THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA’S NATIONAL INTEREST THROUGH THE ROLES OF UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (USAID) IN ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT 2009-2012

By

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A thesis presented to the Faculty of International Relations, Communication, and Law President University In partial fulfillment of the requirements for Bachelor Degree in International Relations Major in Diplomacy Studies

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This thesis entitled “THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NATIONAL INTEREST THROUGH THE ROLES OF UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (USAID) IN ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT 2009-2012” prepared and submitted by Puspa Anggreini in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the Faculty of International Relations, Communication, and Law has been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirements for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defense.

Cikarang, Indonesia, 28th January 2014

Hendra Manurung, SIP., MA.
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this thesis entitled “THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NATIONAL INTEREST THROUGH THE ROLES OF UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (USAID) IN ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT 2009-2012” is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, and original piece of work that has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, to another university to obtain a degree.

Cikarang, Indonesia, January 28th 2014.

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Puspa Anggreini
ABSTRACT

Title: The United States of America National Interest Through the Roles of United States Agency for International Development (USAID) In Arab Republic of Egypt 2009-2012

This research attempts to find out how does United States Agency for International Development (USAID) work to implement US national interest in promoting democracy. Egypt and US have agreed to consent in development cooperation in mid 1970s through USAID and Egypt is the one amongst several biggest recipient country. USAID had implemented several programs to support human right, freedom, equality, and good governance towards democratic governmental system in Egypt. The ups and downs of Egypt government system during Hosni Mubarak regime had led the work into questions. This paper would like to elaborate the role of USAID programs nearly the year of Egyptian uprising which eventually holds democratic presidential election on Egypt in 2012. Writer put timeline on 2009 – 2012 due to the significant changes of governmental system in Egypt at mentioned time.

Keyword: Democracy Promotion, Foreign Aid, National Interest, USAID
ABSTRAK


Kata Kunci: Promosi Demokrasi, Bantuan Asing, Kepentingan Nasional, USAID
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AJC   Administrative Judiciary Court
CSO   Civil Society Organization
DAC   Development Assistance Committee
DRG   Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance
FOG   Fixed Obligation Grants
GA    General Assembly
HRDF  Human Rights and Democracy Initiatives
IGO   Inter-Governmental Organization
IMF   International Monetary Fund
IO    International Organization
LGBT  Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MCC   Millennium Challenge Corporation
MDG   Millennium Development Goals
MENA  Middle East and North Africa
MEPI  Middle East Partnership Initiatives
MEPP  Middle East Peace Process
MoFA  Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoSSJ Ministry of Social Solidarity and Justice
NED   National Endowment for Democracy
NDP   National Democratic Party
<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OA</td>
<td>Official Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>WMD</td>
<td>Weapon of Mass Destruction</td>
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

International affairs have come to the era when the world politic was characterized by “security interdependence” and global governance: no one state, not even the most powerful state can manage common issues: poverty, famine, disarmament, disaster management, transnational-crime, regional economic stability, environmentalism and so forth without having multilateral cooperation. To address these issues, it is required the cooperation and unification from both state and non-state actors to find mutual solutions. Global Governance also has taken the important part to construct the international affairs which consist of the cluster of governance-related activities, policy, mechanism for both formal and informal in private or public sectors. These global governance insists the actors to solve the issues and problem through the peaceful settlement due to the cooperative nature of diplomacy.

The growth of non-state actors which includes both international entities of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that influences the relationship within states and government as they have improved its scope and activities. To such extent that the contemporarily worlds would be incomprehensible without taking them into consideration. Samuel J. Barkin in his book International Organization: Theories and Institution, defining IO as intergovernmental organization which is

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established by agreement among states rather than by private individuals such as NGO and transnational corporations. This implies that IO is government to government corporation in bilateral and multilateral relationship.

United States Agency for International Development is an independent agency that provides funds, technical assistance, and services for international development to support foreign policy goals of US which undertaken by State of Secretary and conducted based on agreement of US and recipient government’s consent. In this case USAID belong to international organization due to the second nature of IO behavior that defines IO based on the scope of interaction, US relationship towards donor and recipient countries or bilateral corporation. USAID itself created based on US obligation as the advanced country in the world to promote economic and social development which regulated under Foreign Assistance Act Under 1961 as a single agency that manage and organize the foreign assistance.

“There is no escaping our obligations: our moral obligations as a wise leader and good neighbor in the interdependent community of free nations – our economic obligations as the wealthiest people in a world of largely poor people, as a nation no longer dependent upon the loans from abroad that once helped us develop our own economy – and our political obligations as the single largest counter to the adversaries of freedom.” – John F. Kennedy

USAID main agenda is promoting and enhancing development towards recipient country in economy, social, political, education and health, military and other aspects. Giving assistance in of economy, politic and conducting corporation with incumbent government which determines the result in certain target. This agenda includes to promoting democracy based on US foreign policy paradigm of Liberal Internationalism. Promoting democracy toward non-

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6 Ibid.
7 Liberal Internationalism is a theory that defines as an approach to international relation that aims to promote democracy throughout the world in order to bring an end to conflicts. This theory was introduced by US Former President Woodrow Wilson. Explained further on the sub-bab Theoretical Framework Chapter 1
Democratic countries is believed to improve people participation and protecting human right from misapplication or manipulation by authoritarian government.

Foreign assistance in Democracy and Government is conducted under US foreign policy which implies that US national interest is promoting democracy throughout the world. US government believed that they owe an obligation to international development due to the belief of American Exceptionalism, which interpreting US as a nation that immune or should be immune from things like terrorism and dictatorship and US is supposed to be activist role around the world in promoting freedom or being a shining example to the world about democracy and affecting both domestic and foreign policy of US. In the other hand US adopting Liberal Internationalism which also one of the core of foreign policy. Relationship among American Exceptionalism and Liberal Internationalism can be defined as strong background why US government is engaging in foreign assistance to international democracy development, includes Egypt.

USAID has been contributing to Egypt development since mid of 1970s and has been rehabilitating the Egyptian condition compared to three decades ago and USAID today has been improved the scope and variety of project conducted in Egypt which are ranging from agriculture, democracy, economy, education, environment, and health. USAID/Egypt mainly concern to promote trade and investment; education and training; healthier, planned families; infrastructure and democracy. USAID aims to provides job opportunity and economic growth as well as encourages the participation of civil society to achieve political and economical reforms.

Democratic, Human Rights, and Governance (DRG) as one of core program of USAID is considered as critical instrument for sustainable development and lasting peace due to the nature of democracy itself which gives equal freedom to society. Non-democratic countries that have a lot corruption

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issues and weak law enforcement have 30-45 per cent higher risk of civil war and criminal violence than democratic developing countries. Democracy allows people to participate and get involved in governance and transparency. People risk democracy because it is believed that the absent of constraints is the source of abuse and misuse of resource by authorities, especially to utilize the wealth of people to own sake. The roots of US started to fund for democracy throughout the world was mainly believed as the component of development assistance that would lead the change of thoroughly of national development. The regime changes and the regulation and policy would change as well.

Since the US initiated the Peace Treaty within Israel and Egypt for Middle East peaceful future in 1979, USAID has begun to channel aid and assistance in order to support in terms of economic or by financial support for the stability of the region. US signed memoranda to accompany the treaty to consolidate commitments of US to support peace of Egypt and Israel by Harold Brown, former US Secretary of Defense Statement in his letter:

“the United States is prepared to enter into an expanded security relationship with Egypt with regard to the sales of military equipment and services and the financing of, at least a portion of those sales.”

Ultimately, the United States provided a total of $7.3 billion to both parties with The Special International Security Assistance Act of 1979 to provide both military and economic aid to Israel and Egypt.

