



National Security Project

Strategic Public Diplomacy:

The Case of Egypt

A Case Study of the Strategic Public Diplomacy Project | October 2011

Ambassador James K. Glassman and Secretary Dan Glickman, co-chairs



BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER



National Security Project

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The pace and intensity of world events in 2011 have been unrelenting. The spread of political unrest across the Middle East, global financial crises, conflicts and natural disasters have all competed for the attention of policymakers. Achieving the perspective to recognize pivotal moments and seize transformative opportunities can be difficult in the midst of such upheaval. We have joined together to issue these papers to call attention to precisely such an opportunity: the ongoing revolution in Egypt.

The public uprisings that brought Hosni Mubarak's reign to an end could have a greater impact on the political landscape of the Middle East than any other protest in the region to date. What is not yet clear is the nature of the change they will spark. Egypt's revolution is as yet unfinished; it could still lead towards a pluralist and tolerant democracy but, as of this writing, renewed military rule, an Islamist state or rising chaos all seem more likely. If any of these scenarios were to materialize, the implications for Egyptians, the region and U.S. security could be significant.

The ability – and desirability – of the United States to determine the course of events in Egypt is limited. What began as an organic and spontaneous movement should remain that way. Only Egyptians can realize the true potential of their revolution; they deserve latitude to determine their own future. Indeed, affecting political change in any state in flux is a daunting task and we must be humble in our ambitions.

Nevertheless, it is a task we should undertake. It is incumbent upon us to help shape the Egyptian revolution in a positive direction, one that benefits Egyptian and U.S. interests alike. Doing so will require the full spectrum of American power. Egypt is in need of all three pillars of foreign assistance: political reform, economic reform and security. It also needs ideas. As Egyptians decide their future, we should not hesitate to expound the virtues and values of democracy.

We issue a joint introduction to two separate papers to highlight the need for, and importance of, a coordinated strategy toward Egypt. General James Jones writes on the economic problems that underlie Egypt's political turmoil and the steps that policymakers can take to help avert further destabilization. Ambassador James Glassman and Secretary Dan Glickman, together with the Bipartisan Policy Center's (BPC) Strategic Public Diplomacy Task Force, examine the recent history of U.S. public diplomacy efforts in Egypt and draw lessons for how to communicate with the Egyptian public in the post-Mubarak era.



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I. FOREWORD

By Hala Mustafa

The Arab Spring marks the renewal of social, economic, cultural and political contracts between Middle Easterners and our governing and administrative institutions. Changes of volcanic proportions are removing – whether peacefully or by force – the region’s entrenched and despised regimes. The toppling of authoritarians in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya shocked the world. Yet what lies ahead is even more challenging than what has been achieved to date.

Contrary to the clearly defined changes that occurred earlier in Eastern Europe, the direction of change in the Middle East is uncertain. In 1989, there was a shift from collective culture to individualism, from socialism to capitalism, from totalitarian rule to liberal, and pluralistic systems aligned with the universal values of freedom promoted by the West.

Like other states in the region, the direction of Egypt’s domestic and foreign policies, as well as its economic orientation, remain unclear. It is, quite simply, impossible to predict what will come next for the formerly corrupt, crony-capitalist, repressive, intolerant, corporatist and statist country. In the aftermath of the revolution, Egypt is a country divided. Citizens’ understanding of civil liberties, individual rights, Islamism and secularism differ greatly. Economic and constitutional questions – issues defining Egyptian politics and identity – are polarizing the society. These are not new divisions but they were suppressed prior to the Arab Spring and are just now being aired with an intensity proportional to all the years they had been silenced.

At the same time, a deeply rooted – but until recently repressed – populism threatens democratic transformation at all levels of the state and society. Loud voices advocating pan-Arabism and Islamism are drowning out those promoting democracy based on liberal principals. Massive protests against the peace treaty with Israel, growing sectarian tensions and calls for rolling back women’s rights are harbingers of the ill effects of populism on politics in Egypt.

In this new and dynamic political environment, the Muslim Brotherhood has emerged as a force with which to be reckoned. Nearly a year after the uprising, the Brotherhood has yet to articulate a modern agenda for domestic, economic or foreign policy, nor has it described a governing philosophy or explained its stance on individual, political and civil rights. Judging by the Brotherhood’s negative reaction to Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdogan’s September 2011 declaration in Cairo of his total commitment to secular a state, however, it seems all but assured that Egypt’s Islamists will not fully embrace the basic principles of democratic politics.

Meanwhile, the Brotherhood and its new Freedom and Justice Party are advancing its Islamist agenda and political campaign in coalition with older, established parties like the conservative Wafd and nationalist-socialist Nasserist parties. As a massive voting bloc, this grouping is sure to obtain a considerable number of votes in the upcoming election, enabling it to significantly influence Egypt’s internal and external politics for years to come.

Yet, major ideological differences exist that could split this coalition. To maintain cohesion and electoral support, this coalition will most likely focus on populist economic policies.

Economically, Egypt is still governed by an entrenched, socialist framework. Attempts at reform have been made, beginning in the mid-1970s and continuing under Mubarak. While Egypt did attain considerable economic growth in the last decade, these reforms did not move society towards a successful and sustainable model of economic development. The result, instead, was a distorted capitalism overseen by oligarchs where the rich became richer, the poor became poorer and the middle class deteriorated. Therefore, when Egyptians took the streets on January 25, 2011, "social justice" was the paramount demand.

Now, with Mubarak gone, the extent of his regime's corruption is being exposed. Despite several rounds of privatization, state control over the economy continued under Mubarak and its persistence now threatens the sustainability of Egypt's growth. Much work needs to be done if future governments of Egypt ever hope to meet the demands, and popular expectations, of social justice. This will not be accomplished through statism, but through economic development based on genuine liberalization – meaning strong protection of individual property and minimal state intervention – and this approach must be incorporated into the new constitution.

The trend in Egypt in the coming period will be toward populism tinted with anti-Western sentiment. To succeed in the transition, however, Egypt will need to adopt a sustainable economic model with the support and encouragement of its U.S. and European partners. To be lasting, this economic transformation needs to be comprehensive and paired with similarly far-reaching political change including transparency, rule of law and protection of individual rights. Egypt needs a vision for its future; only such mutually reinforcing changes can wipe away the legacy of oppression and provide a coherent framework that fulfills the promise of our revolution.

Dr. Hala Mustafa is, since 2000, the Editor-in-Chief of the Al-Ahram political quarterly "Democracy" (Al Dimocratiya).

II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Egypt is the most populous nation in the North Africa-Middle East region and, for the last 30 years, has been an ally of the United States and a peace partner with Israel. Egypt is also a pillar of U.S. regional security policy and the second largest recipient of U.S. aid. The political awakening that brought Egyptians to the streets during early 2011 was a striking show of solidarity and nonviolence. Today, the revolution is marred by instability and divided by disagreements about how the political transition should proceed. The outcome of this as yet unfinished revolution will have long-lasting repercussions for U.S.-Egypt relations, for security in the Middle East and for U.S. interests in the region.

For policymakers concerned about Egypt's future, it will be useful to understand how it began. Did the United States support political freedoms there? Did the United States tell Egyptians about our support for their democracy? Did it have the tools to do so? Are those same capabilities available to us now? Fundamentally, these are all questions about the use of U.S. *public diplomacy* in Egypt.

We define *public diplomacy* as:

The attempt to understand, inform, engage and influence global, non-governmental audiences with the goal of achieving the foreign policy objectives of the United States.

Our definition is expansive: it includes the traditional mainstays of public diplomacy – broadcasting and exchanges – as well as democracy promotion.

This paper – a part of a longer study on how better to employ U.S. public diplomacy to serve strategic objectives – is a case study that attempts to survey the United States' public diplomacy policy towards Egypt, to consider its efficacy and garner lessons from it. If examining U.S. public diplomacy efforts can shed light on Egypt and the future course of U.S.-Egyptian relations, so too can looking at Egypt help us better understand and evaluate the uses of public diplomacy.

The dominant narrative has been that the revolution in Egypt occurred without, or perhaps even despite, American assistance and support. If this is true, this narrative bodes ill, not only for Egyptians' opinion of America but also, and perhaps more importantly, for the ability of the United States to help Egypt construct free and fair political institutions.

We conclude, however, that U.S.-funded programs did indeed play an important, if not easily perceptible role, in laying the structural groundwork for Egypt's revolution. We find that:

- A. U.S. strategy did support the development of democracy in Egypt, at least for a time;
- B. Public diplomacy efforts in Egypt have gained traction since 2001; and
- C. U.S. public diplomacy efforts were not fully aligned with overall strategic objectives.

The lesson to be learned from this case study is that public diplomacy can complement, but need not parallel, traditional foreign policy tools as long as it is guided by a strategic vision.

1. Public diplomacy can complement bilateral relations.

In Mubarak-ruled Egypt, short-term U.S. security interests appeared to be at cross-purposes with American values. Yet, public diplomacy allowed U.S. policymakers to express and promote the ideals of freedom directly to the Egyptian people, while maintaining close bilateral ties and security cooperation with the government.

2. Public diplomacy requires strategy.

America's popularity abroad – as revealed by various polls – is often mistaken as a measure of public diplomacy's success. Relying on this standard is arbitrary. Competing on the global battlefield of ideas requires not just platforms for disseminating information, but a strategy that defines the objectives and national interests that public diplomacy seeks to advance.

3. Public diplomacy strategy requires messaging.

Too often, means are mistaken for ends and audience size with success. In addition to strategic objectives, public diplomacy requires an account of how engagement with foreign publics can help meet those objectives; it requires a message that advances its strategy.

III. INTRODUCTION

Egypt may not have been the spark that ignited the popular unrest that swept through the Middle East and North Africa in 2011. It is, however, the most important country to have undergone a revolution. The most populous nation in the region and, for the last 30 years, an ally of the United States and a peace partner with Israel, Egypt is a pillar of U.S. regional security policy and the second largest recipient of U.S. aid.

The political awakening that brought Egyptians to the streets throughout the country, but especially in Cairo's Tahrir Square, was a striking show of solidarity and nonviolence. For many observers – either doubtful of Arab societies' receptiveness to democracy or simply inured to authoritarianism's grip on the region – these events held the potential to thoroughly transform the Middle East's political landscape as the 1989 revolutions did in Eastern Europe. Yet, the democratic hope that met the quick successive falls of Tunisia's Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and Egypt's Hosni Mubarak has now dimmed. What was termed the "Arab Spring" has passed into summer and now fall, and the prospect of a free, pluralistic and stable Egypt seems further off than at perhaps any time since Egyptians took to the streets in February.

Today, the revolution is marred by rising instability and disagreements about how the political transition should proceed. Elections, initially slated for September, were pushed back to November but many political parties have threatened to boycott them altogether. If they were to be held, radical Islamist groups – the Muslim Brotherhood and the even more extreme Salafists – appear poised to outperform liberal parties that are still scrambling to organize. Security – both at the border and internally – has weakened while the transitional military rulers, the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), have extended the widely unpopular emergency law that grants them broad powers to quash dissent. Deprived of critical revenue from tourism and natural gas shipments, the economy is also struggling. Yet, the current government has turned down a generous \$3 billion aid package from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and seemingly turned away from its long partnership with the United States and Israel and towards Iran and Hamas.

The outcome of this as yet unfinished revolution will have long-lasting repercussions for U.S.-Egyptian relations, security in the Middle East and U.S. interests in the region. As of this writing, Libyans are seeking to cement their victory over Qaddafi's forces and beginning the hard task of building a new political order; Yemen and Syria are still locked in often-violent political struggles; and tensions continue to simmer in many traditional U.S. regional allies. The direction Egypt takes – whether towards democratic

governance, chaos, into the arms of Islamists or back to authoritarianism – will influence the political course of other countries in the grip of revolution. Furthermore, the foreign policy it pursues will determine the security of the entire region.

For policymakers concerned about the direction of Egypt's future and seeking tools that might help the revolution keep its promise of freedom, transparency, rule of law and human rights, it will be useful to understand how it began. Origins can reveal much about the future.

It is worth asking Egypt if the United States supported political freedoms there and, if so, by what means? Did the United States tell Egyptians about our support for their democracy, about the political values on which democracy depends and about our policy goals for the region? Did it have the tools to do so? Are those same capabilities available to us now? Fundamentally, these are all questions about the use of U.S. public diplomacy in Egypt.

Some critics have alleged that the revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa occurred without, or perhaps even despite, American assistance and support. Charitable assessments suggest a discrepancy between rhetoric and action: while U.S. leaders have paid lip service to values of freedom and democracy – both President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama gave speeches in Cairo to this effect – the United States did little to promote those ideals, favoring instead the presumed stability of friendly autocrats. Such views are only strengthened by the perception that during the protest in the Tahrir Square the United States was chiefly represented by American-made tear gas canisters fired by security forces. If correct, this narrative bodes poorly not only for the newly empowered Egyptian public's opinion of America but also, and perhaps more importantly, for the ability of the United States to help Egypt construct free and fair political institutions.

The intent of this paper is to test these widespread views and examine how the United States supported and promoted democratic values in the 15 years immediately preceding Egypt's revolution. It is a case study that attempts to survey the United States' public diplomacy policy towards Egypt, consider its efficacy and garner lessons from it. We do not seek to determine whether U.S. assistance caused or contributed to Egypt's revolution; such calculations are neither possible nor constructive. Rather, we seek to understand what role democracy promotion played in U.S. strategy towards Egypt and whether public diplomacy programs were designed and implemented to support that objective.

We conclude, contrary to popular perception, that U.S.-funded programs did indeed play an important, if not easily perceptible role, in laying the structural groundwork for Egypt's revolution. This is by no means to deny the organic and spontaneous nature of

the protests that gripped the nation and removed Hosni Mubarak from power. Instead, we argue that those who judge U.S. policy towards Egypt solely on bilateral ties between the two governments, or demand that democracy promotion efforts spark immediate regime change, have a myopic understanding of the foreign policy tools available to the United States and of how they can be deployed in a country as complicated and strategically important as Egypt.

Our findings are not all positive. The United States could have undoubtedly done more to support democracy in Egypt and there remains a significant gulf between the objectives laid out in U.S. foreign policy and the programming pursued by public diplomacy. Given the strategic challenges and competing interests that American foreign policymakers have had to juggle, however, we believe U.S. public diplomacy in Egypt demonstrated that it is possible, even under adverse conditions, to deliver training, funding and messaging to bolster a free, tolerant and pluralistic political culture. While this suggests we might possess the capabilities to continue to affect Egypt's political transformation, we must also remain mindful of context. The sort of assistance that was offered to promote freedoms in Mubarak-led Egypt is not sufficient to help guide the political transition now.

If examining U.S. public diplomacy efforts can shed light on Egypt and the future course of U.S.-Egyptian relations, so too can looking at Egypt help us better understand and evaluate the uses of public diplomacy. In 2008, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates observed that the "tools of persuasion and inspiration, [which] were indispensable to the outcome of the defining ideological struggle of the 20th century... are just as indispensable in the 21st century – and maybe more so."¹ Indeed, as this case study demonstrates, public diplomacy can serve an important strategic purpose alongside bilateral (government-to-government) relations.

In strategically complicated arenas where policymakers must deal with often conflicting short- and long-term interests and values, public diplomacy affords policymakers an avenue to pursue important objectives that might not be attainable by other means. The lesson to be learned from this case study is that public diplomacy can complement, but need not parallel, traditional foreign policy tools, as long as it is guided by a strategic vision.

IV. What Is Public Diplomacy?

“Most simply put,” according to historian Nicholas Cull, “if diplomacy is an international actor’s attempt to conduct its foreign policy by engaging with other international actors (traditionally government-to-government contact), then public diplomacy is an international actor’s attempt to conduct its foreign policy by engaging with foreign publics (traditionally government-to-people contact).”² For our purposes here, we define *public diplomacy* as:

The attempt to understand, inform, engage and influence global, non-governmental audiences with the goal of achieving the foreign policy objectives of the United States.

Our definition of public diplomacy is expansive: it includes the two traditional mainstays of public diplomacy – broadcasting and exchanges – as well as U.S. democracy promotion programs.

America’s public diplomacy – and its principal instruments, such as Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty – played an important role in winning the Cold War and cementing good relations between the United States and the democracies that emerged from communist oppression. Though largely geopolitical, the struggle between communism and free-market democracy had an important ideological element. Broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain undermined official Party propaganda by providing an objective account of world events and an attractive vision of American ideals and “internal life.” The East German spymaster Markus Wolf wrote in his memoirs that “[o]f all the various means used to influence people against the East during the Cold War, I would count Radio Free Europe as the most effective.”³ Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel and many of those who fought for freedom from communist oppression have echoed this sentiment.

Today, public diplomacy remains an element of foreign policy, despite changes to the national security landscape since the fall of communism. The challenges facing the United States – whether the rise of Islamist extremism or the continued reign of authoritarianism – still have important ideological components. At the same time, the rapid spread of telecommunications – especially mobile phones and the Internet – have given millions who had no voice a means to communicate with each other and the world. The power of ideas to motivate social action has grown just as quickly as the time it

takes for those ideas to reach new audiences has shrunk. The successes, and failures, of U.S. public diplomacy in navigating these challenges in Egypt yield insights on how to better adapt this tool to serve U.S. foreign policy and national security interests.

V. Findings

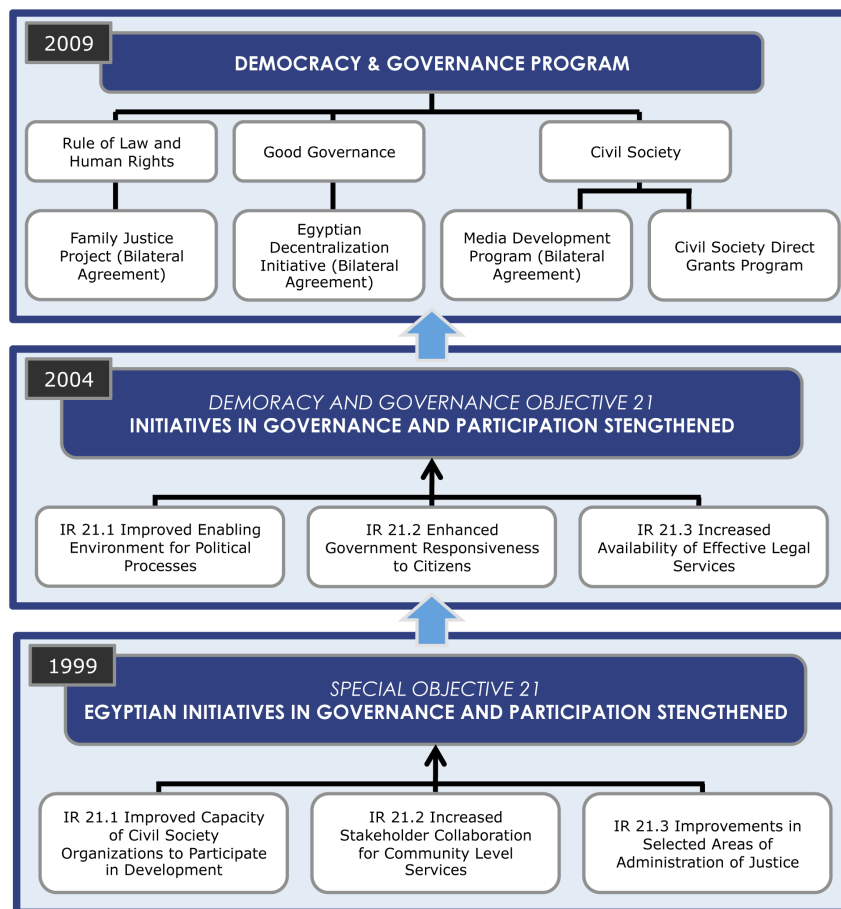
A. U.S. strategy in Egypt supported democracy promotion, for a time.

For decades, Egypt existed under an autocracy that stifled democratic political development. For much of that time U.S. foreign policy tacitly accepted this arrangement for the sake of stability and security. That began to change after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 gave rise to President George W. Bush's "freedom agenda." But U.S. support for Egyptian democracy really only became significant in 2005, as much in response to changes on the ground in Egypt as to official U.S. policy. That support persisted despite adverse conditions and friction with the Egyptian government, but only until 2009.

President Mubarak's signing of the Camp David accords and support for Israel made his government an important regional partner for the United States. To cement the stability of this arrangement, Washington has, for more than 20 years, consistently channeled more than a \$1 billion annually in military assistance to Cairo. Foreign aid to Egypt was, initially, nearly the same, amounting to at least two-thirds of security funding between 1985 and 1997 and continuing above 50 percent till 2003. During this period, however, funds devoted to democracy promotion were a small fraction of total aid given to Egypt.

Part of the problem was obstacles created by the Egyptian government that made it difficult to fund any sort of programs targeting civil society. As part of an agreement between Washington and Cairo, Egypt had control over which of their entities received U.S. democracy assistance funds, as it is required for organizations to register with the government in order to function legally in the country. As a result, organizations loyal to the Mubarak regime and registered with the Egyptian Ministry of Social Solidarity were most often awarded funding while those that held contrary viewpoints or advocated for a more open political landscape did not fare well in the process.

Figure 1: Evolution of U.S. Democracy Assistance Strategy for Egypt, 1999 - 2009⁴



Supporting political freedoms, however, was not stated as a primary objective for U.S. foreign policy towards Egypt during this period. A strategic plan for Egypt for fiscal years 2000 – 2009 released by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1999 entitled “Advancing the Partnership” describes the agency’s program goal as creating a “Globally Competitive Economy Benefiting Egyptians Equitably.” Two sub-goals include “Creating Private Sector Jobs and Sustaining Egypt’s’ Human and Natural Resource Base.” Only one of seven enumerated strategic objectives – “Egyptian Initiatives in Governance and Participation Strengthened” – deals with political reform and even then largely in the contexts of driving economic growth.⁵

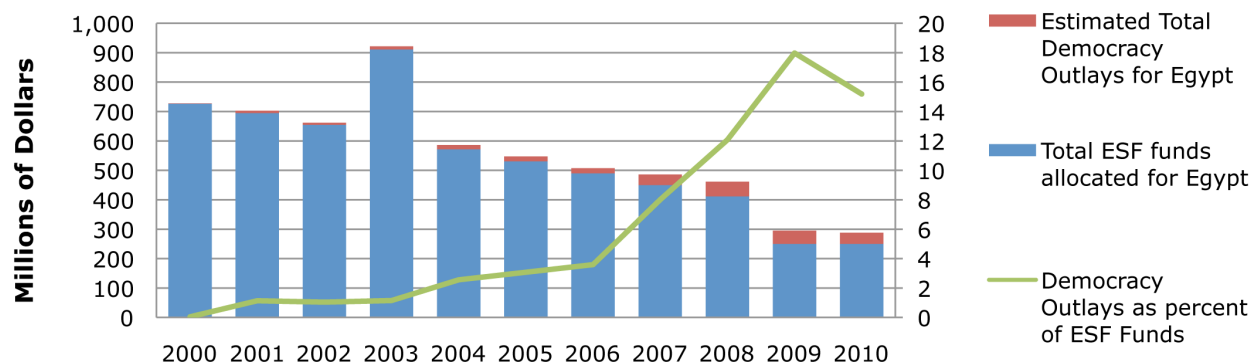
The development-heavy approach began to change in the wake of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the subsequent foreign policy focus on spreading democracy in the Middle East. A 2004 update to the USAID/Egypt Strategic Plan for Fiscal Years 2000 – 2009 states that “following the USAID/State Program Review, the projects in this sector [Democracy and Governance] receive significantly higher priority.” Moreover, the

specific objectives of democracy assistance were revised to reflect an emphasis on political liberalization. The 1999 goal of “Improved Capacity of Civil Society Organizations to Participate in Development,” for example, was changed to “Improved Enabling Environment for Political Processes.”⁶

In 2005, Congress removed the government of Egypt’s power to determine how democracy assistance funds were used. This move empowered agencies to provide resources directly to Egyptian civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations without approval from the Mubarak regime, giving democracy promotion in Egypt new direction and vigor. This energetic new approach was succinctly captured in a 2005 cable from Cairo, obtained from WikiLeaks stating, “Post is moving to implement an ambitious program of directly-funded democracy and governance (D&G) activities in Egypt.”⁷

This revised strategy was complemented by increased outlays for democracy assistance (at a time when foreign assistance to Egypt was being cut). From 2004 to 2009, funding for democracy promotion in Egypt, as a percentage of total monies sent there, rose from three percent to 18 percent. At the same time, the amount of democracy funding devoted to civil society programs also increased dramatically.

