### OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN MATT GAETZ (FL-01) United States House of Representatives



### **Unwelcome in Niger**

Interim Report by Congressman Matt Gaetz on American Troop Crisis in Niger

April 17, 2024

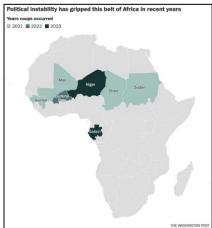


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#### Unwelcome in Niger

<u>In Summary</u>: Gaetz office interviews of active-duty U.S. service members stationed in Niger have revealed a diplomatic cover-up on the part of the United States Department of State, leading to a crisis for our service members in that country.

Since the hostility within the government of Niger that took over in mid-2023, the Department of Defense is unable to execute planned troop rotations or deliver mail, medical supplies, equipment, and other materials. The Biden Administration is actively suppressing intelligence reports about the atmospherics of the Nigerien position to avoid embarrassment for investing hundreds of millions of dollars in a nation where U.S. forces are no longer welcome.



Background: In April 2024, concerned service members and their families reached out the office of Representative Matt Gaetz (FL-01) for help regarding an ongoing situation in Niger that has left them functionally stranded, and without sufficient assistance from the Department of Defense or the Department of State. Multiple interviews since conducted (including with senior enlisted personnel in-country) have revealed an impossible situation for U.S. troops. They find themselves prohibited from doing their purported mission, or from returning home post-deployment. These service members are currently deployed to Airbase 101 in Niamey, Niger, as part of the 768th Expeditionary Airbase Squadron (768 EABS) and Advanced Operations Base (AOB) Sahel. 768 EABS is comprised of active duty, Reserve, and Air National Guard Airmen from across the country and Army Special Forces and contract support, totaling about 450 personnel. Air Base 101 (AB101) is collocated at Niger's primary airport, Diori Hamani International Airport, in the capital, Niamey, Niger. Established in 2016 in the hopes of combatting terrorist groups, including Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State in West Africa, Boko Haram, and Ansaru, AB101 has been a major hub for Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) and Advise, Assist, Train and Equip mission-sets as part of U.S. support to host nation internal security. That is, until 2023.

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<u>Problem:</u> On March 16, 2023, Secretary of State Blinken remarked: "Niger is really an extraordinary model at a time of great challenge – a model of resilience, a model of democracy, a model of cooperation." Less than three months later, the military took over the country.

Since that junta, known as the Conseil national pour la sauvegarde de la patrie (CNSP) or the National Council for the Safeguard of the Fatherland, took control, U.S.-Nigerien relations have been heavily strained. In December 2023 the CNSP announced a full review of all military agreements in the country. In January of 2024, the CNSP provided a proposed and draft Status of Forces



Agreement (SOFA). On March 17, 2024, the junta announced a cancellation of the military accords with the United States, following an embarrassing series of meetings with Assistant Secretary of State Molly Phee (*left*) and U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) Commander, Marine General Michael Langley (*right*). This deterioration of diplomatic arrangements has led to our service members being caught in the middle of a standoff between an inept Department of State and a U.S.-trained Nigerien coupforce. This breakdown has led to total cessation of diplomatic clearance overflights, preventing the delivery of mail, necessary medical supplies, blood to replenish the <u>blood bank</u> (which requires constant turnover due to expiration windows), equipment



and repair supplies; and other routine materiel from the United States. Personnel rotations for service members have been halted, leaving our troops stranded without any indication of relief or return home, as replacements aren't authorized to enter Niger. American contractors have also been prohibited from entering the country, and contracted support staff are quickly vacating when their visas (ineligible for renewal) lapse. This has led to a crisis as the base deteriorates and contracts, such as for the installation maintenance, are called into question. The new government of Niger also apparently prohibits our other allies in the country—Germany and Italy—from providing any relief or logistics support to our troops. There is no end in sight.



