Negative: Nigeria Arms Sales

By “Coach Vance” Trefethen

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Negative: Nigeria Arms Sales

NEGATIVE PHILOSOPHY

Intentions vs. Results. Influential US diplomat George Kennan in 1959: Good intentions aren’t enough. Results almost never match the intentions

George Kennan 1959 (US diplomat who served in Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Riga, Lisbon, Moscow and Washington; architect of US “Cold War” foreign policy after World War 2) Foreign Policy and Christian Conscience, THE ATLANTIC, May 1959 (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1959/05/foreign-policy-and-christian-conscience/304685/

It is very difficult for us to know which of the specific undertakings of government in foreign affairs might have Christian significance and which might not. If there is any one thing that is plain about international statesmanship, it is the extreme difficulty of establishing in advance the relationship between cause and effect--of gauging the likely results of one's own acts. The English historian Herbert Butterfield has shown us with great brilliance, and so has our own Reinhold Niebuhr, the irony that seems to rest on the relationship between the intentions of statesmen and the results they achieve. I can testify from personal experience that not only can one never know, when one takes a far-reaching decision in foreign policy, precisely what the consequences are going to be, but almost never do these consequences fully coincide with what one intended or expected.

INHERENCY

1. Arms sales come with human rights training

US arms sales to Nigeria are accompanied with training on humanitarian law

US State Dept. 2022. (Bureau of Political-Military Affairs) 14 Apr 2022 "U.S. Security Cooperation with Nigeria" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.state.gov/u-s-security-cooperation-with-nigeria/

The United States has $590 million in active government-to-government sales cases with Nigeria under the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) system.  FMS cases notified to Congress are listed on the [DSCA website](https://www.dsca.mil/search/node?keys=nigeria#_blank).  Recent and significant sales include: in 2022 up to 12 AH-1Z Attack Helicopters worth $997 million, with $25 million of case funds allocated for institutional and technical assistance to the Armed Forces of Nigeria (AFN) to continue its Air Ground Integration (AGI) program, which includes developing targeting processes that are legally compliant with International Humanitarian Law and the Laws of Armed Conflict; in 2017 up to 12 A-29 Super Tucano aircraft worth $497 million to support Nigerian military operations against Boko Haram and ISIS West Africa.

US arms sales include human rights training and civilian protection measures

US State Dept. 2021. "The United States and Nigeria: Strategic Partners" 18 Nov 2021 (accessed 243 Jan 2023) https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-and-nigeria-strategic-partners-2/

In 2021, the United States delivered twelve A-29 Super Tucano aircraft purchased by Nigeria as part of the largest Foreign Military Sale in Sub-Saharan Africa, as part of a package that included human rights training and civilian protection measures. Nigeria also commenced air-to-ground integration training in 2021 and continues active participation in military justice reform, mitigation of civilian casualties, and human rights trainings.

HARMS / SIGNIFICANCE

1. Legitimate need for military equipment

Nigeria faces serious security challenges

Congressional Research Service 2022 (non-partisan research agency of Congress) 25 March 2022 "Nigeria: Key Issues and U.S. Policy" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47052/2

Nigeria faces serious security challenges on several fronts. In the northeast, fighting between government forces and two armed Islamist insurgencies—Boko Haram and an Islamic State-affiliated splinter faction, the Islamic State West Africa Province—has killed tens of thousands of civilians, displaced millions, and involved extensive human rights abuses. In northwest and central Nigeria, an escalation of disputes between herders and farmers has contributed to a deterioration of security conditions characterized by armed criminality, ethno-religious violence, mass abductions for ransom, and emergent Islamist extremist activity, amid rising interethnic and interreligious tensions. In the southeast, violence between security forces and armed separatists killed dozens in 2020-2021. The oil-rich Niger Delta, to the south, has long faced criminality and episodic militancy

Widespread violence and kidnappings in Nigeria

Patrick Tyrrell and Alexander Jelloian 2021 (Tyrrell - Research Coordinator, Heritage Foundation. Jelloian - Summer 2021 Member of the Young Leaders Program at The Heritage Foundation ) 4 Aug 2021 " Nigeria, West Africa Increasingly Beset by Kidnappings, Terrorism" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.heritage.org/africa/commentary/nigeria-west-africa-increasingly-beset-kidnappings-terrorism

In early July, following six days of attacks, Nigerian authorities [closed](https://www.kentuckytoday.com/stories/terrorists-kill-33-torch-churches-after-nigeria-baptist-school-kidnappings,33168) 13 schools after more than 125 students were kidnapped from a Baptist high school. In addition to the kidnappings, 33 civilians were killed and four churches were burned. According to Statisense, a Nigerian data company, [more than](https://www.wsj.com/articles/one-night-inside-nigerias-kidnapping-emergency-abducted-babies-schoolchildren-and-hospital-workers-11625743365) 3,000 people have been kidnapped since January. Instances like those seem to be occurring with increasing frequency in Nigeria and other parts of West Africa.

