

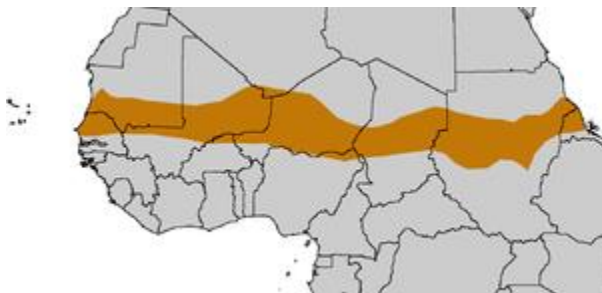


PF January 2014 Pro Analysis

The current NFL Public Forum resolution, **Resolved: Development assistance should be prioritized over military aid in the Sahel region of Africa**, asks debaters to look at one tumultuous area of the globe and weigh the utility of two different types of international intervention. These debates will involve questions about the complex relationships between economic development, conflict, security, and human rights, as well as how foreign aid affects local populations. Today, we're going to take a look at the pro side of this topic.

In this resolution, the pro side is asked to defend that, for the Sahel region, development assistance is of greater importance than military aid. Let's begin by looking at exactly what those terms mean.

Where is the Sahel region? The Sahel region is a specific geographic area in Africa, spanning the continent from East to West. It marks the area between the Sahara desert, to its North, and Sudanian Savanna, to the South.



(Here's a map, courtesy Wikipedia)



According to the [Syngenta Foundation for Sustainable Agriculture](#), the countries included in the Sahel region are Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. As you can see from the map, not all of each country is included. This is because the Sahel is defined biogeographically (meaning based on physical conditions: climate, topography, vegetation, soil, etc.) rather than geopolitically (meaning determined by national borders). However, it's unlikely that your debates will come down to questions of where *exactly* to draw the edges of the Sahel. The easiest way to be safe, if you're concerned, is to cut cards that refer directly to the Sahel region by name.

What is development assistance? According to the [Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development \(OECD\)](#), which is an international organization focused on trade and economic growth, "development assistance" is defined as:

"Flows of official financing administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as the main objective, and which are concessional in character with a grant element of at least 25 percent (using a fixed 10 percent rate of discount). By convention, ODA flows comprise contributions of donor government agencies, at all levels, to developing countries ("bilateral ODA") and to multilateral institutions. ODA receipts comprise disbursements by bilateral donors and multilateral institutions. Lending by export credit agencies—with the pure purpose of export promotion—is excluded."

In other words, in order to be considered development assistance, financial transfers (money given) must be primarily "concessional," which means at least 25% of it must be a *grant* (given without expectation of repayment) rather than a *loan* (given with the expectation of repayment, usually with interest). Additionally, the purpose of the money must be to encourage economic development and/or citizen welfare within the target country.

What is military aid? There isn't just one legal definition of "military aid," and existing United States programs in this category take many shapes. However, MA can be broadly understood as any aid given



to assist another nation (or, sometimes, nongovernmental entity) in its national security and defense efforts. For example, it might include money, weapons, equipment, or military training. It might be given to fight terrorism or insurgency within some country, or to help rebels fight a revolution against a hostile sitting government. The important component is that the assistance concerns itself with *military or defense objectives*.

What does it mean to prioritize? This might seem obvious, but it's an important consideration. Intuitively, [Merriam-Webster](#) defines it as "to organize (things) so that the most important thing is done or dealt with first." In order to win this debate, then, the pro side needs to establish that development assistance is more important than military aid. To do this, you need to set up a weighing mechanism that benefits you. For example, you may want your resolitional analysis to suggest that "most important" means most net beneficial, i.e. creates more good outcomes than bad ones. You might want to defend saving human lives as our primary concern, or you may want to consider quality of life. Keep in mind that your weighing mechanism should be one which benefits you in the context of the rest of the arguments you want to make. So, if you say "we should prioritize that which saves the most lives," you better be ready to win that development assistance saves more lives than military aid!

Because of the word "prioritize," winning pro debates doesn't necessarily require you to win that military aid is bad, or even that it isn't important. It only requires you to win that development assistance is *more important*. However, if you'd prefer to build your strategy around indicting military aid, that's an acceptable way to do things, as well. Just realize that you don't *have to* win that military aid is bad, as long as you win that development assistance is *better*.