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<u>What we've learned</u>: Thanks to a brave cohort of service members, including staff non-commissioned officers and officers currently deployed at AB101, we have uncovered the below information. The following was acquired from individuals with direct knowledge of the events in question and shared by congressionally protected communication via a letter (exhibit 1) and direct contact with my staff, including my Director of Military Affairs and former Marine Corps ground intelligence officer, or is the assessment of this office based on the shared accounts:

#### U.S. Being Evicted:

- o CNSP is present on social media openly and officially stating they want U.S. forces out of their country.
- O U.S. hesitancy to recognize legitimacy of the military junta in Niger has the led local populace to increasingly wonder: "Why is the U.S. here?"
- Niger, via official media and social media platforms, has declared the status of forces agreement (SOFA) void.
   Tension from the francophile nation has escalated since France's departure in November 2023, as U.S. is now the main western presence to oppose.
- "In the <u>statement</u> read on television, Amadou Abdramane, the junta's spokesman, said the Nigerien government "denounced with force the condescending attitude" of the head of the recent U.S. delegation, which he said had undermined the long relationship between the two countries. The government, he said, was "denouncing with immediate effect" the accord between Niger and the U.S. military, along with civilians working for the Defense Department." (WaPo)



Lake Chad Basin and Sahel Region. United States military personnel in the Lake Chad Basin and Sahel Region continue to conduct airborne intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance operations and to provide support to African and European partners conducting counterterrorism operations in the region, including by advising, assisting, and accompanying these partner forces. Approximately 648 United States military personnel remain deployed to Niger.

Letter to Speaker Johnson, Dec 7, 2023, whitehouse.gov

#### - False Reports to Congress:

- The White House has provided false reports to Congress about troop counts in Niger. On December 7, 2023, President Biden <u>reported</u> to Speaker Johnson that "approximately 648 military personnel" remain in Niger following post-coup drawdowns. (top, *right*) This number remains closer to 1,100 DoD-affiliated persons between AB101 & AB201.
- Assistant Secretary of Defense of International Security Affairs, Celeste Wallander (bottom, right) statement to Congress: "There is actually quite a mixed message. We are following up and seeking clarification," Wallander said. "They have declared this SOFA... to be non-operational, [but] they have assured us that American military forces are protected, and they will take no action that would endanger them."

#### - Disjointed Administration:

- O Department of State and Department of Defense are not on the same page. I have sent requests for information to each agency to reconcile the differences (exhibit 2 & 3).
- AFRICOM & USAFE-AFAFRICA (US Air Force Europe-Air Force Africa), the operational and administrative higher headquarters, respectively, are blaming other departments, agencies, commands, etc., all placing responsibility for resolution and planning on others. Meanwhile, no cohesive intelligence picture is agreed upon; no planning on that understanding is occurring; and no clear guidance or the next steps for AB101 or AB201 are being issued. This leaves the ground force commander(s) and their staff(s) with complete uncertainty about what to expect.

# NOUS PORTING

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#### Unwelcome in Niger

#### - <u>Intelligence Dismissed:</u>

- US Embassy Niger, under Ambassador Kathleen FitzGibbon (top left) and Senior Defense Official/Defense Attaché (SDO/DATT) Colonel Nora Nelson-Richter (top right), are covering up the failure of their U.S. diplomatic efforts in Niger.
- The US Embassy is dismissing or suppressing Office of Special Investigations (OSI) & Special Operation Command Africa (SOCAF) intelligence and information that supports the



- aforementioned CNSP demands and is actively working to contain and/or refute U.S. intelligence assessments.
  - Intelligence service members received "emails where [SDO/DATT] would ask us to reword info in reports which would downplay what happened. All of the major stuff was phone calls," seemingly so that there would be no record.
- According to one service member, "When our AFRICOM leaders look to us to provide atmospherics on the ground, they go to the Embassy first and hear a watered down or false story than what is being reported. I know of at least 3 reports from OSI about Nigerien sentiment that have been discredited by the Embassy and turned out to be 100% true."