USAID/Egypt has been working on program of Democracy and Governance which is mainly serving to encourage people participation in political circumstance by covering the project on Rule of Law and Protecting Human Right, Good Governance and Combating Corruption, and Civil Society. To assist

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the DRG program in Egypt, USAID/Egypt apply two kinds of assistances by a bilateral agreement and a direct grants programs to NGOs and other civil society organizations.\textsuperscript{14} USAID through Democracy and Government program has attempt to encourage people of Egypt to consider the democracy as the government platform to rule their lives since the government of Egypt is oppressing the citizens participation in political sectors by giving limited freedoms of expression and constrains the media to be always in favor of government. Even though Egypt adopts some characteristic of democratic government, the constitutional and official policy are designed to assure the hegemony and determination of incumbent executive and legislative official.\textsuperscript{15}

Egypt has witnessed a succession of waves of repression and authoritarian regimes since 1952. The National Democratic Party (NDP) established in 1978 by President Anwar Sadat and has been the single ruling party to elect the Egyptian president until Hosni Mubarak was forced to step down during the Egyptian Uprising in early 2011. Furthermore, Egyptian political situation under Hosni Mubarak was adopting semi-presidential system under Emergency Law or Law No. 162 of 1958 that is also being adopted by Hosni Mubarak after the assassination of Anwar Sadat in 1981.

The Emergency Law provides greater powers to the police, suspends certain constitutional rights in the name of security and it used continually to suppress political dissent, facilitate the arbitrary detention of opposition members and protesters, as well as the unfair trials of civilians before state security or military courts.\textsuperscript{16} In other words this power authorize the state to detain individuals and censor or ban newspapers more easily and provide access to authorities to try civilians in front of military and security courts under certain circumstances. Torture and ill treatment were systematically used in prisons and other detention facilities. This regime banned Muslim Brotherhood, declared

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
Muslim Brotherhood as illegal political party and arrested the members of party\textsuperscript{17} and was accused to conduct the planned election referendum to maintain its hegemony. After get through a couple years of transition, Egypt conducted its democratic presidential election in 2012.

1.2 Problem Identification

US has been known for long time a strong supporter of democracy, its root of national belief and history that US owes contribution to make peaceful world through democracy. US involvement in international development of democracy is an interesting subject to discuss because it can be seen through many perspectives. The big amount of aid and assistance, advanced program in democracy promotion through non-democratic countries are interesting to be discussed and analyzed.

The political movement which led by protest began on Tunisia\textsuperscript{18} indeed was mainly due to authoritarian governmental regime in Middle East and North African (MENA) countries which no longer suitable to cope with current economic, social and political situation which is influenced by the democracy ideas. The protest aims to change the face of governmental system which stimulates people to contribute and have freedom to manage their lives. Democracy is considered as the suitable system to assure the participation of citizen to governmental affairs. Therefore, USAID has been focus on enhancing to improve the civil society participation to achieve political and economical reforms, which implicitly explain that USAID contributes on Egyptian political reform in 2012.


According to USAID/Egypt, USAID has been working on program of Democracy and Governance which is mainly serving to encourage people participation in political circumstance by covering the project on Rule of Law and Protecting Human Rights, Good Governance and Combating Corruption, and Civil Society and Civil Participation. The writer would like to attempt finding effectiveness of these projects conducted by USAID towards democratic movement in Egypt on early 2011 until finally it comes to Egyptian Presidential Election in 2012\(^{19}\) as the one parameter of democracy according to Freedom House annual measure of global freedom.

The effectiveness of USAID and Egypt government would be highlighted on the Egypt condition based on several measurement of democracy rank in 2009-2012. For period of time 1975 – 2009, USAID has contributed 28.5M USD\(^{20}\) to Egypt in DRG programs and makes Egypt receive US grants more than USAID recipient countries. US provide averagely $2 billion per annum since the Camp David treaty been signed in 1979.\(^{21}\) USAID budget distribution on Egypt Democracy and Governance program from 2008-2013 is summed up in the diagram below.

\(^{19}\)Ibid.,


1.1. Democracy, Human Right, and Governance Category (foreignassistance.gov)²²

In 2012, Egypt conducted first presidential election post-revolution and it is the subject to review the effectiveness of USAID attempt in promoting democracy as the objectives of US national interest.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The foreign aid is regulated under Foreign Assistance mandate of foreign policy. The pillars of American principle as the activist of democracy promotion has influencing several democracy transitions in many countries and region. Egypt at the meantime is often considered as the barometer of Arab civilization in accordance of culture and government. Egypt is also the bridge of US and MENA countries, as since Egypt has established close relations to those countries.

Title: US National Interest through the Roles of USAID towards democratic transition of Egypt in 2010-2012.

- How significant US National Interest implemented through USAID roles towards Egyptian democratic transition in 2009-2012?

What are USAID strategic goals on promoting democracy in Egypt?

1.4 Research Objectives

The 2011 outburst of political transition uprisings by the Arab peoples caught the world's attention. The strike from self-immolation of Mohammed Buqazizi in Tunisia, December 2010 has important symbolic uprising where the people start to protest, demonstrate, even conduct riot against their government. The wave of revolution\textsuperscript{23} has brought the civil society to demand a new face of governmental system in Arab countries.

This research aims to find out the effectiveness of USAID in promoting democracy as the national interest of United States in Egypt in mentioned year. This research would try to find out the USAID program and assistance in accordance of democracy promotion as the tools to obtain US national interest. Adopting Kothari’s theory on his book Research Methodology, this paper would be classified as \textbf{explanatory-descriptive} research, means to gain familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve new insights into it and portray accurately the characteristic of a particular individual, situation or groups.\textsuperscript{24}

As matter of fact, this research is trying to analyze and find out how significant and effective USAID assistance to promote democracy as national interest of United States towards Egypt democratic transition under the program Democracy and Governance.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This paper is aiming to contribute the research of the upheavals movement in Egypt in 2011 during Arab Uprising movement. There are several key points to understand why this research is conducted.


• To provide information of foreign aid in Egypt given by USAID under program Democracy and Governance.
• To provide in details what USAID – Egypt has done in Democracy and Governance program and influences to Egypt political situation and its effectiveness toward Egypt presidential election in 2012.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

There are several theories that would be fit as platforms of analysis to measure effectiveness of USAID involvement in Egypt democratic transition. USAID is an independent agency run under US Government provision included in the realms of Liberalism and IO which also act as a tool that reflecting US national interest in promoting democracy.

1.6.1 Liberal Internationalism

First theory that perfectly molded the reflection of democracy promotion is Liberal Internationalism which often being associated to the influential former US President for his idea in foreign policy, Woodrow Wilson. This theory can be defined as one of approach to the international relations studies of democracy promotion as the peaceful settlement instead of coercion and the use of hard power to end the conflict or war.25 The essential paradigm of liberal theory is that the involvement of basic politic actors are consisting of the member of domestic society which can be individuals as well as the privately-constituted groups seeking to promote their interest.26 Adopting liberalism for state means that the system providing access to individuals and groups in civil society to aspire their interest to the political realm.

