Policing the Pyramids: The Case Against Military Aid to Egypt

By Jonathan T. Helton

***Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reform its foreign aid.***

Summary: Egypt is one of the largest recipients of US military aid, and this case argues that such aid is bad and should be canceled. U.S. military aid is not achieving its objectives: 1) fighting terrorism; and 2) keeping peace with Israel. First, it’s in Egypt’s best interest to NOT go to war against Israel (regardless of whether they get our aid), and their terrorism fighting abilities are very poor (so our aid makes no difference). In addition to not accomplishing anything positive, US military aid makes things worse. It emboldens and enables a corrupt repressive regime that denies human rights, and in so doing it fuels anti-American sentiment and leads to more terrorism.

Policing the Pyramids: The Case Against Military Aid to Egypt 3

OBSERVATION 1. DEFINITIONS 3

Foreign Aid 3

OBSERVATION 2. BACKGROUND. Let’s take a look at recent events in Egypt, and US foreign aid policy 3

FACT 1. Egyptian instability. 3

The Egyptian President we’re supporting has a long track-record of chaos and anti-democratic policies 3

FACT 2. Military aid for Egypt. 3

Congress gives billions in military aid to Egypt 3

OBSERVATION 3. The HARMS. What’s wrong with supporting the Egyptian regime with US aid? 4

HARM 1. Supporting oppression 4

A. US aid perpetuates military control of the Egyptian government and economy 4

B. Humanitarian efforts blocked 4

C. Human rights denied 4

HARM 2. Anti-Americanism and terrorism 5

A. Anti-American sentiments. While taking our aid, they oppose our verification steps and stir up anti-Americanism 5

B. Downward spiral: Brutal Egyptian government tactics lead to more terrorism 5

OBSERVATION 4. The PLAN, to be enacted by Congress & the President 5

OBSERVATION 5. The ADVANTAGES 6

ADVANTAGE 1. Ends US responsibility and reduces backlash 6

Ending US aid to Egypt eliminates our moral responsibility for their abuses and avoids the inevitable anti-American backlash against us 6

ADVANTAGE 2. Leverage for change. 6

US military aid suspension conditioned on human rights reforms is the best use of leverage to bring change to Egypt 6

2A Evidence: Cut Egypt Military Aid 7

MINOR REPAIR RESPONSES 7

A/T “Suspend, don’t cancel” or “Put more conditions on aid” – Already tried & failed by Presidents GW Bush and Obama 7

INHERENCY 7

Billions in military aid to Egypt: $1.3 billion/year and Egypt is the 2nd largest recipient of US military aid 7

A/T “Trump cut Egypt funding” – But then he gave it back 7

A/T “Egypt is reforming its human rights, changing NGO law” – Not enough; their history is littered with repression 7

FMF: Foreign Military Financing – how we fund Egypt 8

Status Quo tries to justify aid to Egypt as anti-terrorism and peace with Israel – but ignores the human rights abuses 8

Egypt: The military is the government 8

Egyptian military’s reversal of human rights and mismanagement of the economy. All they care about is getting more aid 8

Sparse and failing oversight of how they use our military aid 9

Don’t know how Egypt is using our military aid: Contractors don’t monitor 9

HARMS / SIGNIFICANCE 9

Human Rights Oppression Within Egypt 9

US military aid gives green light to human rights oppression in Egypt 9

Human rights in Egypt are bad and getting worse 10

Punishments for minor offenses + more aid would make the situation worse 10

U.S. pleas for human rights fail: 800 murdered. US arms didn’t buy us any influence to stop it 10

False imprisonment 10

Blocked human rights advocacy sites 11

Backlash & Terrorism 11

Jailed journalists, and unjust treatment fuels radicalism 11

Terror attacks increasing in Egypt today 11

The government’s goal is not to fight terror 12

Repression helped create one of al-Qaeda’s leaders 12

Egypt’s repressive policies encourage more jihadi terrorism 12

Misdirected tactics kill civilians 12

A/T “Egypt killed thousands of terrorists” – Inflated numbers; more reliable sources say otherwise 13

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY 13

Previous suspension of aid was just about to work, when Sec. of State Pompeo canceled it. Example: The Case 173 (NGO arrest) problem 13

If our “influence” is a wash, we should side with our values 13

Status Quo keeps temporarily suspending aid and then releasing it. We need to get serious about holding aid until Egypt reforms 14

Deficits harm our economy (extra advantage of cutting foreign aid spending) 14

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES 14

A/T “Alienate Egypt as an ally / Hurts US foreign interests” – Egypt has no impact on any significant foreign policy issues 14

A/T “Alienate Egypt as an ally” – Not much of an ally, they harm US interests by supporting Russia, N. Korea, Libya, and Syria. 15

A/T “Alienate Egypt as an ally” – Non-Unique: Egypt already opposes US interests in the region in Status Quo 15

A/T “Egypt breaks treaty and starts war with Israel” – Won’t happen regardless of whether we give aid or not 15

A/T “Egypt stops helping the US” – If they are helping, it’s because it’s in Egypt’s own interest. And they’re not much help 16

A/T “Egypt needs U.S. equipment” – They don’t use it for anything. 16

A/T “Egypt needs US weapons to fight terrorism” – The equipment they are buying doesn’t fight terrorism 16

A/T “They need US weapons to fight terrorism” – They need better policies, not more weapons 17

A/T “Harms Egyptian security” - No data exists to support claims that US military aid helps Egypt 17

A/T “Egypt will break the Camp David treaty and start a war with Israel” – Won’t happen. Treaty doesn’t depend on US aid 17

A/T “Egypt will buy from Russia” – Non-unique; they already do. 18

A/T “Harms U.S. arms industry” – Industry profits growing 18

Works Cited 19

Policing the Pyramids: The Case Against Military Aid to Egypt

Supporting our allies and opposing regimes that undermine human rights. Those should be two key principles of U.S. foreign policy. When our policies do not uphold those goals, or when they conflict with each other, we should reform them, and that’s where US policy is today on military aid to Egypt. Because the U.S. government is in de-Nile, it’s past time that: The United States federal government should substantially reform its foreign aid.

OBSERVATION 1. DEFINITIONS

Foreign Aid

Britannica copyright 2018 <https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-aid>

**Foreign aid**, the international transfer of [capital](https://www.britannica.com/topic/capital-economics), goods, or services from a country or [international organization](https://www.britannica.com/topic/international-organization) for the benefit of the recipient country or its population.

OBSERVATION 2. BACKGROUND. Let’s take a look at recent events in Egypt, and US foreign aid policy

FACT 1. Egyptian instability.

The Egyptian President we’re supporting has a long track-record of chaos and anti-democratic policies

Doug Bandow 2018 (senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties. He worked as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan; has been a regular commentator on ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News Channel, and MSNBC; JD from Stanford Univ.) 30 April 2018 “Why Washington Turns a Blind Eye to Egypt’s Thugocracy” <https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/why-washington-turns-blind-eye-egypts-thugocracy>

Five years ago General el-Sisi staged a coup, arrested the elected president, Mohamed Morsi, killed hundreds of pro-Morsi demonstrators, and jailed tens of thousands of opponents, critics and demonstrators. Having suppressed all serious opposition, el-Sisi took over as president and in 2014 staged a faux election, winning more than 97 percent of the vote over minor opposition. El-Sisi staged an electoral repeat in March. This time several would-be opponents, including with military backgrounds, sought to oppose him, but he arrested or intimidated them all.

FACT 2. Military aid for Egypt.

Congress gives billions in military aid to Egypt

Jeremy Sharp 2017 (specialist in Middle Eastern affairs with Congressional Research Service. Authors name derived from other copies of the same report elsewhere onine) 24 May 2017 “Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations” <https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20170324_RL33003_011a3a6e2964c5af734303647290cf16b6efbfc1.pdf>

Between 1948 and 2016, the United States provided Egypt with $77.4 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. This report discusses the conditions governing the release of these funds. All U.S. foreign aid to Egypt (or any recipient) is appropriated and authorized by Congress. All U.S. military aid to Egypt finances the procurement of weapons systems and services from U.S. defense contractors.

OBSERVATION 3. The HARMS. What’s wrong with supporting the Egyptian regime with US aid?