A/T "Status Quo hasn't solved it yet" - No surprise, a long-term commitment is needed to really degrade terrorists in Africa

US Defense Dept. Inspector General’s Report to Congress 2020. (directed by Glenn Fine, Principal Deputy Inspector General for the US Dept. of Defense) 21 Feb 2020 EAST AFRICA AND NORTH AND WEST AFRICA COUNTERTERRORISM OPERATIONS <https://media.defense.gov/2020/Feb/21/2002252793/-1/-1/1/LEAD%20IG%20EAST%20AFRICA%20AND%20NORTH%20AND%20WEST%20AFRICA%20COUNTERTERRORISM%20OPERATIONS.PDF> (USAFRICOM is the military organization responsible for operations in Africa. DOD OIG is the Dept of Defense Office of the Inspector General.) (brackets added) (accessed 24 Jan 2023)

The USAFRICOM Campaign Plan states that it considers a VEO [violent extremist organizations] degraded if it meets several conditions, including the VEO’s “command and control is disrupted,” it “cannot conduct effective operations,” and it “cannot conduct effective information operations.” USAFRICOM told the DoD OIG that it uses these “intermediate objectives” to measure progress towards its overall goal of degrading VEOs. However, the challenge inherent to the “degrade” strategy is that many partner forces in Africa will likely require assistance and advising for a long period of time before they can fully address VEO threats on their own. In addition, terrorist threats in Africa are numerous and dynamic, often requiring U.S. forces and their allies to step in and execute immediate responses to threats across an expansive geography. Furthermore, a “degrade” strategy requires U.S. and partner forces to apply consistent counterterrorism pressure on VEOs to prevent their resurgence, an approach that Secretary of Defense Esper described as “mowing the lawn.” This need for ongoing operations, coupled with the often slow development of partner forces, could require ongoing commitment of U.S. military resources.

2. Government violence versus gang and ethnic violence

Government violence is in response to gang violence

Anietie Ewang 2022 (Abuja-based Nigeria researcher at Human Rights Watch) 1 June 2022 " WHY IS THE U.S. SELLING WEAPONS TO NIGERIA AFTER IT BOMBED CIVILIANS?" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://fpif.org/why-is-the-u-s-selling-weapons-to-nigeria-after-it-bombed-civilians/

Several states in Nigeria’s northwest region are currently plagued by the activities of armed gangs. Many  began as [vigilante and militia groups formed to protect their communities](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/288-violence-in-nigerias-north-west.pdf) during disputes  between farmers and nomadic herdsmen over land and other resources, which often escalate quickly and violently, with authorities failing to respond. Over time, the groups, particularly those affiliated with nomadic herders, morphed into powerful criminal gangs with sophisticated weaponry that kill, pillage, torture, and kidnap people, including [school children](https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/nwest/484298-attack-on-schools-1000-children-abducted-in-nigeria-in-eight-months-ngo.html), for ransom. The gangs themselves abuse people’s rights. But in responding to them, Nigerian security forces have often violated human rights and killed civilians themselves.

To be effective, we must address security concerns before expecting them to reform human rights

Doug Bandow 2021 (senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties. He worked as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan; JD from Stanford Univ.) “Eight Ways We Can Serve US Interests and Pursue Human Rights Too” 28 May 2021  (Accessed 7 September 2022) https://www.cato.org/commentary/eight-ways-we-can-serve-us-interests-pursue-human-rights-too

“Address political and security relations before expecting improved human rights. For instance, brutal oppression ensures survival of North Korea’s Kim dynasty. So long as Supreme Leader Kim Jong‐​un feels vulnerable, he is unlikely to make human rights concessions. Establishing regular political dialogue and addressing regime change fears would increase the possibility, though still low, of winning at least some human rights concessions.”