These social coalitions defines “preferences” in world politics at any point in time: the “tastes,” “ends,” “basic interests,” or “fundamental social purposes” that underlie foreign policy.\textsuperscript{27} Liberalism also acknowledged that not only state that plays key role in constructing contemporary world, but also emphasize that international institution or organization’s policy and regulations contributed as much as states (Mingst, 2010). Wilson primarily offer ther thought that the cause of instability and conflict was the “undemocratic nature of international politics”, particularly to the accordance of close relationship among foreign policy and the balance of power (Moravcsik, 1992). By being able to identify the background of the conflict, the liberal internationalism is possible to expand the democracy influences of practice and free trade meanwhile protecting and promoting the equality and human rights.\textsuperscript{28}

Furthermore, President Ronald Reagan was the first president of US that truly put the ideology of democracy as the guiding principle of US foreign policy, in the belief that ‘freedom’ could defeat the ‘evil empire’ of the Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{29} The democratic promotion emerged as an organized and coherent US strategy to maintain stability in the countries concerned both for the state itself and wider society in terms of the various political, economic, military and other interest identified by US government.\textsuperscript{30} For instance, stability is a necessary requirement for the success of free market economies which is the US primary concern. As part of this strategy, US have sought to gradually replace proxy authoritarian government with elite-based democracies.\textsuperscript{31} Whereas authoritarian government is


\textsuperscript{28} Ibid. National Security Council (NSC), The National Security Strategy of The United States of America, (September) 2002, p. 1

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.

reliant on coercion to rule, elite-based democracies incorporate more consensual means of governance.\textsuperscript{32}

1.6.2 International Organization

Second theory is \textbf{International Organization} theory that provides the understanding of IO’s essential purposes and behavior related to IR theory, concept, and practice. USAID as the international organization under US government supervision is one of implementer of International Organization theory, in the sense of field operating area. USAID has a single way bilateral relationship within US government to recipient country, which is US government established this relations to many countries. This theory is attempted to formulate that IOs are part of global governance, liberalism and play important role in promoting democracy. IOs deserves attention at least in part because they have agency, agenda-setting, influences, and potentially important socializing influences.\textsuperscript{33}

States indeed is the key actor of global governance, but the scope of activities of states are bounded by the sovereignty that limit the space of other states to interfere domestic problem. In the other hand, states have choice and power to that give them the authority to rule over their people and this is can be used as the strong reason to point the delegate for international institutions. In other words, international organization was mandatory created as the implementer of cooperation among states. Furthermore, international organization would uphold the negotiation, diplomacy, and corporation. Oftentimes, states and international organization together holds and forms the transnational alliances to assist social forces which center of liberal theory is embedding the relationship between a state and wider society.


Holsti mention that the potential for cooperative action arises from self-interest not from utopian attribution of altruism to state leaders\textsuperscript{34} and it all came up from the citizen’s interest and the state’s interest towards other states.\textsuperscript{35} For US, promoting ideology is one of its interests to maintain its influences to others states and is used to last the existence of democracy itself.\textsuperscript{36} In this context, the USAID is an international organization by operating area and also a government auxiliary as to reflect their national interest that implemented on foreign policy to conduct foreign assistance.

1.6.3 Foreign Policy

Third theory that fit this topic is US foreign policy theory from Bruce Jentleson in American Foreign Policy. This theory is an approach to form foreign policy that is based on the four “P” frameworks of national interest, Power, Peace, Prosperity, and Principles.\textsuperscript{37} These points can be solely used as the source of the objectives of national interest and also combined each other. Power defines the national interest based on the ability of particular country to shape their environment through both hard and soft power. As the Joseph Nye defines the terms of hard power is through military and economy approach to attract or to control other countries. The application of foreign policy in terms of power based national interest is such as the policy in peacekeeping and military operation in particular countries. Peace is a principle that not only aimed the global peace initiated by US but also all states in the international stages. This peace objective will lead the decision maker to wisely projecting the regulation that brings peaceful harmony in life. Prosperity is the objectives that all nations adapt to their foreign policy towards betterment of their people. This objective has resulted in the improvement of micro and macro economy in foreign policy by conducting many economic cooperation. The last one is Principles, which is the core of this


\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.

paper. As since US is a firm believer of democracy and human right supporter role for the world, this idealism has strongly affect the whole foreign policy of United States.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This research will be specifically limited to:

- Focusing on US national interest in promoting democracy.
- Focusing on USAID – Egypt relationship background and relation under program of Democracy and Governance.
- Focusing on Egypt presidential election as the barometer of democracy.

1.8 Definition of Terms

- **Democracy promotion**: Assistance or effort to support democracy in particular area.\(^{38}\)
- **Foreign Aid or Assistance**: Financial streams, technical assistance, and commodities that are designed to promote economic development and welfare as their main objectives that is excluding the military aid. Foreign aid is provided as grants or subsidized loans.\(^{39}\)
- **Foreign Policy**: Decision and objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states.
- **National Interest**: the interest of the state, usually as defined by its government and be identified as a tool for analyzing foreign policy. In terms of foreign policy, national interest invokes an image of the nation or the nation-state, defending its interests within the anarchic international

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\(^{38}\) Summarized by Democracy Definition by Department of State, retrieved from http://www.state.gov/j/drl/democ/

system where dangers abound and the interest of nations are always in risk. Hans Morgenthau also explained national interest in realm of realism as sort of foreign policy version of term ‘public interest’ which indicating what is the best for nation in its relations with other states.  

1.9 Thesis Structure

1.9.1 CHAPTER I – Introduction
This chapter is providing essential information of US interest in promoting democracy through USAID roles in Egypt democratic transition in 2012. This chapter consists of subject overview or historical background and problem identification, research question, objectives of the study, significance of the study, theoretical framework, and scope and limitation of the study.

1.9.2 CHAPTER II – Literature Review
Chapter II is providing literature material review from journals, books, and related articles to this study.

1.9.3 CHAPTER III – Research Methodology
Chapter III will give description on how this research conducted and providing timeline, research instrument details, and the relation among variables.

1.9.4 CHAPTER IV – United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as US Foreign Policy Tools in Creating Regional Stability
Chapter IV will explain generally and analyze the US interest in spreading democracy throughout the world, how US government manages and addresses this issue through USAID roles and programs in Egypt. For most part, this chapter will elaborate in details US Foreign policy and foreign assistance and USAID Democracy and Governance programs in Egypt democratic transition.

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1.9.5 CHAPTER V - Conclusion

Chapter V will provide conclusion of the issue brought up upon this thesis and would be the termination that writers try to draw from the research. At this section, writer would like to attempt providing recommendation towards this issue as well.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 J. Peter Pham: What Is In the National Interest? Hans Morgenthau’s Realist Vision and American Foreign Policy

This journal attempts to analyze and criticize the idea of Hans Morgenthau’s idea of national interest which significantly influencing US foreign policy and character in international affairs. There are a couple pillars of Morgenthau’s political perspective in realism perspective in terms of the permanence of self-interest and the struggle for power and the inevitable nexus between moral principles and statecraft. This journal shows how the Morgenthau’s perspective to shape and influence the objectives of US foreign policy. Henry Kissinger once had summarized the bipolar characteristic of US foreign policy:

“The singularities that America has ascribed to itself throughout its history have produced two contradictory attitudes toward foreign policy. The first is that America serves its values best by perfecting democracy at home, thereby acting as a beacon for the rest of mankind; the second, that America’s values impose on it obligations to crusade for them around the world. Torn between nostalgia for a pristine past and yearning for a perfect future, American thought has oscillated between isolation and commitment.”41

J. Peter Pham, firstly criticizes the definition of interest and power. As Morgenthau’s stated in his book Politic Among Nation, “the pursuit of specific American national interests at the center of foreign policy analysis while qualifying that objectives with a strong commitment to ethical imperatives and restraints” and Pham argues that Morgenthau’s framework is seen as directed to showing and improving the power of animus dominandi or the willingness to

control and lead by the use of social force to determines political activities. Accordingly, it is quite right with Pham’s thought that concludes Morgenthau arguments that interest of particular society or states was the core of politics and at the international realm it suits for state to pursue its national interest and to expand their influences through their ability or power. Thus, he emphasizes that power need to adjust to the dynamic circumstance of international politics.

Secondly, he criticize the moral principle and statecraft which explored by the norms sketching out the moral vision that acknowledge the challenges inherent in free will and power in an imperfect world. Pham’s sees the diplomacy as the tool to create peace among nations, but yet need to be considered that the objectives of foreign affairs must be defined in terms of the national interest and it must be supported with adequate power. Referring to Morgenthau’s thought “Remember that diplomacy without power is feeble, and power without diplomacy is destructive and blind.”