HARM 1. Supporting oppression

A. US aid perpetuates military control of the Egyptian government and economy

Seth Binder and William Hartung 2018 (Binder - expert in security assistance and Middle East affairs at Strategic Research & Analysis. Hartung is the director of the Arms and Security Project at the Center for International Policy) 28 March 2018 “Time To Rethink U.S. Military Aid To Egypt” <https://lobelog.com/time-to-rethink-u-s-military-aid-to-egypt/>

Ultimately, the lasting impact of decades of providing over $1 billion in military aid to Egypt per year is not just the massive number of tanks and missiles, but the military’s influence over the Egyptian state. For example, the military’s role in the economy is thought to be somewhere between 40 and 60 percent and includes businesses involved in nearly every sector, from foodstuffs and real estate to construction and electronics. U.S. military aid is not cash that can be diverted for personal benefit. But agreements that allow for U.S. aid to be spent on economic activities within Egypt, like co-production of the M-1 Abrams tank, have helped perpetuate military-run businesses that lack transparency and oversight.

B. Humanitarian efforts blocked

Doug Bandow 2018 (senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties. He worked as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan; has been a regular commentator on ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News Channel, and MSNBC; JD from Stanford Univ.) 30 April 2018 “Why Washington Turns a Blind Eye to Egypt’s Thugocracy” <https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/why-washington-turns-blind-eye-egypts-thugocracy> [Brackets added]

El-Sisi surpassed Mubarak by destroying the independent sector. Last year the regime implemented legislation criminalizing the operations of [Non-Governmental Organizations] NGOs focused on human rights and micromanaging the work of all others. Even mundane administrative decisions require regime approval. Among the groups killed by el-Sisi: the Al-Nadeem Center for the Rehabilitation of Victims of Violence and Torture, which both exposed the government’s reliance on torture and helped those tortured by the state. I visited the center four years ago, which is when staffers told me that the abuses were worse than under Mubarak.

C. Human rights denied

Michele Dunne 2017 (director and a senior fellow in Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Middle East Program; expert on political and economic change in Arab countries, particularly Egypt, as well as U.S. policy in the Middle East.) Testimony before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs. 25 April 2017 “The United States’ Assistance for Egypt” <http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/04/25/united-states-assistance-for-egypt-pub-68756>

The fact that economic decisions in Egypt serve such a narrow range of interests reflects the overall constriction of public institutions as well as civil society. The parliament is open only to coup-supporters, with not only most Islamists but also many secular parties either legally barred or strongly harassed—even including several larger secular parties that have supported Sisi but have tried to preserve some modicum of independence.The judiciary, once the branch of the government most respected by citizens, has become highly politicized. Media and journalists have been strongly repressed, and there are very few media outlets that are truly independent. Civil society groups, both secular groups focusing on human rights or civil liberties and social welfare groups suspected of ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, have received harsh treatment unprecedented in Egypt—closed down, assets confiscated, leaders either under prosecution or driven out of the country by death threats.

HARM 2. Anti-Americanism and terrorism

A. Anti-American sentiments. While taking our aid, they oppose our verification steps and stir up anti-Americanism

Seth Binder and William Hartung 2018 (Binder - expert in security assistance and Middle East affairs at Strategic Research & Analysis. Hartung is the director of the Arms and Security Project at the Center for International Policy) 28 March 2018 “Time To Rethink U.S. Military Aid To Egypt” <https://lobelog.com/time-to-rethink-u-s-military-aid-to-egypt/>

The Egyptians have restricted access to the Sinai, not just for [journalists](https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/listeningpost/2017/05/silence-sinai-covering-egypt-war-terror-170520103628202.html), but for [U.S. officials](https://www.usnews.com/news/politics/articles/2017-09-19/us-report-egypt-falls-short-on-rights-sinai-monitor-access), making it nearly impossible for the United States to ensure that U.S. law and policy are upheld. And as the Government Accountability Office has [discovered](https://www.gao.gov/assets/680/676503.pdf), Egypt has even restricted access for U.S. officials trying to carry out standard end-use monitoring checks to ensure U.S.-supplied weaponry is used for its intended purposes. The Egyptian government has also helped [perpetuate](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/america-gives-egypt-free-armored-vehicles-and-money-egypt-gives-america-a-slap-in-the-face/2016/05/29/b4f5376c-235b-11e6-8690-f14ca9de2972_story.html?utm_term=.f3318db4306b) anti-Americanism and conspiracy theories despite receiving 20 percent of its defense budget from U.S. military aid.

B. Downward spiral: Brutal Egyptian government tactics lead to more terrorism

Prof. Mohammed Ayoob 2018 (senior fellow at the Center for Global Policy in Washington, DC and University Distinguished Professor Emeritus of International Relations at Michigan State Univ.) 8 April 2018 “Can America Afford to Continue Supporting Egypt's el-Sisi?” <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/can-america-afford-continue-supporting-egypts-el-sisi-25272/page/0/1>

Sisi’s antagonism toward the Islamic State stems from his feud with the Muslim Brotherhood who he considers to be Islamist extremists similar to the Islamic State. In reality, his brutal suppression of the brotherhood, which was in the process of evolving into a constitutionalist Islamist party, similar to an-Nahda in Tunisia and the AKP in Turkey, has reopened the floodgates of Islamist extremism in Egypt and a return to the 1990s-like situation when terrorist attacks had become the order of the day in Egypt. The moderate elements in the brotherhood have lost out to those who advocate the violent overthrow of the regime once propagated by the Islamist thinker and brotherhood ideologue Syed Qutb in the 1960s. This has encouraged elements within the brotherhood from taking up guns against the regime, thus turning Sisi’s assertion into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

OBSERVATION 4. The PLAN, to be enacted by Congress & the President

1. Congress votes to stop military aid to Egypt until it   
A. has a democratically elected government chosen in free and fair elections  
B. releases NGO human rights advocates and political prisoners, and  
C. upholds freedoms of speech, press, religion, assembly and fair trials   
2. Enforcement through the State Department. Congress refuses to grant any exceptions to the aid policy until the Secretary of State testifies under oath before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs or the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that all conditions have been met.

3. Funding is a net reduction in the federal budget by canceling aid.  
4. Plan takes effect next October 1.   
5. All Affirmative speeches may clarify.

OBSERVATION 5. The ADVANTAGES

ADVANTAGE 1. Ends US responsibility and reduces backlash

Ending US aid to Egypt eliminates our moral responsibility for their abuses and avoids the inevitable anti-American backlash against us

Doug Bandow 2018 (senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties. He worked as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan; has been a regular commentator on ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News Channel, and MSNBC; JD from Stanford Univ.) 30 April 2018 “Why Washington Turns a Blind Eye to Egypt’s Thugocracy” <https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/why-washington-turns-blind-eye-egypts-thugocracy>

Foreign policy inevitably involves occasional tough moral compromises. However, the end of the Cold War has reduced pressure on Washington to ignore the cruel brutality of client regimes. In cases like Egypt, America is complicit in grotesque and widespread violations of human rights. That repression makes future violence more likely when political change inevitably occurs, and ensures that the United States will be targeted by those who suffered under what Vice President Pence lauded as a “strategic partnership” of “great importance to the American people.” Washington cannot make Egypt free, but it should stop enthusiastically embracing and subsidizing those who hold an entire country in bondage.

ADVANTAGE 2. Leverage for change.

US military aid suspension conditioned on human rights reforms is the best use of leverage to bring change to Egypt

Human Rights First and the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies 2018. (HRF - a nonprofit, nonpartisan international human rights organization based in New York and Washington. CIHRS - n independent regional nongovernmental organization which aims to promote respect for the principles of human rights and democracy in the Arab region.) Aiding Repression in Egypt Why the United States Needs to Keep Human Rights Conditions on Military Aid, September 2018 https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/sites/default/files/Aiding-Repression-in-Egypt-final.pdf

In the long run, Egypt sliding further into dictatorship will only exacerbate the tensions and instability that threaten U.S. interests in the Middle East. Rather than ignoring Egypt’s worsening human rights situation, the U.S. government should revert to its recent policy of conditioning and withholding FMF until the Egyptian government achieves meaningful progress on human rights. The Trump Administration has leverage in the form of military aid, and it should use it. Conditionality should include significant, positive movement on Case 173 and other human rights violations. If the administration remains unwilling to act, Congress should strengthen the human rights language passed in recent years through successive appropriations bills, including by limiting the administration’s ability to invoke a national security waiver to end run the law’s intent. Congress should make clear to both the Trump Administration and the Egyptian government that the latter should either comply with human rights conditions or be prepared to forego a meaningful portion of future U.S. military aid.