Figure 2: Actual Democracy Outlays in Egypt



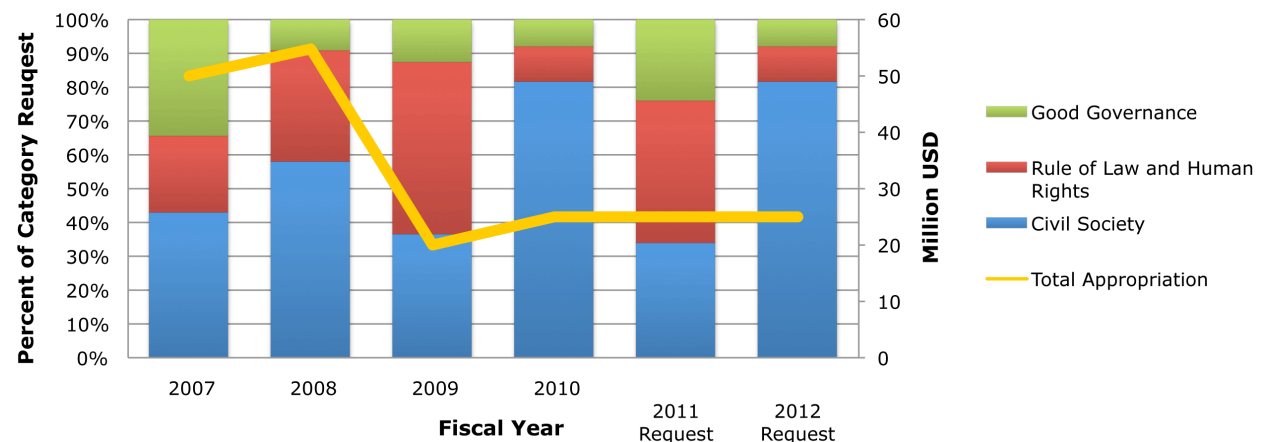
The change came at a time when political opposition was starting to gain traction in Egypt. The Egyptian Movement for Change (also known as Kefaya, Arabic for “enough”) held its first protest in late 2004 and in 2005 Mubarak offered cosmetic constitutional reforms including the semblance of competitive presidential elections. These attempts at reform highlighted the regime’s wariness of growing discontent and, because they were so transparently superficial, only did more to fuel it.

Some of this focus on democracy promotion, however, began to fade in 2009 when a new administration took office. Democracy outlays peaked that year and have remained

at half their previous highs since then. Moreover, the Obama administration agreed to reinstate the policy that once again gave Egypt veto power over which organizations and institutions receive U.S. aid. According to U.S. Ambassador Margaret Scobey, this was done in an effort to “facilitate better relations with Egypt’s government.”

Indeed, in a diplomatic cable from the ambassador, released by WikiLeaks and entitled “A New Approach to Egypt’s ESF,” she argues that “a direct grants program has had some positive impact on the capacity of Egyptian civil society, but at a political cost in terms of our working relationship with the Government of Egypt.”⁸

Figure 3: U.S. Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Assistance to Egypt



Irrespective of policy differences between administrations, revolution and regime change were never the stated goals of U.S. democracy promotion in Egypt. Stoking the fires of popular dissent or urging people onto the streets – as happened in January and February of 2011 – was not the mechanism by which U.S. programs sought to promote democracy. Rather, they focused on the potential for gradual political reform. Their goals, therefore, included developing the foundational institutions and practices – rule of law, respect for human rights, an independent media, a vibrant civil society – necessary for democracy to flourish while preparing Egyptian to take part in democracy by training them how to form and run political parties and monitor elections.

As a result, the majority of democracy promotion efforts funded by increased democracy

outlays has involved monitoring elections, supporting civil society organizations, building the capacity of political parties, utilizing social media, as well as assisting the Egyptian local, state and national governments to function democratically (parliaments, ministries, etc.).

Because they did not, and still do not, have approval from the regime, however, organizations such as IRI and NDI reported significant problems with conducting any programs in Egypt. As a result, these organizations resorted to bringing their partners to locations outside of Egypt for training. Despite these difficulties, NDI reports having trained over 8,000 volunteer election monitors, while IRI states that over 1,200 Egyptian trainees have gone through its programs. According to a 2009 USAID Inspector General Audit, direct grants provided to Egyptian civil society organizations (CSOs) realized the highest percentage of programming results (80 percent) relative to all of the democracy and governance programs funded, as measured by completed program activities.

Figure 4: Al-Hurra Main Television Programs by Category

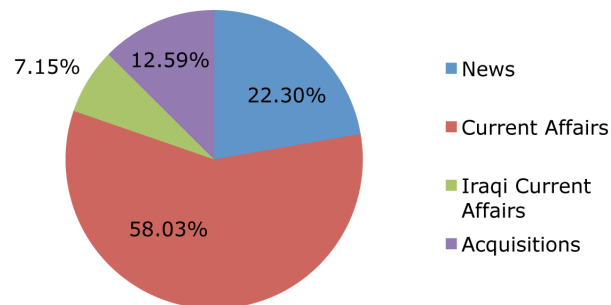


Figure 5: USAID/Egypt's Democracy and Governance Program Results for FY 2008 Activities⁹

DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAM COMPONENT	PLANNED ACTIVITIES	ACHIEVED	PERCENTAGE ACHIEVED
Rule of Law and Human Rights			
Family Justice Project	43	30	70%
Good Governance			
Egyptian Decentralization Initiative	22	7	32%
Civil Society			
Media Development Program	26	9	35%
Civil Society Direct Grants Program	91	73	80%
Total	182	119	65%

B. Public diplomacy efforts in Egypt have gained traction since 2001.

While the United States did have public diplomacy programs in the Middle East before 2001, few of them were geared specifically to the needs and interests of the region. Since then, the U.S. government has created the Middle East Broadcasting Network (MBN), which delivers TV and radio programming to the region, and has expanded the scope of its exchange programs in Egypt. Evidence suggests that, after some missteps, U.S.-funded programming is gaining credibility and audience share in Egypt while a new focus on English language education has strengthened exchange programs.

Al Hurra, created at least in part as an antidote to the perceived anti-American slant of Qatar-based satellite television channel Al Jazeera, began broadcasting to 22 Middle Eastern countries on February 14, 2004. The network offers a 24-hour news format featuring regional to international events, technology, sports, entertainment and news analysis talk programs. It has not, however, been able to successfully compete against Al Jazeera in Egypt or many of the other satellite news stations.

Viewer numbers in Egypt have climbed steadily since Al Hurra's inception, but in 2009 only 11 percent of adults were tuning in weekly, compared to 60 percent for Al Jazeera.¹⁰ The revolution, however, seems to have jumpstarted Al Hurra's popularity. Its

audience size tripled from seven percent in February 2010 to 25 percent during the same period in 2011.

¹¹ Comparatively, Al Jazeera reached 22 percent of viewers during the same critical time.¹²

While audiences have been increasingly watching Al Hurra, Egypt's government has not always been so

welcoming. Especially notable was its decision in 2008 not to allow Al Hurra to make Cairo the main studio location for the channel's Al Youm (Arabic for "Today") morning news show. Instead, Al Youm is located in Dubai's Media City, with reporting from Cairo, Beirut, Jerusalem and the United States.

Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG)-sponsored polling also shows that of respondents in Egypt that had watched Al Hurra in the last week, 94 percent considered it "Very" or "Somewhat Trustworthy," the highest score out of all the countries into which Al Hurra is broadcasted.

Additionally, 61 percent reported it contributed to their understanding of current events, 58 percent that it contributed to their understanding U.S. culture and society and 57 percent that it contributed to their understanding of U.S. policies.¹³

Radio Sawa replaced Voice of America Arabic in 2002 with the aim of targeting a more youthful audience through broadcasting a mix of Eastern and Western pop music. News and information programs on Radio Sawa only comprise 25 percent of airtime. This has allowed the station to garner large audiences in some Middle Eastern countries. In Egypt, however, the government has not allowed Radio Sawa to broadcast on Egyptian soil; as a result there is no FM programming at all and the AM signal is weak in much of Egypt. Consequently, according to BBG polling, weekly listening rates for Radio Sawa in

Figure 6: Al Hurra: Egypt Viewing Trends 2005 - 2009

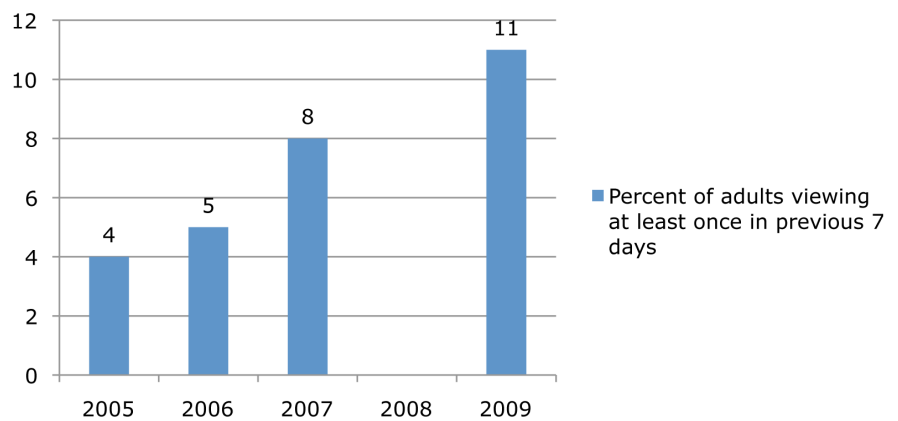
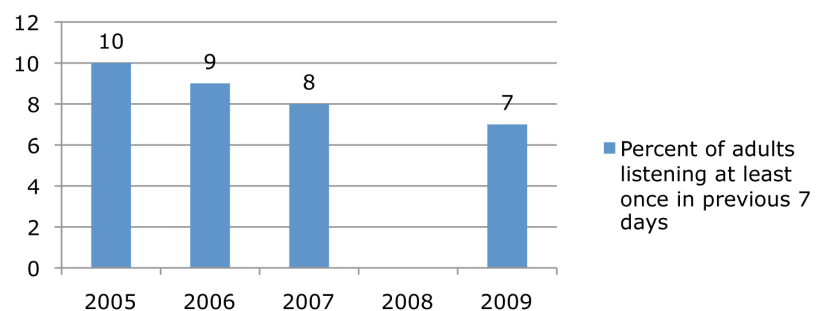


Figure 7: Radio Sawa: Egypt Listening Trends 2005 - 2009



Egypt have never exceeded 10 percent and have actually dropped over time.¹⁴

Yet, of Egyptians that had listened to Radio Sawa in the last week, 99 percent considered it “Very” or “Somewhat Trustworthy,” again the highest score out of all the countries into which Al Hurra is broadcasted. Additionally, 67 percent reported it contributed to their understanding of current events, 50 percent that it contributed to their understanding U.S. culture and society and 52 percent that it contributed to their understanding of U.S. policies.¹⁵

In addition to television and radio, the Internet has gained traction as a medium for public diplomacy. The State Department has increasingly been designing its public diplomacy programs to attract and influence the tech-savvy segment of Egypt’s population. In 2008, for example, the Alliance for Youth Movements, funded by the State Department, organized a summit for bloggers and political activists at Columbia University. While the Egyptian government stopped two blogger/activists from leaving Cairo for this conference, one, Ahmed Saleh, did manage to attend. He later became a key figure in the Tahrir Square protests. Also in 2008, eight Egyptian bloggers were brought to the United States to observe and report on the 2008 presidential primaries, election and inauguration as part of a project by the Kamal Adham Center for Journalism Training and Research at the University of Cairo and funded by the USAID.

The second pillar of traditional public diplomacy following broadcasting is the use of exchange programs. Run by the State Department and usually organized through the cultural or public affairs sections of embassies, these programs typically have one of two aims. In-country cultural programs try to foster a better relationship with and understanding of American culture. Such programs include American speakers, cultural visitors, music concerts and traveling exhibitions. Academic exchange programs seek to provide participants with education or professional training abroad that they can use at home. These programs also expose participants to America, its way of life and values.

Traditional exchanges programs have met with much success in Egypt. For example, since 1949, over 5,000 scholars have participated in the Fulbright Scholarship program in Egypt. On average, 25 Egyptians come to the United States each year to study, while over 50 Americans head to Egypt each year. Over the last decade, these academic exchange programs have expanded to include a greater focus on community-level English language training. The English Access Microscholarship Program currently provides afterschool and summer English language classes for almost 600 students ages 14 to 18 from disadvantaged families and backgrounds. Another 400 students are expected to join the program in 2011. Other programs bring English language teachers, journalists, women leaders and physicians, among others, for training and cross-cultural activities.

Figure 8: Selected list of U.S. Government-Funded Exchange Programs in Egypt

Fulbright Scholarships
English Access Microscholarship Program
Teaching Excellence and Achievement (TEA) Program
International Leaders in Education Program (ILEP)
Secondary School Educators Institutes Program (SUSI) for Secondary School Educators
Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation
Hubert J. Humphrey Fellowship Program
Global Undergraduate Exchange Program
TechWomen
Study of the United States Institutes for Scholars
American Council of Young Political Leaders
Edward R. Murrow Program for Journalists
Fortune/U.S. State Department Global Women’s Mentoring Program
Alien Physician
Study of the United States Institutes for Student Leaders
E-Teacher Scholarship Program
Camp Counselor
Professors and Research Scholars

The primary limitation of such programs is their scope; most programs are only able to include a handful of participants per country. Critics suggest that the impact of exchange programs could be multiplied, however, if the State Department and embassies were better able to track alumni and engage them in follow-on activities that might raise awareness of such exchanges in their home countries while allowing alumni to tell more

of their fellow countrymen about their experiences in and perceptions of the United States.

In addition to civilian exchanges run by the State Department, the Department of Defense also hosts military exchanges under the aegis of International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. Given the strong ties between the United States and Egyptian militaries –the United States provides approximately \$1.3 billion in military aid to Egypt annually – Egyptian participation in this program is robust, with over 4,200 Egyptians having undergone some form of military education in the United States. On average, the United States spends about \$1.2 million annually on IMET programs for Egyptian military personnel. These include Professional Military Education (PME) courses at U.S. service war, command and staff colleges as well as logistical and specialist training on U.S. equipment. Such programs build special relationships between military leadership and foster interoperability and coordination. Indeed, such contact, fostered by IMET, might have allowed U.S. military leaders to convince their Egyptian counterparts not to fire on protestors during the revolution.

C. U.S. public diplomacy is not fully aligned with overall strategic objectives.

Judging the effectiveness of public diplomacy programs is a complicated task; the difficulty stems as much from figuring out what would be an appropriate measure of effectiveness as actually obtaining the necessary data. Much effort has been expended in recent years on solving this problem of quantification, such as the creation of the Public Diplomacy Impact project by the Evaluations and Measurements Unit of the Department of State's Office of Policy, Planning and Resources for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. But effectiveness can only be measured against stated objectives and U.S. public diplomacy has often suffered from a lack of such strategic direction.

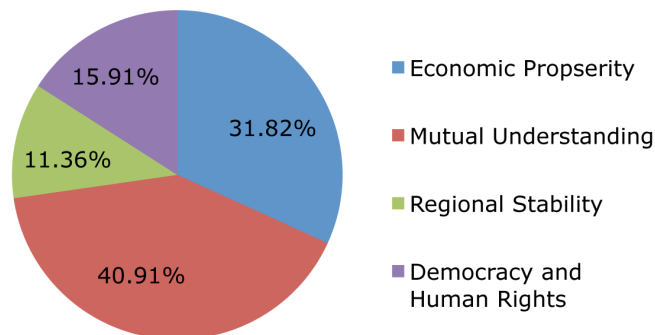
Even when U.S. foreign policy objectives are well defined, public diplomacy has struggled to adopt policies that reflect and support those goals. The Department of State's and USAID's Strategic Plan: Fiscal Years 2004 – 2009, for example, gives as its overarching strategic mission: "Create a more secure, democratic, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and international community." The document identifies democracy and economic freedom in the Muslim societies as a key priority and public diplomacy as central to that initiative. Yet, the section devoted to public diplomacy barely mentions how it might be leveraged to achieve that goal. Instead, it offers the directive to "increase understanding for American values, policies, and initiatives to create a receptive international environment" and lists a plan that consists of means, not ends:

- “Communicate with younger audiences through content and means tailored to their context;
- Quickly counter propaganda and disinformation;
- Listen to foreign audiences;
- Use advances in communications technology, while continuing to employ effective tools and techniques; and
- Promote international educational exchanges and professional exchanges.”¹⁶

This same lack of strategic direction is borne out in diplomatic cables, released by WikiLeaks, sent during the same period as the Strategic Plan mentioned above by the U.S. Embassy in Cairo. A series of cables from March to June 2005 present public diplomacy activities undertaken by the post and their relation to the objectives of the Mission Performance Plan (MPP). Of the 54 activities listed, only about 16 percent fall under “Democracy and Human Rights;” the majority, 40 percent and 33 percent respectively, fall under “Mutual Understanding” and “Economic Prosperity.” This

comes after the USAID strategic review proposed “significantly increasing” democracy and governance efforts while reducing emphasis on economic development.¹⁷

Figure 9: Egypt Public Diplomacy Results by Objective



VI. Lessons Learned

While we have endeavored in this case study to provide a thorough and accurate account of U.S. public diplomacy efforts in Egypt over the last decade and a half, there is an understandable desire to gauge the effectiveness of these programs particularly when it comes to the Egyptian revolution. This case study stops short of assessing what role, if any, U.S. public diplomacy played in enabling democratic change in Egypt for reasons both methodological – how to quantify or prove what role ideas heard or training received played in motivating the action of millions of people – and principled; it is important for the revolution to remain the people’s achievement. There are, nevertheless, lessons to be garnered.

1. Public diplomacy can complement bilateral relations.

Egypt exemplifies the complex political environment for public diplomacy today. During the Cold War, the objectives of our bilateral and public diplomacies were the same. We were locked in a struggle with the Soviet Union, a struggle that public diplomacy supported by seeking to undermine communist rule. We did not have authority to broadcast behind the Iron Curtain but we found ways to transmit our signals and circumvent jamming. In Egypt, however, the Mubarak government was a U.S. ally, yet it did not allow us to broadcast Radio Sawa there. Despite our official support for the Egyptian government, our public diplomacy efforts sought to promote freedoms that the regime was unprepared to grant. Without a state actor whose influence we seek to curtail and counteract, public diplomacy becomes much more challenging, its aim even more ethereal. But this environment frees public diplomacy to work in conjunction with, but on a different track from, foreign policy and bilateral diplomacy.

In difficult environments where immediate U.S. security interests might appear at odds with American values, public diplomacy allows U.S. policymakers an outlet to express and promote the ideals of freedom, democracy, rule of law, toleration and human rights directly to the Egyptian people, while maintaining close bilateral ties and security cooperation with the government. Though this dichotomy created friction, it was most successful when Congress stood up to Egyptian constraints on foreign assistance. Though perhaps operating under such constraints limited the reach and effectiveness of U.S.-funded programs, the existence and operation of political training activities, TV and radio programming, and cultural, academic and professional exchanges suggest that the United States was able to get its message out.

As Egypt continues on the path of democratic transition, training programs such as these stand to have the most direct impact on Egyptian politics. With a parliamentary election set for November, the party formation and campaigning skills that U.S.-funded democracy promotion programs have been teaching Egypt's opposition will be put to the test. Another function of public diplomacy during this period should be the spread of democratic ideas and ideals.

2. Public diplomacy requires strategic objectives.

One of the fundamental difficulties of judging the effectiveness of U.S. public diplomacy efforts is the lack of agreement about what the metric of success should be. Perhaps the most commonly cited measure is a given society's attitude towards America. By this standard, as measured by Pew Global Research polls, our public diplomacy has been failing us in Egypt. The reliance on this standard seems arbitrary at best, however, without some explanation of either why poor poll numbers are deleterious to U.S. national interests or how popularity abroad translates into achieving policy objectives. Moreover, focusing on whether foreign publics "like" us appears to facilitate a peculiar form of circular reasoning: many of those who cite improving America's image abroad as an important precondition of a successful foreign policy are quick to suggest that the U.S. change its policy, as a way of boosting poll numbers.

Without a statement of the strategic objectives it seeks to accomplish, it is impossible to judge the effectiveness of public diplomacy. There remains in our foreign policy establishment a belief that the security challenges we face contain an ideological dimension. It is this understanding of the importance of public diplomacy in the 21st century – of providing news, information and cultural understanding to foreign publics – that spurred the creation of programs like Al Hurra and Radio Sawa. We cannot, however, mistake the means for the ends. Competing on the global battlefield of ideas requires not just platforms for disseminating information but, first and foremost, a strategy for how such dissemination can further our national interests.

3. Public diplomacy strategy requires messaging.

Another number that is often mistaken as a measure of public diplomacy's success is audience size. Yet, competing with Al Jazeera for the sake of claiming a larger audience accomplishes little by itself. Despite the limited reach of various broadcasting platforms, the central problem encountered by all forms of broadcasting has been the lack of an overarching messaging strategy.

Under President John F. Kennedy, for example, Edward R. Murrow, director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), insisted that the agency tell the entirety of the "American Story," blemishes included, with the conviction that publics behind the Iron Curtain

would respond better to truthful reporting than to propaganda, to which they were already accustomed. The messaging that undermined the legitimacy and sway of communist ideology half a century ago, however, might not be appropriate to curbing the appeal of Islamist extremism in the Middle East of the 21st century.

While having the means to reach foreign audiences is a necessary component of broadcasting success, such reach is beside the point if there is no meaningful message transmitted. Furthermore, the explosion of global media and new technologies, such as social networking, crowds out traditional tools for disseminating information. These technologies have enabled the two-way exchange of information that has changed how news is consumed and produced. But these tools are not unalloyed agents of progress, nor are they yet broadly adopted in the societies the United States hopes to reach with its public diplomacy.

A clear strategy must come first, followed by serious consideration of messages needed to achieve desired outcomes, followed finally by the means. Learning how to broadcast those messages in a crowded marketplace of ideas while navigating new media effectively is one of the greatest challenges for public diplomacy in the 21st century.

APPENDIX A: BACKGROUND

I. Egyptian Political Landscape

On the heels of revolutions and popular unrest dating back to the 1950s and 1960s, the Egyptian government has systematically suppressed civil society and opposition political parties for much of the last half century. Such oppression had been justified by a declared state of emergency that has lasted, except for an 18-month respite in 1980 – 1981, since 1967. The Emergency Law, as it is known, formally concentrates powers in the president's office and limits freedoms of expression and association.¹⁸ Nevertheless, popular discontent would occasionally coalesce and find public expression, only to be met with promises of political reforms that were rarely fulfilled.

During the early 1990s, Egyptians experienced a decline in living conditions that coincided with an uprising of Islamist groups. This combination made the regime uneasy and resulted in a crackdown on suspected militants and anyone voicing a dissenting political opinion. By 1998, the threat of armed extremist groups was largely under control and some of the socioeconomic issues that plagued the country in the beginning of the decade subsided thanks to economic growth. Yet President Hosni Mubarak continued to enforce the state of emergency and restricted political rights and civil liberties.¹⁹

Following the terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001, Egypt experienced a downturn. According to a report by Freedom House, "popular disaffection with the government spread palpably, and antigovernment demonstrations were harshly suppressed by security forces."²⁰ In 2004, amidst demand for change from within Egypt and pressure from the United States, Mubarak undertook a combination of crackdowns and cosmetic changes. When the first formal demonstrations calling for Mubarak to resign took place in late 2004, the security forces, predictably, had a strong response. Mubarak did attempt to squelch additional protests by ushering in some reforms, replacing his cabinet with young technocrats and introducing economic reforms.²¹ Many of the new appointees, however, were his son's cronies, raising speculation that Gamal Mubarak would succeed his father in office. This prospect caused concern in the country and soon a broadly supported movement emerged calling for political reforms, including: "direct multicandidate presidential elections; the abrogation of the Emergency Law; full judicial supervision of elections; the lifting of restrictions on the formation of political parties; and an end to government interference in the operation of non-governmental

organizations (NGOs).”²²

Three weeks prior to the 2005 presidential elections, the regime responded by introducing an amendment to the constitution that would render the elections slightly more competitive by allowing candidates from registered political parties to compete. For future presidential elections, however, the amendment required that candidates belong to a political party that has been in “existence for at least five years prior to the elections, and must already hold at least five percent of the seats in parliament.”²³ Independent candidates faced an even tougher road, requiring the collection of 250 signatures from elected officials of various governing bodies dominated by the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP). In protest of the sham reform effort, most of the major opposition parties boycotted the 2005 referendum vote to approve the amendment.

Though the rules were a slight improvement, the three-week campaign window did not allow sufficient time for nascent political parties to build the necessary infrastructure and support needed to be competitive against Mubarak. In practice, the amendment rendered the system unchanged. Not surprisingly, Mubarak won the presidential election with 88 percent of the vote with his closest competitor, Ayman Nour (Al-Ghad party leader) only receiving eight percent of the vote. Shortly after the election, Nour was sentenced to five years in prison on unsubstantiated charges of forging signatures on his party’s founding documents.²⁴

In the fall of 2005, Egypt held parliamentary elections. Perhaps to address continued discontent, play up the threat of Islamic extremism, or both reasons, the Mubarak regime allowed Muslim Brotherhood members to contest the elections as independent candidates. They experienced unprecedented and unexpected success, winning nearly 40 percent of the vote. Following this election, independent (i.e. Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated) candidates held nearly 88 seats, or 20 percent, in parliament.

The parliamentary elections, however, were plagued by violence and fraud. Voters believed to be supporters of opposition candidates were attacked by the security forces, ballot boxes were stuffed and candidates were harassed. The country’s fledgling network of CSOs voiced their frustration and denounced Mubarak’s sham elections. The Bush administration immediately released a statement saying there was “no indication that the Egyptian government isn’t interested in having peaceful, free and fair elections.”²⁵ But a week later, the administration released another seemingly corrective statement saying that it had “serious concerns about the path of political reform in Egypt.”²⁶

Another referendum on additional constitutional amendments was called for March 26, 2007, just six days after the changes were passed by parliament. Although billed by Mubarak as electoral reforms designed to “broaden the scope of popular participation in

decision making,” the amendments effectively banned religious political parties and granted the president additional authority to curtail civil liberties in order to combat terrorism.²⁷ Opposition members boycotted the election, decrying the lack of time for proper public debate and claiming that the amendments would, according to Freedom House, “limit judicial monitoring of elections and prohibit the formation of political parties based on religious principles.”²⁸ There were reports of ballot stuffing and vote buying. Although officially the amendments passed with 75 percent of the vote and a turnout rate of over 27 percent, CSOs and independent groups put the turnout at no more than five percent.²⁹ Upper house elections were held in June 2007 amidst similar fraud and irregularities. On the basis of the new constitutional amendments, the Muslim Brotherhood was shut out of these elections. The 2008 municipal elections followed the same pattern, but this time members of the Muslim Brotherhood were jailed in large numbers.