Voting issue: Government stability comes first, or nothing else good can happen [and this card is specifically referring to Nigeria in context]

Patrick Tyrrell and Alexander Jelloian 2021 (Tyrrell - Research Coordinator, Heritage Foundation. Jelloian - Summer 2021 Member of the Young Leaders Program at The Heritage Foundation ) 4 Aug 2021 "Nigeria, West Africa Increasingly Beset by Kidnappings, Terrorism" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.heritage.org/africa/commentary/nigeria-west-africa-increasingly-beset-kidnappings-terrorism

Such widespread violence is devasting for the populations that live there. Not only are many of their lives in danger due to terrorist violence, but any sort of meaningful economic development is extraordinarily difficult to attain when people live under constant threat of violence. Increasing economic freedom is a proven path that countries can follow to enjoy greater economic prosperity, and one of the most important factors in determining economic freedom in a country is based on its ability to uphold the rule of law.

Voting Impact: Security is paramount. Nigeria may not survive as a viable state if the government isn't strengthened

Congressional Research Service 2022 (non-partisan research agency of Congress) 25 March 2022 "Nigeria: Key Issues and U.S. Policy" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47052/2

In recent years, deteriorating security conditions and other challenges have spurred pessimism on the part of some outside observers, as well as among Nigerians: according to Afrobarometer, a regional polling organization, nearly 70% of Nigerians surveyed in early 2020 believed their country was going in the wrong direction.2 Some analysts have argued that Nigeria is a failing or failed state; others disagree, pointing to areas of progress or resilience.3 Such debates are not new—political and security crises have animated periodic concern over Nigeria’s viability and territorial integrity since the country’s independence from the United Kingdom in 1960—and they are likely to persist as Nigeria continues to confront formidable governance, economic, and security challenges.

3. No "moral responsibility" harm

Exporting arms to a bad government still produces a greater good, and we're not responsible for bad uses. Example: Supporting Josef Stalin during World War II

Dr. Ted Bromund 2021. (PhD in history from Yale; holds two master’s degrees in history from Yale and a bachelor of arts degree from Iowa’s Grinnell College ) The Biden Administration’s Conventional Arms Transfer Policy Should Not Be Handcuffed by the Arms Trade Treaty 1 Nov 2021 (accessed 4 Oct 2022) https://www.heritage.org/global-politics/report/the-biden-administrations-conventional-arms-transfer-policy-should-not-be (brackets added)

If the ATT [Arms Trade Treaty] had existed in 1942, the U.S. could not have extended Lend-Lease aid to Stalin, who used the trucks the U.S. provided to deport almost 100,000 people from the nation of Georgia to Siberia. But aiding Stalin against Hitler was nonetheless the correct policy. If the ATT had existed in 1950, the U.S. could not have aided South Korea, which was a brutal military dictatorship, when it was attacked by the North. But aiding South Korea against North Korea was the correct, and, in fact, the humane, policy to follow.

SOLVENCY

1. More study needed

If there’s a problem, it’s the lack of a comprehensive Africa strategy. We need that first in order to develop effective policies

Sam Wilkins 2020 (active-duty U.S. Army Special Forces officer with deployments to Somalia, Nigeria, and Afghanistan; graduate of the US Military Academy at West Point and is currently a student at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies) 2 Apr 2020 “DOES AMERICA NEED AN AFRICA STRATEGY?” (accessed 24 Jan 2023) <https://warontherocks.com/2020/04/does-america-need-an-africa-strategy/>

Fortunately, in this contemporary era of partisan rancor, Congress has taken a remarkably bi-partisan approach to Africa policy issues. Recent attempts to [cut foreign aid](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/07/us/politics/foreign-aid-freeze-congress.html) or humanitarian assistance to African countries, for example, have been [met with disapproval](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/22/us/politics/trump-foreign-aid.html) from both parties. This [bipartisan consensus](https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2018/10/05/congress-takes-the-lead-on-us-africa-policy/) concerning Africa’s importance to the United States represents a solid foundation on which to formulate a collaborative Africa strategy that is resilient to tactical setbacks.  
**An Absence of Strategy Increases Vulnerability to Distraction or Co-Option**Absent firm central guidance, policy around African affairs can be vulnerable to the influence of various humanitarian, religious, and bureaucratic interests. While far from unique to Africa policy, these sometimes-opposing influences can accelerate the aforementioned risk of overstretch and lead to the dilution of already limited resources. This phenomenon also accelerates the chances of distraction. As scholar Gorm Rye Olsen [notes](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01436597.2017.1315298), “because policymaking has been influenced by a number of different actors, American Africa policy may appear incoherent and ambiguous if judged narrowly on the expectation that it only aims to take care of U.S. national security concerns and economic self-interests.”

