

government regulation of media companies is more restricted due to the First Amendment. Sensitive to this, James P. Rubin, Special Envoy and Coordinator of the Global Engagement Center, has advocated “find[ing] ways to label those information operations that are generated by the Chinese government or the Kremlin but to which they don’t admit.”⁵⁴ “In principle every government should be free to convey their views, but they should have to admit who they are,” he said in an interview.⁵⁵ “What is wrong,” he said, “is a covert operation to manipulate information by secretly inserting it into the system without a made-in-the-Kremlin stamp on it. When people read this stuff they should know it comes from the Russian government, and it is legitimate to point that out without anyone trying to censor anyone’s thoughts or opinions.”⁵⁶ “In the end,” he concluded, “that is all I know we can do right now without interfering with a free press.”⁵⁷

The United States Designates the Overthrow of Niger’s Government a “Coup d’Etat”
doi:10.1017/ajil.2024.35

More than two months after the ouster of President Mohamed Bazoum, the United States announced in October 2023 that it had “concluded that a military coup d’etat has taken place in Niger.”¹ Nigerien soldiers had confined President Bazoum to the presidential palace on July 26, 2023, and declared that he had been removed from office due to “the deteriorating security situation and bad governance.”² That day, Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken “call[ed] for [President Bazoum’s] immediate release” and “condemn[ed] any effort to seize power by force.”³ But neither Secretary Blinken nor National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan, who “strongly condemn[ed] any effort to detain or subvert the functioning of Niger’s democratically elected government, led by President Bazoum,” referred to the military’s action as a “coup.”⁴ Under Section 7008 of the Foreign Assistance Act,⁵ that designation would have

Satariano, *Illicit Content on Elon Musk’s X Draws E.U. Investigation*, N.Y. TIMES (Dec. 18, 2023), at <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/18/technology/x-twitter-european-union-investigation.html>.

⁵⁴ Patrick Wintour, *US Leading Global Alliance to Counter Foreign Government Disinformation*, GUARDIAN (Feb. 26, 2024), at <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2024/feb/26/us-leading-global-alliance-to-counter-foreign-government-disinformation> (quoting Special Envoy Rubin).

⁵⁵ *Id.*

⁵⁶ *Id.*

⁵⁷ *Id.*

¹ U.S. Dep’t of State Press Release, *Military Coup d’Etat in Niger* (Oct. 10, 2023), at <https://www.state.gov/military-coup-detat-in-niger> [<https://perma.cc/6TLR-VFUC>] [hereinafter *Coup d’Etat in Niger*].

² See Rachel Chason & Dan Lamothe, *Soldiers in Niger Claim President Is Ousted in Coup*, WASH. POST (July 27, 2023), at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/07/26/niger-president-ousted-coup/>.

³ U.S. Dep’t of State Press Release, *Secretary Antony J. Blinken and New Zealand Nanaia Mahuta at a Joint Press Availability* (July 26, 2023), at <https://www.state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-and-new-zealand-nanaia-mahuta-at-a-joint-press-availability> [<https://perma.cc/Z7Y7-C8DV>].

⁴ White House Press Release, *Statement from National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan on Developments in Niger* (July 26, 2023), at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/07/26/statement-from-national-security-advisor-jake-sullivan-on-developments-in-niger> [<https://perma.cc/W4ZX-C7JN>].

⁵ The act currently prohibits certain appropriations, with some exceptions, from “be[ing] obligated or expended to finance directly any assistance to the government of any country whose duly elected head of government is deposed by military coup d’etat or decree or . . . a coup d’etat or decree in which the military plays a decisive

prohibited the United States from providing military assistance and other forms of aid to Niger, a critical partner in U.S. counterterrorism operations.⁶ Secretary Blinken warned that “[t]he very significant assistance that we have in place[—that] is making a material difference in the lives of the people of Niger[—] is clearly in jeopardy. And we’ve communicated that as clearly as we possibly can to those responsible for disrupting the constitutional order.”⁷ But neither the condemnations nor the warnings made by Secretary Blinken and other members of the administration were heeded by Niger’s military rulers in July or in the months thereafter. With the determination in October that a coup had taken place, the prohibition on U.S. assistance kicked in.⁸ A few weeks later, President Joseph R. Biden, Jr. notified Congress of his intention to terminate Niger’s African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) benefits.⁹ Diplomatic efforts over the following months to reconcile the two countries failed. On March 17, 2024, the Nigerien regime announced that it was ending its cooperation with the U.S. military and ordered the withdrawal of U.S. troops.¹⁰