Thirdly, he attempts to criticize the implication of Morgenthau’s vision to implementation for US Foreign Policy. As printed on American Political Science Review, Morgenthau stated that historically the prime objective of United States foreign policy was the country’s security and status as “predominant power without rival” and the key of national interest is to balancing power in Asia through commercial concern, political and military preoccupation that assumed that the domination of the Asian mainland by another nation would create so great an accumulation of power as to threaten the security of the United States. However, in this current global affair which is interdependence requires political morality to fit and compatible with other nations toward common interest.

2.2 Akira Iriye: Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World

Akira Iriye’s book analyzed the contemporary worlds that governments are not the only big players in politics and not only shaped by government to
government in international affairs, but also the international organization contribution as globalization has established transnational connection politically, economically and culturally. In fact, NGOs have contributed significant role to keep important issues on the table, such as the human right violation and the environment issue that oftentimes being ignored by the government. Hence, Iriye categorizes the international organization in very understandable way and provides detail valuable information.

This book provides a historical context for the phenomenon of globalization by pointing to the growth of international organizations. Explaining the golden age of internationalism in 1914, he argues that time led integration of peace interaction among people through transnational initiatives. In the years after World War I, Iriye analyzes that the collaboration of entities will become a new trend in international affairs and it comes true that the international organization are growing and improving in other sectors than to bring war end, such as transportation, public health, education, and communication. Aside that he categorizes two majors or classifications of IO which consist of interstate organization and non-governmental organizations, he also put six types of focuses of organization on humanitarian relief, cultural exchange, peace and disarmament, developmental assistance, human rights, and environmentalism. This categorization is quite illustrative that seen suitable to cope with current global trends by orientation towards seeking international order, cooperation, and interdependence.

Later on he examines the changing of the Cold War, he emphasizes the existence of global community as the response of the Cold War. He mentions the field of developmental assistance, in particular, exchanges between developed and developing countries were enhanced in parallel with the educational and cultural exchanges throughout the world, due to his argument that international organization were offering hope, goodwill and global interdependence despite the fact that the bipolar conflicts and power politics were creating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity (p. 94). He believes that "self-consciousness about global
community may have been a key aspect of international relations in the 1960s", and he put more concern on the economic development and foreign assistance.

**2.3 Thomas Carothers: Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve**

Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve by Thomas Carothers is providing detailed information to address the issue of promoting democracy which is a controversial issue in foreign policy. The promotion of democracy itself is not a new major issue for US foreign-policy goal that has been raising pros and cons among experts. Some see it as an important aspect of the West’s to maintain hegemony, some see it for economic purpose, and beyond the US and Europe some see it as cultural imperialism which not only useless but in many cases dangerous.

Although it is written more than a decade ago, it remains able to cover democracy aid issue by providing highly informative, detailed, and excellent guide. This book is mainly discus US democracy assistance which has same model to be implemented toward politically transitional countries that experiencing a break from authoritarian or totalitarian system to democratization. He methodically explains the different forms democracy aid can take based on The Democracy Template. There are three major sectors to establish democratic governance.

First, Electoral Process which is covered by electoral and political party building aid to establish strong fundamental governance by free and fair elections and build by string national political parties. Second is State Institution aiming to accomplish democratic institution, independent-effective judiciary and other law-oriented institutions, competent-representative legislature, responsive local government, and prodemocratic military. These aspects are covered by aid of Constitutional assistance, Rule-of-Law aid, Legislative strengthening, Local Government development, and Civil-military relation. The third one is NGO
Building aid to promote active advocacy NGOs, Civic education aid for Politically educated citizenry, Media strengthening aid for Strong Independent media, and Union Building aid for Strong Independent union which cover the aspect of Civil Society. He also points the strength and weaknesses of each aid.

Majoring concern to those endpoints are elections, state institutions and civil society are being emphasized on the categories has shifted as a result of a learning process. In the 1980s, the democracy aid is more focus on the election process and in 1992-96 it was shifted to focus on state institutions. To start democratic transition, election observed as utmost fundament to enforce democratization, but then has been replaced by serious election monitoring with sophisticated and specialized techniques because, democracy promoters have come to the realization that elections do not equal democracy. Election is effective in distributing political power that has already been overturned. Meanwhile, if power is still concentrated, elections end up legitimizing existing power distributions.

Secondly, recognition of election is not equal to democracy has led the concentration to establish a reformed state institutional. Expected to govern in democratic ways, reformed state institution are made to rule people better due to larger scope of people who manage the regulation, yet it is still not convincing will bring democracy equally throughout particular area. The last one to emphasize on civil society participation which today aid programmers pays attention closely for operational democracy, especially to empower NGO to monitoring the government accountability and transparency. Changes have also been incorporated within each category.

However, democracy aid is supposed not to be able to comprehend the political transforms but also the following issues such as prosperity, education, stability within political groups, and levels of development. This book also assesses that the democracy aid is not always having smooth and steady way to assist democratization. By exposing the cases in Guatemala, Nepal, Romania and Zambia, Carothers concluded that promoting democracy oftentimes need to meet
nation awareness by stating “these things (democracy) cannot be imposed but must grow from within.” In conclusion, aiding democracy is not solely transferring democracy model from US to recipient country, but it need to considering by the necessity of transforming country so that the democracy aid would achieve the target of democratic governance.
CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Method

Essentially there are two basic approaches in conducting research, which are quantitative approach and qualitative approach. Quantitative approach refers to the systematic empirical investigation of social phenomena via statistical, mathematical or numerical data or computational techniques\(^{42}\) and can sum up the conclusion in statistical data meanwhile qualitative approach refers to a method of inquiry employed in many different academic disciplines, traditionally in the social sciences, but also in market research and further contexts.\(^{43}\)

This research on USAID roles in promoting democracy in Egypt is adopting Kothari’s theory on his book Research Methodology, this paper would be classified as explanatory-descriptive research, means to gain familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve new insights into it and portray accurately the characteristics of a particular individual, situation or a group.\(^ {44}\) This research uses the qualitative approach as since the variable and indicators of research is analyzed and presented in systematic arrangement. Qualitative approach is the suitable approach towards this paper due to the nature of its approach that is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior to examine particular phenomenon or case by investigating the backgrounds, the supporting details on what, why and how it is happened.\(^ {45}\) Thus, this research can


\(^{45}\) Ibid. p. 5
also be labeled as *Qualitative Research* which is a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings of certain observed phenomena or actions. It examines, analyzes and interprets observations for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships in a manner that does not involve mathematical models. Qualitative research also provides explanation of reasons and associations between social variables. The data in this type of analysis is not in the form of numbers.\(^46\)

The qualitative research is often being related to the descriptive research. An *ex post-facto research* research that the major purpose is to describe of the state of affairs as it exists at present, on which the researcher has no control over the variables; he can only report what has happened or what is happening. Analytical research, on the other hand, requires the researcher to use facts or information already available, and analyze these to make a critical evaluation of the material.\(^47\) The roles of USAID in implementing the US National Interest toward democracy promotion in Egypt is analyzed to answer the research question in Chapter I by the reports and publications regarding that cases, which makes this research’s nature more to be descriptive-analytical. Further consequences, the writer adopt library research method during this research which trying to analyze the research question by analyzing the reports, publication, and related literature that supports this research.

### 3.2 Research Timeline

Place of research: President University Student Library  
Crystal of Knowledge University of Indonesia Library  
The Writer’s Home

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\(^{47}\) Ibid.
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Table 3.1 Research Timeframe

3.3 Research Instruments

3.3.1 Internet
The use of internet in 21st century has advanced and simplified the research by providing endless material and information that is compiled from centuries ago to the current publication that just come out at the moment. The pool of information is also train the filtering skill of writer to choose valid data. Furthermore, internet provides access of writer to the seemingly impossible place to find suitable data for research. In this regard, internet also gives benefits in reducing cost and time, which resulting in the other side to keen selecting skill.