2A Evidence: Cut Egypt Military Aid

MINOR REPAIR RESPONSES

A/T “Suspend, don’t cancel” or “Put more conditions on aid” – Already tried & failed by Presidents GW Bush and Obama

Neil Hicks 2017 (Neil Hicks is the director of human rights promotion at Human Rights First, which is an independent advocacy and action organization.) 30 August 2017 “Tillerson withholding aid to Egypt is a necessary and unprecedented move” <http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/international-affairs/348538-tillerson-withholding-aid-to-egypt-is-a-necessary>

President Obama suspended military assistance after the coup and ensuing violence that brought President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi to power in July 2013, including the [killing](https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/08/12/all-according-plan/raba-massacre-and-mass-killings-protesters-egypt) of hundreds of supporters of deposed president Mohamed Morsi in August 2013. However, Obama lifted this suspension in March 2015 despite no improvement in the country’s human rights situation. Thirteen years prior, President George W. Bush threatened to withhold $130 million in foreign assistance over the imprisonment of human rights activist Saad Eddin Ibrahim, but did not follow through after Congress declined to appropriate additional funding.

INHERENCY

Billions in military aid to Egypt: $1.3 billion/year and Egypt is the 2nd largest recipient of US military aid

Sondos Asem 2018 (journalist) 28 July 2018 « US military aid to Egypt a 'green light for repression,' say former prisoners” https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/us-egypt-military-aid-human-rights-1105284286

Egypt receives nearly $1.3bn in military aid annually from the US. In 2018, this represented 21 percent of all US foreign military financing, making Egypt the second-largest recipient of American military aid after Israel. Over the past 40 years, since the signing of the US-brokered peace treaty with Israel in 1979, the US has given Egypt approximately $47bn in military assistance and $24bn in economic aid, according to the [Congressional Research Service](https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf).

A/T “Trump cut Egypt funding” – But then he gave it back

Seth Binder and William Hartung 2018 (Binder is an expert in security assistance and Middle East affairs at Strategic Research & Analysis. Hartung is director of the Arms and Security Project at the Center for International Policy ) 28 March 2018 “Time To Rethink U.S. Military Aid To Egypt” <https://lobelog.com/time-to-rethink-u-s-military-aid-to-egypt/>

The Trump administration also [reprogrammed](https://timep.org/commentary/special-briefing-developments-in-u-s-egypt-aid-relationship/) $65.7 million in FMF and withheld an additional $195 million following the State Department’s inability to certify the required congressional condition that Egypt was making progress on democracy and human rights. Instead of reprogramming the $195 million, the administration took the odd step of using its national-security waiver to allow the release of the funds to Egypt at a later date.

A/T “Egypt is reforming its human rights, changing NGO law” – Not enough; their history is littered with repression

Neil Hicks 2017 (Neil Hicks is the director of human rights promotion at Human Rights First, which is an independent advocacy and action organization.) 30 August 2017 “Tillerson withholding aid to Egypt is a necessary and unprecedented move” <http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/international-affairs/348538-tillerson-withholding-aid-to-egypt-is-a-necessary>

Amending the new NGO law, while positive, is hardly a sufficient response to Egypt’s [severe human rights crisis](http://www.cihrs.org/?p=19952&lang=en).To regain a stable footing, the Egyptian government should not only end its sustained assault on independent civil society organizations, but also free political prisoners, end torture, stop disappearances and extrajudicial killings, and protect religious minorities.

FMF: Foreign Military Financing – how we fund Egypt

Jeremy M. Sharp 2018 (Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs for the Congressional Research Service) 8 February 2018 “Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations” <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf>

No. All U.S. military aid to Egypt finances the procurement of weapons systems and services from U.S. defense contractors. The United States provides military assistance to U.S. partners and allies to help them acquire U.S. military equipment and training. Egypt is one of the main recipients of FMF, a program with a corresponding appropriations account administered by the Department of State but implemented by the Department of Defense. FMF is a grant program that enables governments to receive equipment and associated training from the U.S. government or to access equipment directly through U.S. commercial channels.

Status Quo tries to justify aid to Egypt as anti-terrorism and peace with Israel – but ignores the human rights abuses

Seth Binder and William Hartung 2018 (Binder - expert in security assistance and Middle East affairs at Strategic Research & Analysis. Hartung is the director of the Arms and Security Project at the Center for International Policy) 28 March 2018 “Time To Rethink U.S. Military Aid To Egypt” <https://lobelog.com/time-to-rethink-u-s-military-aid-to-egypt/>

This week’s presidential election in Egypt offers an opportunity to rethink the amount and purpose of U.S. military aid to that nation, which has totaled over [$40 billion](https://www.dsca.mil/sites/default/files/fiscal_year_series_-_30_september_2016.pdf) since the signing of the Camp David peace accords in 1979. Is U.S. aid helping Egypt to effectively combat a growing terrorist threat while maintaining good relations with Israel? Or is it bolstering a corrupt, undemocratic regime whose human-rights abuses have undermined its ability to unify the nation in the fight against terror?

Egypt: The military is the government

Fred Kaplan 2013 (Fred Kaplan is the author of Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyber War.) 16 August 2013 “Stop Paying the Generals” <http://www.slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/06/donald-trumps-family-separation-the-government-had-no-intention-of-reuniting-parents-and-children.html>

This was because, essentially, the Egyptian government is the Egyptian military. This was true during the reign of Hosni Mubarak (who was a general), during the reign of Morsi, and—here’s the key point—during the massive protests that led to the downfall of both presidents. The generals felt it was well within their rights to oust them when their regimes fell short and the economy was on the verge of collapse, because they—the generals—were in charge of both the political system and much of the country’s economy.

Egyptian military’s reversal of human rights and mismanagement of the economy. All they care about is getting more aid

International Crisis Group 2017 (an independent organisation working to prevent wars and shape policies that will build a more peaceful world.) 30 April 2017 “Keeping Egypt’s Politics on the Agenda” <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/egypt/keeping-egypts-politics-agenda>

Simultaneously, the military and security services have tended to micromanage the use of foreign aid, the result often being either long delays in the implementation of projects or the blocking of those they do not like. The economy is relatively advanced, and the country enjoys both extremely successful private sector personalities and talented technocrats. Yet, as part of the wider reversal of the democratic opening of 2011-2013, the government is turning its back on consensus-building on major socio-economic issues. It often appears more concerned about securing foreign aid, especially direct budget support, than genuinely thinking through what its reform plan should be and how to implement donor agendas.

Sparse and failing oversight of how they use our military aid

Government Accountability Office 2016 ( an independent, nonpartisan agency that works for Congress. Often called the "congressional watchdog," GAO investigates how the federal government spends taxpayer dollars)“U.S. Government Should Strengthen End-Use Monitoring and Human Rights Vetting for Egypt” <https://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-16-435>

The Departments of Defense (DOD) and State implemented end-use monitoring for equipment transferred to Egyptian security forces, but challenges including obtaining Egyptian government cooperation hindered some efforts. DOD completed all required end-use monitoring inventories and physical security inspections of storage sites for missiles and night vision devices (NVD) in fiscal year 2015, but DOD lacked documentation showing that it completed physical security inspections for these sensitive items in prior years. Despite agreeing to give access, the Egyptian government prevented DOD officials from accessing a storage site to verify the physical security of some NVDs prior to 2015, according to DOD officials and documents. State conducted 12 end-use checks of U.S. equipment exported to Egypt in fiscal years 2011 to 2015, but State data indicate that the Egyptian government's incomplete and slow responses to some inquiries limited U.S. efforts to verify the use and security of certain equipment, including NVDs and riot-control items. Despite this lack of cooperation, since 2008, State has not used outreach programs in Egypt that are intended to facilitate host country cooperation and compliance with State's monitoring program. According to State officials, this was due to the small number of end-use checks conducted in Egypt and the lower priority assigned to Egypt than to other countries.