Niger has been a key U.S. counterterrorism ally since the George W. Bush administration, with the U.S. role there expanding around 2013.¹¹ Over the following decade, Niger became the “largest recipient of State Department military assistance in West Africa and the second highest in Sub-Saharan Africa.”¹² U.S. operations in Niger (which, as of early 2023,

role.” Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024, § 7008, Pub. L. 118-47 (Mar. 23, 2024). The prohibition (as applied to “any country”) dates to the foreign assistance appropriations act for fiscal year 1986. *See* Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1986, § 513, Pub. L. 99-190, 99 Stat. 1291, 1305 (1985). It was based on an El Salvador-specific restriction that was enacted the prior year. *See* Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1985, § 537, Pub. L. 98-473, 98 Stat. 1884, 1902 (1984). The appropriations implicated by Section 7008 are those pertaining to bilateral economic assistance, international security assistance, multilateral assistance, and export and investment assistance. They also apply to some Defense Department appropriations, such as those for the conduct of operations and capacity building. *See* 16 U.S.C. §§ 331(f), 333(d)(1). Certain appropriations are exempted under Section 7008 or other provisions, including those for democracy promotion, education, humanitarian assistance, and international narcotics control.

⁶ *See* Rachel Chason, Dan Lamothe & Michael Birnbaum, *U.S. Seeks to Keep Troops in Niger After Key Ally Calls Their Presence Illegal*, WASH. POST (Mar. 22, 2024), at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/03/22/niger-american-military-drone-base/>; Eric Schmitt, *A Shadowy War’s Newest Front: A Drone Base Rising From Saharan Dust*, N.Y. TIMES (Apr. 22, 2018), at <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/22/us/politics/drone-base-niger.html>; Guy Martin, *US Air Force Criticised Over Construction of Niger Air Base*, DEFENCEWEB (Apr. 8, 2020), at <https://www.defenceweb.co.za/featured/us-air-force-criticised-over-construction-of-niger-air-base>.

⁷ U.S. Dep’t of Defense Press Release, *Australia-US Joint Press Conference Following the Australia-US Ministerial Consultations (AUSMIN)* (July 29, 2023), at <https://www.defense.gov/News/Transcripts/Transcript/Article/3476106/australia-us-joint-press-conference-following-the-australia-us-ministerial-cons> [<https://perma.cc/4RBC-V6PD>].

⁸ *See* Coup d’Etat in Niger, *supra* note 1.

⁹ *See* White House Press Release, *Letters to the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate on Intent to Terminate the Designation of the Central African Republic, the Gabonese Republic, Niger, and the Republic of Uganda as Beneficiary Sub-Saharan African Countries Under the African Growth and Opportunity Act* (Oct. 30, 2023), at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2023/10/30/letters-to-the-speaker-of-the-house-and-president-of-the-senate-on-intent-to-terminate-the-designation-of-the-central-african-republic-the-gabonese-republic-niger-and-the-republic-of-uganda-as-bene> [<https://perma.cc/5J8W-EPUX>] [hereinafter AGOA Termination].

¹⁰ *See* Rachel Chason, Omar Hama Saley & Rachel Pannett, *Niger Junta Announces End to Military Relationship with United States*, WASH. POST (Mar. 17, 2024), at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/03/16/niger-junta-end-us-military>.

¹¹ *See* Chason, Lamothe & Birnbaum, *supra* note 6; Schmitt, *supra* note 6.

¹² *See* U.S. Dep’t of State Press Release, *The United States and Niger: A Strategic Partnership* (Mar. 16, 2023), at <https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-and-niger-a-strategic-partnership> [<https://perma.cc/W44G-NU2W>] [hereinafter U.S.-Niger Strategic Partnership].

reportedly included more than a thousand soldiers, three drone bases, and several other outposts) have been a critical part of U.S. efforts to fight against Al Qaeda- and Islamic State-affiliated groups in the Sahel.¹³ The United States has primarily operated intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance missions, supported Nigerien operations, and provided the Nigerien army with military training.¹⁴ The U.S. presence in Niger gained greater importance following coups in neighboring Mali and Burkina Faso in 2021 and 2022 respectively and the resultant departure of French troops from those countries.¹⁵ In March 2023, ahead of Secretary Blinken's visit (the first by a sitting secretary of state to Niger),¹⁶ Molly Phee, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, stated that Niger is "one of our most important partners on the continent in terms of security cooperation."¹⁷ In addition to significant investment in the Nigerien military, Niger has also received substantial development and humanitarian aid from the United States, including a \$442 million Sustainable Water and Agriculture Compact and a \$302 million Regional Transport Compact with the Millenium Challenge Corporation (MCC).¹⁸