Now that we know exactly what we're debating about, let's consider some possible angles for pro-side argumentation.

First, you may want to argue that **military aid is ineffective or harmful** for some reason. This will help you defend against con team impacts, improving your chances as you weigh your case. For example, you



could argue that development is a prerequisite to the success of any security-oriented operations. This allows you to capture solvency for your opponents' impacts, which is extremely strategic.

Here is a piece of **evidence** from a very qualified source which compares development to military efforts and concludes that too much focus on military efforts may actually undermine security goals:

(Princeton N. Lyman, former U.S. ambassador to Nigeria and South Africa, former Asst. Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, & Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies with the Council of Foreign Relations, "The War on Terrorism in Africa," reprinted from Africa in World Politics by John Harbeson- Westview Press, http://www.cfr.org/content/thinktank/Lyman_chapter_Terrorism.pdf, 4th edition, 2009)

Two major challenges now loom in the African and American responses to terrorism. Generally, many Africans and some American critics are very concerned that the new Africa Command and other U.S. anti-terrorism programs signal an increased militarization of U.S. policy in Africa. These critics argue that only a continual intensive attack on the root causes of terrorism and violence, that is, poverty, authoritarianism, discrimination, weak states, and similar conditions, will effectively combat such threats. They contend that a focus that relies too heavily on security will encourage authoritarian practices and undermine Africa's move toward more democratic governance. The style and focus of the unified Africa Command will be a closely watched measure of whether the United States pursues its counterterrorism policies with the requisite sensitivity, breadth of programming, and balance that is required.

Additionally, you will want to **prepare a conceptual defense of development assistance**. Con teams are likely to read evidence claiming that development assistance fails (such as because the money doesn't go where it's most needed) or is actively harmful (such as because it disrupts local markets, distorts economies, creates dependency, etc.), so expect to put in some time here.



Here is an excellent piece of **evidence** which argues that development assistance is critical to security objectives, and is more effective and efficient at achieving them than military efforts.

(Lt. Gen. John R. Allen, deputy commander of U.S. Central Command, “Exclusive Interview with CENTCOM’s Lt. Gen. John R. Allen, Frontlines magazine, USAID, April/May 2011, <http://www.usaid.gov/news-information/frontlines/global-healthiraq/exclusive-interview-centcoms-lt-gen-john-r-allen>)

Those of us who’ve been honored to serve alongside development professionals understand that USAID delivers strategic effects which can strengthen U.S. relationships around the world and improve the qualities of governance, economic opportunity, and life for millions of our friends overseas. Interestingly, I would venture to guess that if you were to interview families from across the CENTCOM region, far more children have personally seen the USAID logo than have ever personally seen an American soldier. USAID has a significant impact and reach across our AOR [area of responsibility] and few understand that as well as the military.

In many respects, USAID’s efforts can do as much—over the long term—to prevent conflict as the deterrent effect of a carrier strike group or a marine expeditionary force.

There are adversaries in the CENTCOM region who understand and respect American hard power, but they genuinely fear American soft power frequently wielded in the form of USAID projects. While the hard power of the military can create trade, space, time, and a viable security environment, the soft power of USAID and the development community can deliver strategic effects and outcomes for decades, affecting generations. Ensuring our American development community is properly resourced is an investment in the future to create the strategic conditions we seek to sustain stability and economic development in CENTCOM’s region.

FL: Even in non-conflict areas, we operate under the basic idea that our investments and programs contribute to a more prosperous and stable world overall (and often at significantly lower cost than deploying our military). However, there are those who dispute this argument and view expenditures on



others as a luxury that we can ill-afford at this time. Do you believe USAID's activities are really a sound investment to save our "blood and treasure" in the future?

Allen: The development programs carried out by USAID directly support the president's National Security Strategy and are a sound expenditure of our nation's precious resources. As you note, some do feel that expending funds in support of development projects is a luxury. This argument complements the ever increasing concerns over the economic realities facing our government. The fiscal pie is only so big and the ability to carve out a larger slice—no matter who you are—will only continue to become more challenging.