3.3.2 Books and Library
Though internet plays major role to support the research, some time the other source still comes from the traditional printed literature.

3.3.3 Reports
USAID is agency that adhering the transparency of its flow activities, programs, and budget. The reports that published officially by USAID covering the project that they conduct and the audit of the reports are important to the research because they provide the valid information that is both substantive and detail. The report
explains the situation analysis why the project is conducted, the strategy to execute the project, output, risk assessment and results. The report that is used in this research is not limited to USAID report, but also the Congressional Report that is frequently issued by the Government of United States, which not less important as USAID to find the key relation of both entities.

3.3.4 Prior Research
There are prior researches that conducted to analyze and understand the phenomenon that is happening in Egypt. The democratic transition has emerged as top issues in international affairs post-cold war between US and Soviet Union. The attention toward democracy has brought many credible think-tank institutions to escort the democracy process, such as Freedom House, National Endowment for Democracy, National Democratic Institute. Their reports and former research provide the writer deep understanding to frame the researched case.

3.3.5 Interviews Report
Interview report that is being used in this research is the interview report that is published online in the internet.

3.3.6 Online Lectures
The free online lecture that is provided by coursera.org has facilitated this research by providing free access on the lectures regarding to this research topic. The keen information of Democracy Development by Larry Diamond of Stanford University and 21st Century American Foreign Policy by Bruce Jentleson of Duke University.
3.3.7 Official Documents, State secretary/president/government official documents, Law or Constitution.

The publication that is issued by primary sources such as the official audit report from government audit agency, the copy of speech by President, State Secretary, or important person. The material is also retrieved from the analysis of law or constitution.

3.4 Research Framework

![Conceptual Framework of the Research in US Democracy Promotion in Egypt](image)

**Figure 3.1** Conceptual Framework of the Research in US Democracy Promotion in Egypt

The picture above is describing the conceptual framework of this research in USAID effort to promote democracy in Egypt as the United State’s national interest. There are three major actors in the scheme, US Government (US), United

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48 Writer’s Analysis
States Agency for International Development (USAID), and Egypt Government. The USAID has mandate program to implement the national interest of its government, US to promote democracy worldwide. The effort to insert the democracy value to Egypt government that is belongs to non-democratic country. USAID operates in Egypt based on the agreement among two governments of US and Egypt. Even though USAID has been operated since 1980s, the result of democracy transition happens for almost three decades later. The writer would like to analyze the program of USAID does in Egypt and its relation with Egyptian uprising in 2011 and US national interest in promoting democracy. This research will be limited on the time of 2009-2012, two years before and after uprising.
CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

“Ultimately, the best strategy to ensure our security and build a durable peace is to support the advance of democracy everywhere.”

- William Jefferson Clinton

4.1 US National Interest in Democracy Promotion

4.1.1 US Foreign Policy in Democracy Promotion

4.1.1.1 Wilsonianism (American Exceptionalism)

The 28th president of America is one among numbers of influential president in the United States and due to his idea that become the core of US foreign policy, even to 21st century foreign policy. Woodrow Wilson puts the idea and value of democracy on top during his presidential administration to end the war and does exist as one of the pillar of US foreign policy nowadays. Woodrow Wilson become prominent figure in the international affairs at that time through the succeed to keep American economy floating on the water and giving assistance to France and Britain to rebuild their economies post money-and-time consuming world war that shattered and sunk the state stability. Furthermore, the president is also able to help out the countries liberate from the German occupation and bring peaceful settlement to end the war.

His famous legacy is his vision for a peaceful settlement to bring war ends, a vision of the Fourteen Points that he had shared in a January 1918 which gives new perspective policy of free trade, open agreement, democracy and self-


determination.\textsuperscript{51} The Fourteen Points that issued by Woodrow Wilson was trying to promote peace for all countries includes those who join the war by putting the idea of forming the League of Nations.\textsuperscript{52} As such, his idea of promoting democracy to bring peace has become a one of important American ideas to the theory of international relations and influences the nowadays settlement that put forward the negotiation and diplomacy to resolve certain conflict among cross border sovereignties. Even some of American politicians such as Franklin D. Roosevelt, John Foster Dulles, Ronald Reagan adopt to be ”Wilsonians” in their major line on forming foreign policy.\textsuperscript{53}

Wilson is considered as strong believer of American Exceptionalism, a belief that influences his approach to his special foreign affairs concern of spreading democracy throughout the world and made himself as the leader of shining sample of democracy that bring peace and harmonious circumstance. American Exceptionalism itself is a faith that interprets US as a nation that immune or should be immune from things like terrorism and dictatorship and US is supposed to be activist role around the world in promoting freedom, equality, and human right or being a shining gems to the world about democracy and affecting both domestic and foreign policy of US.\textsuperscript{54}

American Exceptionalism can be interpreting as other form of chauvinism or excessive praise towards particular things which at some point cannot be accepted by other subjects. Even so, the blend of intention to spread democracy throughout the world and American Exceptional faith has leads the US to the stage as the leading sample of democracy due to the universal value admiration that applicable for all nations and all society at recent time. The concept of spreading democracy is based on the value of foreign political tradition of “liberal” and “internationalism”, hence it often being referred as liberal

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
internationalism or Wilsonianism. At the same time, the combination of Wilson idea in formulating international liberalism foreign policy and his background of American Exceptionalism that has become one of American belief that is encourages United States to promote peace and democracy throughout the world. Wilsonianism has strong root background of the domestic political of contemporary Progressivism or the American Progressive which is traditionally called for more democracy and law, greater justice, less power to the (special) interests, and more power to the people. Meaning that to undertake the goals of democracy, it has to passed some minimum requirement such as national self-determination, then the liberated peoples would create a global, liberal international economic system.

American foreign policy seems always stick with the Wilsonianism ideas of promoting democracy and Henry Kissinger concedes that Wilsonianism is the dominant tradition of American foreign policy. American presidents from Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Truman to Kennedy and Reagan to Clinton have made the championing of democracy and freedom a centerpiece of their foreign policy. Promoting democracy has been the focus of US government post cold-war between US and Soviet Union ends. Democratization process started since the transitioning in Eastern Europe and former soviet countries after the downfall of Soviet. This ideology remain continue and more emphasized during second term Bush administration, when he took office in 2005. During his inaugural ceremony, he stated speech which more pressing to foreign policy issue instead of domestic policy:

“Now it is the urgent requirement of our nation's security and the calling of our time. So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the

56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.” — George W. Bush

Wilsonianism advocated the spreading of democracy, the opening of global markets, the creation of an international organization dedicated to keeping peace, and an active global role for the United States (Bertram, n.d.). Some scholars argue that Bush is the heir of Wilsonian (Ikenberry, 2009) by adhering democracy promotion throughout the world. The differences is that Bush going beyond Wilson that promotes to make the world safe for democracy, Bush affirms that since the democracy promotion been invented, it has become the interest of US citizen and government to spread it throughout the world.  

“Americans know, by history and by logic, that promoting democracy is the surest way to build security. Democracies don't attack each other or threaten the peace.” — George W. Bush

Joseph Nye gives good summary of Bush approach to Wilsonianism:

“The neoconservatives, many of whom split off the Democratic Party after Vietnam, stress the importance of democracy, but drop Wilson’s emphasis on international institutions. They do not want to be held back by institutional constraints and see our legitimacy coming from our focus on democracy.”

Wilson’s believed in the establishment of an international order and the signing of legal treaties in order to have a framework of contracts, which binds them who signed, meanwhile Bush administration is seeking a more unilateralist approach and both are aiming to bring democracy into the world (Bertram, n.d.). Moreover, the focus of Bush administration is war on global terrorism which eventually deploying peacekeeping troops in mission of democracy in Iraq and Afghanistan.