Developing a continental African engagement policy allows us to compete with China and best uphold America’s interests

Sam Wilkins 2020 (active-duty U.S. Army Special Forces officer with deployments to Somalia, Nigeria, and Afghanistan; graduate of the US Military Academy at West Point and is currently a student at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies) 2 Apr 2020 “DOES AMERICA NEED AN AFRICA STRATEGY?” (accessed 24 Jan 2023) <https://warontherocks.com/2020/04/does-america-need-an-africa-strategy/>

Third, absent a clear strategy, the apparatus of U.S. statecraft can be left vulnerable to distraction and incoherence, as a variety of interest groups and bureaucratic actors may seek to steer or co-opt policy towards contradictory objectives. Fourth, an ad-hoc or country-by-country approach would likely lack public consensus and Congressional support — leaving it brittle and vulnerable to headline-grabbing crises or military defeats. Finally, the emergence of a true continent-wide geostrategic competitor, China, necessitates the formulation of a truly continental strategy. While America’s interests in Africa go well beyond competition with China, a coherent Africa strategy is required to account for Chinese activity, while maintaining a balanced perspective about how Beijing’s activities in Africa might actually threaten American security and prosperity.

2. Can't solve for "moral responsibility" while still giving aid

US gives lots of military aid to Nigeria (in addition to our trade) - and it can't be stopped by AFF plan (it's aid, not trade - not topical)

Congressional Research Service 2022 (non-partisan research agency of Congress) 25 March 2022 "Nigeria: Key Issues and U.S. Policy" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47052/2

According to the State Department, “since 2017, Department of State and Department of Defense security cooperation to Nigeria has totaled approximately $650 million.” Nigerian purchases of U.S. defense articles and services through the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program account for roughly $500 million of this total (see “U.S. Military Sales and Transfers” below). Department of Defense (DOD)-administered security assistance provided under DOD’s “global train and equip” authority (10 U.S.C. 333) comprises much of the balance: such aid has included support for intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities; air-to-ground integration (AGI); and maritime security and counterterrorism capacities. DOD also has supported Nigeria to restore C-130 aircraft, establish a military exercise center, and develop military policies. State Department-administered security assistance has sought to strengthen counterterrorism efforts, enhance maritime security, and professionalize Nigeria’s military, among other efforts. Law enforcement capacity building has been another focus of State Department programming, which is helping to establish a Transitional Police Unit to assume responsibility for civilian security in the northeast and has aided efforts to combat drug trafficking.

Turn: "Moral responsibility" gets worse.

AFF's policy is "Because Nigeria has bad behavior, we'll switch to a policy of only giving them military stuff instead of selling it and giving it." This makes things worse, not better.

3. Arms sales are not an effective tool for promoting change

Withholding arms as an instrument of coercion doesn’t produce desired benefits

Ray Rounds 2019. (a U.S. Air Force F-15E pilot and a Ph.D. candidate at Georgetown Univ. in International Relations.) “The Case Against Arms Embargos, Even for Saudi Arabia.” April 16, 2019. (accessed 4 Oct 2022) War on the Rocks. <https://warontherocks.com/2019/04/the-case-against-arms-embargos-even-for-saudi-arabia/>

Whether it is delayed approval, as in the recent Kuwaiti F-18 purchase, an outright embargo, like Egyptian F-16s in 2013, or denial of technology transfer, as in the 2016 Turkish Patriot missile request, using the withholding of arms sales as a blunt force instrument of coercion is unlikely to produce desired strategic benefits and often backfires.

Arms sales have useful benefits and are not meant as a tool of coercion

Ray Rounds 2019. (a U.S. Air Force F-15E pilot and a Ph.D. candidate at Georgetown Univ. in International Relations.) “The Case Against Arms Embargos, Even for Saudi Arabia.” April 16, 2019. (accessed 4 Oct 2022) War on the Rocks. <https://warontherocks.com/2019/04/the-case-against-arms-embargos-even-for-saudi-arabia/>

Arms sales are useful tools for maintaining communication, strengthening relationships, and keeping potential adversary states at bay. Conversely, as a blunt instrument of coercion (i.e. if you do not do X, we will suspend Y), they are likely losers.