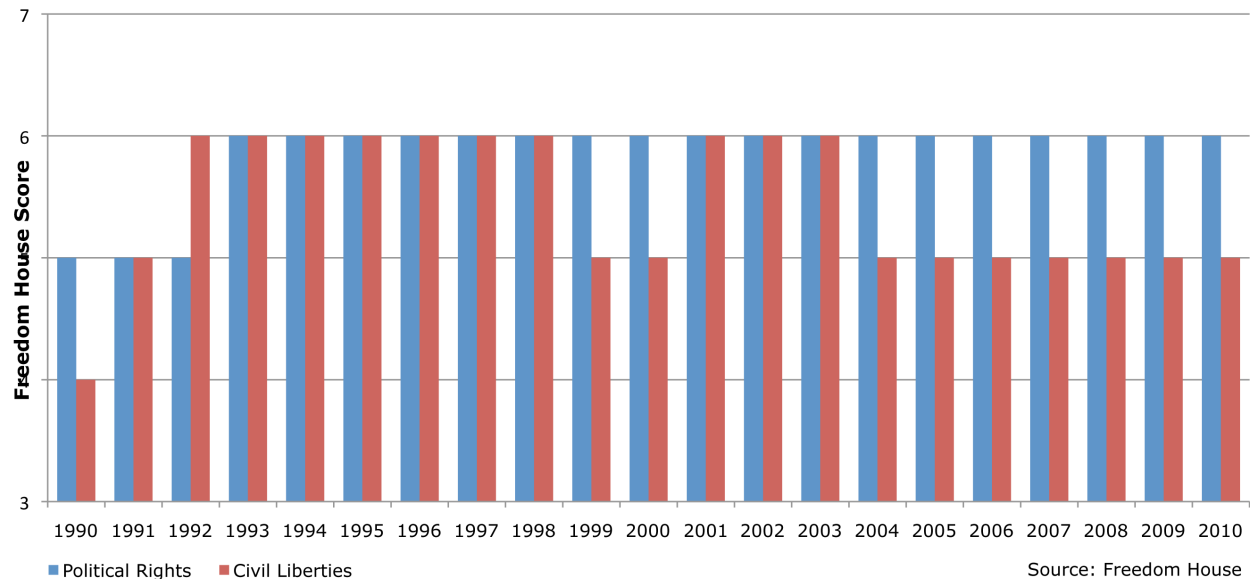
Rumors about Mubarak’s poor health and concerns regarding his successor further stoked political tensions in 2010. Opposition leaders came together to form the nonpartisan National Association for Change with the mission of encouraging electoral system reform. The parliamentary election in November was again characterized by widespread fraud and violence against voters, and resulted in a resounding victory for the NDP. Anti-Mubarak sentiment peaked following this rigged election and sparked additional protests against the government. The heightened political tension and collective frustration with the economic situation and lack of opportunity set the stage for the mass protests and subsequent ousting of Mubarak in early 2011.

II. Assessments of Freedom in Egypt

From 1993 through 2011, Freedom House – an NGO devoted to tracking political liberty around the world – has consistently rated Egypt’s freedom status as “Not Free” in its Freedom of the World survey. This rating is based upon an evaluation of the political rights and civil liberties that exist in a country. These two categories are assigned a score on a scale of zero to seven, with a higher score denoting greater absence of freedoms.

Egypt has consistently received a rating of six for political rights and has alternated between a rating of five and six for civil liberties. The political rights rating indicates that the country has a very restricted political landscape, characterized by political corruption, limits on the functioning of political parties and opposition groups, and foreign or military influence on politics. A slight improvement in the ratings for civil liberties from six to five in 2004 reflects relaxed restrictions on the media and slightly increased its tolerance of public criticism.

Figure 10: Assessment of Freedoms in Egypt



Egypt's rating for civil liberties has alternated between five and six throughout recent years. The rating of six for civil liberties indicates, according to Freedom House, that the country forces its citizenry to live in a very restricted environment. Rights of expression and association are strongly limited and political prisoners are held. Furthermore, religious and social freedoms, private business activity, and open and free private discussion are significantly restricted. A rating of five indicates a modest improvement in liberties such as a modicum of media independence, a slight relaxation of restrictions on trade union activities, and reduced discrimination against minority groups and women.

Egypt's current Freedom House political rights and civil liberties ratings, however, are a six and five respectively, and are on a downward trend. Freedom House stated that this downward trend is due to continued extensive restrictions on opposition candidates and proponents of reform, as well as a significant crack down on the media that has resulted in an increase in self-censorship.³⁰

III. Politics of the U.S.-Egypt Relationship

The defining characteristic of U.S.-Egyptian relations has long been security. Indeed, together with Israel, Egypt has been a central pillar of U.S. Middle East security strategy. The nature of the relationship, however, began to change, sour even, with the emergence of democracy promotion as a priority of the George W. Bush administration. This evolving dynamic left both partners in a bind: the Mubarak regime chafed at what it saw as attempts to undermine its rule by longtime ally, while American policymakers struggled to balance the supposedly complementary – but in this case competing –

interests of freedom and security.

The United States has enjoyed strong ties with Egypt ever since Anwar El Sadat laid the basis for peace with Israel by signing the Camp David Accords in 1978. Since then, security has been at the heart of U.S. relations with Egypt. Indeed, Egypt has consistently been the second largest recipient of U.S. military aid after Israel for the last 30 years. The nature of and importance placed, by both parties, on the military dimensions of this relationship was well explained by a 2009 cable from the U.S. Embassy in Cairo, released by WikiLeaks:

President Mubarak and military leaders view our military assistance program as the cornerstone of our mil-mil relationship and consider the U.S.D 1.3 billion in annual FMF as “untouchable compensation” for making and maintaining peace with Israel. The tangible benefits to our mil-mil relationship are clear: Egypt remains at peace with Israel, and the U.S. military enjoys priority access to the Suez Canal and Egyptian airspace. We believe, however, that our relationship can accomplish much more. Over the last year, we have engaged MOD leaders on developing shared strategic objectives to address current and emerging threats, including border security, counter terrorism, civil defense, and peacekeeping.³¹

The relationship began to change, however, under President George W. Bush. In November 2003, President Bush gave remarks at the 20th anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy announcing the importance of democracy and what would later become known as “the freedom agenda.” Though he also mentioned China and North Korea, the brunt of his speech focused on democracy in the Middle East:

In many nations of the Middle East – countries of great strategic importance – democracy has not yet taken root. And the questions arise: Are the peoples of the Middle East somehow beyond the reach of liberty? Are the millions of men and women and children condemned by history or culture to live in despotism? Are they alone never to know freedom, and never even to have a choice in the matter? I, for one, do not believe it. I believe every person has the ability and the right to be free.

Any doubt that the Bush administration included Egypt in its democratic ambitions for the region was put to rest in 2005. At the beginning of that year, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice postponed her trip to Egypt to protest the detention of opposition leader Ayman Nour. When she did come to Cairo later that same year she delivered a speech directly challenging Mubarak to make democratic reforms. In her speech, Rice reiterated the U.S. commitment to democracy, “Millions of people are demanding freedom for themselves and democracy for their countries. To these courageous men and women, I

say today: All free nations will stand with you as you secure the blessings of your own liberty." Nevertheless, reactions in Egypt were largely negative; many felt that Rice did not do enough to address issues regarding Mubarak and American promises of support were insincere. Indeed, during another visit in February 2006, Rice did not publicly raise the issue of Nour's subsequent imprisonment, leading Mubarak to tell a government newspaper that she "didn't bring up difficult issues or ask to change anything."³²

Still, feeling threatened, the Mubarak regime worked to ease pressure for democratic change by publically offering to reform the political system. Those reforms, however, proved to be either superficial or designed to promote the threat of the Muslim Brotherhood. In this way, the regime cast itself as the only choice for keeping Islamic extremists at bay in Egypt and played upon Western fears. Using this pretense, Mubarak concentrated power in the president's office, ostensibly in order to crack down on terrorists, but also to control the political life in Egypt. Opposition political parties had little chance to develop and organize, relative to the NDP. The Muslim Brotherhood, however, was granted more political space to operate by the regime than any other political party or civil society organization, essentially acting as a counter to the more liberal forces attempting to gain political power internally.

The United States was left questioning whether it should push democratic reform in Egypt and risk strengthening the position of radical groups, or whether it should focus on more regime-friendly assistance projects with an eye on long-term reform and risk squelching the enthusiasm of those seeking democracy from within Egypt.³³ It also faced a distinct lack of local partners and indigenous democracy efforts to which it could offer support and technical assistance.³⁴ With the Muslim Brotherhood having gained political clout in Egypt in the 2005 parliamentary elections and Hamas taking power in Gaza after the 2006 elections there, the Bush administration's freedom agenda began to falter. By 2007, it had taken a much softer tack as the Mubarak regime began to once again crack down on the opposition.

Taking power in 2009, President Barack Obama continued this trend of downplaying the issue of democracy in Egypt. Obama limited criticism of Egypt and Mubarak to "private conversations, and pointedly declined to congratulate the government when it freed the jailed Mr. Nour, so as not to embarrass it."³⁵ Indeed, a diplomatic cable released by WikiLeaks about Nour's surprise release from prison in February 2009 reported Egyptian opposition leaders speculation that it "was timed to send a message to the USG [United States Government] that the 'pressure tactics' of the Bush administration did not work."³⁶ In June of 2009, President Obama gave a speech in Cairo focusing on U.S.-Middle East relations rather than Egypt specifically. He briefly touched on political freedoms but stopped short of mentioning democracy, instead stating:

I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the

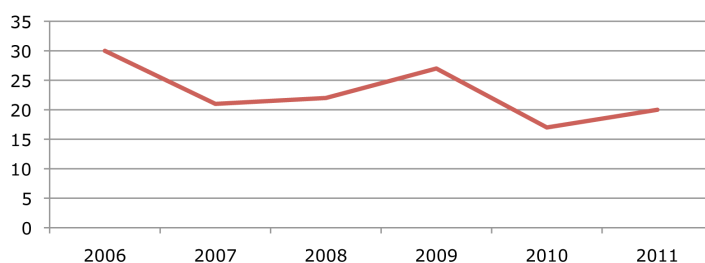
ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose.

An August 2009 visit by President Mubarak to Washington, as well as subsequent meetings, followed this agenda. At the press conference, Obama ran through a long list of topics without mentioning human rights and democracy. Regional stability, particularly in the wake of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, trumped concerns about political freedoms.

When large protests broke out in Egypt after the fall of Tunisian President Ben Ali, the Obama administration's response was slow, initially following this approach. Obama's January 28, 2011 statement to the press on Egypt stated, "I want to be very clear in calling upon the Egyptian authorities to refrain from any violence against peaceful protestors."³⁷ President Obama did not call for Mubarak to step down, however, only to adhere to democratic principles. It was not until later remarks in February 2011 that Obama called for elections and regime transition.

IV. Egyptian Perceptions of the United States

Figure 11: Egyptians with Favorable Opinion of U.S.



Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project

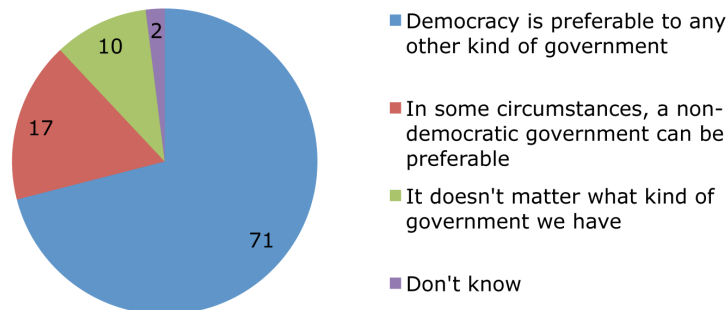
Egyptian perceptions of the United States, but especially of the sincerity of U.S. democratization efforts, have become increasingly more negative since 2005. In a Gallup poll taken in 2005 asking if Americans were serious about establishing democratic systems in the region, 63 percent of Egyptians disagreed. This number increased to 75 percent in 2008.

Those who agreed with the statement declined from 24 percent in 2005 to four percent in 2008.³⁸ Importantly, when asked in 2008 if the United States would allow people in the region to fashion their own political futures without direct U.S. influence, only four percent agreed with 75 percent disagreeing.

Pew polling from 2002 – 2011 concluded that the Arab Spring has not improved Egyptians' favorability of the United States, dropping from 30 percent in 2006 to 17 percent last year and only 20 percent in the wake of the uprising (compared to 79

percent unfavorable). The figure for 2011 trailed behind Egyptians' favorability toward Hamas (45 percent), Hezbollah (24 percent) and even al-Qaeda (21 percent). Moreover, the survey showed 52 percent disapproved of Obama's handling of the calls for political change in the Middle East (45 percent approving), even though 71 percent of Egyptians said democracy is preferable to any other kind of government and 64 percent said a democratic government is more important than a strong leader (up from half in 2007).

Figure 12: Opinion of Democracy (2011)



Perhaps most tellingly, 77 percent of Egyptians said the United States considered their country's interests "not much or not at all," while the those saying the Egyptian government cooperated with the United States "too much" outnumbering those responding "not enough" 39 percent to 24 percent.³⁹

Figure 13: Opinion of Government Cooperation with the U.S. (2011)

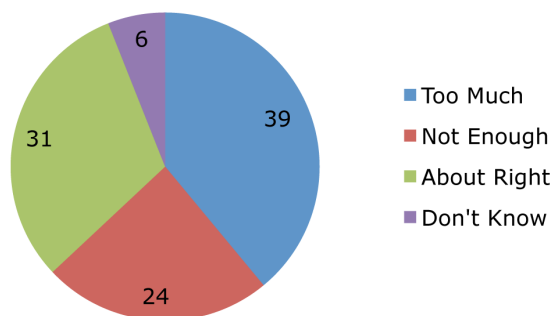
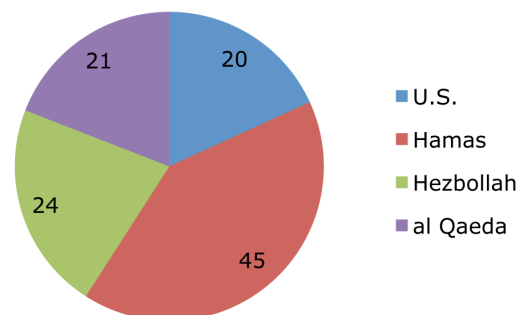


Figure 14: Opinion of U.S. vs. Extremist Groups (2011)



Source: Pew Global Attitudes Project

APPENDIX B: U.S. DEMOCRACY PROMOTION EFFORTS IN EGYPT

Following the end of the Cold War, Bill Clinton was the first U.S. president in decades who was allowed the freedom to determine a foreign policy and diplomatic strategy that did not focus on the concept of containment. Many characterize the Clinton Doctrine as a framework that emphasized stability around the world, along with the integration of economic interests and national security – in short, democratic enlargement. Over time, however, the Clinton administration placed less emphasis on democracy promotion as a means to achieve stability and economic prosperity, and instead utilized what it reportedly viewed as more pragmatic means that could deliver short-term results. The administration, according to observers Emily Goldman and Larry Berman, “shifted away from multilateralism and towards bilateral deals and special strategic relationships” which could more adequately, in their opinion, address security threats and support peace.⁴⁰

In the years following the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. on September 11, 2001, the Bush administration placed heavy emphasis on democracy promotion in the Middle East under its “Freedom Agenda.” In 2006, however, many veterans of democracy promotion – notably Scot Carpenter and Tamara Cofman Wittess – noted that several factors induced a policy shift, which some claim carried through to the Obama administration, resulting in a focus on a stable Middle East rather than a democratic one.⁴¹ Nevertheless, the period between 2005 and 2009 saw an increased flurry of funding and programs aimed at democracy and governance in Egypt. It was also during this period that Egyptian civil society organizations began to receive U.S. funds directly.

Since taking office in 2009, the Obama administration has characterized its foreign policy as being focused on diplomacy, development and defense. “Democracy” is conspicuously absent from this list.⁴² Other experts claim that there was never a shift away from democracy promotion under President Bush and into President Obama’s first term, but rather simply a change in rhetoric. Their stance is that the U.S. government

has always prioritized stability over democracy in an effort to protect American interests, and that it continues to employ that policy today. A third perspective focuses on the role that democracy plays in achieving stability in a country and throughout the Middle East – noting that the two concepts are not mutually exclusive but are in fact two sides of the same coin.⁴³

Irrespective of the policy differences between administrations, it has been a constant of U.S. democracy promotion in Egypt that revolution and regime change were never its stated goal. Stoking the fires of popular dissent or urging people onto the streets – as happened in January and February of 2011 – was not the mechanism by which U.S. programs sought to promote democracy. Rather, they focused on the potential for gradual political reform. Their goals, therefore, included developing foundational institutions and practices – rule of law, respect for human rights, an independent media, a vibrant civil society – necessary for democracy to flourish while preparing Egyptians to take part in democracy by training them how to form and run political parties and monitor elections.

Moreover, many U.S.-funded democracy programs were hampered by restrictions imposed by the Egyptian government. For example, the International Republican Institute and National Democratic Institute – two stalwarts of American democracy promotion – have to this day still not been granted legal “registration” to function in Egypt. Therefore, U.S. democracy programs should not be judged on whether or how they contributed to the Tahrir Square protests, but on whether they have prepared Egyptians for the political transition in the wake of the revolution.

Below we review three key factors that offer insight into U.S. democracy promotion efforts in Egypt throughout the last two decades:

- U.S. democracy assistance policy;
- Funding for democracy and governance programs; and
- Actual democracy promotion programs that took place.

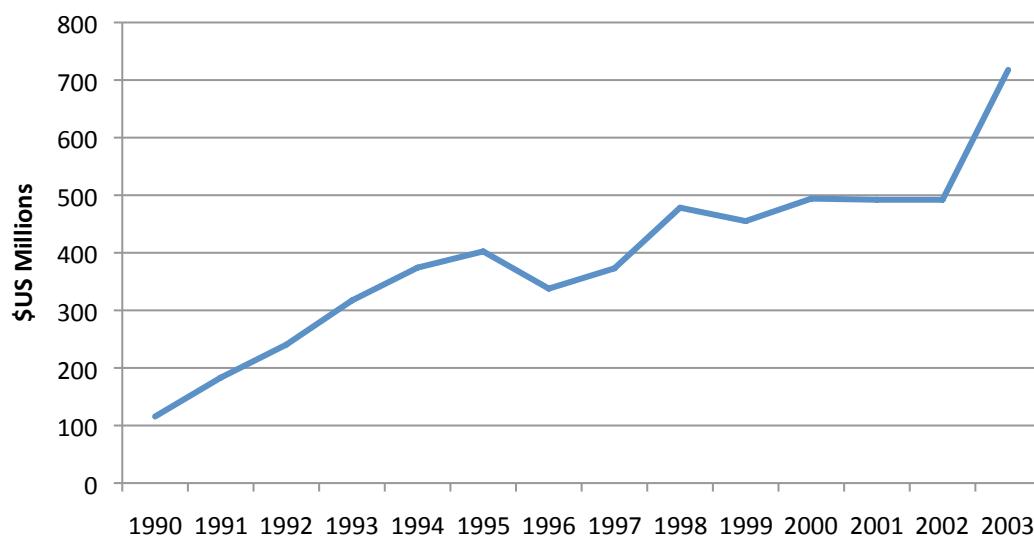
I. U.S. Democracy Assistance Policy 1993 – 2010

A. THE WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON ADMINISTRATION (1993-2001)

Following the end of the Cold War, Bill Clinton was the first U.S. president in decades who was allowed the freedom to determine a foreign policy and diplomatic strategy that did not focus on the concept of containment. Many characterize the Clinton Doctrine as a framework that emphasized stability around the world, along with the integration of economic interests and national security – in short, democratic enlargement. As one democracy promotion researcher, Nicolas Boucher, put it, “under Clinton, the U.S.

government did not just go further in seeking to promote democratization abroad through its various institutions, it also went further in explicitly trying to use these efforts to promote strategic national-security and economic goals.”⁴⁴ President Clinton was a champion for democracy and believed that democracies, in the words of Strobe Talbott, “are more likely than [countries] with other forms of government to be reliable partners in trade and diplomacy, and less likely to threaten the peace.”⁴⁵ The chart below details USAID spending on democracy and governance assistance between 1993 and 2003.⁴⁶

Figure 15: Total USAID Democracy Assistance Spending Worldwide, 1990 - 2003



In 1995, the Clinton administration announced the National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement, centered on the idea that the country’s “strategic interests – from promoting prosperity at home to checking global threats abroad before they threaten our territory – are served by enlarging the community of democratic and free market nations.”⁴⁷ When operationalizing its foreign policy, the Clinton administration utilized military force when it deemed necessary to prevent or address the infringement of human rights, and to maintain U.S. access to the economic markets and energy resources critical for the growth and security of the country.

Over time, however, the Clinton administration placed less emphasis on democracy promotion as a means to achieve stability and economic prosperity, and instead utilized what it reportedly viewed as more pragmatic means that could deliver short-term results. The administration “shifted away from multilateralism and towards bilateral deals and special strategic relationships” which could more adequately, in their opinion, address security threats and support peace.⁴⁸ Many point to the fluctuations in USAID

funding for democracy and governance programming to illustrate the evolution of President Clinton's policy.

Spending rose steadily from \$117 million in 1990 to \$494 million in 2000, with especially large annual increases in 1991-1994 and in 1997-1998. These growth spurts were followed by retrenchments in 1996 and 1999. Latin America and the Caribbean received by far the greatest share in 1990 with almost 73 percent while all other regions had small shares ranging from 1.7 percent to 11.7 percent. By the mid-1990s, spending by region had converged, however. In 2000, the regional spread of the share of USAID democracy assistance had narrowed, ranging from 10.6 percent for the Middle East and Mediterranean to 21.4 percent for Europe.⁴⁹

The greater focus on economic reform, and especially privatization, over democracy assistance during this period was also applied to Egypt. A strategic plan for Egypt for the fiscal years 2000 – 2009 released by USAID in 1999 entitled "Advancing the Partnership" describes the agency's program goal as creating a "Globally Competitive Economy Benefiting Egyptians Equitably." Only one of seven enumerated strategic objectives – "Egyptian Initiatives in Governance and Participation Strengthened" – deals with political reform and even then largely in the contexts of driving economic growth.⁵⁰

B. GEORGE W. BUSH ADMINISTRATION (2001-2009)

Prior to the 2001 attack on the United States, the Bush administration prioritized economic reform and military assistance over democracy promotion. In the years immediately following 2001, however, the Bush administration placed heavy emphasis on democracy promotion under its "Freedom Agenda," particularly the promotion of human rights and political freedom through the strengthening of democratic institutions, as well as increasing the capacity of individuals to contribute to the political process (e.g., legislatures, civil society organizations, electoral commissions, political parties, etc.).

The widely-held belief that, in the long run, democratic countries are more stable and peaceful than those headed by authoritarian regimes moved democracy promotion – particularly in the Middle East – to the top of the administration's priority list. The Bush administration publicly touted its foreign policy "Freedom Agenda" characterized by rhetoric, funding and action promoting human rights as well as political and economic freedom. This policy was so strongly enforced that it drew a significant amount of criticism and invited accusations that the United States was leaving its imperialist footprint around the globe.

The application of the Freedom Agenda to Egypt specifically can also be witnessed in the evolution of USAID's strategy there. A 2004 update to the USAID/Egypt Strategic Plan for Fiscal Years 2000 – 2009 reflects this shift: "[T]he events of September 11, 2001,

led to more active U.S. involvement in Egypt and the region, including the USG's new Middle East Partnership Initiative...This update describes the revised program resulting from the above factors. In broad strokes, *the proposed strategy significantly increases efforts in Education as well as in the area of Democracy and Governance.*"⁵¹

In 2006, however, the Bush administration appeared to shift their foreign policy priorities, embracing the importance of immediate regional stability over, and to the exclusion of, democracy. Egypt observers point to almost diametrically opposed reactions by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to the subsequent arrests and imprisonments of opposition leader and presidential candidate Ayman Nour as evidence of this shift. In 2005, Rice cancelled her visit to Egypt in protest of Nour's imprisonment. Yet in 2006, after he campaigned for president, was again arrested and, as revealed in diplomatic cables made public by WikiLeaks, sent Rice a moving letter, she not only met with Mubarak, but also reportedly made no mention of Nour's situation in public.

Several factors came together to motivate this strategic shift away from democracy promotion. First, the situation in Iraq deteriorated significantly. There was severe loss of life, pervasive corruption, a vacuum in political leadership and an enormous amount of U.S. resources being funneled into the country with no real results to show for it. The world watched as Iraq essentially became embroiled in a civil war. The American people's tolerance for continued engagement in Iraq plummeted and serious demands for withdrawal increased.

Second, after receiving encouragement and pressure from the Bush administration, democratic elections were held in Palestine in 2006. Much to the democratic world's disappointment, however, Hamas won a resounding victory over Fatah. The administration attempted to provide a positive spin on the situation, but the election results gave the U.S. government pause when encouraging democratic elections in the region for fear of less than desirable outcomes.