Don’t know how Egypt is using our military aid: Contractors don’t monitor

Prof. Charles Tiefer 2015 (Univ. of Baltimore School of Law; former Commissioner on the Congressionally-chartered Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan, in which I did three missions to Iraq and Afghanistan; former General Counsel (Acting) of the House of Representatives; graduated from Harvard Law School with a J.D. magna cum laude.) 7 April 2015 “As U.S. Resumes Military Aid To Egypt, Reports Show How Little We Know On How It's Being Used” <https://www.forbes.com/sites/charlestiefer/2015/04/07/us-military-aid-for-al-sisi-in-egypt-state-dept-fails-to-review/#66af9cda2390>

So, having belatedly noticed this two years ago, did State finish an evaluation of Egypt, or even start one?  No. State depends upon contractors to do the evaluating.  It has a standing contract with a bunch of contractors to do it (for contracting aficionados, the type is multiple award task order).  State formally asked the contractors on that contract to bid on the task order of evaluating the Egyptian military aid. But, not a single one offered any bid at all to take on the project.

HARMS / SIGNIFICANCE

Human Rights Oppression Within Egypt

US military aid gives green light to human rights oppression in Egypt

Sondos Asem 2018 (journalist) 28 July 2018 « US military aid to Egypt a 'green light for repression,' say former prisoners” https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/us-egypt-military-aid-human-rights-1105284286

Aya Hijazi, an Egyptian American who spent three years in jail in Egypt, was flown to Washington on a US government plane in April 2017 after being acquitted in a trial which Human Rights Watch described as "a travesty of justice". The charges brought against Hijazi were linked to her role as the founder of a civil society organisation, Belady, aimed at rehabilitating street children in Egypt. Following her return to Washington, Hijazi was photographed in the Oval Office with Trump, who said it was a "great honour" to host her. She said the US decision to release the aid was “an expected yet unfortunate step back for human rights". "This gives the military a green light to continue the reign of suppression it is embarking on," she told MEE.

Human rights in Egypt are bad and getting worse

Human Rights First and the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies 2018. (HRF - a nonprofit, nonpartisan international human rights organization based in New York and Washington. CIHRS - n independent regional nongovernmental organization which aims to promote respect for the principles of human rights and democracy in the Arab region.) Aiding Repression in Egypt Why the United States Needs to Keep Human Rights Conditions on Military Aid, September 2018 https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/sites/default/files/Aiding-Repression-in-Egypt-final.pdf

According to the State Department’s annual report on human rights conditions in Egypt, Egypt’s government carries out human rights violations in “an environment of impunity.” Among other violations of Egyptian citizens’ rights, authorities are thought to have incarcerated tens of thousands of men and women on political grounds. Police and security service officers routinely torture detainees—using techniques such as electric shocks, beatings, and sexual assault. In 2017, President Sisi ratified a draconian law restricting the work of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), essentially criminalizing the practice of advocating for human rights and development.

Punishments for minor offenses + more aid would make the situation worse

Doug Bandow 2018 (senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties. He worked as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan; has been a regular commentator on ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News Channel, and MSNBC; JD from Stanford Univ.) 30 April 2018 “Why Washington Turns a Blind Eye to Egypt’s Thugocracy” <https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/why-washington-turns-blind-eye-egypts-thugocracy>

Worse, additional aid would strengthen Cairo’s repressive rule. Today no action is too small for the regime to punish: posting a cartoon of el-Sisi with Mickey Mouse ears on Facebook earned one man a three-year prison term. A pop star recently was sentenced to six months in prison for calling the Nile River “dirty,” which was taken as an insult to the state—even though the river is, well, dirty, as I have seen from personal observation.

U.S. pleas for human rights fail: 800 murdered. US arms didn’t buy us any influence to stop it

Andrew Miller and Richard Sokolsky 2018 (Miller is a former director for Egypt on the National Security Council and current deputy director for policy at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Sokolsky is currently a nonresident senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He served in the State Department for 37 years and was a member of the Secretary of State’s Office of Policy Planning from 2005-2015) 27 February 2018 “What Has $49 Billion in Foreign Military Aid Bought Us? Not Much” <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/what-has-49-billion-in-foreign-military-aid-bought-us-not-much/>

Likewise, the track record of using security assistance to increase U.S. influence in the region is no more encouraging. While recipient countries are happy to utter platitudes about increased cooperation, they generally—and successfully—resist Washington’s requests to modify their policies in exchange for assistance. Ongoing U.S. assistance to Egypt did not leave Cairo open to American pleas to desist from forcibly dispersing two largely non-violent sit-ins in the capital, in which over 800 people were massacred.

False imprisonment

Leila Fadel 2016 (national correspondent for NPR based in Las Vegas, covering issues of culture, diversity, and race.) 24 August 2016 “As Egypt's Jails Fill, Growing Fears Of A Rise In Radicalization” <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/08/24/491170122/as-egypts-jails-fill-growing-fears-of-a-rise-in-radicalization>

I made contact with a man in his mid-20s, who's still in the maximum-security prison where Deen was held. He asked me not to reveal his name or how we communicated, out of fear for his safety. He was sentenced to more than two decades by a military court on charges that include belonging to a banned group and possessing firearms and explosives. He says there was no evidence against him, save a false confession extracted under torture. Human rights groups corroborate the young man's claims.

Blocked human rights advocacy sites

Emna Sayadi 2018 (Campaigner for the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA) at Access Now; formerly worked with several NGOs in Tunisia, where she served as a project manager at Euromed EVE association and organized several workshops on human rights and youth; Master's degree in English for Communications at the Higher Institute of Languages of Tunis.) 14 March 2018 “Egypt: more than 500 sites blocked ahead of the presidential election” <https://www.accessnow.org/egypt-more-than-500-sites-blocked-ahead-of-the-presidential-election/>

Within three months, the ban expanded as the Egyptian authorities blocked websites providing content related to human rights and civil society, such as the [Arabic Network for Human Rights Information](http://anhri.net/?lang=en), [Reporters Without Borders](https://rsf.org/en), the [Egyptian Commission for Human Rights and Freedoms](http://www.ec-rf.org/), and the Journalists Against Torture Observatory. The ban extended to include the Human Rights Watch website on 7 September 2017, a day after the organization issued [a report](https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/egypt) documenting the systematic use of torture in the country’s prisons.

Backlash & Terrorism

Jailed journalists, and unjust treatment fuels radicalism

Leila Fadel 2016 (national correspondent for NPR based in Las Vegas.) 24 August 2016 “As Egypt's Jails Fill, Growing Fears Of A Rise In Radicalization” <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/08/24/491170122/as-egypts-jails-fill-growing-fears-of-a-rise-in-radicalization>

Deen, a 47-year-old father and freelance journalist who runs a consulting business, spent five months in a maximum security prison. He was never charged and was finally released in March. What he saw inside scared him: young men, many who hadn't committed crimes, became hardened radicals over the course of their confinement. "In jail, they become ISIS," he says. "And this is very horrible. Many people — not one or two or three, many."

Terror attacks increasing in Egypt today

**Note: This proves the harms (Status Quo promotes terrorism) and also disproves a potential DA. If US weapons are key to fighting terrorism, shouldn’t it be going down right now when we give them $1billion+ every year?**

Yasmin Faruki 2017 (researcher at the Center for a New American Security) 3 May 2017 “Trump’s Blank Check to Sisi” <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/trumps-blank-check-sisi-20469?page=2>

Despite the country’s purchases of F-16s, Apache helicopters, and M1A1 tanks under the FMF, agile insurgent networks based in the Sinai, including ISIS’s affiliate, have proven their ability to [carry out complex attacks](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2015-07-21/egypts-old-strategy-new-terrorism) at relatively low cost. Last week, [Sinai militants killed a policeman](http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/egypt/1.784140) at a checkpoint near Saint Catherine’s Monastery, a popular tourist destination. External sources suggest that the number of reported terrorist attacks has peaked in recent years—around 120 per month, which is [a statistic not seen since the 1990s](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2015-07-21/egypts-old-strategy-new-terrorism). Alleged improvements in Egypt’s counterterrorism performance are also difficult to verify [because of a 2015 law](http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/03/sinai-reporting-egypt-war-terror-160307061803190.html) that criminalized any reporting that contradicts the government’s account. As a counterterrorism ally that provides heavy military equipment and training to Egypt, the United States deserves higher visibility into where the country is making gains and losses. Trump should measure how well Egypt’s state of emergency actually achieves the country’s security over the next three months.

