Let My People Go: The Case for Reforming Egypt Military Aid

By Vance Trefethen

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California Congressman Adam Schiff said it best in June 2014, QUOTE:

"The dialogue with Egypt is essentially this: We go to Egypt, we make the case for progress along the democratic path, and the response we get from Egypt [is] 'We thank you very much for your input, but if it's all the same to you, just leave the taxpayer check on the desk and don't let the door hit you on the backside on the way out,'" Schiff said.[[1]](#footnote-1)

END QUOTE. When despised Egyptian dictator Hosni Mubarak was overthrown in 2011, many thought it would open the door to a new era of human rights and democracy in that country. Unfortunately, it didn’t; and US military aid only enables the oppressors and tyrants. Please explore with us the comparative advantages of affirming that: The United States should significantly reform its policy toward one or more countries in the Middle East.

OBSERVATION 1. Our DEFINITIONS

**Significant**: “large enough to be noticed or have an effect” (Merriam-Webster Online Dict. 2014 <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/significant>)

**Policy**: “a high-level overall plan embracing the general goals and acceptable procedures especially of a governmental body” (Merriam-Webster Online Dict. 2014 <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/policy?show=0&t=1402599657>)

**Middle East** is defined in the Turkish Journal of Politics in 2011 as:

Turkish Journal of Politics Vol 2 No. 2, 2011 (Osman Nuri Özalp, Kırklareli University) “Where is the Middle East? The Definition and Classification Problem of the Middle East as a Regional Subsystem in International Relations” <http://tjp.fatih.edu.tr/docs/articles/112.pdf>

In a broad meaning, we can state that the Middle East covers a region from Ethiopia in the south, Turkey in the north, Afghanistan and Pakistan in the east to Morocco in the west.

OBSERVATION 2. INHERENCY, or the conditions of the Status Quo. Two key FACTS:

FACT 1. US military aid to Egypt. We give Egypt $1.3 billion/year in military aid

Jeremy Sharp 2014. (Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs with Congressional Research Service) 5 June 2014 Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf>

Between 1948 and 2014, the United States provided Egypt with $74.65 billion in bilateral foreign aid (calculated in historical dollars—not adjusted for inflation), including $1.3 billion a year in military aid from 1987 to the present. The FY2014 Consolidated Appropriations Act (P.L. 113-76) provides up to $1.3 billion in military aid to Egypt and up to $250 million in economic aid. This report discusses the conditions governing the release of these funds. All U.S. foreign aid to Egypt (or any foreign recipient) is subject to the approval of Congress. All U.S. military aid to Egypt finances the procurement of weapons systems and services from U.S. defense contractors.

FACT 2. Missed opportunities. We fail to use our influence to press for badly needed reforms in Egypt

Project on Middle East Democracy, Working Group on Egypt 2014. (Co-chaired by Dr. Robert Kagan and Michele Dunne. Kagan -  [PhD](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doctor_of_Philosophy" \o "Doctor of Philosophy) in American history from [American University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_University); senior fellow at [Brookings Institution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brookings_Institution); foreign policy advisor to several U.S. Republican presidential candidates as well as to Hillary Clinton, when she was Sec. of State. Dunne - senior associate in Carnegie Endowment for Peace Middle East Program; formerly a Middle East specialist at the U.S. Department of State ; worked on the National Security Staff, the Secretary’s Policy Planning Staff, the U.S. embassy in Cairo, the U.S. consulate general in Jerusalem; former visiting professor of Arabic at Georgetown Univ.) 3 Feb 2014 Working Group on Egypt Releases Letter to President Obama (ethical note about the date: the article is undated, but Congressional Research Service cited the article in one of their publications and provided the publication date given here) <http://pomed.org/homepage-entries/working-group-on-egypt-letter-to-the-president/>

The United States repeatedly has missed opportunities to use its influence to press for more openness and for badly needed reforms in Egypt—first under Mubarak, then under the first period of military rule, then under President Morsi, and now under the current military-backed order. U.S. policy has been far too passive in the face of repeated violations of human rights and democratic norms by successive Egyptian governments, and we are at risk of reaping the consequences. The United States should avoid giving unequivocal backing to the Egyptian military in what is sure to be an escalating cycle of repression and violence that will only add to the already explosive situation in the Middle East.

OBSERVATION 3. We have a PLAN to do exactly that.

1. Congress votes to establish a new policy to suspend all military aid to Egypt as long as basic civil rights are not respected.

2. Funding within current budgets of existing agencies.

3. Enforcement through the President and the State Department

4. Plan takes effect this coming October 1.

5. Affirmative speeches may clarify the plan as needed.

OBSERVATION 4. The JUSTIFICATIONS. Experts recommend our plan for several reasons.

JUSTIFICATION 1. Human rights abuses. Sen. Patrick Leahy advocated our plan in 2014, pointing out that we should withhold further aid until Egypt gets committed to human rights.

Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vermont) quoted by journalist Julian Pecquet 2014. Congress sets up fight over aid to Egypt, 23 June 2014 <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/06/egypt-fight-congress-aid-human-rights.html#ixzz39vSHPtw3>

“The Congress has an important role in the provision of U.S. aid to foreign governments, and we consult regularly with the Administration,” Leahy told Al-Monitor in an email. “Withholding military aid to the Egyptian regime has let its leaders know that repressive actions and abuses of human rights and the rule of law are deeply concerning to the American people, and to many in Congress. The harsh actions taken today against journalists is the latest descent toward despotism. Through discussions with Secretary Kerry and others over recent weeks I agreed to the release of the bulk of these funds for sustainment purposes, but further aid should be withheld until they demonstrate a basic commitment to justice and human rights.”

JUSTIFICATION 2. Military tramples democracy. The Egyptian military we support is actively sabotaging the efforts of the people to attain democracy

David J. Kramer 2014. (president of Freedom House, an international human rights non-profit advocacy group; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs; former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor) 25 June 2014 Kerry’s Blind Spot on Egypt <http://www.freedomhouse.org/blog/kerrys-blind-spot-on-egypt#.U-bdUvldWLE>

The difference, however, is that the human rights situation has worsened compared to what it was at any point under Hosni Mubarak, the longtime leader who was overthrown in February 2011. Those who protested in Tahrir Square against Mubarak never envisioned that their efforts to bring democracy and rule of law to their country would be hijacked first by the military, then by the Muslim Brotherhood, and finally again by the military in last July’s coup (which Kerry and President Obama still refuse to call a coup) against President Mohamed Morsi. More than 1,000 people were killed in protests against the military’s return to power last August, and more than 16,000 others remain in prison on various charges. Authorities regularly arrest liberal critics of the government, bloggers, and journalists, as well as members of the Brotherhood, on trumped-up charges. In addition to the two most recent court rulings, the politically motivated convictions of 43 employees from several nongovernmental organizations (including Freedom House and involving 18 Americans) in June 2013 still stand, with some of the Egyptians ensnared in that case unable to return to their homeland without facing imprisonment. And yet none of this has fazed Kerry over the past year. He has misguidedly claimed that the military government was on a “roadmap to democracy” or was “restoring democracy.”

JUSTIFICATION 3. Positive influence for Egypt. Withholding aid is the best way to influence positive change in Egypt.

**The Project on Middle East Democracy Working Group on Egypt, co-chaired by Dr. Robert Kagan and Michele Dunne, in 2014 endorsed our plan, saying:**

Project on Middle East Democracy, Working Group on Egypt 2014. (Co-chaired by Dr. Robert Kagan and Michele Dunne. Kagan -  [PhD](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doctor_of_Philosophy" \o "Doctor of Philosophy) in American history from [American University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_University); senior fellow at [Brookings Institution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brookings_Institution); foreign policy advisor to several U.S. Republican presidential candidates as well as to Hillary Clinton, when she was Sec. of State. Dunne - senior associate in Carnegie Endowment for Peace Middle East Program; formerly a Middle East specialist at the U.S. Department of State ; worked on the National Security Staff, the Secretary’s Policy Planning Staff, the U.S. embassy in Cairo, the U.S. consulate general in Jerusalem; former visiting professor of Arabic at Georgetown Univ.) 3 Feb 2014 Working Group on Egypt Releases Letter to President Obama (ethical note about the date: the article is undated, but Congressional Research Service cited the article in one of their publications and provided the publication date given here) <http://pomed.org/homepage-entries/working-group-on-egypt-letter-to-the-president/>

The United States may have valid reasons of state interest for sustaining counterterrorism and intelligence cooperation with the Egyptian government. In an environment in which peaceful political activists, academics, and analysts are being hit with specious charges of espionage and terrorism, however, the United States must take extreme care to focus its terrorism and intelligence operation with Egypt on real threats to U.S. interests, and make clear to the Egyptian government that it will not endorse or contribute to an all-out war on the regime’s political opponents. The United States cannot control what happens in Egypt, but a consistent U.S. stand for democracy and human rights can influence the political trajectory of this important U.S. ally. Such a strategy will be far more successful over time than subsidizing a brutal crackdown and putting U.S. credibility behind a political arrangement that works against U.S. interests as well as those of Egyptian citizens.

JUSTIFICATION 4. Stop aiding our enemies. The Egyptian military is anti-American

Shadi Hamid 2012. (Director of Research at the Brookings Institution’s Doha Center and a Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Director of Research at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford Univ Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law; master’s degree from Georgetown Univ. School of Foreign Service) Apr 2012 “BEYOND GUNS AND BUTTER: A U.S.-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC ERA” <http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2012/04_egypt_hamid/04_guns_butter_hamid1.pdf>

While Egypt has long had extremely high levels of anti-Americanism, since the fall of Mubarak, it has gotten worse. Despite receiving $1.3 billion in annual U.S. aid, Egypt’s military rulers have routinely stoked anti-Americanism both to distract from their mismanagement of the transition and to solidify their nationalist credentials.

JUSTIFICATION 5. Promote democracy worldwide.