Government officials and previous research agree: arms transfers aren’t effective as leverage

Ray Rounds 2019. (a U.S. Air Force F-15E pilot and a Ph.D. candidate at Georgetown Univ. in International Relations.) “The Case Against Arms Embargos, Even for Saudi Arabia.” April 16, 2019. (accessed 4 Oct 2022) War on the Rocks. <https://warontherocks.com/2019/04/the-case-against-arms-embargos-even-for-saudi-arabia/>

Senior U.S. government officials involved in the arms transfer process that I interviewed over the past year during the course of my research have echoed similar sentiments. This is also borne out by previous research providing evidence that using arms transfers as situationally coercive tools is rarely successful.

DISADVANTAGES

1. Terrorism

Link: Arms sales to Nigeria are key to defeating insurgents and terrorists in the region

Defense Security Cooperation Agency 2017. (agency of the US Dept of Defense) 3 Aug 2017 "GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA – A-29 SUPER TUCANO AIRCRAFT, WEAPONS, AND ASSOCIATED SUPPORT" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.dsca.mil/press-media/major-arms-sales/government-nigeria-29-super-tucano-aircraft-weapons-and-associated

These aircraft will support Nigerian military operations against terrorist organizations Boko Haram and ISIS West Africa, and Nigerian efforts to counter illicit trafficking in Nigeria and the Gulf of Guinea. The Super Tucano is a sustainable platform for counterterrorism, counter-insurgency, border surveillance, and illicit trade interdiction operations. Nigeria is an important partner in the U.S. national security goal to defeat ISIS, including its branches in Africa, and this sale is part of the U.S. commitment to help Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin countries in that fight. The proposed sale, and associated training and engagement, is one piece of broader U.S. security cooperation to help professionalize, modernize, and build the capacity of Nigeria’s armed forces and strengthen the U.S. security relationship with Africa's largest democracy.

Link: US-supplied weapons are specifically used against terrorists and gangs in Nigeria

Congressional Research Service 2022 (non-partisan research agency of Congress) 25 March 2022 "Nigeria: Key Issues and U.S. Policy" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47052/2

The sale of the A-29s along with spare parts, logistics support, munitions, and construction of new facilities to house them went forward in 2017, valued at $496 million, the largest FMS case in sub-Saharan Africa to date. 202 The Nigerian Air Force took delivery of the planes in 2021 and has deployed them against extremists in the northeast as well as armed gangs in the northwest.

Impact: Wave of kidnapping and armed gangs

Reuters news service 2021. "Police in Nigeria secure release of 100 kidnapping victims" 21 July 2021 (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/police-nigeria-secure-release-100-kidnapping-victims-2021-07-21/

Police and government authorities have secured the release of 100 people, including women, children and nursing mothers, who were kidnapped from their village in northwestern Nigeria over a month ago, a local police spokesperson said. Nigeria is battling an increase in armed robberies and kidnappings for ransom, mainly in northwestern states, where thinly deployed security forces have struggled to contain the rise of armed gangs, commonly referred to as bandits.

Impact: Terrorist threat to the US, including from ISIS in Nigeria

Peter Brookes 2023 (Senior Research Fellow, Center for National Defense, Heritage Foundation) 11 Jan 2023 "Times Square Attack Reminds Us That Terrorism Still Looms" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.heritage.org/terrorism/commentary/times-square-attack-reminds-us-terrorism-still-looms

ISIS also has terror branches, networks, and cells outside Iraq and Syria, [including](https://home.treasury.gov/system/files/136/Fact-Sheet-on-Countering-ISIS-Financing.pdf) in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, the Philippines, and in countries in Africa such as Nigeria, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Mozambique.       Another terrorist group, al-Qaeda, is also still around. Although al-Qaeda’s threat to the U.S. isn’t what it used to be in the early days after 9/11, it still has significant terror affiliates around the world to advance its Islamist, anti-West agenda.

Impact: Bombing, kidnapping, and death

Luisa Holland 2015 (official blog of US State Dept) 27 July 2015 "GLOBAL SECURITY CONTINGENCY FUND HELPS AFRICAN PARTNERS TAKE THE FIGHT TO BOKO HARAM" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.dsca.mil/news-media/news-archive/global-security-contingency-fund-helps-african-partners-take-fight-boko

In recent years, Boko Haram has captured headlines around the world. They have terrorized communities in northern Nigeria, as well as in neighboring Cameroon, Chad, and Niger through a deadly series of bombings, kidnappings, and raids that have claimed more than 10,000 lives and caused more than a million people to flee from their homes and seek refuge.