The government’s goal is not to fight terror

Note to reader: The Tahrir Square was a massacre of over 800 people by government forces

Muhammad Mansour 2017 (Muhammad Mansour is an Egyptian journalist, who covered the Arab uprisings, and writes about Egyptian affairs, the Sinai insurgency and broader Middle Eastern issues.) 15 May 2017 “US aid to Egypt: Wrong but inevitable” <http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/us-aid-egypt-wrong-inevitable-1572718623>

“The primary priority of the Egyptian military and general Sisi is not to fight terrorism or improve governance,” Tom Malinowski, assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights and labour from 2014 to 2017 said at the Senate hearing on 25 April. “It has been to make sure that what happened in 2011 in the Tahrir square uprising can never ever, ever, ever happen again.”

Repression helped create one of al-Qaeda’s leaders

Doug Bandow 2014 (Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute; former Special Assistant to President Ronald Reagan; Senior Fellow in International Religious Persecution with the Institute on Religion and Public Policy; graduate of Florida State Univ. and Stanford Law School.) 1 September 2014 “Egypt's Al-Sisi Establishes Tyranny Mubarak Only Dreamed Of: Washington Should Stop Playing The Fool By Praising Cairo's Commitment To Democracy” <https://www.forbes.com/sites/dougbandow/2014/09/01/egypts-al-sisi-establishes-tyranny-mubarak-only-dreamed-of-washington-should-stop-playing-the-fool-by-praising-cairos-commitment-to-democracy/2/#1e8f2e3e245e>

Yet repression is unlikely to deliver stability.  Mubarak’s jails helped turn Brotherhood activist Ayman al-Zawahiri into al-Qaeda’s leader.  Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, both formerly with the State Department, wrote:  “Repression of Islamists in Egypt was an essential stage in the emergence of contemporary jihadism.  As splinter groups that were significantly more radical than the Muslim Brotherhood formed, Islamists became more violent.”

Egypt’s repressive policies encourage more jihadi terrorism

Elliott Abrams 2017 (Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies, Council on Foreign Relations) testimony before the Senate Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs 25 April 2017 “United States Assistance for Egypt” <https://www.appropriations.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/042517-%20Abrams%20Testimony.pdf>

I would suggest that in our general battle against terrorism, Mr. Chairman, Egypt is acting in ways that will in fact make it not an asset but a liability—indeed will make it a jihadi factory. It is estimated that there are 60,000 political prisoners in Egypt today—meaning individuals who did not commit crimes of violence. If you take thousands of young men, toss them into prison, beat and torture them, incarcerate them for lengthy periods with actual jihadis, what comes out at the end of the process is in fact more jihadis.

Misdirected tactics kill civilians

Elliott Abrams 2017 (Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies, Council on Foreign Relations) testimony before the Senate Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs 25 April 2017 “United States Assistance for Egypt” <https://www.appropriations.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/042517-%20Abrams%20Testimony.pdf>

While no one can doubt the desire of the Egyptian government to end terrorism and defeat Islamic State in Sinai, its tactics appear to be failing. Just as the terrorist attacks have become routine, so too have heavyhanded Egyptian responses resulting in civilian casualties. Egyptian security forces continue to accidentally kill considerable numbers of civilians in counterterror operations. In one incident, a group of tourists was mistakenly bombed in 2015. In January, a drone strike caused 10 civilian deaths. On April 20, a video surfaced on Twitter “that appears to show members of the Egyptian military shooting unarmed detainees to death at point-blank range in the Sinai Peninsula and staging the killings to look as if they had happened in combat.” Details surrounding the incident remain unclear.

A/T “Egypt killed thousands of terrorists” – Inflated numbers; more reliable sources say otherwise

Maged Mandour 2017 (political analyst and writes the “Chronicles of the Arab Revolt” column for Open Democracy) 16 March 2017 “The Heavy Civilian Toll in Sinai” <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/68296>

In addition, the number of casualties during counterterrorism operations far exceeds the estimated number of Wilayat Sinai fighters. Since the start of the large counterterrorism “Operation Martyr’s Right” in September 2015, the Egyptian military has [reported](https://timep.org/commentary/quarterly-report-2016-q2/) that 2,529 militants were killed and 2,481 others arrested as of December 2016. However, foreign intelligence agencies, including the [Central Intelligence Agency](https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2015/257523.htm) (CIA) and the [Israel Defense Forces](https://twitter.com/IDFSpokesperson/status/724889560627421188?lang=en), estimated in mid-2016 that the size of Wilayat Sinai [ranges](https://timep.org/esw/profiles/terror-groups/wilayat-sinai/) from several hundred to a thousand militants, far below the numbers of reported killings. This disconnect can be explained by faulty intelligence or by inflating of the number of militants killed to include civilian deaths among militant deaths. The Egyptian government has a [history](http://www.mepc.org/articles-commentary/commentary/tragic-killing-mexican-tourists-egypt-sparks-criticism) of attacking civilians mistaken for militants. [Local sources](http://www.irinnews.org/report/99299/civilians-caught-egypt%E2%80%99s-counter-terrorism-operations) in Sinai back up the existence of such incidents, including an invented attack on a police station in Sheikh Zuweid that was used to justify the deaths of civilians in September 2013.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY

Previous suspension of aid was just about to work, when Sec. of State Pompeo canceled it. Example: The Case 173 (NGO arrest) problem

Human Rights First and the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies 2018. (HRF - a nonprofit, nonpartisan international human rights organization based in New York and Washington. CIHRS - independent regional nongovernmental organization which aims to promote respect for the principles of human rights and democracy in the Arab region.) Aiding Repression in Egypt Why the United States Needs to Keep Human Rights Conditions on Military Aid, September 2018 <https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/sites/default/files/Aiding-Repression-in-Egypt-final.pdf> (brackets added)

Underscoring this point, Secretary Pompeo’s reversal of [former Sec. of State Rex] Tillerson’s aid hold occurred just as it was beginning to show some limited effect. On April 5th , Egyptian authorities agreed to order a retrial in the notorious Case 173 on Foreign Funding,16 in which a criminal court sentenced 43 employees of foreign NGOs to up to five years in jail and ordered the closure of the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute, Freedom House, the International Center for Journalists, and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. When the Court of Cassation announced a retrial in April, civil society leaders greeted this as a welcome first step. The hearing, however, was later postponed until November 11, 2018.

If our “influence” is a wash, we should side with our values

Fred Kaplan 2013 (Pulitzer Prize winning journalist) 16 August 2013 “Stop Paying the Generals” <http://www.slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/06/donald-trumps-family-separation-the-government-had-no-intention-of-reuniting-parents-and-children.html>

It may well be that our influence—or lack thereof—will be the same, regardless of whether we keep aiding the Egyptian military. If it’s unclear what course of action will best serve U.S. *interests*, maybe that leaves a clear path to pursue U.S. *values* instead.

Status Quo keeps temporarily suspending aid and then releasing it. We need to get serious about holding aid until Egypt reforms

Melissa Etehad 2018 (master's in journalism from Columbia University and a bachelor’s in international affairs from UC San Diego and has reported from the Middle East and Europe. She previously worked at Al Jazeera English and the Washington Post's foreign desk) LOS ANGELES TIMES 15 Aug 2018 The human rights situation in Egypt is getting worse. Could withholding American military aid help? http://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-military-aid-egypt-20180815-story.html

Releasing military assistance to Egypt without seeing improvements in human rights taints the perception that the U.S. is serious in holding Egypt accountable, said Andrew Miller, deputy director for policy at the Project on Middle East Democracy. “Releasing the money removes pressure on the Egyptian government to meet conditions that were originally attached to that funding,” Miller said. “Egyptians will look back and see that this is further evidence Americans aren’t serious about human rights concerns. It hurts the idea of using assistance to leverage influence.”