Valuing Niger's strategic military importance, the United States delayed labeling the military's deposal of President Bazoum a coup as a way of enticing the military to reverse its action. Others were not as patient. The European Union immediately cut off aid.¹⁹ The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) quickly imposed sanctions and threatened that it would "take all measures necessary to restore constitutional order in the Republic of Niger . . . includ[ing] the use of force."²⁰ The African Union suspended

¹³ See Eric Schmitt, Declan Walsh & Elian Peltier, *Coup in Niger Upends U.S. Terrorism Fight and Could Open a Door for Russia*, N.Y. TIMES (Aug. 16, 2023), at <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/08/16/us/politics/niger-coup-terrorism-russia.html>; *How a C.I.A. Drone Base Grew in Niger's Desert*, N.Y. TIMES (Sept. 10, 2018), at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=14-JDZnhl0U>; Rukmini Callimachiet, Helene Cooper, Eric Schmitt, Alan Blinder & Thomas Gibbons-Neff, "An Endless War": Why 4 U.S. Soldiers Died in a Remote African Desert, N.Y. TIMES (Feb. 20, 2018), at <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/02/17/world/africa/niger-ambush-american-soldiers.html>; Abraham Mahshie, *The Air Force in Africa*, AIR & SPACE FORCES MAG. (Feb. 17, 2022), at <https://www.airandspaceforces.com/article/the-air-force-in-africa>.

¹⁴ See Natasha Bertrand & Oren Liebermann, *Biden Administration Searching for Ways to Keep US Forces in Niger to Continue Anti-Terror Operations Despite Overthrowing of Government*, CNN (Aug. 17, 2023), at <https://www.cnn.com/2023/08/17/politics/niger-biden-administration-us-forces/index.html>.

¹⁵ See Chason, Lamothe & Birnbaum, *supra* note 6.

¹⁶ See U.S. Dep't of State Press Release, Secretary Blinken's Travel to Ethiopia and Niger (Mar. 10, 2023), at <https://www.state.gov/secretary-blinkens-travel-to-ethiopia-and-niger> [<https://perma.cc/H8AT-WUFV>].

¹⁷ U.S. Dep't of State Press Release, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Molly Phee on the Secretary's Upcoming Travel to Ethiopia and Niger (Mar. 10, 2023), at <https://www.state.gov/assistant-secretary-for-african-affairs-molly-phee-on-the-secretarys-upcoming-travel-to-ethiopia-and-niger> [<https://perma.cc/BZ3H-WHV9>].

¹⁸ See U.S.-Niger Strategic Partnership, *supra* note 12; Millenium Challenge Corp., Niger Compact, at <https://www.mcc.gov/where-we-work/program/niger-compact> [<https://perma.cc/58ZM-K8KR>]; Millenium Challenge Corp., Benin-Niger Regional Transport Compact, at <https://www.mcc.gov/where-we-work/program/benin-niger-regional-compact> [<https://perma.cc/6K6A-A7JY>].

¹⁹ See European Union External Action Press Release, Niger: Statement by High Representative Josep Borrell on the Latest Developments (July 29, 2023), at https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/niger-statement-high-representative-josep-borrell-latest-developments_en?channel=eeas_press_alerts&date=2023-07-29 [<https://perma.cc/3GCJ-VGDJ>].

²⁰ Fifty First Extraordinary Summit of the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government on the Political Situation in Niger – Final Communique, para. 10(f) (July 30, 2023), at https://ecowas.int/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Final-Communique_ENG-2_230730_161029.pdf. Niger, Burkina Faso, and Mali announced their withdrawal from ECOWAS in January 2024. See Ruth Maclean, *Three African Juntas Leave*

Niger.²¹ With delay not achieving the desired results, the United States in October switched tactics and called the takeover a “coup.”