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“Wilson’s ideas continue to dominate American foreign policy in the twenty-first century. In the aftermath of 9/11 they have, if anything, taken on even greater vitality. Whether America and the world are the better for that Wilsonian ambition is a question whose definitive answer lies in the future.”

Obama administration seemingly to follow Bush’s agenda to spreading democracy and “war on global terrorism,” yet Obama put more concern on domestic issue of Supreme Mortgage that cripples the economy of US. Then, after the Arab Uprising that goes along with the recovery of US economic stability, the budget for democratic transition states increases significantly compared to the previous year. The American exceptionalism and Wilsonianism are clearly one of the cores of US national interest that implemented by foreign policy to conduct foreign assistance and promoting democracy throughout the world.

4.1.1.2 US National Interest

It is preached that US foreign policy must be made in the name of the national interest (Jentleson, 2004). According to Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics, National Interest is *the interest of the state, usually as defined by its government and be identified as a tool for analyzing foreign policy*. In terms of foreign policy, national interest invokes an image of the nation or the nation-state, defending its interests within the anarchic international system where dangers abound and the interest of nations is always in risk. Hans Morgenthau also explained national interest in realm of realism as sort of foreign policy version of term ‘public interest’ which indicating what is the best for nation in its relations with other states. No one would argue with the proposition that following the national interest is the essence of the choices to be made in a nation’s foreign policy (Jentleson, 2004). Yet they also stress the importance that the national

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interest can have, and needs to have, to help “improve judgments regarding the proper ends and goals of foreign policy.”

Identifying national interest is an essence of choice to form foreign policy strategy (Jentleson, 2004). Before setting the foreign policy strategy and establishing the goals to be achieved, recognizing national interest will give the identity towards particular country. According to Hobbes, the absence of a recognized central governing authority in the international system or often is referred to as the anarchic view meaning that as a “war of all against all.” This means that each country will pursue the best of strategy to accomplish and defend their objectives, either by compete each other or having mutual cooperation instead. In the American Foreign Policy, Jentleson classifies four core goals general analytic terms that sometimes combined each other into defining the US national interest: Power, Peace, Prosperity, and Principles.

First is power which enables an actor to shape his environment so as to reflect his interest. In particular it enables a state to protect its security and prevent, deflect or defeat threats to that security (Huntington). Joseph Nye defines power as the ability of first actor or subject to affect others or object to get the outcomes as he wants, and it can be done through coercion by military power or payment through economic power, which is referred as hard power. Second is doing it with attraction such as nation’s stand, values, and culture, which is referred as soft power. Referring back to Hobbes stated that international system is anarchy circumstance for states, conclude that international relations is a state of relentless security competition with the possibility of war always in the

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69 Ibid.
background, the genuine peace, or a world where states do not compete for power is not likely. Therefore, it is important to put national security the top list of national interest for developed country like United States since nobody wants to go for war unless their back is against the wall. Concerning to regional stability, the work of US is to ensure that local and regional instabilities will not threaten the security and well-being of the United States or its allies, the example of national interest that is run based on power is such as preventing and reducing the weapon of mass destruction proliferation, military proliferation and cooperation along with other. Furthermore, in accordance of power, US national interest is also put concern in law sector which is law enforcement is to combat international terrorism, international crimes, a narcotics trafficking.\textsuperscript{72} Aside of that, the power based national interest is used to protect American citizen abroad and safeguard the borders of the United States and also provide facility to travel to The United States for foreign visitors, immigrants, refugees, while deterring entry by those who abuse or threaten the system.\textsuperscript{73} The use of power is very essential due to its ability to cover what is need to be defended, in this regard is interest.

Second is Peace, all four of the national interest objectives ultimately are about peace for that is what power is supposed to safeguard, what prosperity is supposed to contribute to, what principles are supposed to undergird. Diplomacy as the peaceful way to reach global security and harmony is the crucial element in US foreign policy strategy to continue and execute the policy to conduct peaceful cooperation and negotiation to aim national and common mutual interest. By conducting bilateral or multilateral cooperation means sharing common interest to be aimed, such as United Nations (UN) to promote world peace and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) to boost economic growth. Along with Millennium Development Goal’s (MDG) agenda of UN, US does invest effort to pursuing the global objectives in global issues in environment,

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
population, and health. US government also put humanitarian assistance to response human conflict and natural disaster as the national agenda.\textsuperscript{74}

Third is prosperity that principally defined in economic terms. It is a nature of human to gain prosperity as much as they can which implicitly stated that its human interest to have so, and state as the nature of government will try the best to achieve it, meanwhile the foreign policy is one of the instrument to accomplish it. Economism school of thought defines to emphasizing the pursuit of general economic benefits to the nations is through foreign policy to conduct the favorable balance of trade, strong economic growth, and a healthy macro-economy.\textsuperscript{75} Looking back the track record of US foreign policy in 19\textsuperscript{th} century is consisting of 70\% of the treaties and other international agreements in the United States signed were on matters related to trade and international commerce.\textsuperscript{76} Furthermore, the direct implementation of the prosperity as the object of national interest is poured into the clause of the economic prosperity national interest by Department of State that aims expanding exports and open markets, assist American business, foster economic growth, and promote sustainable development by open markets to increase trade and free the flow of goods, service and capital (US Department of State, n.d.). In other word the prosperity core national interest goal is closely related to global capitalism.

Fourth is principles which involves the values, ideals and beliefs that United States has claimed to stand for the world, specifically to democratic idealism. As Thomas Jefferson stated:

\begin{quote}
“The solitary republic of the world, the only monument of human right... the sole depository of the sacred fire of freedom and self-government, from hence it is to be lighted up in other regions of the earth, if other regions shall ever become susceptible to its benign influence.”
\end{quote}

United States has been described as the firm holder of American exceptionalism, which presume that America's values, political system, and history are unique and worthy of universal admiration. They also imply that the

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid.
United States is both destined and entitled to play a distinct and positive role on the world stage.\textsuperscript{77} This faith is directly related to the democracy promotion throughout all nations. Even more, it has been stated in official Department of State saying promoting freedom and democracy and protecting human rights around the world are central to US foreign policy.\textsuperscript{78} After the end of Cold War within US and Soviet Union, US government more concern to democracy promotion in Eastern Europe and republic of the former Soviet Union and considered as a way to prevent the communist influences proliferation and to secure US base right in the anti-Soviet struggle, meanwhile the democracy promotion in Middle East is to support sustainable peace initiatives and since 9/11 attack, the concern has been shifted to global war against terrorism.

4.1.1.3 Democracy as US International Universal Agenda

To elaborate more the US interest in promoting democracy, it is primarily necessary to stand on particular definition of democracy. Democracy has been a growing issue in past few decades since the downfall of Soviet Union, the democracy promotion in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Middle East recently. Along with modern thinking of democracy carries positive term and since it literal meaning is ruled by people, but modern democracy refer it as representative democracy, which citizen will elect representatives as the essential required extraordinary changes in the institution and practices of democratic government.\textsuperscript{79} This term is known as a generic concept that distinguished it as a unique system for organizing relations between rules and the ruled.\textsuperscript{80} This relation requires particular procedures that are based two operative principles; on rules and arrangement. Modern political democracy is a system of governance in which

\textsuperscript{79} Dahl, Roald. (1999). The Past and Future of Democracy, Università degli Studi di Siena Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche Giuridiche Politiche e Sociali
rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives.81

Even though some scholar has defined what democracy is and the barometer of democracy, the public opinion of democracy and interpretation or understanding of democracy is broadly known different for people. Anchoring the understanding of democracy in developed and developing country are often having different standard, but generally it interpret in terms of equality, freedom and civil liberties, as following the civil liberties (especially freedom of speech), government by the people, voting and elections, peace and unity, equality and justice, and socioeconomic development.82 In regard adhering the concept of human equality, mean that everyone is having same portion of right to do any kind of things to support their lives, no one is ruled neither ruling over anybody else.