Third, the U.S. relied on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in its quest to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Specifically, at the request of the American government and in exchange for approximately \$2 billion per year in assistance, Mubarak upheld the peace agreement with Israel. His willingness to maintain peace with the Israelis when it was not a widely supported policy among the Egyptian people (and certainly not among the Muslim Brotherhood) made Mubarak a critical ally to the U.S. government. Had the Egyptian people legitimately democratically elected Mubarak, he would not have been in a position to cooperate with the United States and Israel because unilateral decision-making would have had significant electoral consequences.

The period between 2005 and 2009 marked a significant change in public orientation towards democratic change in Egypt as well as an increase in funding and activities

aimed at promoting democracy and governance. During this period, funds allocated for democracy promotion in Egypt soared from \$14 million in 2003 to over \$54 million in 2008. Moreover, in 2005 the U.S. Congress repealed the requirement that the Egyptian government approve the disbursement of funds targeted at democracy promotion. This allowed U.S. funds to flow directly to Egyptian CSOs for the first time in twenty years.

C. THE BARACK OBAMA ADMINISTRATION (2009-PRESENT)

Scott Carpenter and Tamara Coffman Wittess have claimed that the “realist” approach employed by the Bush White House starting in 2006 carried over into the Obama administration, resulting in a focus on a stable Middle East versus a democratic one.⁵² During then Secretary of State-designate Hillary Clinton’s confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, she testified that U.S. foreign policy under the Obama administration would “use all the elements of [the administration’s] power – diplomacy, development, and defense.”⁵³ For many neo-conservatives, liberal internationalists and democracy promotion advocates and implementers, the omission of “democracy” from this list was troubling.⁵⁴

While it is believed that President Obama supports the concept of democracy assistance to developing countries, the stigma that surrounded “democracy promotion” following the Bush administration seems to linger in the minds of Democratic decision-makers, motivating the current administration to proceed cautiously in any situation where it could be perceived as meddling in the affairs of another country and its government. In a speech in Accra, Ghana in 2009, President Obama stated, “America will not seek to impose any system of government on any other nation. The essential truth of democracy is that each nation determines its own destiny.”⁵⁵

Furthermore, the current administration emphasizes action in cooperation with other countries and multilateral organizations such as the United Nations, rather than unilateral efforts. An example of President Obama’s desire to take a multilateral approach to foreign policy is the crisis in Libya, a strategy reportedly labeled by one of his advisors as “leading from behind.”⁵⁶ The President decided to work through the United Nations and seek international consensus around a Security Council resolution to support military intervention in Libya. Many people criticized the president for not showing stronger leadership and acting more swiftly even if that meant that the United States had to take on Kaddafi alone. David Woolner, a senior fellow at the Roosevelt Institute, has argued, however, that the administration’s strategy toward the Libyan crisis,

does not represent a diminution of American sovereignty or an abandonment of American leadership. What it does represent is a move away from the unilateralism that characterized America’s foreign policy in the previous administration (and in the 1930s) and an embrace of the more traditional

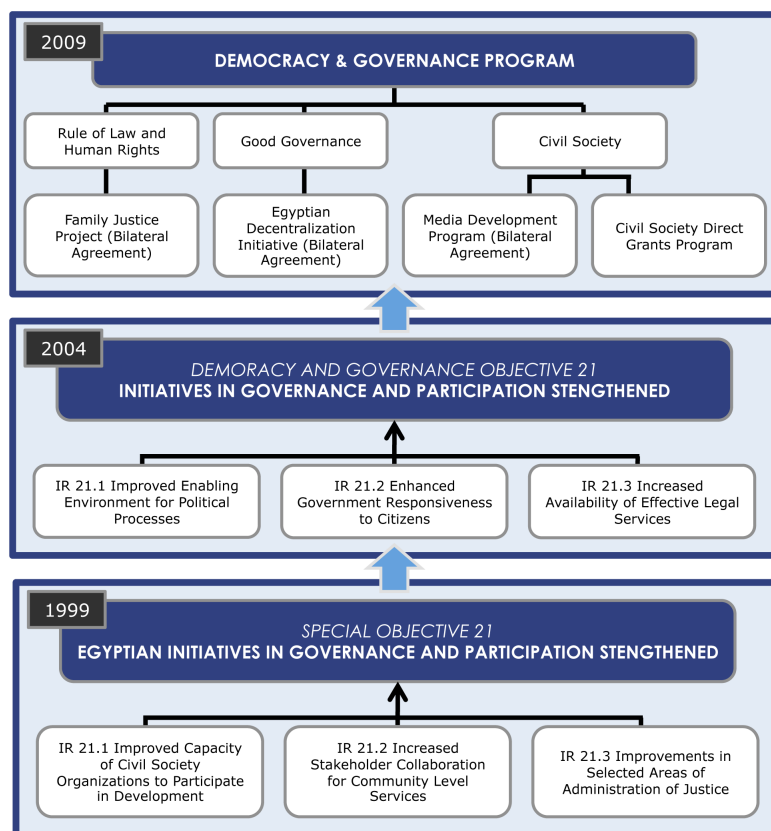
post-war multilateral expression of American power perhaps best exemplified by George H.W. Bush in the first Gulf War and by Harry S. Truman at the onset of the Korean War.⁵⁷

At this point in the Obama administration's term, it appears that declared foreign policy prioritizes stability and cooperation with other countries and multilateral organizations.

II. Democracy Promotion Strategy & Programs

Although Egypt has consistently been the second largest recipient of U.S. foreign assistance for almost the last 30 years, the objectives, destinations and programs implemented with those funds have varied. Using available documents, we have identified roughly three phases to U.S. democracy assistance strategy in Egypt, each more committed to democratic assistance and roughly corresponding to the periods of 1999 to 2003; 2004; and 2005 to 2009. Identifying a democracy promotion strategy toward Egypt in the years after 2009 has proven more difficult due to limited public materials.

Figure 16: Evolution of U.S. Democracy Assistance to Egypt, 1999 - 2009⁵⁸



A. DEVELOPMENT FIRST (1999 – 2003)

At the turn of the century, supporting political freedoms was not the central objective for U.S. foreign policy towards Egypt. The USAID/Egypt Strategic Plan FY 2000 – 2009 released in 1999 entitled “Advancing the Partnership” describes the agency’s program goal as creating a “Globally Competitive Economy Benefiting Egyptians Equitably.” The plan notes that,

Egypt’s political, economic and social development, supported by U.S. and other investments over the last 25 years, has provided a solid foundation for it to stand as a partner in the global economy. The challenge, however, is more than economic growth alone. To be globally competitive and sustain economic growth, Egypt must translate growth into good jobs for those who need them, avoid environmental degradation, and offer adequate services.⁵⁹

To this end, two main sub-goals were given – “creating private sector jobs and sustaining Egypt’s’ human and natural resource base” – and seven strategic objectives:

- Environment for Trade and Investment Strengthened;
- Skills for Competitiveness Developed;
- Access to Sustainable Utility Services in Selected Areas Increased;
- Management of the Environment and Natural Resources in Targeted Sectors Improved;
- Healthier, Planned Families;
- Egyptian Initiatives in Governance and Participation Strengthened; and
- Basic Education to Meet Market Demand Improved.⁶⁰

Even the governance-oriented strategic objective, however, deals with political reform largely in the context of driving economic growth. The rationale for this objective states, “an environment that encourages private sector job creation and a more sustainable resource base depends upon transparent and accountable governance, which in turn is founded on widespread citizen participation and the ability of institutions to respond.” This job-creation and service-delivery focus is borne out in the three intermediate results:

- Improved Capacity of Civil Society Organizations to Participate in Development;
- Increased Stakeholder Collaboration for Community Level Services; and
- Improvements in Selected Areas of Administration of Justice.⁶¹

Indeed, the strategic plan called for the United States to spend only 2.5 percent of its foreign aid to Egypt between 2000 and 2009 on governance reform.⁶²

B. DEMOCRACY EFFORTS INCREASED (2004)

The development-heavy approach began to change in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the subsequent foreign policy focus on spreading democracy in the Middle East. A 2004 update to the USAID/Egypt Strategic Plan for Fiscal Years 2000 – 2009 reflects this shift. It is worth citing the strategic overview in full:

[S]ignificant changes in the program are proposed as a result of the joint USAID/State Review of the Egypt Program and changing conditions in U.S. foreign policy, Egypt, and the world....

[T]he events of September 11, 2001, led to more active U.S. involvement in Egypt and the region, including the USG's new Middle East Partnership Initiative. This sharpening of U.S. foreign policy for the region led to the strategic revisions proposed in this document.

This update describes the revised program resulting from the above factors. In broad strokes, *the proposed strategy significantly increases efforts in Education as well as in the area of Democracy and Governance*; continues and slightly increases funding in the Health and Population sectors; slightly reduces funding while increasing the focus of the Economic Growth program; and closes out the Environment and Workforce Development programs.⁶³

Moreover, the strategic objective of democracy assistance was revised to reflect an emphasis on political liberalization. The intermediate results expected of the governance program were updated to include:

- Improved Enabling Environment for Political Processes;
- Enhanced Government Responsiveness to Citizens; and
- Increased Availability of Effective Legal Services.

The rationale behind these objectives also moved away from pure economic development to include the need for more democratic governance for its own sake:

The strategy aims to capitalize on these potential openings through activities designed to improve the political infrastructure and make the policy-making process more responsive, accountable, participatory and transparent. It also seeks to strengthen the judicial system as a critical element in a democratic society. To this end, USAID will support developments in three areas recognized as key for Egypt to embark on a road to genuine democratic reform: 1) political processes; 2) governance; and 3) strengthening the rule of law.⁶⁴

C. CIVIL SOCIETY PRIORITIZED (2005 – 2009)

In 2005, Congress removed the government of Egypt's power to determine how democracy assistance funds were used. This move empowered agencies to provide resources directly to Egyptian CSOs and NGOs without approval from the Mubarak regime, giving democracy promotion in Egypt new direction and vigor. This energetic new approach was succinctly captured in a 2005 cable from Cairo, obtained from WikiLeaks, stating, "Post is moving to implement an ambitious program of directly-funded democracy and governance (D&G) activities in Egypt."⁶⁵

Complementing this change in funding protocol, USAID updated its democracy and governance programs to span three major areas:

- Rule of Law and Human Rights – strengthen the administration of justice and access to justice for women and disadvantaged groups.
- Good Governance – promote a more accountable and responsive local government.
- Civil Society – promote greater independence and professionalism in media and strengthen the organizational capabilities of civil society organizations while directly supporting their programs in areas such as political reform, elections monitoring, and civic education.⁶⁶

The change came at a time when political opposition was starting to gain traction in Egypt. The Egyptian Movement for Change (also known as Kefaya, Arabic for "enough") held its first protest in late 2004, and in 2005 Mubarak offered cosmetic constitutional reforms and the semblance of competitive presidential elections. These attempts at reform highlighted the regime's wariness of growing discontent and, because they were so transparently superficial, only fueled it.

Funding CSOs directly as frustration was beginning to mount within Egypt had an almost instantaneous and direct impact on the United States' ability to support the democratic aspirations of Egyptians. A diplomatic cable from Cairo, released by WikiLeaks, detailing 2005 activities and programs in support of democracy sums it up thus:

2005 was a banner year for USAID/Egypt's democracy and governance portfolio. The portfolio has grown from one bilateral administration of justice program in the spring of 2005 to five bilateral programs in such diverse areas as family justice, criminal justice, decentralization and media strengthening. Additionally, the DG office is funding more than a dozen grants to Egyptian and international civil society organizations. For the first time in the 25-year history of the US-Egypt bilateral relationship, these grants have been issued as direct grants to civil society organizations.⁶⁷

By 2007, as democracy and governance funding reached a new high of \$50 million, the new strategy was fully fleshed about. In a cable labeled "Updated Democracy Strategy," the embassy in Cairo laid out this new view and how it would impact their programming:

Our fundamental reform goal in Egypt remains democratic transformation, including the expansion of political freedom and democratic pluralism, respect for human rights, and a stable, democratic and legitimate transition to the post-Mubarak era. While our programs in the areas of judicial reform and decentralization are well conceived and have had some notable successes, we propose to expand our support for civil society, especially through offshore programming.⁶⁸

In the years after this change in law, the percent of total foreign aid funds devoted to democracy and governance rose sharply from three percent of all ESF (Economic Support Funds) funds in 2005 to almost 18 percent in 2009. At the same time, the amount of that democracy funding that was being devoted to civil society programs also increased dramatically.

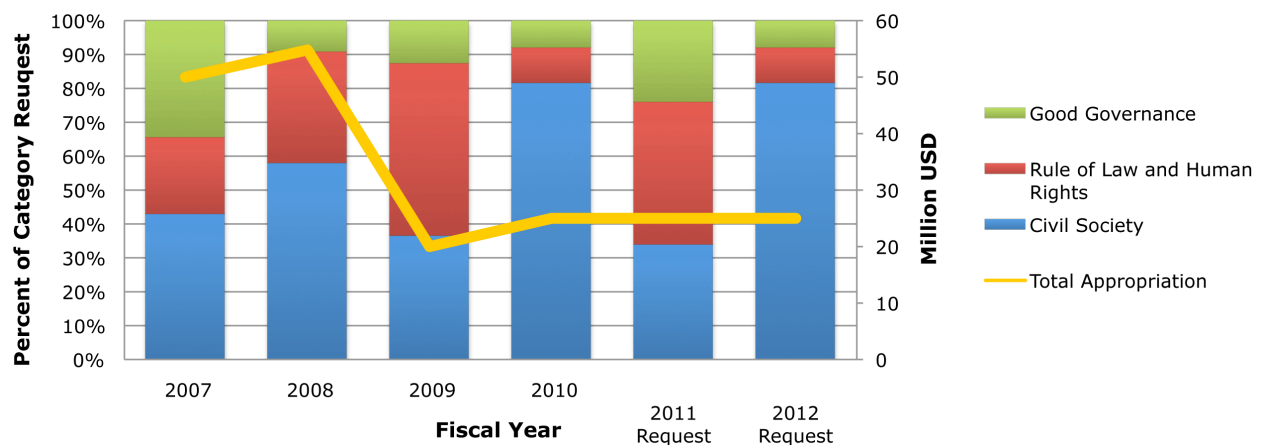
D. POST-2009

Assessing the strategy and programming of U.S. democracy assistance programs in Egypt after President Obama took office is more difficult. Planning documents that lay out a general strategy are not as readily available as for earlier periods. Looking at funding appropriated for Egypt is also less revealing, partly because it is difficult to identify whether changes in appropriations are a result of policy changes or budgetary pressure. Another difficulty, however, is that the distribution of democracy funding between different program areas has shifted dramatically each year that Obama has been in office.

Perhaps the most telling indication of the direction of U.S. democracy assistance to Egypt in 2009 is a diplomatic cable from Ambassador Margaret Scobey, released by WikiLeaks, entitled "A New Approach to Egypt's ESF." In it, she suggests that USAID assistance to Egypt "focus on concrete, visible assistance that demonstrates U.S. concern for the Egyptian people in areas such as health, education, and poverty eradication." She goes on to argue that previous years' direct funding of CSOs "exceeded the absorptive capacity of existing institutions. Given the government's overall hostility to the programs few results have been achieved." Indeed, she argues that "a direct grants program has had some positive impact on the capacity of Egyptian civil society, but at a political cost in terms of our working relationship with the Government of Egypt." She thus proposes moving away from funneling ESF funds directly to civil society and instead providing "funding from other sources, for example, from DRL or MEPI, or from a new direct Congressional appropriation."⁶⁹

Indeed, it seems that appropriators heeded Scobey's strategic advice to reduce ESF's contribution to civil society programs in Egypt. In FY 2009, while total ESF funding for Egypt shrank by about 40 percent, from \$411.6 million to \$250 million, the share of that devoted for democracy and governance was reduced by over 63 percent, going from \$54.8 million to \$20 million. Moreover, of that \$20 million only \$7.3 million, about 37 percent, went to fund civil society groups. That was down sharply from the previous year when \$31.8 million out of \$54.8 million, 58 percent of the total, went to CSOs.

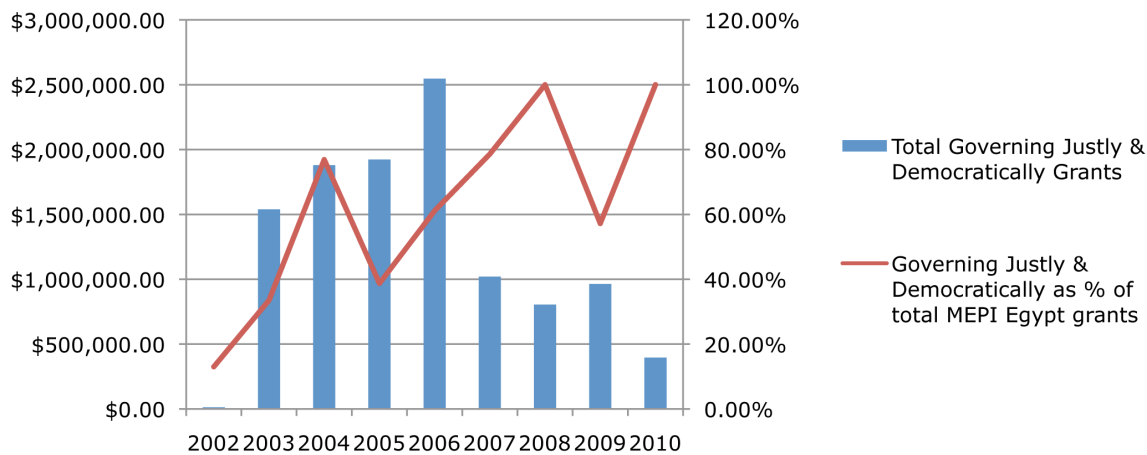
Figure 17: U.S. Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Assistance to Egypt



Scobey's second recommendation – shifting democracy funding to MEPI or other sources – is not reflected in the FY 2009 appropriations for Egypt. Although MEPI grants awarded that year did increase by almost 20 percent, the number of those grants given for democracy programs plummeted from 100 percent in 2008 to 57 percent in 2009.

The Obama administration, however, did not stay the course with that policy. In 2010 the trends completely reversed. Though the Egypt ESF stayed level at \$250 million, the amount devoted for democracy and governance rose by 25 percent to \$25 million. In addition, the amount of the democracy funding that went to civil society groups jumped by nearly 80 percent to \$20.4 million, representing over 80 percent of the monies appropriated for that sector. MEPI grants to Egypt, on the other hand, dropped by 60 percent to \$395,490, but that entire amount went to programs designed to promote governing justly and democratically.

Figure 18: MEPI Grants for Governing Justly and Democratically Programs, Egypt, 2002 – 2010



While maintaining the ESF at \$25 million, the 2011 foreign operations request again deemphasizes civil society programs, allocating only \$8.5 million or just over one third of the total for them. This shift away from civil society and towards rule of law and institution building is warranted in the aftermath of Egypt's revolution as it seeks to create democratic political institutions. Such justification, however, does little to explain the fluctuation in funding priorities evidenced between 2009 and 2010.

III. Funding of Democracy and Governance Programs

While policies developed and articulated by an administration are extremely important, allocating funds to implement those policies is what indicates priorities. When the United States allocates a significant amount of money to democracy assistance efforts in a country, it sends a message that the United States supports and expects reform; conversely, a message is also conveyed when funding is not allocated or is cut from past allocations for democratic reform efforts.

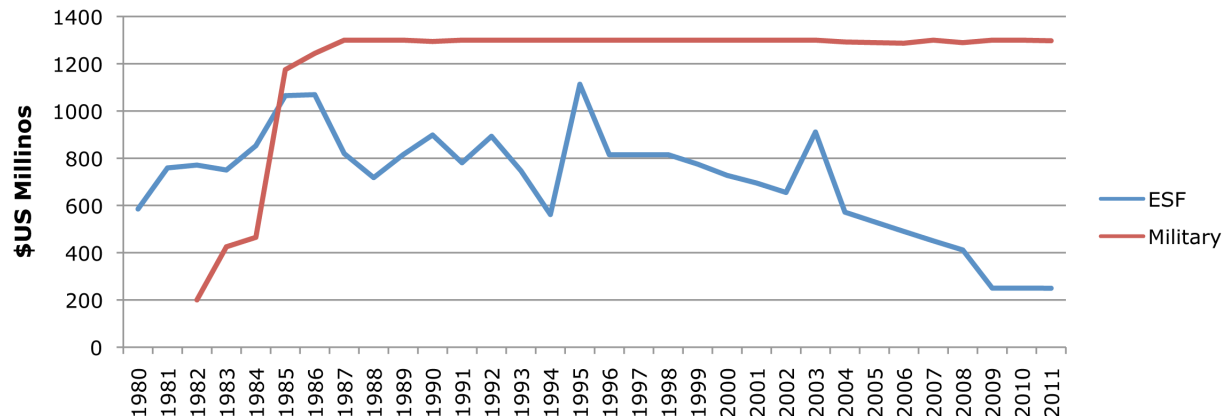
A. THE FUNDING DEBATE

There is a debate between politicians, academics, implementers and bureaucrats about the actual resources the United States devoted to democracy assistance efforts in Egypt throughout the last 20 years, and from which programs or entities those funds were allocated.

Economic Support Funds (ESF) is often the umbrella account cited as representing the U.S. government's investment in democracy promotion in Egypt. This can be misleading, however, because these funds are divided into four areas of programming: health, education, economic development and democracy promotion. Looking at ESF in its totality, the pot of money allocated to Egypt for the last 20 years appears relatively

large. These funds have declined steadily in recent years, however, based on the Glide Path Agreement negotiated between the United States and Israel, and also due to the Egyptian government's request to graduate to a trade based relationship.⁷⁰ While it is useful to review this number when comparing development aid versus military aid, it does not provide a detailed picture of democracy assistance specifically.

Figure 19: U.S. Military and Foreign Assistance to Egypt



In addition to focusing on ESF figures, many people quote the requested or appropriated funds when citing how much money the United States dedicated to democracy promotion efforts in Egypt. These figures can also be misleading. First, the requested funds are not the amount allocated to programs. Furthermore, the funds which were appropriated or allocated for democracy and governance programs were not necessarily actually spent on that programming. In Egypt, as in many developing democracies, there are absorption issues and hindrances to fully implementing programs. For example, the Mubarak regime shut down many implementers and democracy assistance programs. An audit conducted by USAID's Office of Inspector General stated, "According to a mission official, the Government of Egypt has resisted USAID/Egypt's democracy and governance program and has suspended the activities of many U.S. NGOs because Egyptian officials thought these organizations were too aggressive."⁷¹

When the regime cracked down, it made it nearly impossible for organizations to appropriately spend all of the money given to them. For example, USAID/Egypt experienced a significant funding increase from FY 2005 to 2006, which "required the mission to rapidly develop new programs in the democracy and governance portfolio...and [it] has not been able to expend much of the funds in a timely manner."⁷² Therefore, looking only at requested or allocated funding does not provide the best picture of the resources the United States dedicated to democracy assistance in Egypt.

The main entities for channeling U.S. democracy and governance funding to

implementing organizations in Egypt are USAID, MEPI, DRL and NED.

USAID – The United States Agency for International Development “is an independent agency that provides economic, development and humanitarian assistance around the world in support of the foreign policy goals of the United States.”⁷³ For over 50 years USAID has been providing technical assistance and support aimed at promoting sustainable democracy around the world. Specifically, the agency focuses on “strengthening rule of law, promoting competitive elections and political processes, increasing development of civil society, developing transparent and accountable governance, and promoting free and independent media.”⁷⁴

MEPI – The Middle East Partnership Initiative was established in 2002 and is a part of the State Department’s Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. The agency supports projects in the Middle East that “protect and advance civil liberties, empower women and youth, strengthen the rule of law, support citizens’ right to have a say in how they are governed, develop independent and fair media, foster economic opportunity especially for underrepresented groups, and educate active and responsible citizens.”⁷⁵

DRL – The State Department’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL) focuses on supporting and promoting democracy programs worldwide. “As the nation’s primary democracy advocate, DRL is responsible for overseeing the Human Rights and Democracy Fund (HRDF), which was established in 1998 to address human rights and democratization emergencies. DRL uses resources from the HRDF, as well as those allocated to Regional Democracy Funds, to support democratization programs such as election monitoring and parliamentary development.”⁷⁶

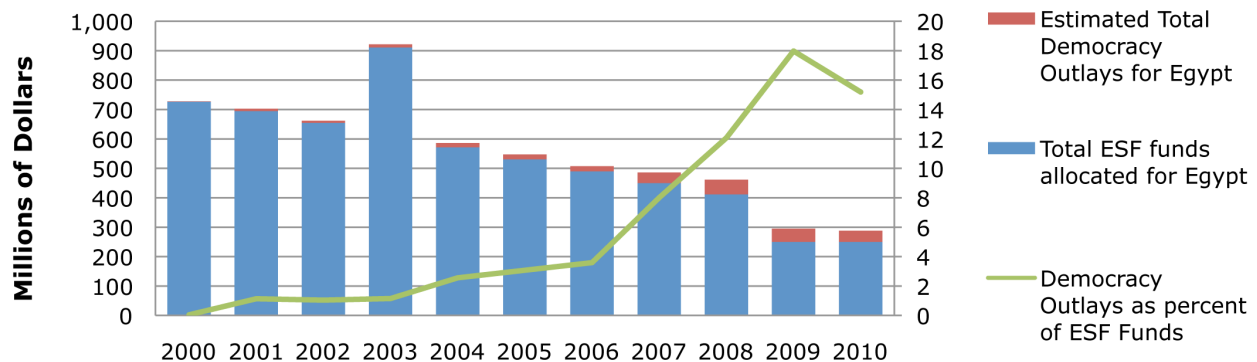
NED – The National Endowment for Democracy was established in 1983 by an act of Congress, at the request of President Ronald Reagan, as a private, nonprofit foundation. The organization is dedicated to the growth and strengthening of democratic institutions around the world. “Each year, with funding from the U.S. Congress, NED supports more than 1,000 projects of non-governmental groups abroad who are working for democratic goals in more than 90 countries.”⁷⁷ The NED supports projects in several different sectors including: labor, business and political systems.