**Linking military aid to human rights in Egypt encourages human rights and democracy worldwide by sending a message to other nations.**

David J. Kramer 2012. (president of Freedom House, an international human rights non-profit advocacy group; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs; former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor) testimony before the United States House Committee on Foreign Affairs: “Egypt at a Crossroads” 16 Feb 2012 (in context where he says it “seems unlikely” that a waiver of the human rights concerns would be granted, this was written a few weeks before Obama actually did, in fact, grant the waiver and allow US arms to go to Egypt despite human rights problems.) [http://org2.salsalabs.com/o/6580/t/0/blastContent.jsp?email\_blast\_KEY=1195212](http://org2.salsalabs.com/o/6580/t/0/blastContent.jsp?email_blast_KEY=1195212" \t "_blank)

The implications for U.S. interests are significant and extend beyond the American-Egyptian relationship. That is because regimes around the world are following very closely what the Egyptian authorities are able to get away with in their efforts to rein in civil society and go after American-funded non-governmental organizations. How we respond will have an impact on the ability of organizations like mine to operate elsewhere, and we already are starting to see signs of this. If we essentially are shut down or left in a state of legal limbo in Egypt, we could face similar fates in other countries. Thus, it is critical that we do all we can to protect and preserve civil society in Egypt and the possibilities for Egyptian organizations and foreign ones like Freedom House to maintain a presence and conduct effective programs that Egyptians want. The international community — the United States in particular — must respond aggressively to the Egyptian authorities’ human rights abuses and appalling treatment of civil society. U.S. assistance to Egypt — which totals $1.3bn to the military alone, about a fifth of Egypt's military budget — depends on the Administration’s being able to certify to Congress that the Egyptian government is taking steps to move toward civilian government and protect civil liberties; recent developments simply make such certification impossible. Absent a waiver by the Administration (and one seems unlikely), this will trigger a suspension in American military aid to Cairo. It is hard to understand how the United States could provide taxpayer assistance to an Egyptian military leadership that prevents NGOs from implementing democracy and human rights projects supported by those same U.S. taxpayers.

2A Evidence: Reform Egypt Military Aid

OPENING QUOTES

Tolerating Middle East oppression in the name of stability is wrong

Matthew Craig Axelrod 2011. (master’s degree candidate, Univ. of Pennsylvania), April 2011 Aid as Leverage? - Understanding the U.S.-Egypt Military Relationship <http://lauder.wharton.upenn.edu/pages/pdf/other/Axelrod.pdf> (ellipses in original)

President George W. Bush embraced this principle himself in a 2004 address in front of the United Nations General Assembly:  
For too long, many nations, including my own, tolerated and even excused oppression in the Middle East in the name of stability… We must take a different approach. We must help the reformers of the Middle East as they work for freedom and strive to build a community of peaceful, democratic nations.

HARMS

“Egypt needs stability” – Response: Denying civil rights will not help achieve stability

Project on Middle East Democracy, Working Group on Egypt 2014. (Co-chaired by Dr. Robert Kagan and Michele Dunne. Kagan -  [PhD](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doctor_of_Philosophy" \o "Doctor of Philosophy) in American history from [American Univ](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_University); senior fellow at [Brookings Institution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brookings_Institution); foreign policy advisor to several U.S. Republican presidential candidates as well as to Hillary Clinton, when she was Sec. of State. Dunne - senior associate in Carnegie Endowment for Peace Middle East Program; formerly a Middle East specialist at the U.S. Dept of State ; worked on the National Security Staff, the Secretary’s Policy Planning Staff, the U.S. embassy in Cairo; former visiting professor of Arabic at Georgetown Univ.) 3 Feb 2014 Working Group on Egypt Releases Letter to President Obama (ethical note about the date: the article is undated, but Congressional Research Service cited the article in one of their publications and provided the publication date given here) <http://pomed.org/homepage-entries/working-group-on-egypt-letter-to-the-president/>

The idea that there will be a trade-off between democracy and stability in Egypt is false. A realistic assessment of what is happening in Egypt—a massive crackdown on members and supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood, mounting repression of peaceful critics of the coup, societal polarization and troubling vigilante violence, persistent demonstrations, escalating militant attacks on police and military targets—shows that repressive, security-dominated rule will not produce long-, medium-, or even short-term stability. Especially since the events of 2011, the populace is more mobilized, more involved in politics, and more divided than ever. In these circumstances, pluralistic democratic institutions, and an opportunity for freedom of speech and assembly, will be necessary to allow citizens to struggle peacefully to resolve those divisions through compromise and democratic decision-making.

Helping Egypt’s military is the wrong path to stability

David J. Kramer 2012. (former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs; former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor) “Waiver on Egypt Aid Undercuts Support for Democracy” FREEDOM HOUSE, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/article/waiver-egypt-aid-undercuts-support-democracy>

“The U.S. government risks repeating the mistakes of the past, indulging the Egyptian military in the name of regional stability while ignoring what the Egyptian people want,” Kramer said. “Stability in Egypt is best achieved by supporting a full transition to a democratic government, which will uphold human rights and a free society.”