2.  Humanitarian missions lost

Link: Security threats in West Africa cause cancellation of humanitarian missions

US Defense Dept. Inspector General’s Report to Congress 2020. (directed by Glenn Fine, Principal Deputy Inspector General for the US Dept. of Defense) 21 Feb 2020 EAST AFRICA AND NORTH AND WEST AFRICA COUNTERTERRORISM OPERATIONS (accessed 24 Jan 2023) <https://media.defense.gov/2020/Feb/21/2002252793/-1/-1/1/LEAD%20IG%20EAST%20AFRICA%20AND%20NORTH%20AND%20WEST%20AFRICA%20COUNTERTERRORISM%20OPERATIONS.PDF>

USAID reported that deteriorating security and the increased number of internally displaced persons in West Africa has caused humanitarian organizations in Mali to temporarily suspend programming and force changes in the way programs are designed. Additionally in West Africa, USAID program implementers working to address the humanitarian needs in northeastern Nigeria continue to struggle with the Nigerian government’s interference.

Link: Security risks block delivery of humanitarian aid in Nigeria

Congressional Research Service 2022 (non-partisan research agency of Congress) 25 March 2022 "Nigeria: Key Issues and U.S. Policy" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47052/2

Insecurity in the northeast has posed challenges for humanitarian access and the oversight of U.S. assistance. According to a 2020 audit by USAID’s Inspector General, for instance, the award of a third party monitoring contract—used where site visits by U.S. staff are not feasible due to insecurity—encountered extensive delays, and “it was not until April 2019—4 years after the need was first identified” that the contract was awarded. The risk of aid diversion by terrorists has further complicated humanitarian efforts, prompting heightened due diligence (see Text Box).

Link: Insecurity blocks delivery of food assistance

US Defense Dept. Inspector General’s Report to Congress 2020. (directed by Glenn Fine, Principal Deputy Inspector General for the US Dept. of Defense) 21 Feb 2020 EAST AFRICA AND NORTH AND WEST AFRICA COUNTERTERRORISM OPERATIONS (accessed 24 Jan 2023) <https://media.defense.gov/2020/Feb/21/2002252793/-1/-1/1/LEAD%20IG%20EAST%20AFRICA%20AND%20NORTH%20AND%20WEST%20AFRICA%20COUNTERTERRORISM%20OPERATIONS.PDF> (brackets added)

In Mali, according to USAID, insecurity has caused implementers to temporarily suspend programming and change the way programs are designed. USAID extended some programs to account for activity suspension and there are increased costs for security. FFP also coordinates with other humanitarian actors to ensure food assistance reaches those most in need. A future development program, which will be awarded this year, will also coordinate with other USAID programs in Mali. The Famine Early Warning System Network reported that in Burkina Faso, IDPs [internally displaced persons] who were unable to cultivate their fields or abandoned them due to the insecurity are dependent on host communities or humanitarian assistance, but 31 percent of IDPs live outside of areas more accessible to humanitarian organizations. Further worsening the situation, security incidents often delay the delivery of assistance where it is available.

Link: Hundreds of thousands prevented from getting food assistance

US Defense Dept. Inspector General’s Report to Congress 2020. (directed by Glenn Fine, Principal Deputy Inspector General for the US Dept. of Defense) 21 Feb 2020 EAST AFRICA AND NORTH AND WEST AFRICA COUNTERTERRORISM OPERATIONS (accessed 24 Jan 2023) <https://media.defense.gov/2020/Feb/21/2002252793/-1/-1/1/LEAD%20IG%20EAST%20AFRICA%20AND%20NORTH%20AND%20WEST%20AFRICA%20COUNTERTERRORISM%20OPERATIONS.PDF> (brackets added)

In the Lake Chad Basin—Cameroon’s Far North region, Chad’s Lac region, Niger’s Diffa region, and northeastern Nigeria’s Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states—most of the humanitarian need is in northeastern Nigeria, where approximately 2.9 million people currently require emergency assistance, including more than 264,000 IDPs [internally displaced persons] residing in camps. [**END QUOTE**] USAID reported to the USAID OIG that while USAID implementers are working to address the humanitarian needs in northeastern Nigeria, they continue to struggle with the Nigerian government’s interference. Specifically, the Nigerian government has taken uncoordinated actions against humanitarian organizations that are often reversed. [**THEY GO ON LATER TO SAY QUOTE:]** For example, following a suspension of Mercy Corps and Action Against Hunger in September, the Nigerian government temporarily reversed the ban in late October. However, the suspension had already prevented nearly 400,000 people from receiving food assistance.