#### - Mission Halt:

- O U.S. Forces on the ground are treading water in the current operating environment, prohibited from leaving "the wire" to do their jobs. Assigned to AB101 with an Advise, Assist, Train & Equip mission, our troops are completely incapable of mission accomplishment despite their best efforts, while taxpayers foot the nearly \$1 million per month price to keep them sitting idle in the Sahel.
- Our European partners, Italy and Germany, maintain forces both inside and outside the wire of the U.S. portion of the installation and have experienced no such clearance issues but are FORBIDDEN from cooperation with the U.S. when it comes to resupply efforts. I have sent requests for information to both partner nations to confirm the restrictions regarding resupply efforts for Niger (exhibit 4 &5)
- O A lack of reliable potable water presents risk to mission as well as sustainment for extended operations is threatened due to requirements for locally-sourced drinking water from host-nation sources that have failed inspection and do not meet U.S. DoD potability standards and U.S. forces are prohibited from identifying or accessing third-country sources of safe water, such as from Ghana.

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#### Great Power Competition and Risk to Mission:

- According to a senior staff non-commissioned officer, a "great power competitor" (unidentified by source) is present and increasing influence in Niger. They are within the wire of AB101 and have an increasingly close relationship with CNSP.
  - Note: As of April 12, 2024, after the above report from AB101, U.S. media is reporting growing influence of Russian forces in Niger.1
- Our near-peer adversaries are gaining unfettered access to Niger while our Department of State misrepresents the truth and intentionally buries assessments of our intelligence experts in the region to maintain the façade.
- Counterintelligence concerns are great and near-pear adversaries' physical positioning increases tax on U.S. manpower, further curtailing mission needs.



#### **Exorbitant Costs:**

o Not including salaries for nearly 1,100 DoD service members and civilians, it costs nearly \$100k a month for WIFI and host-nation vehicle leases for them to sit in their berthing and parking lots respectively; and \$150-200k per month on food and water, acquired via host-nation contracts, that often provide necessities that do not pass U.S. standards for edibility or potability and are therefore unusable.

#### **Diplomatic Overflight Clearances:**

- Diplomatic Overflight clearances—a nation's permission for U.S. aircraft to enter their airspace—are being completely dismissed by Niger/CNSP. No flights are authorized by Niger to enter or exit the country in support of DoD efforts or requirements. Note: civilian airlines have not been affected.
  - Mail, food, equipment, parts, medical supplies, etc. are being prevented from reaching AB101.
  - Replacement personnel en route for relief in place/transfer of authority (RIP/TOA) are being prevented from arriving. They are stuck in EUCOM awaiting clearance to travel to AB101 to execute RIP/TOA, or have not yet departed the continental United States due to impacts.
- Air Force Major General Kenneth Ekman, AFRICOM J5, Director of Strategy, Engagement and Programs' (right), entry to negotiate a resumption of diplomatic overflight clearances has been denied multiple times in recent weeks.
- Senior Defense Official/Defense Attaché Colonel Nelson-Richter has been one of the main actors knowingly lying about the diplomatic reality. She allegedly lied on a conference call with 56 outstations about the aforementioned 2-star general being prevented access to Niger.



#### Visas:

CNSP has instituted new visa requirements, which impact both U.S. uniformed DoD but also contractors, as their visas to work in support of DoD are expiring. They are not issuing any new or renewal visas, so contractors must depart when they expire. CTRs support operations but also logistics and base management.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Russian soldiers arrive in Niger as relationship with U.S. deteriorates," Washington Post, April 12, 2024.



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- Medical Shortages: Base personnel have expressed how medical supplies are strained:
  - o The blood bank at AB101, which needs constant replenishment due to routine expiration, is not being rotated for use in the event of a mass casualty or medical emergency.
  - o In May, critical medications will run out for individual service members, they have repeatedly reached out for assistance but their strategic higher headquarters such as AFRICOM routinely overlook their concerns and those of AB101s higher chain of command, or simply do not provide relief or guidance for resolution.
  - O Service members who require medication for care of acute or chronic issues are facing the running-out of their prescriptions, as no resupply is available.
  - o According to a service member at AB101, malaria medication, as well as other medications, are running low:
    - "On average, throughout the EABS, each person has an average of 23 days of medication left. The fewest amount is 7 and the highest is 80 pills. Role 1 (Medical) has 1800 pills in stock which equates to a 9-day supply if each EABS member were given an equal number of pills. One consideration, it is illegal to share prescription medication even if it is the same type of medicine."
    - AB101 has solicited the help of the U.S. Embassy but has been informed that embassy resupplies are unable to be redirected to AB101 and that they would be sufficient.
  - o Hygiene is also another concern as the camp runs exceedingly low on personal hygiene supplies, with only a few days' or weeks' worth remaining for a camp of over 400 personnel.