Stability in Egypt depends on democracy, and reverting to authoritarianism would be bad

David J. Kramer 2012. (president of Freedom House, an international human rights non-profit advocacy group; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs; former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor) testimony before the United States House Committee on Foreign Affairs: “Egypt at a Crossroads” 16 Feb 2012[http://org2.salsalabs.com/o/6580/t/0/blastContent.jsp?email\_blast\_KEY=1195212](http://org2.salsalabs.com/o/6580/t/0/blastContent.jsp?email_blast_KEY=1195212" \t "_blank)

Egypt has been a strategic partner of the United States for over thirty years. Stability in this important country depends on moving forward in the transition to democracy. The alternative — reversion to authoritarianism and resurgent radicalism — poses a serious threat of deepening political turmoil and increased economic stress, with potential regional repercussions. This is in no one’s interest.

US military aid betrays human rights advocates in Egypt

Nancy Okail quoted by Thomas Friedman 2012. (Okail is an Egyptian, director of the US-based Freedom House human rights advocacy non-profit group in Cairo. Friedman is an American Pulitzer prize-winning journalist) 24 Apr 2012 “Defendant No. 34 Has Her Say” NEW YORK TIMES, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/25/opinion/defendant-no-23-has-her-say.html?_r=1>

“When the U.S. decides to just give away the military aid to Egypt without considering the consequences on us,” Okail told me, “it sends a message that the West and the U.S. don’t care about democracy and human rights. They just care about strategic stability. We, the defendants, felt betrayed. The battle we fight standing in that cage, hearing calls for our execution, is not a battle for our freedom but a battle for liberating Egyptian civil society.”

Recent elections in Egypt were a sham

David J. Kramer 2014. (president of Freedom House, an international human rights non-profit advocacy group; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs; former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor) 25 June 2014 Kerry’s Blind Spot on Egypt <http://www.freedomhouse.org/blog/kerrys-blind-spot-on-egypt#.U-bdUvldWLE>

In Cairo, Kerry confidently predicted that all of the promised annual $1.3 billion in U.S. military assistance to Egypt, which has been unchanged for nearly three decades, would be delivered in full, this despite efforts by some members of Congress to withhold funds and equipment pending certification that Egypt is making democratic progress, among other stipulations. Sisi’s “election” does not qualify, since the entire process and outcome were predetermined and rigged.

Lifting aid restrictions undermines US leverage and enables Egypt’s leaders to promote anti-American sentiments and persecute civil society

James Phillips 2012. (Senior Research Fellow for Middle Eastern Affairs at the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies at The Heritage Foundation; former Research Fellow at the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress; Master's Degree and a M.A.L.D. in International Security Studies from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University ) 27 Mar 2012 Greater U.S. Pressure Needed to Ensure Successful Egyptian Transition <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2012/03/us-egypt-relations-greater-pressure-needed-to-ensure-successful-egyptian-transition>

However, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton notified Congress on Friday that she will waive those restrictions on national security grounds. This decision undermines U.S. leverage and raises questions about the resolve of the Administration to confront capricious Egyptian bureaucrats, hostile Islamist politicians, and authoritarian generals, all of whom seek to muzzle Egypt’s civil society. Clinton’s decision to bypass congressional concerns sends the wrong signal to Egypt’s leaders: that they can continue to exploit anti-American sentiments whipped up by the state-controlled media with little fear of the consequences.

Aid to Egypt will not promote democracy: All our past aid to Egypt did not get them democracy

Doug Bandow 2011. (J.D. (law degree) from Stanford Univ; senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties; worked as special assistant to President Reagan ) 30 May 2011 A Foreign Policy Fit for a Republic <http://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/foreign-policy-fit-republic>

It is especially hard to find instances where aid caused a transition from autocracy to democracy. Aid often becomes a permanent policy, irrespective of changing circumstances. After the heavily subsidized Mubarak government fell, the Obama administration immediately offered assistance to the new Egyptian government, even before the latter held an election. Should the current authorities be overthrown, Washington undoubtedly would promise a new aid package to the next regime.

Egyptian military is anti-American, arrests US election monitors

Shadi Hamid 2012. (Director of Research at the Brookings Institution’s Doha Center and a Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Director of Research at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford Univ Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law; master’s degree from Georgetown Univ. School of Foreign Service) Apr 2012 “BEYOND GUNS AND BUTTER: A U.S.-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC ERA” <http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2012/04_egypt_hamid/04_guns_butter_hamid1.pdf>

A year after President Hosni Mubarak’s fall, U.S.-Egypt relations are at an all-time low. Not, as many expected, because of the rise of Islamist parties, but because America’s longtime allies in the Egyptian military have whipped up anti-American sentiment at a feverish pace. It may have started as a political ploy, a way to build support on the street and highlight the army’s nationalist credentials, but the generals soon lost control. In January, the Egyptian government announced that sixteen Americans—including the son of a top U.S. official— would be put on trial, facing up to five years in prison. Their apparent crime was working for American nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)—the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, and Freedom House—that offered support, funding, and election monitoring for Egypt’s uneven transition.