With the coup designation, the U.S. government suspended its assistance²² to Niger pursuant to Section 7008.²³ State Department Spokesperson Matthew Miller said that the United States, as permitted by Section 7008, “will maintain . . . life-saving humanitarian, food, and health assistance to benefit the people of Niger.”²⁴ He noted that “[a]ny resumption of U.S. assistance will require action by the National Council for Safeguarding the Homeland [the military regime] to usher in democratic governance in a quick and credible timeframe.”²⁵ A few weeks after determining that the military takeover constituted a coup, President Biden terminated Niger’s designation as a beneficiary country under AGOA.²⁶ In addition to Niger, Section 7008’s prohibition currently applies to Burkina Faso,²⁷ Burma (Myanmar),²⁸ Gabon,²⁹ Guinea,³⁰ Mali,³¹ and Sudan.³²

Regional Bloc, Accusing It of “Inhumane” Sanctions, N.Y. TIMES (Jan. 28, 2024), at <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/28/world/africa/west-africa-junta-leave-ecowas.html>.

²¹ See Nellie Peyton & Felix Onuah, *African Union Suspends Niger Over Coup, Prepares Sanctions*, REUTERS (Aug. 22, 2023), at <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/african-union-suspends-niger-all-its-activities-following-coup-2023-08-22>.

²² Shortly following the military takeover, the Department of Defense “suspended . . . [its] security cooperation and counterterrorism operations” in Niger. C. Todd Lopez, *U.S. Says July Ouster of Niger’s Government Was a Coup*, U.S. DEP’T OF DEFENSE NEWS (Oct. 10, 2023), at <https://www.defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/3552918/us-says-july-ouster-of-nigers-government-was-a-coup> [<https://perma.cc/CE7W-8DXK>]. In August, the United States had “temporarily paused certain foreign assistance . . . totaling nearly \$200 million.” Coup d’Etat in Niger, *supra* note 1.

²³ Coup d’Etat in Niger, *supra* note 1. Prior to the designation, the MCC paused and then suspended all assistance to Niger under the compacts. See Millenium Challenge Corp. Press Release, MCC Pauses Compact Activities in Niger (Aug. 24, 2023), at <https://www.mcc.gov/news-and-events/release/pressstmt-082423-mcc-pauses-niger-activities> [<https://perma.cc/HS83-DYRH>]; Millenium Challenge Corp. Press Release, MCC Board Suspends Assistance to Niger, Approves FY2024 Selection Criteria and Methodology Report (Sept. 13, 2023), at <https://www.mcc.gov/news-and-events/release/release-091323-september-board-meeting> [<https://perma.cc/3PN7-9YM9>]. The 2018 Compact was scheduled to end in January 2024, but the Benin-Niger Regional Transport Compact was just starting.

²⁴ Coup d’Etat in Niger, *supra* note 1.

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ See AGOA Termination, *supra* note 9; see also White House Press Release, A Proclamation to Take Certain Actions Under the African Growth and Opportunity Act and for Other Purposes (Dec. 29, 2023), at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2023/12/29/a-proclamation-to-take-certain-actions-under-the-african-growth-and-opportunity-act-and-for-other-purposes-2> [<https://perma.cc/4YLF-ECYA>].

²⁷ See Arshad Mohammed & Humeyra Pamuk, *Exclusive: U.S. Halts Nearly \$160 Million Aid to Burkina Faso After Finding Military Coup Occurred*, REUTERS (Feb. 19, 2022), at <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/exclusive-us-halts-aid-burkina-faso-after-finding-military-coup-occurred-2022-02-18>.

²⁸ See U.S. Dep’t of State Press Release, Briefing with Senior State Department Officials on the State Department’s Assessment of Recent Events in Burma (Feb. 2, 2021), at <https://www.state.gov/briefing-with-senior-state-department-officials-on-the-state-departments-assessment-of-recent-events-in-burma> [<https://perma.cc/H4Y8-UQDA>].

²⁹ See U.S. Dep’t of State Press Release, Military Coup d’Etat in Gabon (Oct. 23, 2023), at <https://www.state.gov/military-coup-detat-in-gabon> [<https://perma.cc/32NG-YHD7>].

³⁰ See U.S. Dep’t of State Press Release, U.S. Relations with Guinea (Aug. 10, 2023), at <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-guinea> [<https://perma.cc/FML7-E26Z>].

³¹ See U.S. Dep’t of State Press Release, On the Situation in Mali (May 26, 2021), at <https://www.state.gov/on-the-situation-in-mali> [<https://perma.cc/F5TW-VHMN>].