Deficits harm our economy (extra advantage of cutting foreign aid spending)

Dr William Gale and Benjamin Harris 2011. (Gale - PhD in economics, Stanford Univ.; senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and co-director of the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center; former assistant professor in the Department of Economics at UCLA, and a senior economist for the Council of Economic Advisers under President George H.W. Bush; Harris - master’s degree in economics from Cornell University and a master’s degree in quantitative methods from Columbia University; senior research associate with the Economics Studies Program at the Brookings Institution) “Reforming Taxes and Raising Revenue: Part of the Fiscal Solution” <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/05_fiscal_solution_gale_harris.pdf>

The second broad effect is on national saving. A reduction in the deficit raises public saving, which typically results in higher national saving (national saving is the sum of household, corporate, and government saving). This effect is often ignored in discussions of tax policy and economic growth, but it can be important. Even in the absence of a financial crisis, sustained deficits have deleterious long-term effects, as they translate into lower national savings, higher interest rates, and increased indebtedness to foreign investors, all of which reduce future national income. Gale and Orszag (2004b) estimate that a 1 percent of GDP increase in the deficit will raise interest rates by 25 to 35 basis points and reduce national saving by 0.5 to 0.8 percentage points. Engen and Hubbard (2004) obtain similar results with respect to interest rates. Thus, relative to a balanced budget, a deficit equal to 6 percent of GDP would raise interest rates by at least 150 basis points and reduce the national saving rate by at least 3 percent of GDP. The IMF (2010) estimates that, in advanced economies, an increase of 10 percentage points in the initial debt/GDP ratio reduces future GDP growth rates by 0.15 percentage points.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

A/T “Alienate Egypt as an ally / Hurts US foreign interests” – Egypt has no impact on any significant foreign policy issues

Andrew Miller 2018 (Deputy Director for Policy Project on Middle East Democracy) Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee - Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee Hearing Egypt: Security, Human Rights, and Reform, 24 July 2018 https://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA13/20180724/108598/HH

The first key characteristic of today’s Egypt is that the country is no longer as important to U.S. interests as it once was. President al-Sisi has been unable to reverse years of internal state decay and, with the increasing assertiveness of wealthy Gulf states, Egypt has ceased to be a regional power in the Middle East. The Egyptian government currently possesses neither the wealth, the military power, nor the administrative efficiency to shape events and outcomes elsewhere in the region, with the exceptions of Libya and Gaza. Even the country’s soft power across the region has dissipated. The days when the United States could rely upon Egypt to serve as an anchor for U.S. interests in the region are long gone. Egypt is not the key to resolving the crisis in Syria, is not at the forefront of efforts to roll back Iranian influence in the Middle East, and lacks the expeditionary capability to deploy outside of its borders in support of the United States.While Egypt has influence over the economic situation in Gaza due to its control of the border, it has scant influence in the West Bank, and is in no position to deliver the Palestinians to a peace agreement with Israel.

A/T “Alienate Egypt as an ally” – Not much of an ally, they harm US interests by supporting Russia, N. Korea, Libya, and Syria.

Seth Binder and William Hartung 2018 (Binder is an expert in security assistance and Middle East affairs at Strategic Research & Analysis. Hartung is director of the Arms and Security Project at the Center for International Policy ) 28 March 2018 “Time To Rethink U.S. Military Aid To Egypt” <https://lobelog.com/time-to-rethink-u-s-military-aid-to-egypt/>

In addition, Egypt’s foreign policy has increasingly acted counter to U.S. interests. In Libya, in partnership with the United Arab Emirates, Egypt has actively supported anti-Islamist strongman General Khalifa Hiftar in opposition to [U.S. policy](https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2017/09/274402.htm) of neutrality and a [United Nations](https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/03/libya-embargo-violations-panel-report-findings-unsc-180301080019627.html) arms embargo. President al-Sisi has all but come out in [support](https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2017-02-12/egypt-picks-sides-syrian-war) of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad through a thinly veiled call to respect national sovereignty. Al-Sisi has also come to a preliminary agreement to [allow](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/30/world/middleeast/russia-egypt-air-bases.html) the Russians to use Egypt’s airspace and military bases. For this access, the Russians have [sold](https://fas.org/sgp/crs/weapons/R44716.pdf) nearly $10 billion in military equipment to Egypt since 2008, including a recent deal for [50 Russian MiG-29 fighter jets](http://www.egyptindependent.com/russia-start-moving-50-mig-29-fighters-egypt-tass/). The Egyptians have also skirted sanctions, [providing](http://pomed.org/blog-post/egypts-north-korea-connection/) economic and military support to North Korea including, according to a New York Times [report](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/03/world/middleeast/egypt-north-korea-sanctions-arms-dealing.html), the purchase of 30,000 North Korean rocket-propelled grenades by the Arab Organization for Industrialization, one of Egypt’s main military-run businesses.

A/T “Alienate Egypt as an ally” – Non-Unique: Egypt already opposes US interests in the region in Status Quo

Andrew Miller 2018 (Deputy Director for Policy Project on Middle East Democracy) Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee - Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee Hearing Egypt: Security, Human Rights, and Reform, 24 July 2018 https://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA13/20180724/108598/HH

The third characteristic of today’s Egypt is that it is an extremely difficult partner for the United States. The Cold War consensus that held together the U.S.-Egyptian relationship no longer holds, and Egyptian interests often diverge from those of the United States. For example, Egypt has continued its political, economic, and military cooperation with North Korea, helping Pyongyang to acquire badly needed foreign currency, at the precise time the Trump administration has sought to apply maximum pressure on King Jong Un’s regime. Egypt is also determined to build a closer relationship with Russia, regardless of how the United States treats Egypt. And, at the United Nations Security Council, Egypt has opposed U.S. positions on Syria and Israel.

A/T “Egypt breaks treaty and starts war with Israel” – Won’t happen regardless of whether we give aid or not

Doug Bandow 2018 (senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties. He worked as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan; has been a regular commentator on ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News Channel, and MSNBC; JD from Stanford Univ.) 30 April 2018 “Why Washington Turns a Blind Eye to Egypt’s Thugocracy” <https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/why-washington-turns-blind-eye-egypts-thugocracy>

Alas, the United States and other Western governments have gone soft on Egyptian repression because they value stability more than liberty. They assume that only obsequious support can preserve Egypt as an ally. However, Cairo is not going to war upon Israel, whether or not Washington subsidizes el-Sisi’s dictatorship. Interdicting traffic through the Suez Canal would be self-defeating for any Egyptian government. And the regime would retain significant incentive—access to spare parts and training for U.S.-supplied weapons, for instance—to maintain positive contacts with the West.

A/T “Egypt stops helping the US” – If they are helping, it’s because it’s in Egypt’s own interest. And they’re not much help

Fred Kaplan 2013 (Pulitzer Prize winning journalist) 16 August 2013 “Stop Paying the Generals” <http://www.slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/06/donald-trumps-family-separation-the-government-had-no-intention-of-reuniting-parents-and-children.html>

These are no small matters. However, Egypt’s leaders do these things not because of American largesse but because it is in their *interests*. The Egyptians do not want to incite a war, or an arms race, with Israel. They don’t want terrorists roaming free in their northern territories. They fear and loathe the prospect of Iranian expansion. As for overflight rights and passage through the Suez, one can imagine some reluctance in certain crises if the American military were no longer a bountiful presence. But in most of these prospective crises, the United States and Egypt would be on the same side, and in those instances when they may not be, there are other portals of entry. Egypt no longer plays the unique role, politically or geographically, that it once did in the Arab world.

A/T “Egypt needs U.S. equipment” – They don’t use it for anything.