Anti-Americanism in Egypt justifies rethinking US policy

Shadi Hamid 2012. (Director of Research at the Brookings Institution’s Doha Center and a Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Director of Research at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford Univ Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law; master’s degree from Georgetown Univ. School of Foreign Service) Apr 2012 “BEYOND GUNS AND BUTTER: A U.S.-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC ERA” <http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2012/04_egypt_hamid/04_guns_butter_hamid1.pdf>

The growing anti-Americanism makes a rethinking of U.S. policy toward Egypt both more challenging and more urgent. Today, the United States and the international community have a strong interest in ensuring freedom of association for Egypt’s embattled civil society and helping Egypt rebuild its battered economy. Making strides in these areas will help stabilize Egypt and allow it, in time, to return to playing a strong, constructive regional role. A stable, democratic Egypt could serve as model for the new kind of mutually beneficial relationship the United States can develop with the region’s emerging democracies.

INHERENCY

Current law requires review of Egypt’s progress toward democracy as a condition for aid

Project on Middle East Democracy, Working Group on Egypt 2014. (Co-chaired by Dr. Robert Kagan and Michele Dunne. Kagan -  [PhD](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doctor_of_Philosophy" \o "Doctor of Philosophy) in American history from [American University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_University); senior fellow at [Brookings Institution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brookings_Institution); foreign policy advisor to several U.S. Republican presidential candidates as well as to Hillary Clinton, when she was Sec. of State. Dunne - senior associate in Carnegie Endowment for Peace Middle East Program; formerly a Middle East specialist at the U.S. Department of State ; worked on the National Security Staff, the Secretary’s Policy Planning Staff, the U.S. embassy in Cairo, the U.S. consulate general in Jerusalem; former visiting professor of Arabic at Georgetown Univ.) 3 Feb 2014 Working Group on Egypt Releases Letter to President Obama (ethical note about the date: the article is undated, but Congressional Research Service cited the article in one of their publications and provided the publication date given here) <http://pomed.org/homepage-entries/working-group-on-egypt-letter-to-the-president/>

In the annual appropriations act passed recently, Congress included new language requiring the administration to certify that Egypt’s government has held a constitutional referendum and other elections, but also that it is “taking steps to support a democratic transition” in order for U.S. aid to continue.

Detailed description of current laws on US military aid to Egypt

Jeremy Sharp 2014. (Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs with Congressional Research Service) 5 June 2014 Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf>

For fiscal year 2014, Congress has appropriated $1.3 billion in Foreign Military Financing and $250 million in Economic Support Funds to Egypt; however, the delivery of assistance is subject to certain conditions, such as: • FY2014 funds may only be made available if the Secretary of State certifies that Egypt is sustaining the strategic relationship with the United States and is meeting its obligations under the 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty. The certification was made in April 2014. • FY2014 funds are provided to Egypt “notwithstanding any other provision of law,” an exemption that would allow aid to continue despite Section 7008 of P.L. 113-76 which prohibits foreign assistance to a country whose elected head of government is deposed by military coup d'etat or decree. The Administration specifically requested Congress to include notwithstanding authority for Egypt in executive-legislative branch negotiations over the FY2014 appropriations bill. • FY2014 military and economic aid to Egypt is divided into two tranches: $975 million may be released after the Secretary of State certifies Egypt has held a constitutional referendum, and is taking steps to support a democratic transition. $576.8 million may be released after the Secretary of State certifies that Egypt has held parliamentary and presidential elections, and that a newly elected Government of Egypt is taking steps to govern democratically. • However, if the Secretary of State cannot certify the conditions stated above, then military aid may be made available at the minimum rate necessary to continue existing contracts, except that defense articles and services from such contracts shall not be delivered until the certification requirements are met.

US military aid to Egypt was suspended, but was restored in June 2014

BBC News 2014. “US unlocks military aid to Egypt, backing President Sisi“ 22 June 2014 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27961933> (brackets added)

The US has revealed it has released $575m[illion] (£338m) in military aid to Egypt that had been frozen since the ousting of President Mohammed Morsi last year. The news came as Secretary of State John Kerry visited Cairo just two weeks after former army chief Abdul Fattah al-Sisi was sworn in as president. After talks with the new leader, Mr Kerry stressed the importance of upholding the rights of all Egyptians. Mr Sisi won May elections, vowing to tackle "terrorism" and bring security. The retired field marshal overthrew Mr Morsi last July amid mass protests against his rule. He has since been pursuing a crackdown on Mr Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood, which urged a boycott of the 26-28 May elections. Liberal and secular activists also shunned the poll in protest at the curtailing of civil rights. 'Difficult years of transition' State department officials said the military aid was released to the authorities in Cairo about 10 days ago, after getting a green light from Congress. The funds - from the annual $1.5bn [billion] of chiefly military aid - will mainly be used to pay existing defence contracts.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

List of specific reforms: Aid to Egypt should be suspended until they meet human rights reform conditions

Project on Middle East Democracy, Working Group on Egypt 2014. (Co-chaired by Dr. Robert Kagan and Michele Dunne. Kagan -  [PhD](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doctor_of_Philosophy" \o "Doctor of Philosophy) in American history from [American University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_University); senior fellow at the [Brookings Institution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brookings_Institution); foreign policy advisor to several U.S. Republican presidential candidates as well as to Hillary Clinton, when she was Sec. of State. Dunne - senior associate in Carnegie Endowment for Peace Middle East Program; formerly a Middle East specialist at the U.S. Department of State ; worked on the National Security Staff, the Secretary’s Policy Planning Staff, the U.S. embassy in Cairo, the U.S. consulate general in Jerusalem; former visiting professor of Arabic at Georgetown Univ.) 3 Feb 2014 Working Group on Egypt Releases Letter to President Obama <http://pomed.org/homepage-entries/working-group-on-egypt-letter-to-the-president/>