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#### **Conclusion:**

Our troops are currently sitting on a powder keg caused by political indecision at the top of the Department of State and Department of Defense. With a military junta in charge—who detests our presence and considers us unserious and predatory—the situation seems to be setting the groundwork for catastrophic diplomatic collapse like we saw during the 2012 Benghazi attack. Additionally, these troops are already running short on necessary, life-saving supplies, such as blood and medications. I have sent letters to the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the Intelligence Community demanding answers on their cover-up and any exculpatory documents in their possession. I have also written letters to the Embassies of Germany and Italy to inquire about any directives or decrees they have received from the Nigeriens regarding cooperation with U.S. forces in-country.

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Matt Gaetz

United States Congressman, Florida's First Congressional District United States House of Representatives

April 17, 2024

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#### OFFICE OF CONGRESSMAN MATT GAETZ

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#### Unwelcome in Niger

#### Exhibit 1

Dear Congressman Johnson,

I am writing to express my deep concern regarding the actions taken by the U.S. Embassy in Niger, particularly involving the Ambassador, Kathleen A. FitzGibbon and the Senior Defense Official/Defense Attaché (SDO/DATT), Colonel Nora J. Nelson-Richter. The recent events have raised serious questions about the conduct and decision-making of these officials, and I believe Congress must address these issues

As a service member deployed to Niger, Africa, I have noticed that the Embassy, and more specifically the SDO/DATT, intentionally suppressed intelligence information from the ground force collection elements to maintain the facade of a great country-to-country relationship. They failed to be transparent with U.S. service members deployed to this country. They gave a pretense that "things are being worked" and "that is above our level," all the while Diplomatic Overflight Clearances for U.S. Military aircraft were purposefully not being approved by the country's Military Government as a political bargaining chip to entice the U.S. Government back to negotiate their withdrawal.

Since July 23rd, the day of the Coup d'etat, the Americans deployed here have not been able to perform their primary mission and have been told to "sit and hold." It is clear that the country of Niger does not want a permanent military presence in their country and they have informed us that we need to leave. At this time, there are approximately 1,100 U.S Military Service Members in the country who are essentially being held hostage from returning home to their families while the State Department continues with failed diplomacy by not communicating with the Country of Niger on what their withdrawal plan would look like after the Status of Forces Agreement was repudiated by the Host Nation. Additionally, the government of Niger is not processing Visas for U.S. members for entry into the country, which is especially concerning considering that all US forces were scheduled to end a six-month deployment early this month when relief forces arrived. The Embassy failed to share any of this information with decision-makers at any level in the Department of Defense regarding this, further complicating our ability to conduct that swap of personnel.

These actions have deeply troubled me and many others in the community at home, as well as all the service members deployed here with me, and their families back in the States. Our diplomatic and defense representatives need to uphold the highest standards of professionalism and ethical conduct, especially in sensitive regions like Niger. The actions taken by the embassy officials not only reflect poorly on the United States but also have potential implications for our bilateral relations with other Partner Nations and the safety of our personnel in the region.

As a concerned citizen, I urge you to use your position and influence to investigate these matters and hold the responsible parties accountable thoroughly. Transparency and accountability are fundamental to the integrity of our diplomatic and defense institutions, and any misconduct or negligence must be addressed promptly and decisively.

I trust that you will take appropriate action to ensure that the necessary inquiries and corrective measures are undertaken. It is vital for the reputation and effectiveness of our diplomatic and defense efforts in Niger, Africa, and beyond.

Thank you for your attention to this important issue. I look forward to your leadership in addressing these concerns.