Andrew Miller and Richard Sokolsky 2018 (Miller is a former director for Egypt on the National Security Council and current deputy director for policy at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Sokolsky - nonresident senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; served in the State Department for 37 years and was a member of the Secretary of State’s Office of Policy Planning from 2005-2015. 27 February 2018 “What Has $49 Billion in Foreign Military Aid Bought Us? Not Much” <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/what-has-49-billion-in-foreign-military-aid-bought-us-not-much/>

Meanwhile, Middle Eastern militaries have exploited arms sales to buttress their prestige and to support local patronage networks, both of which help to sustain their dominant position in domestic politics. Egypt’s procurement of over 1,000 M1A1 Abrams tanks, for instance, has less to do with their military value than with the Egyptian jobs supported by a [co-production plant](https://www.defensenews.com/home/2015/11/01/as-us-egypt-tensions-thaw-m1a1-abrams-tank-co-production-to-resume/) in country. The Egyptian Armed Forces have so far opted not to deploy M1A1s in combat in the restive Sinai Peninsula.

A/T “Egypt needs US weapons to fight terrorism” – The equipment they are buying doesn’t fight terrorism

Stratfor 2015 (As the world’s leading geopolitical intelligence platform, Stratfor brings global events into valuable perspective, empowering businesses, governments and individuals to more confidently navigate their way through an increasingly complex international environment.) 12 June 2015 “Egypt's Conventional Military Thinking” <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/egypts-conventional-military-thinking>

This stance is especially visible in the Egyptian military's force structure. Rather than restructuring its forces into a more flexible organization geared toward counterinsurgency operations, the military has maintained a centralized hierarchy that is broken down into conventional military region, army, corps and division units of command. It has also continued to invest heavily in weaponry such as surface-to-air missile batteries, anti-ship missiles, tanks and frigates that, for the most part, are useless for addressing Egypt's counterinsurgency and counterterrorism threats.

A/T “They need US weapons to fight terrorism” – They need better policies, not more weapons

Andrew Miller 2018 (Deputy Director for Policy Project on Middle East Democracy) Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee - Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee Hearing Egypt: Security, Human Rights, and Reform, 24 July 2018 https://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA13/20180724/108598/HH

Even where the United States and Egypt share common interests, Egypt has often rejected U.S. cooperation and assistance. Counterterrorism (CT) is a case in point. While Egypt has gladly accepted U.S. military equipment funded by American taxpayer money, it has largely spurned other forms of support that are arguably more important to its CT success, including training and advice. This is particularly detrimental to CT in Egypt, as the Egyptian military’s struggles against the ISIS affiliate in the Sinai appear to be a function of poor doctrine and tactics rather than equipment shortfalls. Moreover, al-Sisi’s government has ignored U.S. concerns that its political repression and mass incarceration of peaceful actors is fueling radicalization trends in the country, in effect creating new terrorists.

A/T “Harms Egyptian security” - No data exists to support claims that US military aid helps Egypt

Government Accountability Office 2015 (The U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) is an independent, nonpartisan agency that works for Congress. Often called the "congressional watchdog," GAO investigates how the federal government spends taxpayer dollars) February 2015 “U.S. Government Should Examine Options for Using Unobligated Funds and Evaluating Security Assistance Programs” <https://www.gao.gov/assets/670/668448.pdf>

State solicited proposals for this evaluation in May 2014 but did not receive any responses from the eligible evaluation firms. According to the State official overseeing the solicitation process, some of the eligible firms reported having concerns about being able to carry out an evaluation given the uncertain security environment in Egypt. State officials also noted that the department has never before attempted to holistically evaluate security assistance to Egypt or any other country, and the size and complexity of security assistance to Egypt make it especially challenging to conduct a formal evaluation. The State official overseeing the solicitation process for the proposed evaluation noted the difficulty of determining how security assistance contributes to broader strategic goals and said that there is limited information to serve as the basis for an evaluation because neither State nor DOD has established performance metrics, nor has either agency consistently collected performance data on the FMF program. In addition, this official noted that a foreign military such as the Egyptian Armed Forces might be reluctant to cooperate on an evaluation of military capabilities, as it might be perceived as intelligence gathering

A/T “Egypt will break the Camp David treaty and start a war with Israel” – Won’t happen. Treaty doesn’t depend on US aid

Andrew Miller 2018 (Deputy Director for Policy Project on Middle East Democracy) Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee - Middle East and North Africa Subcommittee Hearing Egypt: Security, Human Rights, and Reform, 24 July 2018 https://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA13/20180724/108598/HH

The risks of cutting Egypt’s military assistance and retaining human rights conditionality are often exaggerated. Contrary to popular belief, the United States did not undertake an indefinite commitment to provide Egypt with any specific level of military support at Camp David; reducing military assistance to Egypt would thus not put the United States in breach of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty. Moreover, the Peace Treaty is no longer dependent on U.S. mediation; Israel and Egypt have become solid, if quiet, allies.

A/T “Egypt will buy from Russia” – Non-unique; they already do.

Seth Binder and William Hartung 2018 (Binder is an expert in security assistance and Middle East affairs at Strategic Research & Analysis. Hartung is director of the Arms and Security Project at the Center for International Policy ) 28 March 2018 “Time To Rethink U.S. Military Aid To Egypt” [https://lobelog.com/time-to-rethink-u-s-military-aid-to-egypt/](https://lobelog.com/time-to-rethink-u-s-military-aid-to-egypt/" \t "_blank)

Al-Sisi has also come to a preliminary agreement to [allow](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/30/world/middleeast/russia-egypt-air-bases.html) the Russians to use Egypt’s airspace and military bases. For this access, the Russians have [sold](https://fas.org/sgp/crs/weapons/R44716.pdf) nearly $10 billion in military equipment to Egypt since 2008, including a recent deal for [50 Russian MiG-29 fighter jets](http://www.egyptindependent.com/russia-start-moving-50-mig-29-fighters-egypt-tass/).

A/T “Harms U.S. arms industry” – Industry profits growing

Andrew Miller and Richard Sokolsky 2018 (Andrew Miller is a former director for Egypt on the National Security Council and current deputy director for policy at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Richard Sokolsky is currently a nonresident senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He served in the State Department for 37 years and was a member of the Secretary of State’s Office of Policy Planning from 2005-2015. 27 February 2018 “What Has $49 Billion in Foreign Military Aid Bought Us? Not Much” <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/what-has-49-billion-in-foreign-military-aid-bought-us-not-much/>

Under existing conditions, U.S. interests and taxpayers are not the primary beneficiaries of military assistance and arms sales. Instead, it is U.S. defense contractors and regional militaries that often prioritize domestic political influence over operational capabilities. In recent years, the U.S. arms industry has registered [record profits](http://usblogs.pwc.com/industrialinsights/2017/06/20/aerospace-strong-forecast-for-2017/), a pattern likely to continue given President Trump’s initiative to expedite government approval of weapons sales. Indeed, the State Department cleared a record number of arms sales in Fiscal Year 2017 ($75.9 billion). While champions of the U.S. arms industry defend it as an engine of job growth, [economists](https://news.brown.edu/articles/2017/05/jobscow) have found that investments in other industries are more efficient job generators.