Rather, we urge you to take seriously the question of certifying that the Egyptian government is “taking steps to support a democratic transition,” and to tell Egyptian officials that you will certify only if they take the following steps:   
End the broad security and media campaign against those who peacefully oppose the actions of the interim government and the military, release the thousands of opposition group members, supporters, and activists now detained on questionable charges and with disregard for their due-process rights, and allow all citizens not implicated in violence to participate fully in political life  
End the use of live ammunition to disperse protesters, which has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of unarmed demonstrators, and respect basic rights to freedom of peaceful assembly  
Cease repression of other peaceful dissidents and drop investigations and lawsuits launched against youth activists, former members of parliament, journalists, and academics for peaceful activity protected by international human rights treaties to which Egypt is a signatory  
Stop media campaigns against the United States and American organizations, which are contributing to an unprecedented level of anti-American sentiment as well as endangering Americans and other foreigners, not only in Egypt but in neighboring countries where Egyptian media are present.  
Unless the Egyptian government takes these steps, we recommend that all or most assistance continue to be suspended in order to send a clear message of concern and disapproval about the dangerous course Egypt is on.

Suspending aid is the only way to get Egyptian government’s attention

David J. Kramer 2012. (president of Freedom House, an international human rights non-profit advocacy group; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs; former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor) testimony before the United States House Committee on Foreign Affairs: “Egypt at a Crossroads” 16 Feb 2012 [http://org2.salsalabs.com/o/6580/t/0/blastContent.jsp?email\_blast\_KEY=1195212](http://org2.salsalabs.com/o/6580/t/0/blastContent.jsp?email_blast_KEY=1195212" \t "_blank)

Senior U.S. officials, including President Obama and many Members of Congress, have weighed in with their Egyptian counterparts in an effort to persuade the authorities in Cairo to change course, so far without success. Unfortunately, I believe that only the suspension of U.S. military assistance will get the Egyptian government’s attention. Suspending aid is not meant to punish the Egyptian people and if done correctly, it won’t; instead, it will make clear to the authorities that attacks against civil society and against U.S.-funded NGOs do not come without a serious price.

Setting democracy as key criterion for aid = Restored leverage for democracy in Egypt

Shadi Hamid 2012. (Director of Research at the Brookings Institution’s Doha Center and a Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Director of Research at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford Univ Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law; master’s degree from Georgetown Univ. School of Foreign Service) Apr 2012 “BEYOND GUNS AND BUTTER: A U.S.-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC ERA” <http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2012/04_egypt_hamid/04_guns_butter_hamid1.pdf>

To lay the groundwork for enhanced ties, the United States will need to elevate support for Egyptian democracy as a key criterion for U.S. financial support. Establishing consistency in this regard will help the United States restore its leverage and credibility in the country, and enable it to more effectively advance a range of interests with the help of the Egyptian government.

Aid to Egypt should be conditional on human rights

James Phillips 2012. (Senior Research Fellow for Middle Eastern Affairs at the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies at The Heritage Foundation; former Research Fellow at the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress; Master's Degree and a M.A.L.D. in International Security Studies from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University ) 27 Mar 2012 Greater U.S. Pressure Needed to Ensure Successful Egyptian Transition <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2012/03/us-egypt-relations-greater-pressure-needed-to-ensure-successful-egyptian-transition>

The United States has provided almost $70 billion in bilateral aid to Egypt since 1979. Now that Cairo has new rulers, it is important to signal that American aid should not be taken for granted. Washington should serve notice that if Egyptian leaders continue to stoke anti-American populism to reap domestic political benefits, they will lose U.S. financial support—and with it, possibly, their hold on power. The Obama Administration should clearly warn Cairo that it must act responsibly to keep American aid flowing. At a minimum, these red lines should include Egyptian compliance with international obligations to fight terrorism and abide by its peace treaty with Israel, as well as respect for the human rights and freedom of its own people, particularly women and Egypt’s Christian minority.

Threat to cut-off aid forced release of arrested American human rights workers

James Phillips 2012. (Senior Research Fellow for Middle Eastern Affairs at the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy Studies at The Heritage Foundation; former Research Fellow at the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress; Master's Degree and a M.A.L.D. in International Security Studies from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University ) 27 Mar 2012 Greater U.S. Pressure Needed to Ensure Successful Egyptian Transition <http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2012/03/us-egypt-relations-greater-pressure-needed-to-ensure-successful-egyptian-transition>

The worst crisis in Egyptian–American relations in more than 30 years was intentionally provoked by the transitional government’s prosecution of 43 civil society workers, including 16 Americans, for offering advice to Egyptians on how to organize political movements and prepare for democracy. The Americans worked for three respected American NGOs: Freedom House, the International Republican Institute, and the National Democratic Institute. After Washington threatened to cut off aid, Cairo lifted a travel ban that had prompted seven of the Americans to seek refuge in the U.S. embassy and permitted them to leave, but Egypt has continued the prosecution, and the trial is set to resume on April 10.

