupled the positions of Canadian Ambassador to ASEAN with Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia, where ASEAN is headquartered. Ethiopia is a large and complex country that involves multiple lines of Canadian engagement, and thus requires the involvement of significant diplomatic attention and resources. Having a dedicated Canadian Ambassador to the AU would, in the Association’s view, help to bolster Canada’s engagement and diplomatic presence at the AU and contribute to stronger bilateral ties with African countries.

C. Rwanda

Occurring just weeks before the 25th anniversary of the Genocide against the Tutsi, the delegation’s mission provided it with the opportunity to pay its respects to the victims of the genocide and to remember the suffering of the survivors. As part of its program, the delegation visited and laid a wreath at the Kigali Genocide Memorial, the final resting place for more than 250,000 victims of the genocide. While a difficult and emotional experience, the visit was essential for the delegation to understand the magnitude of what occurred in 1994. It also served as a reminder that the international community must learn from the genocide to ensure that its failure to act is never again repeated.

The visit also allowed the delegation to learn about Rwanda’s national reconciliation process. The delegation was struck by the immense courage, perseverance and resilience that Rwandans have displayed over the past 25 years. In meetings with parliamentarians, members of civil society and organizations such as the National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide, the delegation heard about the many ways that Rwanda is working to promote reconciliation and to rebuild inter-communal trust. The delegation was informed, for example, about the efforts being made to fight against the ideology of genocide and to address its consequences. It also heard about the courageous efforts of Rwandans to try to forgive and to work together to overcome violence and trauma. The ability and willingness of the survivors to embrace reconciliation should serve as an inspiration to all.

The delegation also wishes to recognize the immense socio-economic progress that Rwanda has made since 1994. Rwanda has made significant strides in reducing extreme poverty and HIV infections over the past 25 years, in addition to improving outcomes in the areas of maternal, newborn and child health, and education. Its economy has also

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expanded rapidly over that period, growing at a rate of 7.6% over the past decade.\textsuperscript{59} GDP per capita at purchasing power parity (current international $) also increased from $1,100 in 2007 to $2,000 in 2017, largely because of improved productivity in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, increased public investments in infrastructure, and steady foreign aid inflows.\textsuperscript{60}

This progress notwithstanding, Rwanda continues to face significant development challenges, which the delegation heard about in detail during its field visit to Burera. Those include poverty, as well as issues related to food insecurity and malnutrition. The Government of Rwanda has set ambitious targets aimed at overcoming these challenges, while also pursuing a broader development strategy that seeks to transform the country from a low-income, agricultural-based economy to a knowledge-based, service-oriented one with middle income status. The Association believes firmly that Canada should partner with Rwanda toward this objective. \textbf{The Association encourages the Government of Canada to enhance its development cooperation with Rwanda and to look for opportunities to support Canadian companies interested in investing in the country.}

The delegation believes that parliamentary ties provide an important mechanism for strengthening Canada-Rwanda relations. In meetings with the speakers of both chambers of parliament and other Rwandan parliamentarians, the delegation heard about the interest that exists for enhancing such cooperation through capacity building projects and the sharing of best practices. In this regard, the delegation wishes to highlight Rwanda’s global leadership with respect to women’s political empowerment. Rwanda is the top country in the world with respect to the representation of women in a unicameral or lower house of Parliament.\textsuperscript{61} The Association believes that Canada can learn from the efforts Rwanda has made to ensure that women are properly and meaningfully represented in parliament. For its part, \textbf{the Association believes that Canada and Canadian parliamentarians could emphasize best practices in the areas of pluralism, democratic governance and legislative oversight of the executive branch of government as part of Canadian engagement with Rwanda.}

The Association also wishes to recognize Rwanda’s emerging global and regional leadership. Like Ethiopia, Rwanda is one of the world’s leading contributors of troops to UN peacekeeping. Rwanda has shown regional leadership through President Kagame’s recent chairmanship of the African Union and its present chairmanship of the East African Community. A Rwandan leads the Francophonie as its Secretary General and the country will be hosting the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in 2020. \textbf{The Association encourages the Government of Canada to continue to foster relations with Rwanda in multilateral fora on a broad range of issues, including climate change and peace and security.} As one specific initiative in that area, \textbf{the Association}


\textsuperscript{60} The World Bank, \textit{GDP per capita, PPP (current international $)}, International Comparison Program Database. Purchasing power parity [PPP] is the ratio of the prices in two countries for identical goods and services. It is used to adjust economic indicators to account for international price differences. With a calculation of GDP at PPP, a given good or service has the same price in each country.

\textsuperscript{61} IPU, \textit{Women in national parliaments}. 
believes that the Government of Canada should consider increasing its support to the Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative to enable the organization to expand its operations in Rwanda that are focused on child protection.

Finally, the Association wishes to conclude by referring to the report that followed its 2008 mission to Rwanda. In that report, the Association noted that it was “struck by the sense of optimism and hope” that existed in the country at the time of its visit. This same comment rings as true for the Association today as it did in 2008. As one Rwandan told the delegation during its mission, “the hope inside of us is bigger than you can see.” The delegation believes that Canada should support Rwanda in nurturing this hope, as it builds a brighter future.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The delegation wishes to thank Ambassador Antoine Chevrier, Ivan Roberts (Minister-Counsellor and Senior Director for Development), Alyssa Nunes (Second Secretary (Political) and Deputy Mission Security Officer), Lajos Arendás (Counsellor and Consul), Sébastien Moffett (Specialist (Political) – African Union), and the rest of the team at Canada’s Embassy in Ethiopia for their support prior to and during the mission to Ethiopia.

The delegation also expresses its gratitude to High Commissioner Lisa Stadelbauer, Julie Crowley (Head of Office, Office of the High Commission of Canada in Kigali), and Rick Steenweg (Second Secretary), for their hard work and dedication in organizing and facilitating the delegation’s mission to Rwanda.

The delegation thanks all of the interlocutors with whom it met with in Ethiopia and Rwanda for taking the time to share their valuable insights and experiences.

Respectfully submitted,

The Honourable Raynell Andreychuk, Senator Co-Chair Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association

Mr. Robert Oliphant, M.P. Co-Chair Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association

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## Travel Costs

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<tr>
<th><strong>ASSOCIATION</strong></th>
<th>Canada-Africa Parliamentary Association</th>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>SENATE</strong></td>
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<td><strong>HOUSE OF COMMONS</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mr. Brian Hermon, Association Advisor</td>
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* expenses paid by the Library of Parliament for training purposes.