The table below provides a side-by-side comparison of the funding entities and programs, along with a comparison of allocated funds versus actual outlays for democracy and governance programming in Egypt from 1993 through the present. It is often the case that reported allocations and reported actual outlays are different figures.

Figure 20: Allocated Democracy Funds for Egypt Versus Actual Outlays, FY 1996-2011⁷⁸ (in \$millions)

FY	ESF (TOTAL FUNDS FOR ALL EGYPT PROGRAM AREAS)	USAID (ESF AND DEMOCRACY FUNDS FOR EGYPT)	USAID (ACTUAL EGYPT DEMOCRACY FUNDS)	MEPI ⁷⁹ (ACTUAL EGYPT DEMOCRACY FUNDS)	DRL ⁸⁰ (ACTUAL EGYPT DEMOCRACY FUNDS)	NED (ACTUAL EGYPT DEMOCRACY FUNDS)	ESTIMATED TOTAL (TOTAL ACTUAL EGYPT DEMOCRACY FUNDS)
1996	815		6.31	N/A	0	0	6.32
1997	815		7.75	N/A	0	0	7.76
1998	815		9.74	N/A	0	0	9.75
1999	775		11.97	N/A	0	0	11.97
2000	727.3	8.78	8.52	N/A	0	.33	8.85
2001	695	11.1	7.71	N/A		.18	7.89
2002	655	6.42	6.2	N/A		.58	6.82
2003	911	14.3	9.9	.096		.46	10.48
2004	571.6	28.1	8.79	4.59	.35	.90	14.63
2005	530.7	3.5	12.49	2.44		1.38	16.31
2006	490	51.3	11.31	4.97	.72	.60	17.60
2007	450	50.1	30.67	4.17		1.21	36.04
2008	411.6	54.8	46.89	1.29		1.50	49.70
2009	250	20	41.53	.81	1.21	1.39	44.94
2010	250	25	33.88	1.56		2.53	37.97
2011	250 (Request)	25 (Estimate)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Figure 21: Actual Democracy Outlays in Egypt



B. THE FUNDING RECIPIENT DEBATE

In addition to reviewing the actual outlays, it is also important to review which entities received the democracy promotion funding. As part of an agreement between the United States and Egyptian governments, the government of Egypt controls which entities in its country receives U.S. democracy assistance funds. It is required for organizations to register with the Egyptian government in order to function legally in the country.

No funds can be drawn or grants approved without a valid registration number. Any grants received must be deposited in specially designated bank accounts during the approval period, and cannot be accessed until final approval is granted. Several groups only learned of registration or approval difficulties after their bank accounts had already been frozen.⁸¹

This registration includes disclosure of the mission, activities and funding for the organization. Furthermore, the State Security Investigations (SSI) plays an informal role in vetting CSOs seeking registration to operate in Egypt. All applications are sent to security services for review. As a result, organizations loyal to the Mubarak regime and registered with the Egyptian Ministry of Social Solidarity were most often awarded funding while those holding contrary viewpoints or advocating for a more open political landscape did not fare well in the process. Specifically, the Law of Associations:

prohibits the establishment of groups 'threatening national unity [or] violating public morals,' bars NGOs from receiving foreign grants without the approval of the Social Affairs Ministry, requires members of NGO governing boards to be approved by the ministry, and allows the ministry to dissolve NGOs without a judicial order. Security services have rejected registrations, decided who could serve on boards of directors, harassed activists, and intercepted donations.⁸²

Furthermore, using state-run media, the government attacked Egyptian organizations that accepted U.S. funding and accused them of acting on behalf of the West.

The Egyptian government wielded its veto power in the lead-up to the 2005 elections. The United States announced that it awarded “six grants totaling around \$1 million to local Egyptian NGOs to fund programs for the promotion of transparency.”⁸³

Additionally, USAID awarded more than \$2 million in grants to IRI, NDI and IFES for election-related activities. In addition to other barriers to success, however, an Egyptian magazine reported that “two local grant recipients were unable to obtain the necessary permission from the Egyptian government to accept the U.S. funds.”⁸⁴

In 2005, Congress amended the FY 2005 foreign operations appropriations bill to remove the government of Egypt’s power to determine how the funds were used in the country.⁸⁵ The amendment empowered democracy assistance funding agencies and implementers to provide resources directly to Egyptian CSOs/NGOs without approval from the Mubarak regime. A 2009 USAID Inspector General Audit of the democracy and governance program captures the 2009 shift best and is worth quoting at length:

Historically, USAID/Egypt has designed democracy and governance programs to respond to opportunities for specific and broad political liberalization reforms in Egypt. In FY 2000-2005, USAID/Egypt’s democracy and governance programming focused on increasing the availability of effective legal services, strengthening NGOs, increasing local government service delivery, and enhancing citizen participation. During this period, Congress provided USAID/Egypt with relatively stable funding at approximately \$12 million annually. In FY 2005, in response to increasingly active and more open political discourse, an increased number of notable governmental and nongovernmental initiatives, and rising interest and willingness of governmental and nongovernmental entities to receive assistance, USAID/Egypt expanded its democracy and governance program to include significant assistance in new areas such as the development of more competitive political processes, media, family and criminal justice, and decentralization. Many of these democracy and governance initiatives were funded directly through Egyptian NGOs for the first time since USAID assistance began in the 1980s.⁸⁶

Despite this change in law, direct grants to civil society groups were but one aspect of one component – Civil Society – of the USAID democracy and governance program in Egypt. The other two components were Rule of Law and Human Rights and Good Governance. Yet, according to that same report, these direct grants provided to Egyptian CSOs realized the highest percentage of programming results (80 percent)

relative to all of the democracy and governance programs funded, as measured by completed program activities. It is possible that these organizations were already at odds with the regime prior to receiving U.S. funding given their interest in democratic reform, and became adept at working under the political constraints that existed for decades in the country.

Figure 22: USAID/Egypt's Democracy and Governance Program Results for FY 2008 Activities⁸⁷

DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAM COMPONENT	PLANNED ACTIVITIES	ACHIEVED	PERCENTAGE ACHIEVED
Rule of Law and Human Rights			
Family Justice Project	43	30	70%
Good Governance			
Egyptian Decentralization Initiative	22	7	32%
Civil Society			
Media Development Program	26	9	35%
Civil Society Direct Grants Program	91	73	80%
Total	182	119	65%

It is perhaps unsurprising then that the amount of funds dedicated to civil society programming in Egypt, and the amount of those funds that were funneled directly to Egyptian CSOs, increased in the years after 2005. Figure 23 illustrates the percentage of USAID democracy and governance funding allocated to Egyptian CSOs through direct grants from FY 2004 through 2009.

Figure 23: USAID Democracy and Civil Society Allocations FY 2004-2009⁸⁸

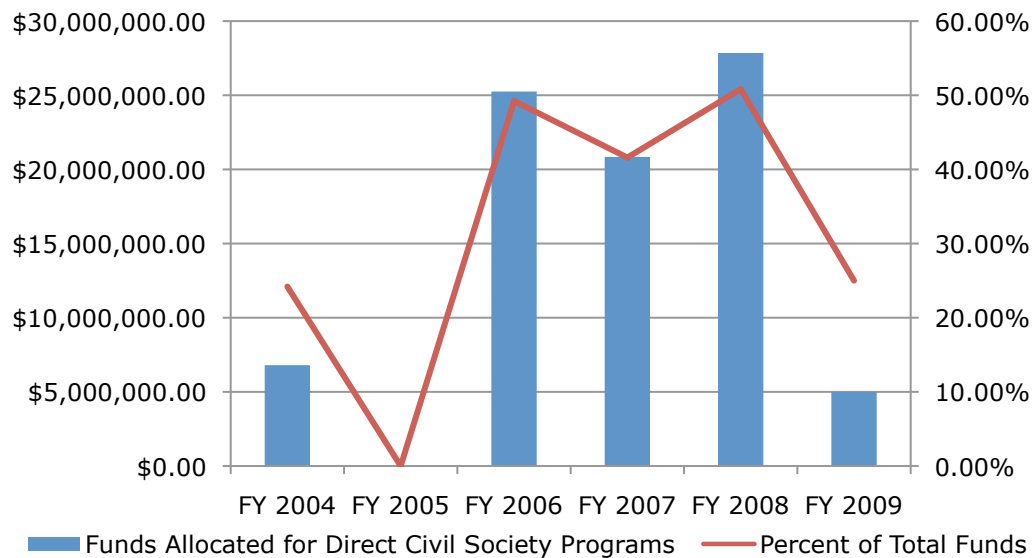
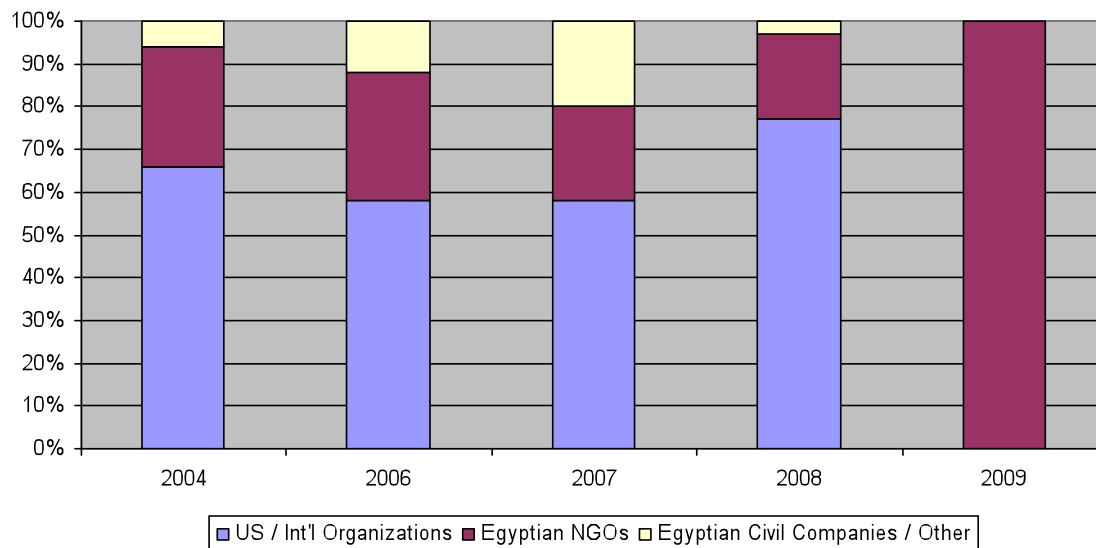


Figure 23 illustrates civil society funding for international organizations, Egyptian NGOs and Egyptian civil companies from FY 2004 through 2009.

Figure 24: USAID Civil Society Funding Allocations FY 2004-2009⁸⁹



Nevertheless, the Inspector General report found that “although the Civil Society Direct Grants Program achieved its greatest success in conducting democracy and governance activities, the program had limited impact on strengthening democracy and governance in Egypt. While the grantee programs found reviewed achieved more than half of their planned activities, the impact of these activities was limited because of political circumstances, government resistance, and the grantees’ lack of experience.”⁹⁰

Later, the Obama administration agreed to reinstate the policy that once again gave the Egyptian government veto power over which organizations or institutions receive U.S. aid in Egypt. This was done in an effort, according to U.S. Ambassador Margaret Scobey, to “facilitate better relations with Egypt’s government.”⁹¹ Based on reports of the implementation of these policies, U.S. compliance or noncompliance with the government of Egypt’s rule that it must approve U.S. funding of organizations operating in Egypt seems to be largely symbolic, and appears to be a political message having little real impact on the way the Egyptian government functions. Furthermore, as Jennifer Windsor noted in May 2009 on the Middle East Strategy at Harvard blog, the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior requested nearly \$30 million in additional funds from parliament to use for “street control in anticipation of expected demonstrations and strikes in the coming year.” Windsor points out that the requested increase in security service funding is roughly equivalent to the cut in U.S. funds for democracy and governance programs in Egypt in the same fiscal year.⁹²

Additionally, it is worth noting that the U.S. and Egyptian governments launched negotiations in 2010 to establish an endowment which would channel funds to Egypt intended to “further the shared interests” of the two countries, and would remove the conditions for political reform that typically accompany ESF funds. Reportedly, the two countries have yet to reach an agreement on the proposed endowment.⁹³

IV. Democracy Promotion Implementers

For decades, Egypt has existed under an autocracy that stifled democratic political development. International and American democracy assistance organizations, as well as Egyptian NGOs and CSOs, have worked diligently to open the political landscape and build the foundations for democratic transition within Egypt. The majority of democracy promotion efforts have involved monitoring elections, supporting civil society organizations, building the capacity of political parties, utilizing social media, as well as assisting the Egyptian local, state and national governments to function democratically (parliaments, ministries, etc.).

As mentioned previously, the main entities that channel U.S. democracy and governance funding to implementing organizations in Egypt are USAID, MEPI, DRL and NED. These entities fund both U.S.-based NGOs as well as Egyptian organizations to conduct

democracy and governance programming.

A. USAID

USAID is the largest funder of democracy and governance programs in Egypt. In Egypt, specifically, the agency focuses on implementing programs aimed at:

improving access to justice for women and disadvantaged groups; promoting decentralization of fiscal, political and administrative governance; promoting more competitive and transparent electoral processes; and strengthening the organizational and advocacy capabilities of civil society organizations.⁹⁴

Overall, USAID reports the following impact in Egypt:⁹⁵

- Reduced opportunities for corruption and increased transparency and operational efficiency in 13 of Egypt's 29 governorates through the successful piloting of court automation in eight courts throughout the country, and development of the software which allowed the Government of Egypt to independently automate an additional five courts;
- Providing legal and professional training to 3,000 judges and staff, including a comprehensive training program for the first female judges ever appointed to the Courts of First Instance;
- Improvement of mediation and counseling services through training for mediation staff and family court judges, and grants to local non-governmental organizations, collectively benefitting approximately 16,000 children and 8,700 families;
- Training 600 of the nation's 4,000 prosecutors on defendants' legal rights and developing a legal data base and a handbook on the right to counsel for use by prosecutors nationwide, helping to ensure that new legislation is meaningfully implemented;
- Production of a national strategy for decentralization, and implementation of pilot models in Assiut, Qena, and Beheira governorates to increase local revenues and citizen involvement;
- Supporting more than 100 joint community-local government initiatives to solve local problems and providing civic education and leadership training to more than 47,000 women, students and youth across the country;
- Protecting human rights through the establishment of Child Protection Committees in all 29 governorates across the country, a nationwide human rights education campaign and the distribution of 180,000 children's books on human rights;
- Provision of training to more than 2,000 media professionals combined with strengthening six media training institutions in Cairo;
- Increasing access to local news and information, through launching of the

country's first weekly supplement in a national paper in Alexandria, and increasing readership of a local paper by 50 percent in Minya; and

- Developing a trained cadre of more than 13,000 local election observers nationwide and supporting the issuance of 1,250 national identification and voting cards to facilitate citizen participation in national and local elections.

B. THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE (NDI), THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE (IRI), AND THE ALLIANCE OF YOUTH MOVEMENTS

Two of the American organizations conducting democracy assistance programs are NDI and IRI.⁹⁶ These nonprofit organizations utilize political entry points to build democratic capacity and encourage transparency and accountability across governing institutions and civil society. These institutes implement programs in-country and support local organizations by providing technical assistance, capacity-building efforts and much needed resources. For example, "NDI has worked with domestic election observers in

Egypt since 1995 and in 2005 trained more than 8,000 volunteers for that year's parliamentary and presidential elections."⁹⁷

Figure 25: EASD Website



In advance of the 2010 parliamentary elections, NDI continued its partnership with the Egyptian Association for the Support of Democracy (EASD) by providing technical assistance "to help EASD develop short message service (SMS) digital mapping technology for its observation efforts. Election monitors at polling stations around the country filed reports via text message that were uploaded to digital maps on EASD's website."⁹⁸ The real-time updates provided Egyptians and the international community with details regarding the election process and the occurrence of violations. NDI reported that over 30,000

people visited the website during the week following the election.

Conducting complementary programming, IRI held trainings and consultations with political parties to develop their party infrastructure including "platform development, effective grassroots strategies, coalition-building, strategic planning, and budgeting and fundraising."⁹⁹ The institute worked with the parties to teach them organizational skills

and, eventually, how to construct campaign plans for competitive, multi-party elections in the future. In addition, IRI utilized Arab polling experts to teach the parties about public opinion research including polling and holding focus groups. "IRI has also introduced methods that political parties and civic activists can use to implement their own polling programs which will help establish domestic polling capabilities."¹⁰⁰

The democracy promotion efforts employed by these organizations aimed to build the capacity of Egyptians to participate in their political system and effect the change that they desired. The Mubarak regime felt threatened by these activities and did its best to shut down democracy assistance operations in the country. As a result, these institutions have faced significant challenges in implementing democracy assistance programs on the ground in Egypt. Their staff members (both expats and Egyptians) have been followed and faced serious scrutiny by the Egyptian secret police. The secret police were reportedly stationed outside of the institutes' offices and questioned staff members as they entered and exited the premises, demanding details about personnel, activities and partners. Additionally, when the organizations scheduled workshops, trainings or meetings with partners, the hotels or other establishments at which they planned to hold events were suddenly closed without explanation. In a leaked official U.S. communication, diplomats commented that,

NDI and IRI, as well as IFES [International Foundation for Electoral Systems] and Freedom House, are conducting commendable programs in Egypt under very difficult circumstances. Regrettably, there is no reason to believe that they will be registered and permitted to carry out the full range of national activities originally envisioned in their grants [referring to 2007-2008 grants].¹⁰¹

Furthermore, the regime stifled activities by denying or endlessly delaying registration or approval for specific activities for CSOs and NGOs. Without registration and approval from the regime, it was illegal to operate in the country. For example, one "grantee endured a six-month delay in beginning activities because the Ministry of Social Solidarity did not approve the project's activities with other civil society organizations." In its most severe reaction to democracy assistance organizations, U.S. democracy assistance organizations were instructed by the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2006 to cease activities in Egypt pending government registration. "As of 2011, this registration was still pending, with unofficial word from Egyptian officials that registration would never be given under a Mubarak government."¹⁰²

Even though they were prevented from operating inside the country, organizations came up with other ways to reach their partners in Egypt in an effort to continue assistance to the burgeoning opposition and CSO sector including study missions to other countries. For example, Freedom House hosted a fellowship program for civic activists in

Washington, D.C. The program provided leaders with training in strategic planning, organization and mobilization, while expanding their network to experts in the U.S. "After returning to Egypt, the fellows received small grants to implement innovative initiatives such as advocating for political reform through Facebook and SMS messaging."¹⁰³

Similar to the Freedom House programming, IRI sponsored a study mission for Egyptian political party leaders in April 2010 to Taipei, Taiwan. The Taiwan Foundation for Democracy hosted the 10-person group and shared how parties there approach party structure, membership development, voter contact, messaging, strategic communications and party financing.¹⁰⁴ Like IRI, NDI brought partners to locations outside of Egypt in an effort to interact with them in a more open environment and give them an opportunity to interact with their peers. The "Youth of Today, Leaders of Tomorrow" one-year program connected 25 women from Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia and taught them "community organizing, strategic planning, advocacy, networking, image and self-confidence building, on-camera presentation, time management, fundraising and the use of technology."¹⁰⁵ This program also linked women throughout the region who previously had little experience working with cohorts in other countries. At the conclusion of the program, participants stay connected, share and access resources, and communicate about their experiences at www.Aswat.com, an online forum for open dialogue regarding democracy and reform efforts.

In addition to long-term, traditional capacity building efforts, NDI, IRI and several other organizations helped Egyptians utilize social media to connect with supporters and counterparts in neighboring countries and regions around the world. The Alliance of Youth Movements played a major role in connecting activists. At its inaugural summit in 2008, the U.S. Department of State, along with Google, Facebook, Howcast, YouTube, MTV, Columbia Law School and Access 360 Media, hosted leaders from 17 organizations from 15 countries (including Egypt). Presently known as Movements.org, the nonprofit "identifies, connects, and supports activists mobilizing against violence and oppression."¹⁰⁶ In addition to the summits, the organization's primary tool is its website which hosts a global network of activists. This model employs a peer training approach, ensuring that the information and techniques being circulated are at the cutting edge of digital organizing.

It seems unlikely that Egypt will transition to a fully functioning democracy without assistance from entities experienced in democratic systems. There is broad consensus among political development experts and democracy advocates that democracy assistance programs are the means by which democratic institutions and viable political alternatives will be created and strengthened. Of particular importance is the use of new media and social networking tools in the promotion of democracy. Without democratic political development, Egyptians will have the freedom to make their own choices

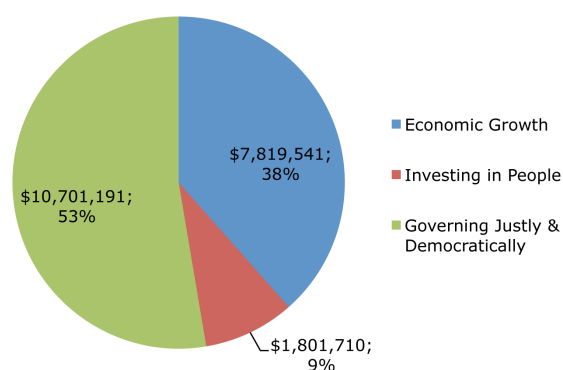
regarding candidates, political parties, CSOs and media outlets, but will not have viable alternatives from which to choose.

C. MIDDLE EAST PARTNERSHIP INITIATIVE

The Middle East Partnership Initiative is a program within the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs at the U.S. State Department. MEPI focuses on promoting pluralistic and participatory forms of government to the citizens of Middle Eastern and North African countries. MEPI is the U.S. government's primary means of supporting civil society and directs funds to various international NGOs and educational institutions within the Middle East and North Africa. Founded in 2002, the program operates in 15 countries throughout the Middle East and North Africa, including the Palestinian Territories, Tunisia and Egypt.

Although MEPI does not have an office in Egypt, the regional office located in Tunis, Tunisia administers its grants; economic and political officers from the Cairo Embassy serve as project officers. Since 2002, MEPI has distributed a total of \$20,322,442 in grants to organizations working in Egypt.¹⁰⁷ These grants have gone to three general project areas: economic growth, investing in people, and governing justly and democratically. Grants for democracy and governance in Egypt represent about 53 percent of the total, but over 90 percent of grants awarded to organizations working just in Egypt (as opposed to grants to organizations with a presence in multiple countries) went to democracy promotion.

Figure 26: MEPI Egypt Grants by Project Area



An examination of MEPI's program funding reflects that few of the projects that received the highest levels of overall funding between FY 2002 and 2010 were among the highest recipients towards the end of that period (FY 2007-2010). The following is a brief overview of those programs that received the most funding from MEPI funding from FY 2002 to 2010 (or 2009 in the case of multi-country funding), as well as those that received the largest MEPI rewards from FY 2007 to 2010. It is broken down in terms of bilateral assistance and multi-country assistance, according to MEPI records.

United Group

The United Group has received the most MEPI funding in Egypt, both overall from FY 2002 to 2010 and in recent years. Furthermore, it is one of the few of MEPI's top recipients that specifically engages in democracy promotion and civil society capacity building.

Community Action Towards Transparency

This project is designed to improve the governance system, increase public participation in the decision-making process, promote fair distribution of national resources, and encourage better living conditions. CSOs help monitor public spending and document cases of wasteful public funds in their governorates, and organize awareness-raising sessions on these cases.

Empowering Civil Society and the Legal Profession

This project provides institutional, media and legal advice for CSOs and NGOs operating in Egypt. Activities include:

- Training NGOS how to build a financial system, document projects, write proposals and use volunteers effectively.
- Creating training guides for NGOs on how to establish media units and interact with journalists.
- Explaining Egypt's regulations governing NGOs to organizations and appointing permanent attorneys to provide legal assistance.

Freedom Messengers Network

The project aims to create a network of Arab journalists, media and filmmakers who believe in and promote democracy and human rights. The network will train 20 Arab journalists, media and filmmakers from Egypt. Training will build skills and knowledge; teach concepts of democracy, human rights and liberalism; and promote their work through print and electronic news and independent films.

Improving Mid-Party Leaders on Organizing Electoral Campaigns Financially

In cooperation with MEPI, United Group organized the first training of its kind on running cost effective electoral campaigns in order to encourage smaller parties to participate in the political process. Four hundred trainees took part in the training representing all Egyptian parties.

Southeast Consortium for International Development

The Southeast Consortium for International Development (SECID) consists of 14 universities from the southeastern United States dedicated improving economic and social responsibility around the world. Members include:

- Alabama A&M
- University of Arkansas – Pine Bluff

- Auburn University
- University of Connecticut
- Kentucky State University
- University of Kentucky
- Lincoln University
- Louisiana State University
- Southern University
- Tennessee State University
- University of Tennessee
- Tuskegee University
- Virginia State University
- Virginia Tech University

Since 2002, SECID has launched two programs in Egypt, both entitled “The New Initiative for Leadership in Egypt” (NILE and NILE II).

NILE, formerly the Egyptian Women's Leadership Network for Civil Society and Business, sought to increase the capacity and participation levels of women in civil society and business organizations in Egypt. Essentially, NILE was designed to enable community groups and businesses to collaborate on building an effective civil society that can mobilize local resources to address social and economic challenges.