Aiding Egypt undermines US foreign policy – makes our advocacy of democracy insincere

Stephen McInerney 2014. (Executive Director, Project on Middle East Democracy) Aid to Egypt: Black Hole or Black Gold? 10 Apr 2014 <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/04/10/aid-to-egypt-black-hole-or-black-gold/h85d?reloadFlag=1>

Resuming aid amid considerably increasing repression and anti-democratic steps in Egypt would affirm the perception across the Arab world – held by governments and independent actors alike – that U.S. rhetoric on democracy is insincere and not backed by action or policy. It is exactly this perception that undermines U.S. leverage. As such, the administration should continue to hold aid until previously identified conditions have been credibly met.

US needs a credible foreign policy where we cut off aid if democratic conditions are not met

Lina Khatib 2014. (director of the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut. Previously, she was the co-founding head of the Program on Arab Reform and Democracy at Stanford University’s Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law) Aid to Egypt: Black Hole or Black Gold? 10 Apr 2014 <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/04/10/aid-to-egypt-black-hole-or-black-gold/h85d?reloadFlag=1>

The message the United States is sending through its foreign policy is that human rights violations do not matter as much as strategic interests. This is the same trajectory that had been followed by the United States before the Arab uprisings of 2011, and which had allowed numerous autocratic regimes in the region to prevail, secure in their alliances with the US. US foreign policy faces a vast decline in credibility if it has learned nothing from the Arab uprisings. Regardless of whether the uprisings have achieved democratization or not, they highlighted serious grievances among Arab citizens. The United States must demonstrate awareness of their righteous demands, and implement aid policies that make accountability to one’s citizens a key condition for countries eager to receive US aid.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

“Egypt is fighting terrorism” – Response: Their heavy-handed reaction is recruiting more terrorists

Jeremy Sharp 2014. (Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs with Congressional Research Service) 5 June 2014 Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf> (ellipses in original)

As of late May, it would appear that while violence in the Sinai Peninsula continues, the pace and scale of terrorist attacks has somewhat diminished. Many U.S. observers are concerned that Egypt’s security operations in northern Sinai may be too heavy- handed and are not addressing the long term needs of the local population. According to one unnamed U.S. counter-terrorism official, “We fear that the Egyptian government's heavy-handed tactics may be fueling recruitment for ABM or other extremist groups in the region.... These groups are going to only get stronger if the response from the Egyptian government isn't more calculated and more discriminating. This is a point that we have made at multiple levels to the Egyptian government.

“Egypt is a strategic partner” – Response: Egypt cannot be a reliable strategic partner while it violates human rights

Bloomberg News 2014. (journalists David Lerman and Gopal Ratnam) 24 Apr 2014 U.S. Supplying Egypt With Attack Copters Easing Aid Halt <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-04-23/obama-moves-to-resume-some-u-s-military-aid-to-egypt.html>

Human-rights advocates yesterday expressed concern over the Obama administration’s decision to restart some military aid, citing Egypt’s crackdown on political opponents. “This kind of mixed messaging from the administration will only create more distrust and misunderstanding among the Egyptian government and civil society fighting for democracy and human rights,” Neil Hicks, international policy adviser to Human Rights First, said in a statement. “Egypt cannot be a reliable strategic partner for the United States while its government is engaging in widespread repression.”

“AFF Threatens peace with Israel” – Response: Status Quo threatens peace with Israel

Project on Middle East Democracy, Working Group on Egypt 2014. (Co-chaired by Dr. Robert Kagan and Michele Dunne. Kagan -  [PhD](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doctor_of_Philosophy" \o "Doctor of Philosophy) in American history from [American University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_University); senior fellow at the [Brookings Institution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brookings_Institution); foreign policy advisor to several U.S. Republican presidential candidates as well as to Hillary Clinton, when she was Sec. of State. Dunne - senior associate in Carnegie Endowment for Peace Middle East Program; formerly a Middle East specialist at the U.S. Department of State ; worked on the National Security Staff, the Secretary’s Policy Planning Staff, the U.S. embassy in Cairo, the U.S. consulate general in Jerusalem; former visiting professor of Arabic at Georgetown Univ.) 3 Feb 2014 Working Group on Egypt Releases Letter to President Obama <http://pomed.org/homepage-entries/working-group-on-egypt-letter-to-the-president/>

A failed attempt at democratic transition has given way to intense polarization, frightening repression, and escalating violence. Such instability will make it impossible for Egypt to be a reliable security ally for the United States or peace partner for Israel, and threatens to increase terrorism against American targets and important American interests. If the United States fails to take a clear stance against Egypt’s current democratic reversal, and decides to resume suspended aid programs in the face of growing repression, your policies may reinforce this debilitating dynamic to the detriment of U.S. interests and values. We urge you to instruct Secretary of State Kerry not to certify that Egypt has met congressionally mandated conditions on democracy under current conditions.