Sincerely,

\_\_\_, USAF

Air Base 101, Niamey



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#### Unwelcome in Niger

#### Exhibit 2

MATT GAETZ

1ST DISTRICT, FLORIDA

ARMED SERVICES
COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515

April 17, 2024

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 2021 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON, DC 20515 (202) 225-4136

> DISTRICT OFFICE: 226 SOUTH PALAFOX PLACE 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR PENSACOLA, FL 32502 (850) 479-1183

https://gaetz.house.gov

Honorable Lloyd Austin III Secretary of Defense 1400 Defense Pentagon Washington, DC 20301-1400

Dear Secretary Austin:

I am writing to formally request all Department of Defense (DoD) reports, emails, and information on U.S. security assessments, resupply efforts, and funds expended pertaining to U.S. troops stationed in Niger on Air Base 101 and 201 (AB101 and AB201). Additionally, please provide all correspondence and reports from Senior Defense Official/Defense Attache Colonel Nora Nelson-Richter on her perspective on the U.S. security assessments, resupply efforts, and funds expended pertaining to U.S. forces stationed in Niger on AB101 and AB201, and any contradictory information in her possession.

Specifically, please provide responses to the following questions:

- 1) What is the current status of the U.S. security cooperation and status of forces agreements with Niger?
- 2) Has the U.S. been instructed to leave Niger, cease military operations in the region, or been confined to AB101 and or AB201, by any elements of the ruling junta in Niger, to include the National Council for the Safeguard of the Fatherland (CNSP)? If so, provide the correspondence from the ruling junta.
- 3) Have Russian troops inhabited, comingled, or assumed any space on AB101 or AB201 in Niger or within line-of-sight? If so, what steps have/will the DoD take to address security concerns?
- 4) Is the DoD paying the CNSP any form of compensation to occupy or operate AB101 or AB201?
- 5) Has the DoD compiled, submitted, or received reports from the Office of Special Investigations, Special Operations Command Africa, or any other intelligence element that suggests or raises the concern that suggests that U.S. forces should be removed from Niger? If so, provide me with those reports.
- 6) Have the U.S. Diplomatic overflight clearances in Niger been rejected?
- 7) Has Major General Kenneth Ekman, USAF, AFRICOM J5, repeatedly requested or attempted to enter Niger and subsequently been denied?
- 8) Have resupply flights to U.S. service members, such as mail, food, equipment, parts, medical supplies, etc. been prevented or restricted from reaching AB101 and or AB201?
- 9) Are service members on AB101 and AB201 running low on blood-bank replenishment due to a lack of resupply?
- 10) Has the DoD been unable to perform replacement personnel efforts as part of relief in place/transition of authority, at AB101 or AB201?
- 11) Are our partner nations in the region, including but not limited to Italy and Germany, forbidden from cooperation with the U.S. when assisting with resupply or any other logistical support related to supplies?
- 12) Has Niger refused to facilitate any visa renewals?
- 13) How much money is the DoD spending each month on food and water for service members in Niger despite no actual off-base operations taking place due to the recent coup? How much of the food and water is rejected due to a failure to meet safety standards?
- 14) What is the Department's plan for ensuring resupply and allowing RIP/TOA and effective retrograde of current occupants of AB101 or AB201 in the face of diplomatic breakdown?

Please coordinate with my Military Legislative Assistant, Mr. Derrick Miller, at <u>Derrick.Miller@mail.house.gov</u> by no later than May 15, 2024, to transmit a report with the relevant information.

Sincerely,

Matt Gaetz Member of Congress

cc: The Honorable Milancy Harris Acting Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence and Security cc: General Michael E. Langley Commander, Africa Command U.S. Africa Command cc: The Honorable Avril Haines Director of National Intelligence



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#### Exhibit 3

MATT GAETZ 1<sup>ST</sup> DISTRICT, FLORIDA

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE ON THE

Congress of the United States House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515 WASHINGTON OFFICE: 2021 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON, DC 20515 (202) 225-4136

> DISTRICT OFFICE: 226 SOUTH PALAFOX PLACE 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR PENSACOLA, FL 32502 (850) 479-1183

> > https://gaetz.house.gov

April 17, 2024

Honorable Antony Blinken Secretary Department of State 2201 C Street NW Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Blinken:

Pursuant to my constitutional duty to conduct proper oversight of a concerning, developing situation in Niger, I am formally requesting documents from the Department of State pertaining to the diplomatic status, movement restrictions, and military presence in the country.