As I enter my 40th year of service, I have enough experience to be comfortable stating that the important role played by USAID, as well as other development-focused organizations, will only continue to grow. Why? Because across all the world's societies, there are common aspirations that tend to be remarkably close. In fact, they are nearly universal. Most people have an interest in three basic things: ensuring their basic needs of food, shelter, and medical care, are met; being able to worship in peace; and providing a better life, or at least better opportunities, for our children.

While all of these factors are underwritten by a secure environment, they can only advance when supported by development activities, ideally through their own governments. As the world's population grows, and as societies increasingly find it difficult to make ends meet, it will fall to the development community and entities such as USAID to help both partner and host nations face the social challenges they will encounter. Failed societies create security crises, whereas stable societies do not. In the future, USAID will be ever more relevant to enabling stability and precluding security crises as it contributes to the long-term policy and security objectives of the United States, particularly within the CENTCOM area of responsibility. As a result, CENTCOM will continue, where possible, to be good partners with USAID. As we work together, we indeed do so with the intent of investing in sweat up front, so we do not have to pay in "blood and treasure" in the future in achieving our vital missions.



Here's more **evidence**. This card isn't as good as the previous one, because it doesn't directly compare military aid and development assistance. However, it is useful as a defense of the concept of development assistance, and why it's beneficial.

(The Foreign Policy Initiative, nonprofit foreign policy think tank, "FPI Analysis: Foreign Aid Advances U.S. Security, Prosperity, and Global Leadership," <http://www.foreignpolicyi.org/content/fpi-analysis-foreign-aid-advances-us-security-prosperity-and-global-leadership>, Feb 25 2013)

America's commitment to foreign aid reflects not only the nation's moral character, but also its economic and strategic interests. As a result, U.S. foreign assistance has enjoyed a long history of strong bipartisan support. As then-Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice explained in October 2008: "For the United States, supporting international development is more than just an expression of our compassion. It is a vital investment in the free, prosperous, and peaceful international order that fundamentally serves our national interest."

First, foreign aid promotes national security by helping to fight the causes of terrorism, stabilize weak states, and promote regional-level security and global stability. To take a key example, foreign assistance is playing a crucial role in America's larger struggle to combat conditions that can spawn terrorism—namely, poverty, weak institutions, and corruption—by promoting economic development, good governance, and transparency in the Middle East and South Asia. General John Allen, until recently Commander of U.S. Forces in Afghanistan, made this very point in support of development in April 2011 when he was Deputy Commander of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), the combatant command that plans and conducts military operations in the Middle East and South Asia:

"There are adversaries in the CENTCOM region who understand and respect American hard power, but they genuinely fear American soft power frequently wielded in the form of USAID projects. While the hard power of the military can create trade, space, time, and a viable security environment, the soft power of USAID and the development community can deliver strategic effects and outcomes for decades, affecting generations. Ensuring our American development community is properly resourced is an investment in the future to create the strategic conditions we seek to sustain stability and economic development in CENTCOM's region."



Second, foreign aid promotes prosperity and self-reliance by encouraging economic development and private enterprise in aid-recipient countries, as well as opening and developing international markets for the United States.

For example, after the Korean War ended in 1953, the United States made a strategic decision to use foreign assistance and other tools to help rebuild, over time, South Korea's economy, military, and political institutions. Today, Seoul is now not only a vibrant democracy and one of Washington's most important allies in the Asia-Pacific, but also a significant donor of foreign aid. What's more, South Korea is today America's seventh largest trading partner, with a free-trade agreement with the United States that entered into force in March 2012, and is projected to expand America's annual exports by roughly \$10 billion, add 70,000 U.S. jobs, and grow America's gross domestic product (GDP) by as much as \$11 billion.

Similarly, Colombia's remarkable transformation illustrates the positive role foreign assistance can play in support of key U.S. friends and allies. In 2001, Colombia was on the verge of collapse in the face of a powerful narco-insurgency. Today, with the help of nearly \$8.6 billion in U.S. economic and military aid, the threat from narco-terrorist groups has diminished, and Colombia's democracy now is thriving. What's more, U.S. trade in goods with Colombia has tripled since 2000 to \$12 billion in 2011, and is set to grow further now that the U.S.-Colombia free-trade agreement has entered into force.

The key argument is that prosperous societies are more resilient against corruption, terrorism, and conflict than less-developed societies. This means only development assistance can truly solve the root cause of many international problems, and military aid alone is doomed, because it doesn't address this root cause. Problems are thus doomed to reoccur. Moreover, development also benefits the U.S. and the global economy directly by creating better trade partners.