“Instability in Egypt” – Response: Status Quo policies will not create stability

David J. Kramer 2014. (president of Freedom House, an international human rights non-profit advocacy group; former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs; former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor) 25 June 2014 Kerry’s Blind Spot on Egypt <http://www.freedomhouse.org/blog/kerrys-blind-spot-on-egypt#.U-bdUvldWLE>

By imprisoning critics and members of the Brotherhood and intensifying a crackdown on dissent, Sisi and his new government risk leaving opponents with little alternative but to take to the streets once again. No one wants to see more instability in Egypt, but the “stability” Sisi claims to be bringing to his country may be very short-lived. That possibility should force the Obama administration to develop a policy that stops playing favorites with whoever is in power—whether Morsi or Sisi or the next person—and instead focuses on democratic principles. Such a change in approach would serve U.S. interests better than pretending that Egypt is on the right path or buying the rhetoric of Egypt’s latest authoritarian leader.

“We can influence Egypt’s military” - Response: Already tried and failed. We have little leverage through the Egyptian army and they are not capable of reforming Egypt anyway

Shadi Hamid 2012. (Director of Research at the Brookings Institution’s Doha Center and a Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Director of Research at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford Univ Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law; master’s degree from Georgetown Univ. School of Foreign Service) Apr 2012 “BEYOND GUNS AND BUTTER: A U.S.-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC ERA” <http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2012/04_egypt_hamid/04_guns_butter_hamid1.pdf>

In the early days of the revolution, the Obama administration had high hopes for the Egyptian military. Democratization, the thinking went, would empower forces with uncertain commitments both to political pluralism and to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. The military, meanwhile, was a known quantity, the linchpin of the thirty-year U.S.-Egypt relationship and a force for regional stability. U.S. assistance, as well as the personal relationships built over three decades of close cooperation, suggested that United States could exercise leverage through the army. In contrast, the United States could boast no real relationships with, or even first-hand knowledge of, either the Muslim Brotherhood or the more conservative Salafi groups. The Obama administration therefore found itself looking at a new Egypt and realizing that it had little leverage with the forces that would be shaping it. Any hope that the military might prove a competent steward of reform was quickly dashed.

“Egypt-Israel peace treaty at risk” - Response: Egypt won’t go to war with Israel

Dr. Guy Bechor interviewed by Adi Ben-Israel 2012. (Bechor heads the Middle East Division at the Lauder School of Government at the Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel) “Dr. Guy Bechor: Egypt has not breached the peace treaty” 23 Apr 2012 GLOBES (Israeli business journal) (brackets added) <http://www.globes.co.il/serveen/globes/docview.asp?did=1000743599&fid=1725>

[Ben-Israel] So the fears of war with Egypt are groundless  
[Bechor] "The Egyptians have no interest in going to war against Israel. They don't have money to buy wheat for the masses. What are we talking about here? Not everything between Israel and Egypt has to be turned into a drama."

“Egypt-Israel war” – Response: US aid cutoff won’t trigger Egypt-Israel war

Michael Crowley 2013. (chief foreigni affairs correspondent) TIME Magazine, 11 July 2013 Obama’s Egypt Policy: The Israel Factor <http://swampland.time.com/2013/07/11/obamas-egypt-policy-the-israel-factor/> (brackets added)

No one thinks a cutoff of American aid would lead to another war between Israel and Egypt. Anti-Semitism is rampant in Egypt, and Israeli diplomats live and work under tight security. But a pragmatic peace endures: [senior fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy David] Makovsky recalls being in Cairo with then-Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and hearing Sadat’s successor, Hosni Mubarak, declare that war with Israel knocks out a generation of economic development for Egypt. “The U.S. and Israel don’t want wars,” Makovsky says. “Egypt doesn’t want war. Everybody’s happy. There’s no incentive for anybody to change that.” Even Morsi, who once urged Egyptians “to nurse our children and grandchildren on hatred towards those Zionists and Jews, and all those who support them,” didn’t try to end peace with Israel.

“Professionalism of Egyptian military thanks to US aid” - Response: What professionalism? They killed 80 demonstrators

Dr. Martin S. Indyk 2012. (Ph.D. from the Australian National University; vice president and director of the Foreign Policy Program at the Brookings Institution; former U.S. ambassador to Israel; former assistant secretary of state for Near East affairs) Prospects for Democracy in Egypt , 23 Jan 2012, (brackets added) <http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2012/0123_egypt_indyk.aspx>

This tension will likely manifest itself in the massive demonstrations that are expected on January 25 in Tahrir Square to commemorate the first anniversary of the Revolution. The military and the MB [Muslim Brotherhood] have called for a celebration, complete with party balloons and patriotic songs. Youth activists and some liberal parties, particularly exercised by the eighty some demonstrators who were killed by the police and the army in crackdowns in November and December last year, are calling for a demonstration against military rule. Some of the far-left revolutionary youth are calling for a campaign of violence.

1. Rep. Adam Schiff (D-Calif.) quoted by journalist Julian Pecquet, CONGRESS PULSE, “AIPAC weighs in on US military aid to Egypt” 24 June 2014 [http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/06/aipac-us-aid-egypt-stop-cut.html##ixzz39vPhycKg](http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/06/aipac-us-aid-egypt-stop-cut.html) (brackets in original) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)