Works Cited

1. Andrew Miller and Richard Sokolsky 2018 (Andrew Miller is a former director for Egypt on the National Security Council and current deputy director for policy at the Project on Middle East Democracy and a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Richard Sokolsky is currently a nonresident senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He served in the State Department for 37 years and was a member of the Secretary of State’s Office of Policy Planning from 2005-2015. 27 February 2018 “What Has $49 Billion in Foreign Military Aid Bought Us? Not Much” http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/what-has-49-billion-in-foreign-military-aid-bought-us-not-much/
2. Britannica copyright 2018 https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-aid
3. Charles Tiefer 2015 (I am Professor at the University of Baltimore School of Law, where I focus on government contracting and Congressional legislating. I served as Commissioner on the Congressionally-chartered Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan, in which I did three missions to Iraq and Afghanistan, and over 20 televised hearings. My chief published work on government contracting is a leading 750 page legal casebook, Government Contracting Law in the Twenty-First Century. I have testified before Congressional committees as an expert many times about Government contracting, problem departments, and government personnel. I was General Counsel (Acting) of the House of Representatives, serving15 years in that office and its Senate counterpart, and published a 1000 page treatise, Congressional Practice and Procedure. I am publishing with University Press of America a new book, The Polarized Congress: The Post-Traditional Procedure of its Current Struggles. I graduated from Columbia College with a B.A. summa cum laude and from Harvard Law School with a J.D. magna cum laude, and served on the Harvard Law Review.) 7 April 2015 “As U.S. Resumes Military Aid To Egypt, Reports Show How Little We Know On How It's Being Used” https://www.forbes.com/sites/charlestiefer/2015/04/07/us-military-aid-for-al-sisi-in-egypt-state-dept-fails-to-review/#66af9cda2390
4. Congressional Research Service 2017 (Author name redacted, but they are a Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs) 24 May 2017 “Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations” https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20170324\_RL33003\_011a3a6e2964c5af734303647290cf16b6efbfc1.pdf
5. Doug Bandow 2014 (I am a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute. A former Special Assistant to President Ronald Reagan, I also am a Senior Fellow in International Religious Persecution with the Institute on Religion and Public Policy. I am the author and editor of numerous books, including Foreign Follies: America's New Global Empire, The Politics of Plunder: Misgovernment in Washington, and Beyond Good Intentions: A Biblical View of Politics. I am a graduate of Florida State University and Stanford Law School.) 1 September 2014 “Egypt's Al-Sisi Establishes Tyranny Mubarak Only Dreamed Of: Washington Should Stop Playing The Fool By Praising Cairo's Commitment To Democracy” https://www.forbes.com/sites/dougbandow/2014/09/01/egypts-al-sisi-establishes-tyranny-mubarak-only-dreamed-of-washington-should-stop-playing-the-fool-by-praising-cairos-commitment-to-democracy/2/#1e8f2e3e245e
6. Doug Bandow 2018 (Doug Bandow is a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, specializing in foreign policy and civil liberties. He worked as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan and editor of the political magazine Inquiry. He writes regularly for leading publications such as Fortune magazine, National Interest, the Wall Street Journal, and the Washington Times. Bandow speaks frequently at academic conferences, on college campuses, and to business groups. Bandow has been a regular commentator on ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News Channel, and MSNBC. He holds a JD from Stanford University.) 30 April 2018 “Why Washington Turns a Blind Eye to Egypt’s Thugocracy” https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/why-washington-turns-blind-eye-egypts-thugocracy
7. Dr William Gale and Benjamin Harris 2011. (Gale - PhD in economics, Stanford Univ.; senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and co-director of the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center; former assistant professor in the Department of Economics at UCLA, and a senior economist for the Council of Economic Advisers under President George H.W. Bush; Harris - master’s degree in economics from Cornell University and a master’s degree in quantitative methods from Columbia University; senior research associate with the Economics Studies Program at the Brookings Institution) “Reforming Taxes and Raising Revenue: Part of the Fiscal Solution” https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/05\_fiscal\_solution\_gale\_harris.pdf
8. Dr. Eyal Zisser 2009 (Dr. Eyal Zisser is the head of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History and a senior research fellow at the Moshe Dayan Center, both at Tel Aviv University.) 2009 “The Legacy of Camp David: 1979-2009” http://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/Legacy-Camp-David.pdf
9. Elliott Abrams 2017 (Prepared statement by Elliott Abrams, Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies, Council on Foreign Relations Before the Senate Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs) 25 April 2017 “United States Assistance for Egypt” https://www.appropriations.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/042517-%20Abrams%20Testimony.pdf
10. Emna Sayadi 2018 (Emna is Campaigner for the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA) at Access Now. Emna works with the Advocacy team to research and coordinate online and offline campaigns to advance digital rights across the MENA region. Prior to joining Access Now, Emna worked with several NGOs in Tunisia, where she served as a project manager at Euromed EVE association and organized several workshops on human rights and youth. Recently, Emna graduated with a Master's degree in English for Communications at the Higher Institute of Languages of Tunis.) 14 March 2018 “Egypt: more than 500 sites blocked ahead of the presidential election” https://www.accessnow.org/egypt-more-than-500-sites-blocked-ahead-of-the-presidential-election/
11. Fred Kaplan 2013 (Fred Kaplan is the author of Dark Territory: The Secret History of Cyber War.) 16 August 2013 “Stop Paying the Generals” http://www.slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/06/donald-trumps-family-separation-the-government-had-no-intention-of-reuniting-parents-and-children.html
12. Government Accountability Office 2015 (The U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) is an independent, nonpartisan agency that works for Congress. Often called the "congressional watchdog," GAO investigates how the federal government spends taxpayer dollars) February 2015 “U.S. Government Should Examine Options for Using Unobligated Funds and Evaluating Security Assistance Programs” https://www.gao.gov/assets/670/668448.pdf
13. Government Accountability Office 2016 (The U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) is an independent, nonpartisan agency that works for Congress. Often called the "congressional watchdog," GAO investigates how the federal government spends taxpayer dollars)“U.S. Government Should Strengthen End-Use Monitoring and Human Rights Vetting for Egypt” https://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-16-435
14. International Crisis Group 2017 (The International Crisis Group is an independent organisation working to prevent wars and shape policies that will build a more peaceful world.) 30 April 2017 “Keeping Egypt’s Politics on the Agenda” https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-africa/egypt/keeping-egypts-politics-agenda
15. Jeremy M. Sharp 2018 (He is a Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs for the Congressional Research Service) 8 February 2018 “Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations” https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf
16. Leila Fadel 2016 (Leila Fadel is a national correspondent for NPR based in Las Vegas, covering issues of culture, diversity, and race.) 24 August 2016 “As Egypt's Jails Fill, Growing Fears Of A Rise In Radicalization” https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/08/24/491170122/as-egypts-jails-fill-growing-fears-of-a-rise-in-radicalization
17. Maged Mandour 2017 (Maged Mandour is a political analyst and writes the “Chronicles of the Arab Revolt” column for Open Democracy) 16 March 2017 “The Heavy Civilian Toll in Sinai” http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/68296
18. Michele Dunne 2017 (Testimony before the U.S. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs. She is the director and a senior fellow in Carnegie’s Middle East Program. Dunne is an expert on political and economic change in Arab countries, particularly Egypt, as well as U.S. policy in the Middle East. She is from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.) 25 April 2017 “The United States’ Assistance for Egypt” http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/04/25/united-states-assistance-for-egypt-pub-68756
19. Mohammed Ayoob 2018 (Mohammed Ayoob is senior fellow at the Center for Global Policy in Washington, DC and University Distinguished Professor Emeritus of International Relations at Michigan State University.) 8 April 2018 “Can America Afford to Continue Supporting Egypt's el-Sisi?” http://nationalinterest.org/feature/can-america-afford-continue-supporting-egypts-el-sisi-25272/page/0/1
20. Muhammad Mansour 2017 (Muhammad Mansour is an Egyptian journalist, who covered the Arab uprisings, and writes about Egyptian affairs, the Sinai insurgency and broader Middle Eastern issues.) 15 May 2017 “US aid to Egypt: Wrong but inevitable” http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/us-aid-egypt-wrong-inevitable-1572718623
21. Neil Hicks 2017 (Neil Hicks is the director of human rights promotion at Human Rights First, which is an independent advocacy and action organization.) 30 August 2017 “Tillerson withholding aid to Egypt is a necessary and unprecedented move” http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/international-affairs/348538-tillerson-withholding-aid-to-egypt-is-a-necessary
22. Seth Binder and William Hartung 2018 (Seth Binder is an expert in security assistance and Middle East affairs at Strategic Research & Analysis. William D. Hartung is the director of the Arms and Security Project at the Center for International Policy and the author of Prophets of War: Lockheed Martin and the Making of the Military-Industrial Complex.) 28 March 2018 “Time To Rethink U.S. Military Aid To Egypt” https://lobelog.com/time-to-rethink-u-s-military-aid-to-egypt/
23. Stratfor 2015 (As the world’s leading geopolitical intelligence platform, Stratfor brings global events into valuable perspective, empowering businesses, governments and individuals to more confidently navigate their way through an increasingly complex international environment. Founded on the principle that transformative world events are not random, but are in fact predictable, Stratfor analyses and forecasts reveal the underlying significance and future implications of emerging developments.) 12 June 2015 “Egypt's Conventional Military Thinking” https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/egypts-conventional-military-thinking
24. Yasmin Faruki 2017 (Yasmin Faruki is a researcher at the Center for a New American Security) 3 May 2017 “Trump’s Blank Check to Sisi” http://nationalinterest.org/feature/trumps-blank-check-sisi-20469?page=2