Impact: US humanitarian aid to Africa saves lives and reduces poverty

Prof. Stephen A. O’Connell 2017 (Professor at Swarthmore College; authority on the political economy of Africa & on macroeconomic policy in low-income developing countries; member of the Programme Committee of the AERC, an NGO devoted to building the research and advisory capacity of the economics profession in sub-Saharan Africa; Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology) 31 Jan 2017, “What the U.S. Gains From its Development Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa,” (accessed 24 Jan 2023) <http://econofact.org/what-the-u-s-gains-from-its-development-aid-to-sub-saharan-africa>

Health and humanitarian aid represent more than 80 percent of U.S. aid to Africa and are supported by many Americans. [**END QUOTE**]The U.S. continues to lead the global fight against HIV/AIDS and malaria in Africa, with major results and with apparent support from President Trump during the campaign and from Rex Tillerson, Trump's nominee for Secretary of State. [**HE GOES ON LATER IN THE SAME CONTEXT QUOTE**:] For instance, between 2000 and 2015 the number of malaria deaths in children under 5 years in Sub-Saharan Africa dropped from an estimated 694,000 to 292,000 per year. The U.S. is the largest donor towards efforts to combat malaria, contributing 35 percent of global funding. These programs enhance the well-being and productivity of African populations, including girls and women whose access to security, nutrition, health services and education can break the inter-generational transmission of poverty.

3.  Vigilantes

Link: Nigerian military is used for law enforcement due to weak police force

Congressional Research Service 2022 (non-partisan research agency of Congress) 25 March 2022 "Nigeria: Key Issues and U.S. Policy" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47052/2

Surveys indicate low troop morale and discontent with poor equipment and living conditions, infrequent rotation, and other issues. Nigeria’s national police force is under-resourced, and many officers are deployed as private security, resulting in a reliance on the military for law enforcement tasks

Link: Vigilante Militias are the alternative to military attempts to restore order in conflict zones

Congressional Research Service 2022 (non-partisan research agency of Congress) 25 March 2022 "Nigeria: Key Issues and U.S. Policy" (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47052/2

Militia activity has expanded. Vigilante groups have emerged in conflict-affected zones across the country, varying in size, formality, legality, and government backing. In the northeast, for instance, members of the Civilian Joint Task Force (C-JTF), which organized to help combat Boko Haram, have received state support and participated in military operations. Human rights organizations have accused vigilantes of extrajudicial killings and other human rights abuses, and prospects for their future demobilization are uncertain.

Impact: Turn the harms, they get worse after an AFF ballot

If you don't like what the Nigerian military is doing, wait 'til you see what happens when we weaken the military and let the vigilantes and militias replace them. You absolutely won't like the "human rights violations" you'll see when that happens.

4. Losing “Great Power” competition to China in Africa

Link: Arms sales in Africa are an important competitive space in great power competition with China

US Defense Dept. Inspector General’s Report to Congress 2020. (directed by Glenn Fine, Principal Deputy Inspector General for the US Dept. of Defense) 21 Feb 2020 EAST AFRICA AND NORTH AND WEST AFRICA COUNTERTERRORISM OPERATIONS <https://media.defense.gov/2020/Feb/21/2002252793/-1/-1/1/LEAD%20IG%20EAST%20AFRICA%20AND%20NORTH%20AND%20WEST%20AFRICA%20COUNTERTERRORISM%20OPERATIONS.PDF> (accessed 24 Jan 2023) (USAFRICOM is the military organization responsible for operations in Africa. DIA is the US Defense Intelligence Agency. DOD OIG is the Dept of Defense Office of the Inspector General.) (brackets added)

The 2018 National Defense Strategy stated that “inter-state strategic competition, not terrorism, is now the primary concern in U.S. national security.” During the quarter, [AFRICOM commander] General [Stephen] Townsend completed his initial assessment of USAFRICOM’s operations and identified the “increasing focus on the transition to great power competition” as a key challenge for the command. USAFRICOM reported to the DoD OIG that “Africa has emerged as an important competitive space in great power competition. In East Africa, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) reported to the DoD OIG that China exports defense materials to African states, including small arms, combat aircraft, infantry vehicles, and unmanned aerial vehicles. The DIA said that China has supplemented state-to-state arms sales by offering military and technical training to East African militaries. China has also conducted joint military exercises with at least two East African nations, Djibouti and Tanzania.