³² See U.S. Dep’t of State Press Release, Department Press Briefing (Oct. 25, 2021), at <https://www.state.gov/briefings/departments-press-briefing-october-25-2021> [<https://perma.cc/2YHT-44GU>].

Section 7008 does not prohibit the U.S. military from operating in Niger, and the United States sought to maintain its military operations there.³³ General Michael Langley, commander of the U.S. Africa Command, said in February that “[i]f we lose our footprint in the Sahel, that will degrade our ability to do active watching and warning, including for homeland defense.”³⁴ Discussions between the two governments culminated in an early March 2024 visit to Niger by Celeste Wallander, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Assistant Secretary Phee, and General Langley. The visit was intended to “continue ongoing discussions . . . regarding Niger’s return to a democratic path and the future of our security and development partnership.”³⁵

It did not go well.³⁶ On March 16, the Nigerien government “denounc[ed] with immediate effect” Niger’s military relationship with the United States, stating that “[t]he American presence on Niger’s territory is illegal and violates all constitutional and democratic rules.”³⁷ On May 19, Niger and the United States announced that the countries “have reached a disengagement agreement to effect the withdrawal of U.S. forces” no later than September 15, 2024.³⁸ A senior U.S. defense official noted that the U.S. military is “very focused on . . . ensuring that this withdrawal goes in as collegial and collaborative a manner as possible at the military to military level, because we know we’re going to need the [Niger Armed Forces] and other components of the security services . . . , regardless of what our posture is. Because this is a region where there’s quite a lot of terrorist activity.”³⁹ The departure of the U.S. military from Niger follows the withdrawal of French forces and the end of the EU Military Partnership Mission in Niger, both in December.⁴⁰ U.S. withdrawal from Niger marks the end of a decade-

³³ See Rachel Chason & Michael Birnbaum, *U.S. Struggles for Influence in West Africa as Military Juntas Rise*, WASH. POST (Feb. 25, 2024), at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/02/25/west-africa-sahel-military-junta/>; Elian Peltier & Eric Schmitt, *After Niger Coup, U.S. Scrambles to Keep a Vital Air Base*, N.Y. TIMES (Jan. 6, 2024), at <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/06/world/africa/niger-us-air-base.html>.

³⁴ Chason & Birnbaum, *supra* note 33.

³⁵ See U.S. Dep’t of State Press Release, U.S. Officials Travel to Niger (Mar. 12, 2024), at <https://www.state.gov/u-s-officials-travel-to-niger> [<https://perma.cc/KB28-8RUM>]; see also Chason, Saley & Pannett, *supra* note 10; Michael R. Gordon, Gabriele Steinhauser, Laurence Norman & Michael M. Phillips, *Niger Termination of U.S. Military Ties Followed Accusation of Iran Uranium Deal*, WALL ST. J. (Mar. 17, 2024), at <https://www.wsj.com/world/africa/niger-once-key-u-s-counterterrorism-ally-ends-military-ties-7db66db6>.

³⁶ See Chason, Lamothe & Birnbaum, *supra* note 6; Rachel Chason, *U.S. Threats Led to Rupture of Vital Military Ties, Nigerien Leader Says*, WASH. POST (May 14, 2024), at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/05/14/us-threats-led-rupture-vital-military-ties-nigerien-official-says>.

³⁷ Chason, Saley & Pannett, *supra* note 10.

³⁸ U.S. Dep’t of Defense Press Release, Joint Statement from the U.S. Department of Defense and the Department of National Defense of the Republic of Niger (May 19, 2024), at <https://www.defense.gov/News/Releases/Release/Article/3780392/joint-statement-from-the-us-department-of-defense-and-the-department-of-nationa> [<https://perma.cc/9VFF-UGJZ>]. In April 2024, the United States was also ordered to withdraw approximately seventy-five special forces personnel from Chad, but U.S. officials considered that their departure would likely be temporary. See Eric Schmitt, *U.S. to Withdraw Troops from Chad, Dealing Another Blow to Africa Policy*, N.Y. TIMES (Apr. 25, 2024), at <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/04/25/us/politics/chad-us-troop-withdrawal.html>.

³⁹ U.S. Dep’t of Defense Press Release, Senior Defense Official and Senior Military Official Hold a Background Briefing on Niger (May 19, 2024), at <https://www.defense.gov/News/Transcripts/Transcript/Article/3780569/senior-defense-official-and-senior-military-official-hold-a-background-briefing> [<https://perma.cc/42C9-9RF2>].