Major components of the project include:

- Awareness Raising: conduct outreach to raise awareness of corporate-community engagement, targeting senior Egyptian women executives, business owners and professionals;
- Community Leadership Training: train community leaders to build capacity and initiate cross-sectoral dialogues using a community leadership curriculum adapted to Egypt's specific context and needs;
- Women Leaders Master Class: conduct a women's leadership master class for 25 senior women leaders from business and civil society, linking senior Egyptian women leaders with counterparts around the world;
- Business Volunteer Programs: match business volunteers to local civil society organizations and community projects, conduct a minimum of three training programs in volunteering, and conduct pre- and post-training work;
- Board Recruitment and Training: recruit and train business leaders to serve

on nonprofit boards to strengthen governance capacity and strengthening at least 15 non-profit boards; and

- Leadership Foundation Development: lay the groundwork for community foundations to build future community initiatives throughout the Arab world.

NILE II is the continuation of the first NILE project. Per SECID, “the project will help widen the social and political space through which civil society can partner with business leaders and government on the basis of mutual understanding and benefit, build leaders across sectors, facilitate civic engagement, cross-sector collaboration, and community-building, with the aim of developing citizens who are informed, willing to interact, and carry out their civic roles and responsibilities. The project also aims to strengthen the role of civil society in Egypt by building local support, mobilizing broad-based coalitions to confront local problems, and to tackle civil society’s own sustainability and governance challenges.”

Project components include:

- Community Outreach and Mapping for Business-Community Engagement
- Community Leadership Skills and Tools Training
- Develop Corporate Volunteerism and Mobilization

SECID received the most bilateral funding between FY 2002 and 2010, with MEPI awards totaling \$1,593,299. Funding, however, was disbursed through only two grants, one for \$793,299 in 2003 and another for \$800,000 in 2005. Since 2005, SECID has not been the recipient of any MEPI funding.

The Shutz American School

The Shutz American School received the fourth-most bilateral MEPI aid between FY 2002 and 2010 (\$481,828) and the most for the period from FY 2007 through 2010 (\$332,948). A pre-kindergarten through 12th grade school located in Alexandria, the Shutz American School had a total enrollment of 254 as of the 2008-2009 school year. That year, 26 faculty members and 64 students were American citizens. Shutz is considered the oldest American school in Africa. Most of its revenue is generated through tuition, although it also claims to receive funding from the State Department’s Office of Overseas Schools. Since 1976, the school has been under the control of the local school board, with support from the surrounding Alexandria community, the U.S. Embassy, and the Presbyterian Mission in Cairo.

The Arab Center for the Independence of the Judiciary and the Legal Profession (ACIJLP)

The ACIJLP is comprised of several programs aimed at rooting out corruption and

increasing transparency within Egypt's legal system. Between FY 2007 and 2010, the ACIJLP received \$174,140 in MEPI funding, the second highest during that period. It remains unclear, however, exactly what specific programs were implemented in Egypt or what, if any, success they enjoyed.

Research & Studies Program

This program involves preparing specialized legal studies and research on the statuses of justice, human rights, the independence of judiciary and the legal profession, and examines legislation relevant to the judiciary and legal profession. It also evaluates the consistency of Egyptian legislation with international constitutions, instruments and principles concerned with human rights.

Training Program

The ACIJLP offers training courses with the objective of raising legal awareness of jurists and their professional practice. Trainers include Egyptian law professors, senior lawyers, and psychology and sociology professors.

Monitoring & Follow-up Program

This program documents violations on the part of jurists and attorneys alike. In the case that violations are the result ambiguous legislation or the incorrect implementation of legislation, or wrong practice by an executive authority or citizens in general, the ACIJLP has sought to report problems to government authorities and assist in the formulation of effective solutions. This includes:

- Receiving complaints from lawyers or judges;
- Monitoring cases through newspapers;
- Monitoring cases through voluntary lawyers;
- Attending investigations concerning lawyers' cases; and
- Visiting prisons and following-up situations of detained lawyers.

Urgent Interventions Program

The ACIJLP seeks to intervene immediately in cases concerning the violations of human rights and judiciary rules in all countries by providing technical, legal and media assistance.

International criminal justice program

This program is intended to increase governmental and NGO awareness of the significance of the International Criminal Court as the most important new mechanism to instill criminal justice on a global level and to defend human rights.

Legal aid program

This program offers legal assistance to activists who are working in the field of public

rights and freedoms, and are being subjected to trials or investigations.

Technical aid program

The ACIJLP offers technical assistance to governments, NGOs and international institutions seeking to draft laws relevant to the status of justice, rights and freedoms.

APPENDIX C: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY STRATEGY

Judging the effectiveness of public diplomacy programs is a complicated task; the difficulty stems as much from figuring out what would be an appropriate measure of effectiveness as actually obtaining the necessary data. Much effort has been expended in recent years on solving this problem of quantification, such as the creation of the Public Diplomacy Impact project by the Evaluations and Measurements Unit of the Department of State's Office of Policy, Planning and Resources for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. Effectiveness can only be measured against stated objectives, however, and U.S. public diplomacy has often suffered from a lack of such strategic direction. Instead, means have routinely been mistaken for ends with public diplomats focusing more on expanding their audience or updating the technologies with which they communicate than on the message they are communicating.

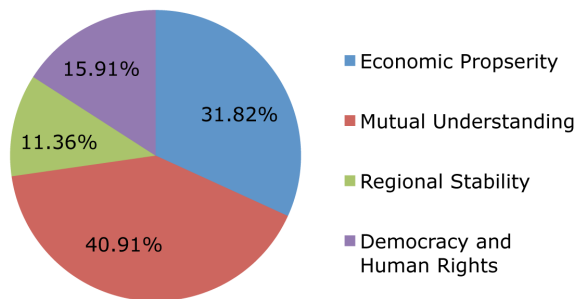
Even when U.S. foreign policy objectives are well defined, public diplomacy has struggled to adopt policies that reflect and support those goals. The Department of State's and USAID's Strategic Plan: Fiscal Years 2004 – 2009, for example, gives as its overarching strategic mission: "Create a more secure, democratic, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and international community."¹⁰⁸ The document identifies democracy and economic freedom in Muslim societies as a key priority and public diplomacy as central to that initiative. Yet, the section devoted to public diplomacy barely mentions how it might be leveraged to achieve that goal. Instead, it offers the directive to "increase understanding for American values, policies, and initiatives to create a receptive international environment" and lists a plan that consists of means, but contains no mention of what the message should be:

- "Communicate with younger audiences through content and means tailored to their context;
- Quickly counter propaganda and disinformation;
- Listen to foreign audiences;
- Use advances in communications technology, while continuing to employ effective tools and techniques; and
- Promote international educational exchanges and professional exchanges."¹⁰⁹

This same lack of strategic direction is borne out in diplomatic cables, released by WikiLeaks, sent during the same period as the above Strategic Plan by the U.S. Embassy in Cairo. A series of cables from March to June of 2005 present public diplomacy

activities undertaken by the post and their relation to the objectives of the Mission Performance Plan (MPP). Of the 54 activities listed, only about 16 percent fall under “Democracy and Human Rights,” with the majority, 40 percent and 33 percent, respectively, belonging to “Mutual Understanding” and “Economic Prosperity.” This after the USAID strategic review had proposed “significantly increasing” democracy and governance efforts while reducing emphasis on economic development.¹¹⁰

Figure 27: Egypt Public Diplomacy Results by Objective



The strategic orientation of public diplomacy was better addressed in the next State Department strategic plan issued in 2007. The mission statement of that plan is to:

Advance freedom for the benefit of the American people and the international community by helping to build and sustain a more democratic, secure, and prosperous world composed of well-governed states that respond to the needs of their people, reduce widespread poverty, and act responsibly within the international system.¹¹¹

“Promoting International Understanding” is listed as a strategic goal in support of this mission, with three strategic priorities:

- “Offer A Positive Vision;
- Marginalize Extremism; and
- Nurture Common Interests and Values.”¹¹²

These points represent objectives aligned with the overall mission of the U.S. foreign policy as stated in the strategic plan. They also align with the partly objective-driven strategy of the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), the U.S.-funded independent agency created in 1999 to administer all U.S. international broadcasting. The BBG’s mission is:

To promote freedom and democracy and to enhance understanding through

multi-media communication of accurate, objective, and balanced news, information, and other programming about America and the world to audiences overseas.

To that end, it devised 10 “implementation strategies” for its 2008 – 2013 strategic plan:

1. Enhance program delivery across all relevant platforms.
2. Build on BBG reach and impact with the Muslim world.
3. Help audiences in authoritarian countries understand the principles and practice of democratic, free, and just societies.
4. Employ modern communication techniques and technologies.
5. Facilitate citizen discourse.
6. Engage the world in conversation about America.
7. Develop and motivate the workforce to meet the changing conditions of U.S. international broadcasting.
8. Optimize broadcast operations.
9. Preserve credibility and ensure overall programming excellence.
10. Broaden cooperation within U.S. public diplomacy.¹¹³

Of these strategies, we can classify five as operational (#1, 7, 8, 9 and 10), three as instrumental (#2, 4 and 5) and only two as truly strategic objectives (#3 and 6). The State Department’s Inspector General arrived at the same conclusion, writing in an audit of the Middle East Broadcasting Network (MBN), the BBG branch responsible for broadcasts in the Middle East, that “its goals basically measure output and not how the MBN has impacted its audience.” Yet, the audit goes on to focus on the MBN’s ability to measure and evaluate impact, not on what that impact should be. “It would help to know,” the audit notes, “the extent to which programs are changing perceptions, supplying news not available elsewhere, teaching other cultures about America, serving as an example of independent journalism, or any other impact that MBN would like to address.”¹¹⁴ This emphasis on quantifying effect again obscures the central question of what effects U.S. public diplomacy should strive to achieve among foreign publics, how those effects can support declared U.S. foreign policy objectives, and what sort of programming and messaging can achieve those effects.

APPENDIX D: BROADCASTING

Transmitting news and information to audiences behind the Iron Curtain via Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America was one of the foundations of U.S. Cold War public diplomacy. The East German spymaster Markus Wolf wrote in his memoirs that “[o]f all the various means used to influence people against the East during the Cold War, I would count Radio Free Europe as the most effective.”¹¹⁵ Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel and many of those who fought for freedom from communist oppression have echoed this sentiment. Adapting U.S. broadcasting to the needs and realities of 21st century foreign policy landscape, however, has proven challenging at best.

Egypt is a microcosm of the challenges encountered by U.S. broadcasting across the Middle East. Small audiences and criticism of journalistic standards have dogged U.S. government-funded television station Al Hurra, while Radio Sawa found popularity with its predominantly pop music programming, but it has limited reach into Egypt. U.S. public diplomacy efforts, however, have encountered greater success in transmitting U.S. messaging in online fora, including blogs and social media, but the effectiveness of such efforts has yet to be determined, especially given the limited reach of the Internet in countries such as Egypt at present time.

More important than the reach of various broadcasting platforms, however, has been the lack of an overarching messaging strategy. While having the means to reach foreign audiences is a necessary component of broadcasting success, such reach is beside the point if there is no message to be transmitted. As of yet, there has been no clear articulation of U.S. policy goals in the region, nor a plan devised for how broadcasting can contribute to the desired outcome.

I. U.S.-Funded Television and Radio Programs

Al Hurra and Radio Sawa are Arabic language satellite television and radio stations, respectively, produced by the BBG to transmit news and cultural broadcasts to the Middle East. Al Hurra (Arabic for “the free one”) broadcasts 24-hour news including regional to international events, technology, sports, entertainment and news analysis talk programs. Radio Sawa, also a 24-hour program, broadcasts a mix of Western and Arabic pop music, interspersed with news ranging from current events, news analysis, sports and entertainment.

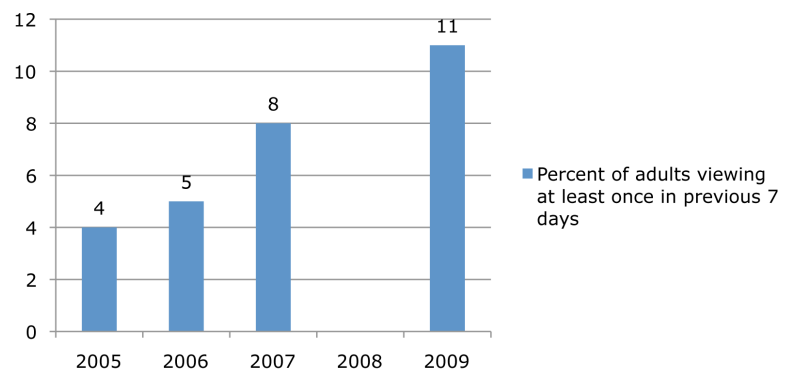
A. AL HURRA

Al Hurra, created at least in part as an antidote to the perceived anti-American slant of Qatar-based satellite television channel Al Jazeera, began broadcasting to 22 Middle Eastern countries on February 14, 2004.¹¹⁶ Establishing the success of Al Hurra from its inception can be difficult, given widely divergent viewership numbers provided by various polling services and the different questions they ask. For example, surveys conducted by ACNielsen for the BBG found that viewership numbers in Egypt have climbed steadily since Al Hurra's inception, but in 2009 only 11 percent of adults were tuning in weekly, compared to 60 percent for Al Jazeera.¹¹⁷

Meanwhile, according to a similar poll conducted at the same time by the Arab Advisors Group, only 4.6 percent of Cairo households with satellite television watched Al Hurra for news

programming.¹¹⁸ The difference in responses is likely a result of the different questions posed by each poll. ACNielsen's measure of viewership, the standard used in the industry, ask respondents if they have watched a particular channel at all in the past seven days; the Arab Advisor Group, on the other hand, asked participants which was channel was their main source of news.

Figure 28: Al Hurra: Egypt Viewing Trends 2005 - 2009



Despite the intricacies of polling methodology, however, it is clear that Al Hurra was not able to successfully compete against Al Jazeera in Egypt, or many of the other satellite news stations. In a 2008 Zogby International poll, Al Hurra attracted only one percent of Egyptian news broadcast viewership, compared to 55 percent for Al Jazeera and 31 percent for local Egyptian networks.¹¹⁹ BBG-sponsored polling yielded similar results. Only three percent of Egyptians reported watching Al Hurra in the past 24 hours, ranking it 18th out of 72 channels in 2008. Al Jazeera came in first with 35.2 percent.¹²⁰ By all accounts, Al Hurra entered into the news broadcasting market too late, after competitors had already established their respective audiences.

On some accounts, Al Hurra's credibility as a news source in the eyes' of Egyptians is undermined by their knowledge that the U.S. government funds the station. According to unscientific studies conducted by a student at the American University in Cairo, 86 percent of Egyptians had a negative opinion of Al Hurra, citing credibility and the quality of its programming as major concerns.¹²¹

Indeed, according to the University of Southern California's (USC) Center on Public Diplomacy, Al Hurra fails to meet basic journalistic standards – as demonstrated by lack of coverage of significant events – and suffers from poor programming. The overall programming on Al Hurra is considered boring, and the station suffers from technical presentation that is considered substandard to other channels in the area. Journalists do not have sufficient presentation experience, which includes their inability to use standard Arabic and their use of poor grammar. USC's evaluation found "that Al Hurra relied on unsubstantiated information too often, allowed the on-air expression of personal judgments too frequently, and failed to present opposing views in over 60 percent of its news stories."¹²² The study further showed that 11 percent of Al Hurra's new coverage included a personal opinion or judgment from the journalist, with percentages of personal opinion higher on issues such as human rights (25 percent), religion (25 percent), Israeli-Arab conflict (15.65 percent), democratic governance in the U.S. (15.15 percent), Lebanese elections and stability (13.68 percent), humanitarian issues (13.16 percent), and Iraq (13.08 percent).¹²³

This perceived bias of Al Hurra's association with U.S. government policies manifests itself through the fact that the channel is twice as likely to favor and praise the Western viewpoint over an Arab position. Although Al Hurra takes a concerted effort to maintain a neutral tone, according to the USC study, when coverage was critical of a particular perspective, it was six times more likely to be critical of the Arab perspective than that of the West.¹²⁴ Some issues where personal judgments expressed views that were primarily pro-Western or anti-Arab were Afghanistan with 25 percent of expression being pro-Western and 25 percent being anti-Arab; humanitarian issues (20 percent pro-Western and 30 percent anti-Arab); and religion (33 percent pro-Western and 17 percent Anti-Arab). Other issues of particular bias were Arab human rights issues, democratic governance in the Arab world, Iranian foreign policy, and Iraqi security.¹²⁵

Al Hurra's program material is also a cause of its unpopularity. It often shies away from issues that might be controversial or could undermine America's image. During the Abu Ghraib scandal, Al Hurra showcased commentators friendly to the United States, while Al Jazeera broadcast actual footage of Senate hearings, featuring people critical of the administration. Similarly, Al Hurra mostly ignored the assassination of Sheikh Ahmad. Al Jazeera, however, covered the funeral and conducted interviews with Arabs, Israelis and American on the issue. When Ayman al-Zawahiri released a tape calling for more terrorist attacks, on Al Hurra "the story on al-Zawahiri was buried deep in the newscast with no analysis or discussion, simply the acknowledgement that it had taken place."¹²⁶ Moreover, Al Hurra is known to continue on with normal programming rather than to switch to live breaking news whenever an important event occurs. Such practices not only reinforce popular perception of Al Hurra as a vehicle for propaganda, but also drive audiences to other, more informative and timely networks.

Another factor contributing to the Al Hurra's lack of popularity seems to be that viewers perceived early programming as condescending, turning off many potential audience members. According to an early report by the Congressional Research Service:

some Arabs have been put off by Al-Hurra's symbolism in its promotional spots, which show scenes of wild horses running free and eyelids slowly opening, while accompanying messages encourage viewers to "decide for themselves." Some Arab critics believe the name "Al-Hurra" (the free one) is patronizing, as it implies that Arab viewers have no alternative but to watch state-controlled television.¹²⁷

As a result, many opted to view privately owned American news broadcasts, such as CNN, over Al-Hurra because those stations are seen as more objective, less disdainful and better programmed.¹²⁸

BBG-sponsored polling, however, shows that any negative stereotypes that might persist about Al Hurra are dispelled among those who actually watch the station. Of respondents in Egypt that had watched Al Hurra in the last week, 94 percent considered it "Very" or "Somewhat Trustworthy," the highest score out of all the countries into which Al Hurra is broadcasted. Additionally, 61 percent reported it contributed to their understanding of current events, 58 percent that it contributed to their understanding U.S. culture and society and 57 percent that it contributed to their understanding of U.S. policies.¹²⁹ Of course, selection bias could play some role in these numbers; it might be that only those viewers already predisposed with a positive opinion of Al Hurra tune in.

Interestingly, the popular uprising that toppled Hosni Mubarak in February 2011 boosted Al Hurra's audience size dramatically. Viewership numbers for Al Hurra tripled from seven percent during the same period in 2010 to 25 percent between February 4 and 10, 2011. Comparatively, Al Jazeera reached 22 percent of viewers during the same critical time. Al Arabiya, a pan Arab channel had the largest share of viewers.¹³⁰ Many credit Al Hurra's rise in popularity during protests to the fact that they are not a state sponsored media program, as well as Al Jazeera's lack of viewership due to attempted state bans on the channel. As Brain Conniff, president of Middle East Broadcasting, states, "Domestic TV had very little credibility." Furthermore, during the protests and uprising, Al Hurra took a concerted effort to increase coverage and their presence in the thick of the events. The channel took a debate and discussion formation with protestors and government officials in the same room to discuss ideas. Conniff believes that Al Hurra's position as a U.S. government channel "played to our favor in this crisis," as Egyptian viewers wanted to follow U.S. policy decisions.¹³¹

While more people have been watching Al Hurra, Egypt's government has not always

been so welcoming. Especially notable was its decision in 2008 not to allow Al Hurra to make Cairo the main studio location for the channel's Al Youm (Arabic for "Today") morning news show. Instead, Al Youm is located in Dubai's Media City, with reporting from Cairo, Beirut, Jerusalem and the United States.

B. RADIO SAWA

In 2002, Radio Sawa replaced Voice of America Arabic with the aim of targeting a more youthful audience through broadcasting a mix of Eastern and Western pop music. The new approach was calibrated to address the region's changing demographics, where more than half the population was under the age of 35.¹³² Although touted as a public diplomacy tool, its effectiveness has been questioned. A draft report prepared by the State Department's inspector general credited Radio Sawa for building a large audience, but questioned its effectiveness at its main mission: influencing minds.

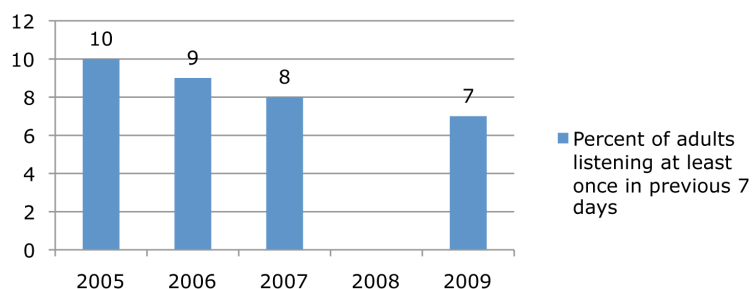
News and information programs on Radio Sawa only comprise 25 percent of airtime. But because Radio Sawa has been able to garner a larger audience, compared to Al Hurra, with a format that stresses music and entertainment over news and information, it has shown reluctance to risk losing listeners by using airtime as a tool for public diplomacy.¹³³ The VOA broadcasting that Sawa had replaced presented a range of news reports and programs on American culture, aimed at providing Arab listeners of all ages gain a better understanding of the United States. Radio Sawa broadcasts few of these programs.

Nevertheless, when it was first introduced, Radio Sawa's unique programming proved quite popular. In 2005, over half of Iraqis had listened to Radio Sawa in the past

week. In Qatar in 2006, that figure exceeded 70 percent. In Egypt, however, the government has not allowed Radio Sawa to broadcast on Egyptian soil and as a result there is no FM programming at all and the AM signal is weak in much of Egypt. Consequently, according to BBG polling, weekly listening rates for Radio Sawa in Egypt have never exceeded 10 percent and have actually dropped over time to a low of seven percent in 2009.¹³⁴

Furthermore, Sawa seems to suffer from many of the same challenges in quality assurance as Al Hurra. Two independent panels of Arab-language experts demonstrated that Sawa's broadcasts contained poor Arabic grammar, thus causing parents to lead

**Figure 29: Radio Sawa: Egypt
Listening Trends 2005 - 2009**



their children away from its programming.¹³⁵ Once again, however, BBG polling does not lend credence to these arguments. Of Egyptians that had listened to Radio Sawa in the last week, 99 percent considered it “Very” or “Somewhat Trustworthy,” again the highest score out of all the countries into which Al Hurra is broadcasted. Additionally, 67 percent reported it contributed to their understanding of current events, 50 percent that it contributed to their understanding U.S. culture and society and 52 percent that it contributed to their understanding of U.S. policies.¹³⁶

C. OTHER EFFORTS

HI magazine was launched by the State Department in 2003 to reach a youth audience with glossy accounts of American pop culture and teenage life. However, *HI* shared many of the same problems that plagued the television and radio programs in addition to encountering challenges particular to its format. Unlike television and radio, which were broadcast into people’s houses at no cost, consumers had to make the trip to a newsstand to purchase the magazine. Furthermore, with low literacy rates, the concept of a magazine as a public diplomacy tool was simply unviable. The results were stack of unsold magazines sitting in embassy offices. An official in Egypt stated that of the 2,500 copied distributed to newsstands, 2,000 were returned unsold. In 2005, production of physical copies of the magazine has stopped due to high costs. *HI* has since moved to be distributed only via the Internet.

II. Internet and Social Media

Internet usage in Egypt has greatly increased during the past decade, with usage climbing from one percent to 21 percent of the Egyptian population.¹³⁷ Internet usage is most popular among young, educated and urban residents. Many of these are not only consumers but active producers of online content. Currently, it is estimated that there are roughly 160,000 Egyptian bloggers. The State Department has increasingly been designing its public diplomacy programs to attract and influence this tech-savvy segment of Egypt’s population. Though many of these programs have enjoyed greater success than their more traditional broadcasting counterparts, and despite the common perception in America of recent popular uprisings in Middle East and North Africa as Facebook- and Twitter-enabled revolutions, the effectiveness of the online community in effecting greater political and social change has not yet been proven.

The State Department has begun to embrace the Internet as a medium for public diplomacy. In doing so it has created online content, established a social media presence for itself, and sought to push its messaging using new technology, while actively fostering online communications among Arab youths. In 2008, the Alliance for Youth Movements, funded by the State Department, organized a summit for bloggers and political activists at Columbia University. The summit focused on social media and connective technology such as text messaging (SMS), but did not focus on the use of

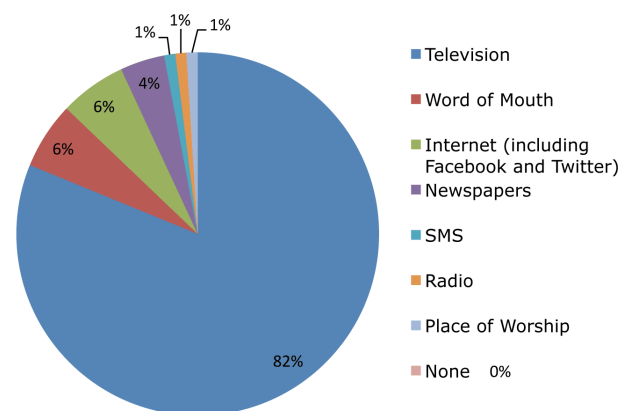
such media for any particular political agenda other than to “push against repression, oppression, and violent extremism.”¹³⁸ The summit brought three staffers from the campaign of then-Senator Obama to demonstrate new social media tools. James Glassman, then Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, described the summit as “Public Diplomacy 2.0.”