Several key points to make democracy feasible are citizen, competitions, cooperation, and representatives.83 Citizen as the center of democracy are both subject and object to conduct and to govern them. Competition is a procedural term as the following of desire of citizen to conduct democracy that most popular associated with the regular elections, fairly and honestly conducted.84 Health competition among candidate is a must to finally able elect potential government that would bring positive change. Afterward, cooperation as the central feature of democracy requires actors to voluntarily make collective decisions binding on the polity as a whole.85 Last but not least is representative. Since the elected officials are representing the majority voice, it is compulsory to them to issuing policy that representing and aiming for major voters.

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81 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
Robert Dahl, he termed democracy as polyarchy and he point several essential element of democracy that determines the label of modern democracy which not only have to be written in constitution, but also practiced by the legal government and authorities;  

1) Elected officials legally have controls over the government decisions about the issued policy.
2) Officials are elected in fair and square elections without coercion.
3) Official election is followed by equal right to choose by all adults.
4) Official election is followed by equal right to be elected by all adults.
5) Freedom of expression is allowed without any oppression from any authority.
6) The law protects the right of citizen to find out alternative sources of information.
7) The law protects the right of citizen to form independent organizations: profit, non-profit, or political parties.
8) Elected officials must be credible enough to exercise the constitutional power without misusing it.
9) The polity need to be self-governing and doing no misuse overpower for its own interest.

Governmental issue including the official, system, and policy is very important because they serve to aim and determine the decision towards common objectives of particular society. A label is given to particular government regarding the economic strategy to reach prosperity of civilians. Democratic government is one meanwhile other regimes are autocratic, authoritarian, despotic, dictatorial, tyrannical, totalitarian, absolutist, traditional, monarchic, oligarchic, plutocratic, aristocratic, and sultanistic. The success of these regimes, includes democracy itself is depend upon the strategy and presence of the holders.

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86 Ibid. Road Dhal recognized that modern states could never be democratic, so he used to term polyarchy.
88 Ibid.
Democracy is often being translated ambiguity with the direct economic prosperity (Bratton, 2010). This is due to the nature of democracy that able to encourage people to self govern or at least choosing official that represent their aspirations, often related to the open market for anyone. Democracy provides equality for people to rule themselves in any aspect of social relationship. By given equal opportunity to define themselves, it aims to encourage people to be fair and competitive by treating them equally before the law. Eventually, democracy is believed as the system that brings peaceful living through non-coercion settlement to manage the disputes.

The democratic promotion emerged as an organized and coherent US strategy to maintain stability in the countries concerned both for the state itself and wider society in terms of the various political, economic, military and other interest identified by US government. The relations among stability and national interest can be analyzed in such as democratic government is a necessary requirement for the success of free market economies which is the US primary concern. As part of this strategy, US have sought to gradually replace proxy authoritarian government with elite-based democracies. Whereas authoritarian government is reliant on coercion to rule, elite-based democracies incorporate more consensual means of governance. Creating democratic world does matter to support the sustainability of American self esteem because by having democracy governance system throughout the world it will also be more prospective for the future of US national security rather than authoritarian regimes that commonly oppress the law and freedom.

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During Bush administration, he put more concern on national security priority to promote democracy in Middle East as ongoing response to the 911 tragedy. He claims that by having greater political freedom will stimulate lessening the forces of Islamic extremism and indoctrination. Meanwhile, promoting democracy is supposed to be brought by peaceful process, the Bush administration uses the occupation and military intervention in Iraq and peacekeeping troops in the Persian Gulf and it was allegedly in order to support for US good allies, Israel. In Egypt 2005, the opposition of incumbent and later become elected president was detained with allegation of against the government, which is considered as violation of democracy and this occasion got more attention from US to spread democracy in this region. This is followed by the obvious pronouncement during policy speech of democracy at from Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice’s in July 2005:

“There are those who say that democracy leads to chaos, or conflict, or terror. In fact, the opposite is true. ...Ladies and Gentlemen: Across the Middle East today, millions of citizens are voicing their aspirations for liberty and for democracy ...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.”

The United States uses a variety of diplomatic tools and policy instruments to execute the universal agenda of promoting democracy in MENA. One of instruments is using effective bilateral diplomacy, which is considered less risky and give more advantages. Unfortunately, during the Bush’s provision, the foreign policy of US were more emphasizing on the use of hard power instead of soft power. The peacekeeping mission on Iraq and Afghanistan is less success to attract people trust upon democracy which is believed to bring peace. Despite of that, Obama’s administration seems to trail his predecessor path in spreading democracy in Bush’s way.

94 Ibid
4.1.1.4 Democracy Measurement

Measuring its effectiveness of democracy assistances is quite tricky because there is no quantified measurement for the succeed or effective democracy. Aiding democracy is more transfer ideas and values instead of tangible project, for instance economic and trading aid, agriculture, health improvement, and education assistance. There are several standards identified by some scholar to measure the democracy level of particular country. These indicators are usually raised as question to assess the condition on particular country as object.

First common democracy measurement that is PACL Measure which is abbreviation of Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Cheihub, and Fernando Limongi which explained on the Democracy and Development: Political Institution and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990. This measurement provides a dichotomous measure that has only two segregation categories to define government classification, either democracy or dictatorship. To be classified as a democracy, a country should pass these requirements, otherwise it belong to dictatorship:

1. Election is held to choose the chief executive.
2. Election is held to choose the legislative.
3. Election is participated by more thanonce party.
4. An alternation in power under identical electoral rules has taken place.

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Using this democracy measurement, the Egyptian democracy that is used in the governmental system will belong to non democracy country as since it only accomplish two of four questions above. The chief executive and legislature is elected through general election, but only until 2005 there was multi-candidates and party that participated in referendum. In prior, NDP become the solely participant in presidential referendum.\textsuperscript{98}

The second measurement is Polity IV that measure democracy as a continuous project that will take some value in particular range. This measurement is considered unique due to the its nature that not only given categorizing whether particular government belong to democratic country or non-democratic country based on the general question as PACL does, it defines more on the quality of democracy itself that is defined by the programs that run by the authority to conduct the democracy in statehood. There are five basic attributes that need to be assessed using Polity IV measurement.\textsuperscript{99}

1. Competitiveness of executive recruitment.
2. Executive election is held with transparency and accountability.

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{99} Op. Cit.
3. Executive official is not given absolute power.
4. The regulation of election and people participation is legally become constitutional.
5. There is competitiveness of political participation.

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 4.2** Lighter colored countries are more authoritarian and darker colored countries are more democratic.\(^{100}\)

Polity IV affirms on the election of whom going to be the executive, which according to the parameter of its measurement Egypt is not democratic country due to the lack of competitiveness during election process under Mubarak’s regime. The regulations of political participation is also limit by the use of State Emergency of Law that allows the authority to ban and to prohibit political activities which includes the election-related rallies, demonstrations, public meetings, and to detain people indefinitely without charge.\(^{101}\) This law can be used effectively by power holder to silent people who against government.

The third measurement is Freedom House’s annual measure of “global freedom”. This agency is annually reporting the democracy level of countries in the world and providing several requirements to code country towards democracy standards, specifically to political rights and civil liberties. Freedom House

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\(^{100}\) Ibid.

defines political rights as right that enables people to participate freely in the political process, including the right to vote freely for distinct alternatives in legitimate elections, compete for public office, join political parties and organizations, and elect representatives who have a decisive impact on public policies and are accountable to the electorate. Meanwhile, civil liberties is defined as the right that allows people having freedoms of expression and belief, associational and organizational rights, rule of law, and personal autonomy without interference from the state.