⁴⁰ See Giorgio Leali, *Niger Junta Revokes Military Pacts with France*, POLITICO (Aug. 4, 2023), at <https://www.politico.eu/article/niger-junta-amadou-abdramane-revokes-military-agreements-with-france/>; Elian Peltier & Aurelien Breeden, *France to Withdraw Troops from Niger After Military Coup*, N.Y. TIMES (Sept. 24, 2023), at <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/24/world/africa/france-troops-ambassador-niger.html>; European Council Press Release, EUMPM Niger: Council Decides Not to Extend the Mandate of the Mission (May 27, 2024), at

long counterterrorism strategy in West Africa.⁴¹ The United States is now looking to move its operations elsewhere in the region and is reconsidering its approach.⁴²

*New Compact of Free Association Agreements with Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Palau
Approved by Congress*

doi:10.1017/ajil.2024.40

Congress recently enacted legislation approving and funding agreements between the United States and Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Palau that update the Compacts of Free Association (COFAs) that have governed relations between the United States and the three Freely Associated States (FAS) since their independence.¹ The legislation appropriates \$7.1 billion over twenty years, including \$3.3 billion to Micronesia, \$2.3 billion to the Marshall Islands, and \$889 million to Palau.² The legislation also restores federal benefits for FAS citizens living in the United States³ and expands benefits for FAS veterans of the U.S. armed forces.⁴ The new agreements and implementing legislation maintain and reinforce U.S. influence in the Pacific at a time when the United States is facing increasing Chinese competition in the region.

Following World War II, the one thousand islands and atolls in the western Pacific Ocean that are now Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, Palau, and the Northern Mariana Islands (NMI) comprised the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), administered by the United States as part of the UN international trusteeship system. From the mid-1960s, the Congress of Micronesia (a name that referred to the entirety of the trust territory, not just the islands that would later comprise the country of Micronesia) considered the future status of the TTPI and recommended either free association with the United States or full

<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2024/05/27/eumpm-niger-council-decides-not-to-extend-the-mandate-of-the-mission> [<https://perma.cc/S2J4-Y65X>].

⁴¹ See Eric Schmitt & Ruth Maclean, *U.S. Confronts Failures as Terrorism Spreads in West Africa*, N.Y. TIMES (June 7, 2024), at <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/07/us/politics/us-terrorism-west-africa.html>.

⁴² See Eric Schmitt, *U.S. and Niger Announce Withdrawal of American Personnel by September*, N.Y. TIMES (May 19, 2024), at <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/05/19/us/politics/us-niger-military-withdrawal.html>; Schmitt & Maclean, *supra* note 41.

¹ See Compact of Free Association Amendments Act of 2024, Pub. L. 118–42, Div. G, Tit. II (2024) [hereinafter COFA Amendments Act]. The approved agreements included updated COFAs and subsidiary agreements. See, e.g., Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Palau and the Government of the United States of America Resulting from the 2023 Compact of Free Association Section 432 Review (May 22, 2023), at <https://www.palau.gov/wp-content/uploads/Compact-Agreement-Pending-US-Congressional-Approval.pdf> [<https://perma.cc/9AHA-UE6P>]; Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Federated States of Micronesia to Amend the Compact of Free Association, as Amended (May 23, 2023), at <https://jcrp.gov.fm/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/SIGNED-FSM-Compact-Amendments.pdf> [<https://perma.cc/YMT2-ZB7V>]; Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of the Marshall Islands to Amend the Compact of Free Association, as Amended (Oct. 16, 2023), at <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/24-501.2-Marshall-Islands-Regional-Issues-to-Amend-1.pdf> [<https://perma.cc/AA3A-B8NJ>].

² See U.S. Dep't of State Press Release, *On the Enactment of Compact-Related Legislation* (Mar. 9, 2024), at <https://www.state.gov/on-the-enactment-of-compact-related-legislation> [<https://perma.cc/8TSY-XQS9>]; U.S. Dep't of the Interior Press Release, *Interior Department Applauds Renewed Economic Assistance for Compacts of Free Association* (Mar. 11, 2024), at <https://www.doi.gov/pressreleases/interior-department-applauds-renewed-economic-assistance-compacts-free-association> [<https://perma.cc/QHH3-6T58>].

³ See COFA Amendments Acts, *supra* note 1, § 209(f).

⁴ See *id.*, § 209(a).