You could also choose to defend only one (or two or three) specific types of development assistance, and claim that **generic indictments of DA are irrelevant**. "We have to win that *some kinds* of development assistance are good," you can argue, "not that *every instance* of development assistance is good." Any



cards they read that aren't specific could then be considered non-responsive. This will help you get out of some of those generic "development assistance fails" indictments.

Finally, here is a piece of **evidence** that offers a generic defense against claims that aid efforts are riddled with inefficiency and corruption:

(The Foreign Policy Initiative, nonprofit foreign policy think tank, "FPI Analysis: Foreign Aid Advances U.S. Security, Prosperity, and Global Leadership," <http://www.foreignpolicyi.org/content/fpi-analysis-foreign-aid-advances-us-security-prosperity-and-global-leadership>, Feb 25 2013)

Make no mistake: the goal of results-driven foreign assistance is to help America's partners become self-reliant. Towards that end, the United States is working to provide foreign aid in ways that are more transparent, accountable, and more effective. While it is true that certain development programs faced challenges in the past, over the last decade Washington has increasingly embraced new—and arguably revolutionary—approaches to foreign aid reform. Today, new and innovative programs are using measurable and verifiable metrics to ensure development funds are received and effectively used by the projects and people they were intended to assist.

Now, you may want to generate **impacts** from specific problems, and claim DA can solve them. Here are some major possibilities:

One serious problem facing the Sahel region is **hunger**. Weather has caused this year's harvests in the region to be rather poor, decreasing the availability of food. There might not be enough to go around, resulting in people going hungry. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is already calling for international involvement to combat this growing problem. Here's **evidence**:



(Jennifer Lazuta, Voice of America News, "Poor harvests in Sahel could affect food security again," <http://www.voanews.com/content/poor-harvests-in-sahel-could-affect-food-security-again/1805505.html>, December 6 2013)

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) says cereal harvests across much of Africa's Sahel region are expected to decline following late and erratic rains this year. The FAO warns that, as in past years, this could threaten food security in the region unless early intervention measures are taken.

The FAO says crop production in several Sahelian countries is likely to be significantly lower this year. A delayed start and early end to the rainy season caused poor grain and cereal harvests across the region.

In their latest Crop Prospects and Food Situation report, the FAO said Chad is facing the biggest decline in cereal production, nearly 25 percent. Senegal, Niger and Mali are also expected to be hard hit. In these areas, crop production is expected to fall by between 11 and 18 percent from last year.

Jean Senahoun is an economist at the FAO's Trade and Market Division.

"What that means is that, as you know, the Sahel region has been hit by series of food crises in recent years. Starting in 2005, then 2007, 2009, and most recently, in 2012, there was another food crisis. That means that the coping capacity of the population has been really affected, it has been weakened. [People] are very vulnerable to any new production shock. So that is why we are putting out this early warning," said Senahoun.

Evidence suggests that this crisis is worsening, and 16 million people throughout the Sahel may be affected. This card also calls for assistance:

(Reuters, "16m at risk of hunger in Sahel region, Eye Witness News, <http://ewn.co.za/2013/12/11/16m-at-risk-of-hunger-in-Africas-Sahel>, December 11 2013)

16 million people are at risk of hunger across Africa's Sahel belt next year due to conflicts and rapid population growth despite good harvests and rainfall, a senior UN official said on Tuesday.



Violence in northern Nigeria, northern Mali and the Central African Republic, along with high fertility rates has caused food shortages and high food prices across the savannah region. In Niger alone, the fertility rate is 7,6 children per mother.

A global economic downturn and the preoccupation with wars such as that in Syria have made it harder to raise donor funds for Sahel-type humanitarian crises, Robert Piper of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs said.

Latest OCHA figures show that only 58 percent of the required \$1,7 billion for 2013 has been met by donors. Piper told the Thomson Reuters Foundation before the launch of a funding appeal.

OCHA examined the incidence of “food insecurity”, which means conditions in which people are unable to maintain their normal diet, often because of a crisis such as drought, floods, political instability or price rises.