Link: Countering China in Africa is key to blocking Chinese strategic advancement globally

Yun Sun 2013 (Nonresident Fellow - [Global Economy and Development](https://www.brookings.edu/program/global-economy-and-development/), [Africa Growth Initiative](https://www.brookings.edu/project/africa-growth-initiative/), Brookings Institution) 3 Apr 2013 “China in Africa: Implications for U.S. Competition and Diplomacy” (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.brookings.edu/research/china-in-africa-implications-for-u-s-competition-and-diplomacy/

Furthermore, China’s engagement in Africa has profound geopolitical implications for the U.S. global strategy. As the U.S. rebalances to the Asia-Pacific region, China has identified increasing hindrances in its strategic advancement in East Asia and the Pacific. In response, China is shifting its attention westward to South Asia, the Middle East and Africa to expand arenas for its political and strategic influence. These areas are seen as the most promising by Beijing given the stagnant or declining U.S. involvement. Especially in Africa, China is looking beyond the traditional pursuit of economic benefits and aspires to increase and solidify its strategic presence through enhanced political, economic, diplomatic and academic resources. The failure to perceive and prepare for China’s moves would be dangerous, unwise and potentially detrimental for the United States in the near future.

Impact: Increased corruption and reduced democracy as Chinese influence grows in Africa unchecked by US engagement

Dr. Michael Tiboris 2019 (Fellow, Chicago Council on Global Affairs; Lecturer at the Harris School of Public Policy Studies at the University of Chicago. PhD in applied ethics and political philosophy from Univ of California, San Diego) May 2019 “Addressing China’s Rising Influence in Africa“ (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep21272.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ac2e9371c4fe03cd3f2ac731179056200&ab\_segments=&origin=&acceptTC=1

The stakes of global leadership through foreign policy and diplomatic relationships are high. Both democracy and authoritarianism are increasingly prevalent on the African continent. The Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI) is a systematic comparison utilized by the British, German, and US governments to asses partner countries. Of the 44 African governments (out of the 54 on the continent) that the BTI quantified the status for in 2016, 22 were scored as some form of democracy of varying stability and 22 were scored as some form of autocracy. More countries than ever before in West and Central Africa are now under democratic systems, but South and East Africa have experienced a regression of political freedoms. The United States has historically made efforts to support the growth of democratic governance in Africa. Some have expressed concern that China’s nonintervention principle allows it to support authoritarian regimes and encourages corruption. Therefore, without continued US engagement, it is possible that the advancement of democracy on the continent is at risk. While China is willing to work with less stable, authoritarian regimes, the very fact that the regimes are less stable and authoritarian has severely limited China’s ability to achieve favorable outcomes in those countries. Evidence suggests that the presence of China’s aid projects is positively correlated with increased local corruption. And recent regression analysis shows that China’s financing disproportionately flows to political leaders’ birth regions and areas populated by their ethnic groups, while no such relationship exists for World Bank funding. Further, aid projects in corrupt areas have shown little to no positive local economic impact. In fact, the combination of China’s nonintervention attitudes and existing local corruption could lead to ineffective projects and a weakening of local political institutions.

Impact: Reduced protection of human rights. China uses Africa as a way to reduce global concern for human rights

Lloyd Thrall 2015 (analyst for the RAND Corporation; former enlisted light infantryman in the First Ranger Battalion; forward-deployed military advisor in Iraq; intelligence analyst for the Navy. MA with Distinction in Diplomatic Studies from the University of London) China’s Expanding African Relations - Implications for U.S. National Security (accessed 24 Jan 2023) https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RR905.html

Beijing has gone to great lengths to emphasize a “peaceful development” of Chinese power.1 Outreach efforts in Africa can increase the credibility of this image, as well as reap tangible diplomatic benefits through African support. While diplomatic competition with Taiwan is relatively dormant, Beijing has a continuing interest in isolating Taipei, now recognized by only three African states. With regard to international norms, African support can assist Beijing in countering precedents that China views as potentially dangerous domestically. From both a legal and diplomatic perspective, Beijing likely perceives an interest in preventing international activism on issues of democratic governance and human rights intervention in Africa that could apply equally to domestic Chinese political order.