Similarly, in 2008, eight Egyptian bloggers were brought to the United States to observe the 2008 presidential elections as part of a project by the Kamal Adham Center for Journalism Training and Research at the University of Cairo and funded by the USAID. The bloggers observed the primary elections, the presidential election and then the inauguration while embedded with American news organizations with whom they traveled to major U.S. cities. They also spent time at various journalism schools around the country. The project, “Blogging the Elections,”¹³⁹ was designed to give bloggers a better understanding of U.S. elections and to learn to better disseminate information via the web. Many of the eight bloggers were well known in Egypt for their strong stance against the Mubarak regime and belief in freedom of speech. Some of them, including Wael Abbas, were harassed by the Egyptian government for posting information and videos depicting government abuses.

In addition to directly providing training for online activists, the State Department has also sought to ensure that the Internet can serve as a forum for political discussion and documentation of human rights abuses. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton gave a well-received speech in January 2010 calling for greater Internet freedoms, specifically in the Middle East. Such appeals had little impact in Egypt, where the government cracked down on bloggers and restricted Internet content. In 2006, Abdel Karim Nabil was arrested for disrupting public order, inciting religious hatred and defaming the president. In 2009, Phillip Rizk, a German-Egyptian student, filmmaker, blogger and activist, was arrested for his pro-Palestinian political activism and filmmaking.

Nevertheless, U.S. government officials did protest when the Mubarak regime shut down the Internet in Egypt on January 28, 2011. Moreover, they had been working behind the scenes to ensure that bloggers’ posts were available. For example, a cable released by WikiLeaks in 2007 reveals that the State

Figure 30: Egyptians’ most likely primary source of news



Department worked with Google to reinstate a blogger's account which had been blocked for posting violent videos exposing police abuses, including one of a woman being tortured, and another of a Sinai Bedouin being shot by police and his body tossed in a garbage dump.

Public diplomacy programs that adopt new and emerging technological platforms, such as social media, to disseminate information and enable communication between U.S. officials and foreign publics are necessary as the means of communication evolve. Their usefulness as a tool in achieving social or political change, however, has not yet been proven. Though the revolution that swept through Egypt – and those in other countries through the Middle East – have been touted as Facebook or Twitter revolutions, it is doubtful to what extent new technology was a catalyst or necessary condition for their emergence. Indeed, polling conducted since the revolution has shown that most Egyptians received their news about the demonstrations and political developments in the traditional ways, primarily by television, rather than social media.¹⁴⁰

APPENDIX E: EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

Another pillar of traditional public diplomacy is exchange programs. Run by the State Department and usually organized through the cultural or public affairs sections of embassies, these programs usually have one of two aims. Cultural in-country programs attempt to foster a better relationship with and understanding of American culture. Such programs include cultural visitors, music concerts and traveling exhibition, among others. Academic exchange programs, on the other hand, seek to provide participants with education or professional training that they can utilize at home. They also, however, serve a secondary purpose of exposing participants to America, its way of life and values.

Such traditional exchanges programs have met with much success in Egypt. Over the last decade, they have been expanded to include a greater focus on community-level English language training, not just exposure to American culture. Critics of exchange programs, however, point out that without a program to track and engage alumni, the potential of exchange programs remains unfulfilled.

I. American Corners

American embassies have long served to expose local populations to America, whether by providing an easily accessible library, screening films or offering English language instruction. Since 9/11, however, security measures at embassies all over the world, and particularly in the Middle East, have required visitors to be restricted to those with official business only. This has hurt public diplomacy programs and initiatives that used embassy space for gatherings and meetings. In response, the State Department has implemented programs outside of embassies, the most robust of which is the American Corners program. American Corners serves much the same purpose as embassies used to – providing information about the United States – but instead of being located in embassies they are hosted in local institutions and staffed by local employees. There are currently approximately 300 American Corners around the globe, with more than 90 in Muslim countries and 40 more planned.¹⁴¹

Establishing American Corners programs in the Middle East, however, has been difficult in comparison to past efforts in other countries in Eastern Europe. Anti-Americanism has brought issues of safety and U.S. affiliation to light. Several years ago, for example, an American Corner was placed at a large library in Cairo. The library later withdrew from

the program, however, due to reluctance to having a declared American presence on its property. In response to such concerns, the State Department agreed to a modified program in 2009 called American Windows. These programs are run through third-party NGO's, which, together with host facilities, are charged with planning the agenda of the local program and organizing events. Funds are provided by USAID and transferred to the public affairs and political sections of the embassy for dispersal as small grants to Egyptian NGO's participating in the program. Embassy officials then work with partners to set up the American Window as well as to establish language and Access programs (see below).

The first American Window was placed at an Integrated Care Society Center in Maadi, outside of Cairo. The American Window is smaller and less expensive than an American Corner.¹⁴² During the inaugural ceremony, this description was provided:

This American Window is a window into the richness and diversity of American life and culture that will build bridges of communication and understanding, forge lasting relationships, and strengthen the partnership between the people of the United States and the people of Egypt... Our partnership will also bring speakers and book discussions to this library and provide a venue for Egyptians to meet American speakers, hear musical groups, take part in digital video conferences and watch films about the United States.¹⁴³

In 2010, the American Windows program at the Maadi Public Library had a total of 7,759 visitors; 3,846 of these visitors came with the purpose of attending at least one of the 134 American Windows programs offered that year. The most popular programs were the story hours and book discussions followed by embassy speakers and movies. To date, four other American Windows have been set up in Egypt, with one in progress. One American Windows partner turned out to be such a success that it was upgraded to an American Corner. This upgrade included a signed memorandum of understanding (MOU) that qualify it for annual sustainability funds.

In 2010, the American Windows program received \$50,000 from USAID to establish 10 more American Windows throughout Egypt. Funding for an additional Window at Al Azhar University has been granted, however, this project has been placed on hold due to the recent unrest in Egypt. After the revolution, Egyptian universities – the most likely partners for American Windows programs – have proven reluctant to participate.

II. Fulbright

The binational Fulbright Commission in Egypt was established in 1949 and has since become one of the largest Fulbright programs in the Middle East. Since its inception, over

5,000 scholars have participated in the program, whether Americans studying in Egypt or Egyptian coming to the United States. The largest numbers of American Fulbright scholars have been placed at Cairo University, Alexandria University and Ain Shams University. The Fulbright program is housed in its own building with an annual allotment of \$8.3 million. The American Scholar program sends, on average, about 10 Americans each year, while the Egyptian Scholar program sends approximately 13.¹⁴⁴

Figure 31: U.S.-Egypt Fulbright Scholarships

Fulbright	Total	58
Americans: 2010-2011	Fulbright American Scholar Program	5
	Fulbright American Student Program	15
	Fulbright Language Learning Partners Program	7
	Filbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad	6
	<i>Total Americans:</i>	33
Egyptians 2010-2011:	Fulbright Egyptian Scholar Program	10
	Fulbright Egyptian Student Program	8
	Fulbright Egyptian Student Program- Islamic Studies	2
	International Fulbright Science and Technology PhD program	1
	Scholar-In-Residence	4
	<i>Total Egyptians</i>	25

III. Teaching English¹⁴⁵

English teaching programs have been the backbone of many of the cultural programs offered through State Department's Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs. Various English programs are aimed at different audiences to encourage not only English language schools, but to foster better understanding of American values and cultures among the Egyptian population. Many are aware of the opportunities that knowledge of the English language can bring, and these programs use those sensibilities to develop a healthy U.S.-Egyptian relationship. Examples include a Microscholarship Access program aimed towards disadvantaged youth, English language programs for imams, teacher training programs, and a professor training program taught through Fulbright fellows to teach English to professors at Al-Azhar University.

A. ENGLISH ACCESS MICROSCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM IN EGYPT

Began in 2004, the English Access Microscholarship Program provides afterschool and summer English language classes for 14- to 18-year-olds from disadvantaged families and backgrounds. The Access programs give students English language skills in hopes of encouraging and facilitating their pursuit of higher education and employment, while increasing their ability to participate in the socioeconomic development of their home country. Furthermore, the program aims to develop a better understanding of American

culture and values. In order to participate, families and students must show financial need and a commitment to the program. The U.S. Embassy, in partnership with the American University in Cairo, AMIDEAST, and other public, private and non-governmental partners, run the program. It is currently offered in 12 Egyptian governorates, and has had 55,000 participants in over 70 countries since its inception.¹⁴⁶ In Egypt, there are currently seven new Access programs planned for 2011.

Figure 32: English Access Microscholarship Participants in Egypt

Current Access Student Number	597
Number of Students to be added in 2011	400
Current Access Alumni	356

B. TEACHING EXCELLENCE AND ACHIEVEMENT (TEA) PROGRAM

The TEA program provides secondary school teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL), social studies, math and science with an opportunity to increase their knowledge and understanding of the United States. The six-week program takes place at a U.S. university followed by an additional two-week internship at a U.S. secondary school. The program is run through the State Department and administered by IREX, an international nonprofit organization.

C. INTERNATIONAL LEADERS IN EDUCATION PROGRAM (ILEP)

ILEP brings outstanding secondary school teachers to the United States to learn about the latest advances in education and teaching methodology, and develop their knowledge of the United States as well as their respective subject matters. The program is a semester-long graduate level course with an eight-week internship at a U.S. secondary school. Similar to the TEA program, ILEP is administered by IREX.

D. SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATORS INSTITUTES PROGRAM (SU.S.I) FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATORS

The SU.S.I program provides secondary educators with a better understanding of U.S. culture, society, values and education. The six-week program is generally organized around a central theme in U.S. civilization and incorporates a contemporary component.

Figure 33: Participants in Teaching English Programs in Egypt

Year	ILEP	TEA	SUSI
2011	5	7	1
2010	6	7	1
2009	6	NA	1
2008	8	NA	1
2007	9	NA	1
Total	34	14	5

IV. Other Programs

Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation: This fund provides financial support to cultural preservation projects in over 100 countries. The fund aims to preserve cultural heritage through historic building restoration, assessment and conservation of museum artifacts, preservation of archeological sites, documentation of vanishing craft techniques, improving storage conditions for artifacts and documents, and documentation of indigenous languages. In 2010, Egypt was awarded \$63,000 in addition to 2009 funding of \$69,000 through the Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation for the restoration of the late 19th century Villa Castagli.

Hubert J. Humphrey Fellowship Program: This program provides 10 months of professional enrichment and non-degree graduate study in the U.S. for mid-level professionals. The program is linked with U.S. embassies and the Fulbright program, and the Fulbright foreign Scholarships Board awards the fellowships.

Global Undergraduate Exchange Program: This program provides a one-year scholarship to exceptional undergraduate students to pursue non-degree full time study, supplemented with community service and/or internship opportunities.

TechWomen: This program pairs women from Silicon Valley with women from North Africa and the Middle East to engage in a five-week professional mentorship program at technology companies. The program is slated to start summer of 2011.

Study of the United States Institutes for Scholars: Foreign university faculty, secondary educators and scholars are sent to academic institutions for a six-week course on improving teaching methods and teaching overseas audiences about the United States.

Internships: Internship programs allow a foreign national to work in a variety of fields for up to 12 months to gain exposure to American culture and business practices.

Trainee: Similar to internship programs, the trainee program allows foreign nationals in a variety of field to come the U.S. to gain cultural and business experience. The trainee will then go back to their home country to utilize and share their new skill and knowledge.

American Council of Young Political Leaders (ACYPL): ACYPL designs and organizes international educational exchanges for young political leaders worldwide. U.S. Congressional representatives, governors and political leaders select American participants; international participants are selected from countries with ACYPL programs and with input from the U.S. Embassy. ACYPL conducts exchanges with 25-30 countries annually and have a network of 8000 alumni in over 100 countries.

Edward R. Murrow Program for Journalists: This program invites journalists to travel to the U.S. to observe journalistic principles and practices. Participants gather in Washington, D.C., then travel to seminars and events with partner schools of journalism. Participants also have the opportunity to observe local government and grassroots program in smaller U.S. cities and towns.

Fortune/U.S. State Department Global Women's Mentoring Program: This program connects women leaders with members of *Fortune* magazine's Most Powerful Women leaders for a one-month internship program.

Alien Physician: This program is aimed at foreign physicians seeking to gain entrance into either a graduate program or training program. It includes two types of training programs: one for medical research and the other for clinical training.

Specialists: The one-year specialist program is geared towards foreign nationals who are experts in a field of specialized knowledge. The program provides the opportunity to increase knowledge exchange between U.S. and foreign specialists.

Study of the United States Institutes for Student Leaders: Hosted by U.S. academic institutions, undergraduate student leaders participate in a five- to six-week program that features an academic component, tours of various regions of the United States, community service, and opportunities to meet with American peers.

E-Teacher Scholarship Program: This program offers teachers living outside the U.S. to take online graduate-level classes through select U.S. universities.

Camp Counselor: This program gives foreigners the opportunity to interact with American youth while teaching them about foreign cultures.

Professors and Research Scholars: This program promotes the exchange of research scholars and professors to participate in cross-cultural activities with Americans.

Short-Term Scholar: Professors and research scholars can use this program to participate in a short-term visit for the purpose of training, consulting, lecturing or demonstrating a specific skill.

Student, College/University: This program gives foreign students the chance to study at an American degree-granting post-secondary accredited program. Students must be enrolled on a full-time basis.

Student, Secondary School: Students are permitted to come to the U.S. to attend a

public or private secondary school, living either with a host family or at a boarding school.

APPENDIX F: MILITARY AID AND EXCHANGES

U.S. military relationships with foreign countries have served as an instrument of statecraft and an area of cooperation between states with vastly different governance structures and ideologies. During the most recent uprising in Egypt, this military relationship was put to the test. Although many site positive results of U.S.-Egyptian military cooperation (i.e. instilling the importance of protecting civilians), it is also easy to see how U.S.-Egyptian military cooperation under the Mubarak regime has helped foster anti-Americanism and diplomatic obstacles in Egypt.

Due to U.S. interests in the Middle East, securing Egypt as a military ally has been a crucial component of U.S. foreign policy goals. Following the 1978 Camp David Accords and 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty, the U.S. promised greater aid assistance both through development and military funds. This assistance was due in large in part to Egypt's continued promise to keep peace with Israel, which for a period resulted in Egypt being kicked out of the Arab League. U.S. military aid, or Foreign Military Financing (FMF), to Egypt amounts to \$1.3 billion with additional amounts of development assistance through USAID and other resources. Egypt is the second largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid after Israel. Egypt's overall defense spending amounted to \$4.56 billion in 2010, which made it "the strongest among its immediate neighbors in Africa, but is substantially lower than the budgets of its two middle-eastern neighbors Israel and Saudi Arabia. Defense spending has been increasing steadily in recent years and is likely to maintain this progress as long as economic conditions allow."¹⁴⁷

Reasons for such high amounts of aid go beyond Egypt's relationship with Israel. Military aid ensures protection and smooth operation of the Suez Canal, a major shipping route connecting Europe to the Gulf and Asia. Egyptian military forces are charged with securing both sides of the canal. Furthermore, military cooperation and aid has encouraged coordination on counterterrorism as an access point into the Middle East. During times of crisis, the United States has relied on Egyptian military facilities to move troops from Europe deeper into the Middle East. The U.S. uses the Suez to resupply U.S. forces and U.S. carriers have used the Suez Canal to move rapidly to the red sea and Persian Gulf. Landing rights granted to the U.S. military gives the U.S. the ability to bring in troops to areas outside the Persian Gulf, decreasing vulnerability to attack. It also provides a landing and refueling area for short-range strike capabilities such as those of fighters and strikers.

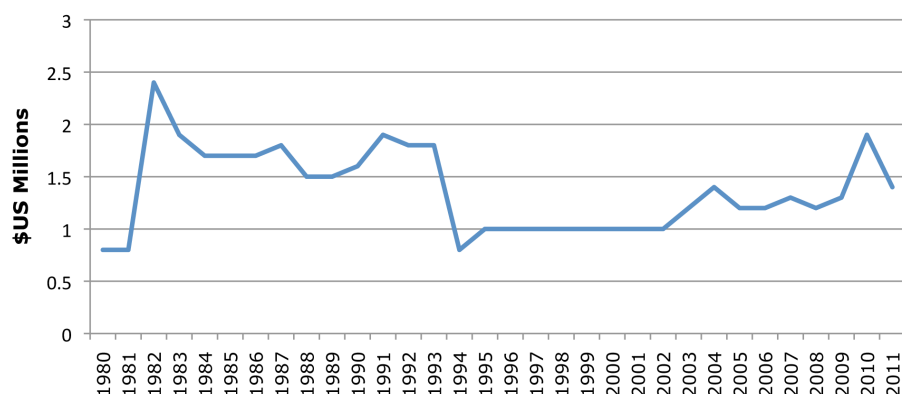
Much of the \$1.3 billion of military assistance given to Egypt is divided into three general categories: acquisitions, upgrades to existing equipment, and follow-on support and maintenance contracts. Approximately 30 percent of FMF is used to modernize its military and replace soviet era weapons with up-to-date U.S. weaponry¹⁴⁸. It is estimated that U.S. military aid covers up to 80 percent of the Egyptian Defense Ministry's weapons procurement costs¹⁴⁹. These U.S. produced weapons became a problem during the uprisings when tear gas canisters used by the Egyptian military and police to subdue uprisings were labeled "made in the U.S.A". Even prior to uprising, there has been a mentality among the people that the U.S. supported Mubarak's dictatorial regime because of U.S. needs in the Middle East. The Egyptian military and U.S. funding of the Egyptian military was seen as a direct cause of Mubarak's ability to maintain power in the country. When U.S.-supplied and -produced weapons were being used against protestors during the demonstrations, it further solidified the idea of American support for Mubarak, particularly in early days before the United States had taken a stance on Mubarak's removal.

Egypt has benefited greatly from U.S.-Egyptian military relations. Although modernization and capability provided to Egypt is not as technologically advanced as military technology provided to Israel (equipment such as the M1 tank and F-15 and F-16 fighters), it is enough to counter regional threats such as Libya. Under a coproduction program from 1988, the M1A1 Abrams tank is produced in Egypt (a certain percentage of parts produced in Egypt with remaining parts shipped in from the U.S. and assembled in Egypt). Under coproduction terms, Egypt plans on greatly increasing the tank capability to 1,200 tanks. Furthermore, Egypt has procured various other U.S. weapons capabilities such as Chinook and Apache Longbow helicopters, F-16's and various F-16 variants, Skyguard/Sparrow missile launchers, and Knox class frigates.

The military's role in Egyptian society is important in more than a security-based role. The Egyptian military provides employment and social services to hundreds of thousands of Egyptians, particularly youth.

Conscripts with a high school education serve two years, and conscripts without serve three. The military is an important part of the Egyptian society in the employment it

Figure 34: IMET Funding for Egypt



provides. Many experts have argued that the Egyptian military is bloated; others, however, have justified its size based on the employment and services it provides to soldiers and families. The Egyptian military also has its own companies to produce consumer products, pharmaceuticals and manufactured goods. The Egyptian officer corps are provided a high standard of living and salary to help maintain loyalty to the government. Additionally, this wealthy military elite enjoys opportunities abroad, particularly through U.S. military colleges, institutions and exchange programs.

Public diplomacy successes have been achieved through the area of military exchanges. Egyptian officers have conducted numerous joint operations with their U.S. counterparts, both in the U.S. and abroad. Similarly, many Egyptian officers have had the opportunity to study at U.S. war colleges and have developed relationships with U.S. military officers under the International Military and Education Training (IMET) program. \$1.4 million was requested for FY 2010 for IMET programs.¹⁵⁰ Major General Robert Scales, a retired commandant of the U.S. Army War College stated, "They learn our way of war... but they also learn our philosophies of civil-military relations."¹⁵¹ Many experts feel that U.S. values of protecting citizenry had been instilled in military personnel through these exchanges, which prevented the Egyptian military from firing upon citizens and protestors during demonstrations. Additionally, during the uprisings U.S. military leaders were in close contact with their Egyptian counterparts. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates maintained frequent contact with his counterpart, Field-Marshal Muhammad Tantawi. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen also maintained frequent contact with Egyptian army chief, Lieutenant General Sami Enan, who had come to the Pentagon earlier that year for discussions on joint training.

Prior to the February 2011 demonstrations, military officers had largely stayed out of Egypt's civilian-run government. Mubarak's removal left a leadership gap, however, and presidential powers transferred to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. The council is made up of high profile military members including General Omar Suleiman (vice-president and former intelligence chief), Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi (defense minister), Lieutenant-General Sami Anan (armed forces chief of staff and commander of 468,000 troops), and Air Marshal Reda Mahmoud Hafez Mohamed (air force chief). On February 13, 2011, Egypt's military authorities stated their intent to dissolve the Egyptian parliament and suspend the constitution. This was in response to the fact that Egypt's parliament was comprised of National Democratic Party Members and Mubarak supporters. In addition, the current constitution prevented the participation of multiple parties. In the same statement, the Egyptian military council announced a plan to hold elections in July or August, instead of September as originally planned, and would rule the country until the election. The Egyptian army will be crucial in making sure that power is transferred from military leadership to civilian leadership, and that there continues to be a civilian-led government.

APPENDIX G: RELEVANT SPEECHES AND POLICY DECLARATIONS

1996-2000:

Secretaries of State Warren Christopher and Madeleine Albright make 12 total visits to Egypt. Focus is predominantly Israel-Arab peace issues.

August 2000:

President Bill Clinton visits Sharm el-Sheikh and gives speech on Israel-Arab peace, not human rights/democracy.

November 2003:

President George W. Bush lays out “freedom agenda” focusing on Middle East at National Endowment for Democracy, saying, “Are the millions of men and women and children condemned by history or culture to live in despotism? Are they alone never to know freedom, and never even to have a choice in the matter? I, for one, do not believe it.”

February 2005:

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice cancels planned visit to Egypt over displeasure with Egypt’s arrest and mistreatment of Tomorrow Party head Ayman Nour.

May 2005:

First Lady Laura Bush visits Egypt ahead of its constitutional referendum. Although her speech was aimed toward encouraging female leaders, Mrs. Bush’s interjection of opinion on Egyptian politics upset many Egyptians.

June 2005:

Condoleezza Rice speech directly challenges Mubarak to make democratic reforms: “Millions of people are demanding freedom for themselves and democracy for their countries. To these courageous men and women, I say today: All free nations will stand

with you as you secure the blessings of your own liberty.”

February 2006:

Condoleezza Rice meets with Hosni Mubarak in Cairo but never publicly raises Ayman Nour’s imprisonment. When asked at a press conference she says that Egypt “has a young population that I think will insist and demand economic and political change... We want to see an Egypt that is fully developing politically and along the lines of reform as well. We will continue to discuss the future of reform.”¹⁵²

January 2007:

Condoleezza Rice visits Luxor, avoids mention of democracy/reform.

January 2008:

George W. Bush visits as part of an eight-day tour to promote renewed Middle East peace talks. No speech is given. The Bush visit is protested by the Muslim Brotherhood and barely covered by Egyptian newspapers.

March 2009:

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton gives speech to the Gaza Donors Conference focusing on Israeli- Palestinian conflicts and the two-state solution. No references to Egyptian democracy were made.

June 2009:

President Barrack Obama gives “Cairo speech” focusing on U.S.-Middle East relations, rather than Egypt specifically. Touches on political freedoms, but not democracy: “I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn’t steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose.”

August 2009:

President Mubarak attends press conference in Washington, D.C. held by President Obama. Topics discussed with the Egyptian President did not include human rights and democracy. Instead, the topic was regional stability and maintain the U.S.-Egypt alliance. Topics mostly focused on economic, social and environmental issues, thus reaffirming the fact that the Obama administration is careful to approach contentious issues with the Mubarak regime when Egyptian support is crucial for stability in the

region. It is said that more contentious issues were discussed at a meeting between Mubarak and Clinton.

November 2009:

Secretary Clinton in Cairo news conference says, "President Obama and I are committed to realizing the vision of the Cairo speech: education, human development, economic partnership, the promotion of human rights. We support the efforts of civil society, political parties, and minority communities, and we support improvements in the lives of everyday Egyptians."¹⁵³

January 2011:

Obama administration's response to demonstrations: "I want to be very clear in calling upon the Egyptian authorities to refrain from any violence against peaceful protestors." No call for Mubarak to step down, only to adhere to democratic principles.

February 2011:

President Obama calls for elections and regime transition.

March 2011:

Hillary Clinton gives speech on U.S. support for Internet freedom following events in Egypt, North Africa and the Middle East. This was in response to government restricting Internet use during protests and riots.

March 2011:

Secretary of Defense Robert Gates visits Egypt following Clinton visit. Gates states that elections should not be rushed into, but does not question the election time schedule set by the supreme council. He also stressed the importance of having a civilian-led government.

APPENDIX H: IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATIONS FOR DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAMS IN EGYPT

In addition to NDI, IRI and the Alliance of Youth Movements, there are many other NGOs and CSOs working in Egypt. The following is a list of some of the organizations receiving funding from USAID, DRL, MEPI and the NED to conduct democracy and governance programming in Egypt, as well as a brief summary of the programming they implement.¹⁵⁴

American Center for International Labor Solidarity: The program supports trainings for lawyers, an interactive website for journalists, a campaign for a new labor law, a strategic campaigning workshop, and roundtables with labor leaders from four countries.