Food insecurity in the Sahel next year will increase by 40 percent compared to 2013 when 11,3 million people had inadequate food and required around \$1,7 billion in donor assistance, according to preliminary OCHA data.

The Sahel crisis is getting away from us. The numbers are getting bigger even though the harvest this year has been fractionally better than the average over the last five years,” said Piper, OCHA’s coordinator for the Sahel.

You can obviously argue that food shortages cause famine and death due to starvation. You can also discuss the possibility of resource wars, which are much more likely to occur when people are aggravated about lack of access to important resources, or terrorist recruitment efforts being far easier amongst populations who suffer and lack basic requirements, such as food.

As was hinted at above, development aid can also bolster **economic growth** for the United States. This is because, as nations develop, they become more active trade partners. You can argue that economic growth is important for a variety of reasons, such as because trade relationships deter wars, growth improves American power projection internationally, or because prosperity increases quality of life for citizens. Just make sure you are identifying an impact to why growth is good!



Here's **evidence** supporting the idea that development assistance grows the American economy and improves our overall global power:

(The Foreign Policy Initiative, nonprofit foreign policy think tank, "FPI Analysis: Foreign Aid Advances U.S. Security, Prosperity, and Global Leadership," <http://www.foreignpolicyi.org/content/fpi-analysis-foreign-aid-advances-us-security-prosperity-and-global-leadership>, Feb 25 2013)

Critics often fail to appreciate how U.S. foreign aid can help to create opportunities for American companies and exports by opening markets and encouraging economic liberalization. As then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton elaborated in July 2011:

"The 1 percent of our budget we spend on all diplomacy and development is not what is driving our deficit. Not only can we afford to maintain a strong civilian presence; we cannot afford not to. The simple truth is if we don't seize the opportunities available today, other countries will. Other countries will fight for their companies while ours fend for themselves. Other countries will promote their own models and serve their own interests instead of opening markets, reinforcing the rule of law, and creating widespread inclusive growth. Other countries will create the jobs that should be created here, and even claim the mantle of global leadership. None of us want to see that happen, and I don't believe most of the people around the world do either."

A concern related to economic growth is **poverty**. You can argue that economic development raises people in lesser-developed countries out of poverty, improves their access to basic human dignities, and improves their overall quality of life. Evidence on this will be widely available. The humanitarian concern of poverty can be linked back to security imperatives (as discussed above) or can be spun into an argument about moral or ethical responsibility to others.

Similarly, development can assist in **controlling diseases, bolstering democratic institutions, and increasing education**. It should not be difficult at all for you to locate a wealth of evidence supporting



development assistance on the basis of each of these objectives. Here is a piece of **evidence** that speaks to all of them:

(The Foreign Policy Initiative, nonprofit foreign policy think tank, "FPI Analysis: Foreign Aid Advances U.S. Security, Prosperity, and Global Leadership," <http://www.foreignpolicyi.org/content/fpi-analysis-foreign-aid-advances-us-security-prosperity-and-global-leadership>, Feb 25 2013)

Third, foreign assistance advances America's moral values and humanitarian interests by saving lives, fighting poverty and hunger, combating infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS, promoting education, and bolstering democratic institutions. For example, President George W. Bush launched the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) in 2003 to battle the spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa. In conjunction with the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Malaria, and Tuberculosis, PEPFAR has achieved real and objective results. As President Bush recounted in December 2010:

"In this crisis, we needed not only more resources but also to use them differently. So we put in place a unified command structure; set clear, ambitious, measurable goals; insisted on accountability; and made sure that host governments took leadership and responsibility. The results came more quickly than many of us expected. Early in 2003, there were perhaps 50,000 people in sub-Saharan Africa on AIDS treatment. Today, thanks to America, other donor nations and the tireless work of Africans themselves, nearly 4 million are. Fragile nations have been stabilized, making progress possible in other areas of development."

That wraps it up for this month! Of course, there are countless other arguments you could make that are not discussed here. You are encouraged to do your own research, pursue your own ideas, and get creative. Hopefully this guide provided some solid ground on which to find your footing in this topic.

Now you should be ready to go craft an excellent case and win all of your pro debates! As always, you can email completed cases to **Rachel.Stevens@NCPA.org** for a free case critique. Don't forget to also join the discussion in the comments below, and keep checking back for more Debate Central postings about this month's PF topic. Good luck!