Specifically, please transmit information regarding and provide responses to the following:

- 1) What is the current status of the U.S. security cooperation and status of forces (SOFA) agreements with Niger?
- 2) What is the current assessment of U.S. Ambassadors Niamey or FitzGibbon on the status and path forward on the security cooperation and SOFA agreements with Niger?
- 3) What have Ambassador FitzGibbon and Senior Defense Official/Defense Attaché Colonel Nora Nelson-Richter communicated regarding this matter to the Department of Defense and/or the Ground Force Commanders of Air Base 101 and Air Base 201?
- 4) Has the ruling junta in Niger, the National Council for the Safeguard of the Fatherland (CNSP), revoked, suspended, or otherwise indicated a dissolution of the security cooperation agreement or SOFA between the U.S. and Niger?
- 5) Have any U.S. Diplomatic Overflight operations or meeting requests in or with Niger been rejected or suspended?
- 6) Is the U.S. Embassy Niger aware of impacts to Department of Defense operations by rejected Diplomatic Overflight clearances due to diplomatic breakdown?
- 7) Has the Niger government refused to facilitate any visa renewals between the U.S. and Niger?
- 8) What is the U.S. Embassy's plan to alleviate the resupply and relief in place/transfer of authority concerns of U.S. service members deployed to Airbase 101 and Airbase 201 in Niger?

Please coordinate with my Military Legislative Assistant, Mr. Derrick Miller, at <u>Derrick.Miller@mail.house.gov</u> by no later than May 15, 2024, to transmit a report with the relevant information.

Sincerely,

Member of Congress



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Exhibit 4

MATT GAETZ 1<sup>ST</sup> DISTRICT, FLORIDA

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515 WASHINGTON OFFICE: 2021 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON, DC 20515 (202) 225-4136

> DISTRICT OFFICE: 805 E James Lee Blvd Crestview, FL 32539 (850) 479-1183

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April 17, 2024

Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany 4645 Reservoir Road, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007

Ambassador Michaelis:

Through discussions with United States service members on active duty in Niger, I have learned of the logistical and diplomatic difficulties facing our troops in the country. I have also learned that it is possible that the presumptive government in Niger has made clear to your nation that you are not to provide routine logistical support to the United States in that country. For this reason, I write with questions for you:

- (1) Please describe any operational assistance you currently provide to the United States. Does this assistance include occasionally bringing in personal mail, care packages, or medical supplies for the United States? What else does this include?
- (2) Has the current Le Conseil national pour la sauvegarde de la patrie (CNSP) government in Niger made clear to Germany that it is prohibited from (or limited in any way in) providing operational assistance to the United States within Niger?
- (3) Has this direction been memorialized in any formal document, such as an updated bilateral "Status of Forces Agreement" or equivalent between your nation and the CNSP government of Niger?

I respectfully request your response by April 26, 2024, through whatever communications line you think appropriate.

Cordially,

Member of Congress



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#### Unwelcome in Niger

Exhibit 5

MATT GAETZ 1<sup>ST</sup> DISTRICT, FLORIDA

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

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DISTRICT OFFICE: 805 E James Lee Blvd Crestview, FL 32539 (850) 479-1183

https://gaetz.house.gov

April 18, 2024

Embassy of Italy 3000 Whitehaven Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008

Ambassador Zappia:

Through discussions with United States service members on active duty in Niger, I have learned of the logistical and diplomatic difficulties facing our troops in the country. I have also learned that it is possible that the presumptive government in Niger has made clear to your nation that you are not to provide routine logistical support to the United States in that country. For this reason, I write with questions for you:

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Cordially,

Member of Congress