Andalus Institute for Tolerance and Anti-Violence Studies (AITAS): The program includes a series of workshops for 300 university students to raise their awareness of parliament's functions and engage them in monitoring parliamentary committees. AITAS will also host eight month-long internships for youth activists from the Middle East and North Africa to share its experiences using web-based technologies in monitoring efforts.

Arab Center for the Independence of the Judiciary and Legal Profession (ACIJLP): ACIJLP's program includes four one-day workshops for judges, lawyers, human rights activists, parliamentarians and Ministry of Justice officials on key challenges to constitutional reform in Egypt, and how to form a network of legal and judicial experts.

Arab Foundation for Supporting Civil Society (AFSCS): The program includes four

training workshops for 100 journalists and CSO representatives on monitoring violations against civil society organizations, and extending outreach on these efforts through a website and newsletter focused on civil society issues.

Arab Society for Human Rights (ASHR): ASHR's program includes a series of six three-day training workshops in Alexandria on media law and the rights of media professionals for 80 journalists from the governorates of Giza, Port Said, Sohag, Ismailiya, Al-Sharkiya, Kafr Al Shaykh and Marsa Matrouh.

Association for Human Rights Legal Aid (AHRLA): AHRLA publishes and disseminates a weekly electronic Arabic newsletter called *The Monitor*; edits a monthly Arabic newspaper for public distribution; produces and distributes six documentary films on human rights cases in Egypt; reports publicly on human rights abuses to the local and international press; and maintains a website.

Association of the Egyptian Female Lawyers (AEFL): This association attempts to strengthen women's leadership and participation in the decision-making process within bar associations in the governorates of Giza, Beni Suef, Minya and Qena. AEFL trains a cadre of women lawyers within local bar associations who will subsequently train an additional 100 female lawyers in each target governorate. Trainees form a network to provide continued support to women lawyers seeking leadership positions within the bar association.

Association for Women's Total Advancement and Development (AWTAD): AWTAD's program includes two leadership development courses for Cairo-based young professionals to expand its membership base, provide ongoing professional development workshops and strengthen member involvement. For each course, AWTAD leads an eight-week, one-on-one mentoring program for 25 trainees and established private sector professionals.

Asyut Association for Human Rights (AAHR): AAHR's program includes a five-day workshop on human rights for 20 board members, staff and volunteers of the organization, and a subsequent five-day training-of-trainers course on human rights for five of the most outstanding participants.

Bridge Center for Dialogue and Development (BTRD): BTRD's program includes training for youth between the ages of 16 and 26 in the use of new and traditional media tools to report on issues facing their communities. BTRD has a website for human rights videos and new media campaigns in Egypt, which also features trainees' completed media projects and a blog-like forum for participants to engage in ongoing dialogues on their projects.

Budgetary and Human Rights Observatory (BAHRO): BAHRO analyzes and provides a mid-term evaluation of the projected national budget and fund allocations for Egypt's five-year development plan (2008 -2012), comparing actual expenditures and implementation of development initiatives.

Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance (CEWLA): CEWLA's program trains 25 youth leaders on Egypt's political reform plan and techniques for interacting with government officials. The youth then conduct five half-day dialogue sessions with officials to monitor the implementation of proposed reforms in public political participation with a focus on youth and women participation.

Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE): CIPE works with the Federation of Economic Development Associations (FEDA) to organize policy reform roundtables, draft policy position papers and an economic analysis report, and conduct policy and advocacy planning sessions for SME business associations.

Civic Monitor for Human Rights (CMHR): CMHR's program includes an election monitoring campaign in five governorates by conducting two one-day training workshops on election monitoring; creating a database of news articles, reports, campaign analysis, and field election monitoring reports on the presidential, parliamentary and local elections; and producing a comprehensive election monitoring report.

Constitutional Protection Foundation (CPF): CPF's program trains young lawyers and law students on how to monitor the registration process in local council elections, and lead a local council monitoring campaign in Ad-Daqahliyah province.

El-hak Center for Democracy and Human Rights: El-hak's program includes eight workshops on journalists' rights for a total of 200 young local journalists in the Gharbeya, Beni Suef, Qena and Port Said governorates. It also seeks to establish a network of local journalists, and develop a newsletter and website for the exchange of best practices and professional advice.

Egyptian Association for Development of Society (EADS): EADS's program includes a one-year civic education program for 60 young people in Aswan. The program covers civic responsibility, human rights, tolerance for diversity, and community activism, incorporating these concepts into drama, visual art and music productions presented at a public celebration on human rights.

Egyptian Center for Education and Rights (ECER): ECER, a national network of 200 teachers, works to strengthen the network and train its members on leadership and advocacy skills by conducting three repetitive three-day training workshops in Cairo, Giza and Munofiya for 90 network members.

Egyptian Center for Human Rights (ECHR): ECHR's program includes a one-year monitoring campaign of local councils in three districts of eastern Cairo. ECWR compiles citizen input on the role of local council members collected from informal surveys and a complaint hotline for citizens to use as a platform for discussion with their local representatives during nine forums.

Egyptian Center for the Right of Education: ECER's program includes a training-of-trainers (TOT) workshop for 15 network members. Approximately five TOT participants are selected to conduct two workshops on advocacy campaigns and collective bargaining, each attended by 30 member-teachers.

Egyptian Center for Women's Rights (ECWR): ECWR's program includes three seminars with Egyptian political parties, two campaign skills training workshops for women candidates, and training workshops for 2,600 election monitors. ECWR also monitors the election process and publishes its findings broadly.

Egyptian Democracy Institute (EDI): EDI produces quarterly monitoring reports and holds seminars to discuss the overall performance of parliament, and offers recommendations on legislation proposed in the People's Assembly. EDI will monitor, collect and document evidence of corruption in Cairo and Alexandria, as well as shortcomings in the delivery of public services in the governorates of the greater Cairo region and Alexandria to share with MPs representing those communities.

Egyptian Observatory for Law and Justice (EOLJ): EOLJ's program includes six two-day training courses for lawyers from six governorates in Upper Egypt.

Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR): EOHR's program includes six training courses, each one held at a university. The three-day sessions introduce human, political and economic rights, and provide a forum for open discussion on restrictions of these rights. EOHR also hosts a forum where jurists, human rights activists, academics and government reformers debate aspects of Egypt's electoral system.

Egyptian Union of Liberal Youth (EULY): EULY's program includes four two-month training sessions for 60 youth activists aimed at building their political knowledge and teaching them how to use filmmaking for the dissemination of democratic ideas and values.

Egyptians Without Borders for Development (EWB): EWB's program includes a field survey of 50 women leaders and a one-year training program consisting of four training workshops and six awareness sessions, and producing a quarterly newsletter.

Fares Organization for Social Care (FOSC): FOSC's program includes a field study to assess Mansoura University students' perceptions and knowledge of democratic ideas and values, train youth in the topics where their understanding is limited, and engage students in a theatrical production on political participation that will be presented in various youth centers across the city and surrounding districts.

Hukuk Elnas: Hukuk Elnas's program includes the creation of a web portal to raise Egyptians' knowledge and awareness of their fundamental rights using simplified, colloquial language. The organization's lawyers provide pro-bono legal advice through a 24-hour telephone hotline and instant messaging. Hukuk Elnas develops a training curriculum to share with other Egyptian and regional NGOs interested in promoting the concept of street law.

Human Development Association (HDA): HAD's program includes training 25 young local media professionals and 75 legal activists to monitor and support citizen rights, and encourage citizens to pursue their rights through a hotline for citizen complaints and monthly discussion forums. This program focuses on the Daqahliyah province.

Human Rights Association for the Assistance of Prisoners (HRAAP): HRAAP's program includes eight two-day workshops for practicing lawyers from provinces outside of Cairo to instruct them on how to use international human rights instruments for prisoners.

Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies (ICDS): ICDS's program includes publishing a monthly newsletter and annual report on civil society and democratization in the Arab world, and holding weekly discussion seminars on topics related to civil society and democratization.

International Center for Justice and Legal Support and Advocating (formerly known as Justice Association in Gharbeya): This program works to establish a political party women's networking and professional development group to promote collaboration among women party members across ideological lines. The women's forum is supported by a series of professional development training workshops designed to enhance party women's skills in legislative analysis and development, media outreach and membership development.

Justice and Citizenship Center for Human Rights (JCCHR): JCCHR's work includes observing and reporting on local council sessions, developing and administering surveys to local government officials and citizens, disseminating information to the public on local government activities, and organizing discussions among local government officials, community leaders and media professionals.

Land Center for Human Rights (LCHR): LCHR's program includes four two-day training workshops on election monitoring, 12 symposia in rural areas on political participation, publication and distribution of three pamphlets highlighting the views of farmers on elections, and legal assistance to 100 farmers during the election period.

Lawyers Union for Democratic and Legal Studies (LUDLS): LUDLS's program trains 250 youth activists on peaceful assembly and dispute resolution, and produces a resource report on these topics.

Legal Aid Association for Constitutional Rights (LAACR): LAACR's program includes four political awareness workshops for 80 participants from four governorates in the Nile Delta on democratic principles, including practical skills such as election monitoring, networking and proposal writing. LAACR also provides on-the-job training for 16 of the participants at their headquarters.

Maat for Judicial and Constitutional Studies: The program for 100 lawyers and law students includes four two-day training courses on prisoners' rights, communication skills and investigative techniques on human rights violations in three governorates, and links participants to a national detainees defense network.

Mogtamaana for Development and Human Rights Association: Mogtamaana pilots a local council monitoring program in the Giza governorate by observing and reporting on local council meetings, developing and administering surveys to local government officials and citizens, disseminating information to the public on local government activities, and organizing discussions between officials and citizens.

National Association for the Defense of Rights and Freedoms (NADRF): NADRF's program trained provincial women candidates, and their campaign assistants, in the 2010 parliamentary elections on managing election campaigns. The program trained 30 women trainers (TOT) on leadership and management, who then lead awareness seminars.

New Horizons Association for Social Development (NHASD): NHASD's program includes 12 one-day workshops on civic duty, tolerance, democratic principles and citizenship from a religious perspective for 20 religious leaders and 80 youth leaders from Old Cairo, followed by five months of joint dialogue between the two groups.

One World Foundation for Development and Civil Society Care: One World's program includes four workshops for 95 local journalists in Qena, Beni Suef and Ismailiya on the role of the media in supporting decentralization and transparency in local government, and establishes a cadre of media professionals who support the decentralization process.

Our Hands for Comprehensive Development: This program includes two public meetings for local youth to discuss challenges and identify youth leaders who would benefit from additional training courses. Participants produce a short film on youth political participation, and develop and implement action plans for resolving problems facing youth in the governorate. Our Hands also provides Minya youth the opportunity to learn from the experience of, and network with, Cairo-based activists and NGOs.

Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED): POMED's program identifies key coalition members and local staff and develops one- and three-year strategic plans.

Regional Center for Research and Consultations (RCRC): RCRC's program analyzes the performance of past and current female parliamentarians and produces a training manual based on its findings to serve as a tool for female MPs, their staff and NGOs that provide support to them. RCRC will launch an event to disseminate its findings and recommendations as well as test the training curriculum in a training workshop for 15 parliamentary staff and researchers.

Rural Development Association (RDA): RDA's program works to develop a cadre of trainers from local council members to lead a series of community forums where citizens address community issues directly with local officials. RDA reports on local initiatives discussed at the community forums through its website.

Rural Studies Center (RSC): RSC's program includes the development of a resource guide on the role of legal mechanisms available to local councils; six three-day seminars on accountability and transparency for 30 local council members and 30 rural community leaders; and a website in support of its anti-corruption campaign.

Rural Women Development Association (RWDA): RWDA's program works to bring together constituents and local officials to identify and discuss solutions for community problems, guide advocacy efforts to exert pressure on local officials, and strengthen local women's leadership skills and civic knowledge through awareness seminars and a women's parliament club.

SAWA Association for the Development of Society, Woman, Child and Environment: SAWA's program trains young lawyers in Giza and places them as volunteers within local NGOs to provide legal assistance to the organizations and their beneficiaries.

Shumu Association for Humanitarian Rights and Developing Local Community: Shumu's program includes a two-day training-of-trainers workshop for 25 activists from ten governorates; ten one-day awareness sessions in their respective regions; and a

one-day workshop to develop publicity materials on political rights of citizens.

Sons of the Land Association for Human Rights (SLAHR): SLAHR's program includes five seminars, one each on workers' rights, the unions and their role, the International Labor Organization and international conventions on workers, peaceful assemblies, and the role of civil society in supporting workers' demands.

Sons of Land Center for Human Rights (SLCHR): SLCHR attempts to build workers' capacity to demand their rights through two workshops and four seminars, while advocating for their rights through a media campaign and direct legal assistance.

Youth Forum: Youth Forum conducts a civic and political awareness training program for 150 university students in the Gharbeya, Suez, Minya and Assiut governorates. The forum leads a total of six, repetitive two-day training workshops to build the political knowledge and leadership skills of university students in these target governorates.

APPENDIX I: USAID ACTIVITIES IN EGYPT BY GOVERNATE

In each governorate, USAID funds democracy and governance programs which address the needs of that region. USAID reports the following activities and impact within each governorate:¹⁵⁵

Cairo:

- Assistance in the development of a decentralized model of governance through the five-year Egyptian Decentralization Initiative (concluded in April 2011) by increasing the financial resources available to local governments for responding to community priorities; enhancing participatory mechanisms to plan, allocate, and monitor the use of revenue; and strengthening the administrative capacity and legal framework for local government to manage resources effectively and transparently.
- Through the Civil Society Direct Grants Program, USAID reports providing funding for seven non-governmental organizations working in Cairo governorate in the following areas:
 - Legal education for trainee lawyers and new lawyers.
 - Increasing youth (those aged between 13 and 18 years) participation in public life through the dissemination of a culture of civic education and citizenship as a way to solve social and community issues, and increasing youth involvement in the democratic process through assisting youth to develop advocacy skills.
 - Programs encouraging the use of the media as a tool for supporting democratic reform.
 - Mobilizing local communities to improve transparency and fight corruption in public and private institutions.
 - Strengthening the legal and regulatory framework governing civil society.
 - Increasing the number women and youth who are registered to vote and promoting their increased voting and political participation through training, technical assistance and sub-grants to Egyptian civil society organizations who work in this area.

- Engaging religious leaders, policy-makers, community leaders, educators and the media in a dialogue centered on the principles of democracy, pluralism and tolerance.

Aswan:

- Through the Civil Society Direct Grants Program, USAID reports providing funding for two non-governmental organizations working in Aswan Governorate in the following areas:
 - Strengthening the legal and regulatory framework governing civil society by enhancing the capacity of lawyers to work with legal cases involving NGOs; providing legal support to 600 NGOs; enhancing the legal knowledge of NGOs; and strengthening the relationships between NGOs, regional NGO federations and the Ministry of Social Solidarity.
 - Mobilizing Egyptian communities at the local level to improve transparency and fight corruption in public and private institutions. Grant activities include training for NGOs on tools for identifying and reporting corruption, development and dissemination to the public of a toolkit on identifying and reporting corruption, establishment of a hotline for victims of corruption and legal advice and support for victims of corruption.
 - Utilizing forums for intercultural dialogue to engage religious leaders, policy-makers, community leaders, educators and media representatives across nine governorates in a dialogue centered on the principles of democracy, pluralism and tolerance.

Beni Suef:

- Through the Civil Society Direct Grants Program, USAID reports providing funding for five non-governmental organizations working in Beni Suef governorate in the following areas:
 - Strengthening the legal and regulatory framework governing civil society by enhancing the capacity of lawyers to work with legal cases involving NGOs; providing legal support to 600 NGOs; enhancing the legal knowledge of NGOs; and strengthening the relationships between NGOs, regional NGO federations and the Ministry of Social Solidarity.
 - Increasing youth (those aged between 13 and 18 years) participation in public life through the dissemination of a culture of civic education and citizenship as a way to solve social and community issues.
 - Increasing the number women and youth who are registered to vote and promoting their increased voting and political participation through training,

technical assistance and sub-grants to Egyptian civil society organizations who work in this area.

- Engaging religious leaders, policy-makers, community leaders, educators and the media in a dialogue centered on the principles of democracy, pluralism and tolerance.
- Enhancing citizen participation in democracy and good governance at the local level by addressing issues of transparency and accountability, and open collaboration between local government institutions and citizenry, through training and technical assistance to local government entities, civil society organizations and citizens.

Fayoum:

- Through the Civil Society Direct Grants Program, USAID reports providing funding to a non-governmental organization working in Fayoum governorate working in the following areas:
 - Mobilizing Egyptian communities at the local level to improve transparency and fight corruption in public and private institutions.
 - Training for NGOs on tools for identifying and reporting corruption, development and dissemination to the public of a toolkit on identifying and reporting corruption, establishment of a hotline for victims of corruption, and legal advice and support for victims of corruption.

Minya:

- Through the Civil Society Direct Grants Program, USAID reports providing funding for six NGOs working in Minya Governorate in the following areas:
 - Increasing participation of youth aged between 13 and 18 years in public life through the dissemination of a culture of civic education and citizenship as a way to solve social and community issues. Another project helps youth identify areas of concern, conduct studies to better understand the scope of identified problems, and engage in advocacy and media campaigns to express issues and concerns to government officials and the public.
 - Using the media as a tool for supporting democratic reform in Egypt; promoting knowledge of democratic practices among university students; educating minority groups and women of their rights as active citizens within their communities; supporting citizen participation in the decision making process, including the electoral process; and widening citizen's awareness of their rights, as well as empowering youth in using the media as a tool for reform.

- Enabling youth to develop and apply practical leadership skills to effectively take action in their local communities and lay the groundwork for further long-term civic participation. The project emphasizes learning-by-doing and structured practical opportunities to take on leadership roles in their communities and in the wider civic and political environment.
- Working with NGOs to strengthen the legal and regulatory framework governing civil society by enhancing the capacity of lawyers to work with legal cases involving NGOs, providing continuous legal support for NGOs, enhancing the legal knowledge of targeted NGOs on the NGO regulatory framework and strengthening the relationships between targeted NGOs and regional NGO federations, as well as relationships between NGOs and the Ministry of Social Solidarity.
- Utilizing a Forum for Intercultural Dialogue to engage religious leaders, policy-makers, community leaders, educators and media representatives in a dialogue centered on the principles of democracy, pluralism and tolerance. Attention is also paid to participants' skills development in the areas of crisis management, conflict resolution, reconciliation, negotiation and solving local sectarian incidents.
- Enhancing collaboration between a responsive government and an informed citizenry by building the capacity of district-level popular and executive councils to lead and support participatory district-level planning and implementation processes, increasing the supply of local and district-level opportunities for citizen participation in development planning, and monitoring and increasing citizen demand to participate in district-level development planning and monitoring.

Qena:

- Through the Civil Society Direct Grants Program, USAID is providing funding for four non-governmental organizations working in Qena governorate in the following areas:
 - Promoting political awareness and participation among women by working in four districts in Qena to encourage and mentor women candidates in local and national elections, help hundreds of thousands of women with voter registration and access to information and provide support to eight local NGOs and the Adult Education Authority.
 - Utilizing a Forum for Intercultural Dialogue to engage religious leaders, policy-makers, community leaders, educators and media representatives in a dialogue centered on the principles of democracy, pluralism and tolerance. Attention is also paid to participants' skills development in the areas of crisis

management, conflict resolution, reconciliation, negotiation and solving local sectarian incidents.

- Improving local governance in four districts by encouraging local government to implement practices and processes, which give citizens an opportunity to participate in the establishment of priorities for rural development and public services. In addition, the NGO is helping civil society organizations understand their role in ensuring good governance and is supporting the media to provide citizens with objective, balanced and fact-based information.
- Increasing political participation by women and youth through training, technical assistance and sub-grants to organizations that mobilize voter registration efforts and encourage voting and political participation by these groups.

Assiut:

- Assistance in the development of a decentralized model of governance through the five-year Egyptian Decentralization Initiative (concluded in April 2011); including the development of an Integrated District Development Planning tool for two pilot districts within Assiut governorate - Dayrout and Abou Teeg – which will build the capacity of more than 2,900 members of the Local Popular Councils; provided extensive training, technical assistance and cost-share to support a number of development planning projects within the two districts; and supported the development of two citizen services centers in these districts which resulted in improved citizen satisfaction rates related to the provision of services by local governments.
- Through the Civil Society Direct Grants Program, USAID reports providing funding for six non-governmental organizations working in Assiut Governorate in the following areas:
 - Increasing political participation by women and youth.
 - Enhancing the status of human rights in Upper Egypt generally, and Assiut in particular, through the development of human rights curriculum for law schools, developing a legal mechanism for advocating for human rights, and increasing community understanding of the rule of law and process of justice.
 - Increasing youth (those aged between 13 and 18 years) participation in public life through the dissemination of a culture of civic education and citizenship as a way to solve social and community issues.
 - Assisting 9,000 youth to develop and apply practical leadership skills to take action within their local communities.

- Utilizing forums for intercultural dialogue to engage religious leaders, policy-makers, community leaders, educators and media representatives across nine governorates in a dialogue centered on the principles of democracy, pluralism and tolerance.
- Enhancing the capacity of district-level popular and executive councils to lead and support participatory planning and implementation processes, and increase the supply of, and citizen demand for, local and district-level opportunities for citizen participation in development planning and monitoring.

Sohag:

- Through the Civil Society Direct Grants Program, USAID reports providing funding to two NGOs working in Sohag governorate with USAID funding in the following areas:
 - Azhar Al-Karma's activity aims to enhance the transparency and accountability of Egypt's Local Popular Councils (LPC) and their members, while also ensuring citizen involvement in the decision making process. It introduces the concept of watchdog groups at the local level, which is a new concept in Egypt. The activity conducted in Sohag governorate focuses on three city councils and three district councils. It includes the following: 1) training a team of civil society monitors; 2) implementation of a local government monitoring strategy; and 3) dissemination of information among citizens to solicit their interest and participation through public hearings and round table discussions.
 - Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services (CEOSS) is utilizing its Forum for Intercultural Dialogue (FID) by engaging religious leaders, policy-makers, community leaders, educators and media representatives in nine governorates in a dialogue centered on the principles of democracy, pluralism and tolerance. Attention is also paid to participants' skills development in the areas of crisis management, conflict resolution, reconciliation, negotiations, dialogue skills and solving local sectarian incidents.

APPENDIX J: AL HURRA PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS

I. CURRENT AFFAIRS PROGRAMS¹⁵⁶

Al Youm (“Today”) – A three-hour live daily program that originates simultaneously from five countries and three continents, from cities including Dubai, Beirut, Cairo, Jerusalem and Al Hurra’s headquarters in Springfield, VA, USA. “Al Youm” provides a window to the world through its coverage of the latest news from the Middle East, the U.S. and the world; topics include health, entertainment news, sports, social and cultural issues, and technology. The program presents straightforward news in a relaxed, engaging environment, including interviews with politicians, athletes, artists and business leaders. Located in Dubai’s Media City, “Al Youm” is co-anchored by Engy Anwar and Ahmed El Naggar and joined by Mona Wehbi in Beirut, Amr Khalil in Cairo and Eman Haddad in Jerusalem, along with news updates from Alhurra’s headquarters outside of Washington, D.C.

Hunna (“Women’s Views”) – An hour-long program that brings together four lively, engaging women to discuss social and political issues largely regarded as sensitive in the region. Each of the hosts brings her unique perspective when they address issues such as sexual harassment, women in prison, discrimination of women, the psychological impact on women who marry at an early age, and domestic violence against women. Hosted by Buthaina Nassr, Asma Bin Othmane, Jasmine Taha and Julia Kassar.

Musawat (“Equality”) – A weekly talk show that takes an in-depth look at the rights of women in the Gulf region of the Middle East. “Equality” is hosted by Saudi journalist Nadine Al-Bdair and includes expert guests for analysis and debate.

II. POLITICAL PROGRAMS

Ainon Ala Addimokratya (“Eye on Democracy”) – This weekly program highlights the most important issues challenging freedom and democracy in the Middle East and North Africa. Hosted by Mohamed Al-Yahyai.

Al-Jihat Al-Arbah (“All Directions”) – A weekly talk show providing analysis, discussion and review of the previous week, with the newsmakers and experts on the issues. Hosted by Sam Menassa.

Dakhil Washington (“Inside Washington”) – A weekly program that gives viewers an in-depth look at the political process in Washington. The show highlights the political issues in Washington and the people that impact U.S. policy. Hosted by Robert Satloff.

Sa’aa Hurra (“Free Hour”) – Al Hurra’s flagship talk show examining the latest news and issues of the day, with expert analysis and debate. “Free Hour” airs five times a week. Hosted by Hussein Jradi, Mohamed Haidari and Michel Ghandour.

Taqrir Khass (“Special Report”) – The show takes viewers behind the headlines of the most important political issues in the region. Through comprehensive reports and in-depth interviews, “Special Report” focuses on a single topic and examines the impact it has on the economy, society, international reaction and the ripple effect throughout the world. “Special Report” highlights aspects of the story not seen on other news programs and gives viewers the complete story. Hosted by Sayed Hussein.

III. NEWSCASTS

Al-Alam Alaam (“The World Now”) – Extensive news updates providing the latest news from the Middle East, U.S. and around the world, including updates throughout the day.

Al-Alam Al-Yaoum (“The World Today”) – A daily hour-long newscast providing accurate, objective and comprehensive reports from the Middle East, U.S. and around the world (airs at 17:00 GMT).

Al-Alamiah (“The Global”) – A daily hour-long newscast providing accurate, objective and comprehensive reports from the Middle East, U.S. and around the world (airs at 21:00 GMT).

Thalathoun Daqiqa (“Thirty Minutes”) – A weekly program giving in-depth coverage of top news stories of the week. Hosted by Ahmed Sanad.

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