To be qualified to hold electoral democracy, a country has to pass these following requirements:

1. More than one party join the election with competitive nature.
2. Equal adult equal right to choose and being chosen.
3. Regularly contested elections conducted in conditions of ballot secrecy, reasonable ballot security, and in the absence of massive voter fraud, and that yield result that are representative of the public will.
4. Significant public access of major political parties to the electorate through the media and through generally open political campaigning.

To measure the level of democracy, a country should meet the minimum requirement of democracy by passing several level analysis:

- In political right dimension:
  1. The level of fairness, transparency, and accountability during executive election.
  2. The level of corruption.
  3. The level of transparency and accountability of government between the elections.
  4. The competitiveness level.

- In terms of civil right dimension

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103 Ibid.
104 Ibid.
1. Level of freedom of expression, such as media and forming association.
2. Level of independent judiciary.
3. Level of law enforcement.
4. Level of equal opportunity.
5. Level of rights to own property.

Figure 4.3 Political Right: Darker colored counties are more democratic and lighter colored countries are more authoritarian.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
Graphic 4.4 Civil Liberties: Darker colored countries are more democratic and lighter colored countries are more authoritarian.\textsuperscript{106}

By using three methods of measurements above, it implies that Egypt has been adopting uncommon democracy as that measurement had defined in prior. The unfair election that is having Hosni Mubarak as single candidate during 1981-1999 reflects more as authoritarian regime instead ideal democracy. Furthermore, the use of State Emergency of Law has been used to simplify the current government remain in place for almost three decades.\textsuperscript{107}

Summary\textsuperscript{108}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>INDICATORS</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PACL</td>
<td>Election is held to choose the chief executive</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Election is held to choose the legislative</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Election is participated by more than one party</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An alternation in power under identical electoral rules has taken place</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITY IV</td>
<td>Competitiveness of executive recruitment</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Executive election is held with transparency and accountability</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Executive official is not given absolute power</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The regulation of election and people participation is legally become</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>constitutional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competitiveness of political participation</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom House</td>
<td>Political Right</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Civil Liberties</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the three measurements above, the political situation of Egypt is categorized as non-democratic country before the uprising and in 2011 as the following response of the revolution, the vacuum of power of president until the

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{107} State of Emergency has been used to overthrown the opposition. Such as banning Muslim Brotherhood from political activities.
presidential election are held in 2012. Based on the Freedom House annual report in 2013, Egypt belong to Partly free due to the half score that result of Freedom House Annual report.\textsuperscript{109}

From those measurements, fair and square election is agreed as indicator of the beginning democracy transition from non-democratic country towards democracy. In additional, some critics shows that the US concern more on democracy building such as election process in MENA instead of structural building of democracy. It makes sense to be done in Egypt as Egypt gives strong reason for US doing so because the history of Egyptian referendum was not yet held fair and square. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice remarked her interpretation of election process:

\begin{quote}
"Elections are the beginning of every democracy, but of course they are not the end. Effective institutions are essential to the success of all liberal democracies. And by institutions I mean pluralistic parties, transparent and accountable legislatures, independent judiciaries, free press, active civil society, market economies and, of course, a monopoly for the state on the means of violence."\textsuperscript{110}
\end{quote}

Presidential election is considered important because of people will know who is the candidate for their leader and know where their governance affairs will be brought and led. Thus, it is believed that democracy is not an end form of government but a long process toward civilization and election is just the stepping stone toward democracy. Principally, spreading the idea of democracy in Egypt is a necessary for US government regarding to the universal applicable value that is believed by US government toward the improvement of society and to ensure the regional stability of US in MENA.

\textsuperscript{109} Freedom of Press in Egypt, retrieved from \url{http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2013/egypt#.UxWvxvmSy4Q}, date accessed on Feb 28\textsuperscript{th} 2014.

4.1.2 Institutionalism of Foreign Assistance in Foreign Policy

4.1.2.1 US Foreign Assistance

Generally, there are two major classification of foreign assistance or foreign aid; first is humanitarian assistance that government, NGO, and individual gives immediately to recipient country to relieve their suffering from man-made emergencies (war or accidental disasters) and natural disasters, second is development assistance which will be elaborated further in this section.

The definition of foreign aid comes from Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)\textsuperscript{111}, that defines foreign aid as economic assistance or cash streams, service or technical assistance, and goods or commodities that are:

1. designed to promote economic development and welfare as their main objective (thus excluding aid for military or other non-development purposes);\textsuperscript{112}
2. are provided as either grants or subsidized loans.\textsuperscript{113}

The economic assistance of cash streams are categorized into two classifications which often being noticed as grants and subsidized loans. Furthermore, aid flows are classified into three broad categories:

1. Official Development Assistance (ODA) which consists of aid provided by donor governments to low and middle-income countries.\textsuperscript{114}
2. Official Assistance (OA) is the aid provided by governments to richer countries with per capita incomes higher than approximately $9000.\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid.
3. Private voluntary assistance which includes grants from non-
governmental organizations, religious groups, charities, foundations, and
private companies.\textsuperscript{116}

Based on the amended Section 634(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961,\textsuperscript{117} foreign assistance or aid has more specific definition which is literally translated as below:

(b) For purposes of this section—

1. "foreign assistance" means any tangible or intangible item provided by the United States Government to a foreign country or international organization under this or any other Act, including but not limited to any training, service, or technical advice, any item of real, personal, or mixed property, any agricultural commodity, United States dollars, and any currencies of any foreign country which are owned by the United States Government; and\textsuperscript{118}

2. "provided by the United States Government" includes, but is not limited to, foreign assistance provided by means of gift, loan, sale, credit, or guaranty.\textsuperscript{119}

To simplify the meaning of foreign assistance adopted by US government, the foreign assistance is transfer of US resources that may being used to recipient country for the advantages of its entities or organizations in terms of funds, goods, or services from US government without intention of obtain any reciprocal or something in return from the recipient entities. Foreign assistance is not only cover to give aid in form of cash or goods, it also mention the services which can be interpret with broad understanding and form such as the provision of technical assistance, training and education, capacity building, and other services.

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
US government manages all agencies that primarily responsible towards development related activities are under policy guidance of the Secretary of State and obeying the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. This law provision the whole aspect of US aid and assistance stream to foreign assistance which not only including the development assistance, but also special foreign assistance. US has begun the so-called international development assistance since the Marshal Plan project to give assistance in rebuilding the infrastructure, to rebuild the economy, and to stabilize the region of Europe post World War II. This assistance is conducted in 1947-1949 and initiated by Secretary of State, George C. Marshal in 1945.

Although, there is no explicit explanation that development assistance has to be returned on any kind of form the recipient can gives, giving development assistance in any form such as fund, goods, or services is considered as the use soft power to control or to influence recipient from the donor.

4.1.2.2 Foreign Assistance Objectives

Foreign assistance is considered as important tool to combat poverty and to improve development in recipient country. Based on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the main objectives of development assistance of US is to put effort on achieving equality of developing countries to obtain self-sustaining growth and to channel chances for improvement the quality of life for their people depend primarily upon successfully marshalling their own economic and human resources (Legislation on Foreign Relations Through 2002, 2002). Usually it designed to meet one or more to classified four major objectives why aid is given (OECD Official Website, n.d.):

1. To stimulate economic growth through building infrastructure, supporting productive sectors as agriculture or giving new ideas or transfer technology.
2. To strengthen education, health, environmental, or political system.

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120Ibid. Chapter I Part I Sec 101
3. To support subsistence consumption of food and other commodities, especially during relief operations or humanitarian crises.
4. To help stabilize an economy following economic shock.

For some recipient countries, foreign assistance become important for the economic sustainability to overcomes the economic gaps. The rational reason why aid is given is fighting against poverty and improving human and social development, but for political reason the donors generally want to expand their influences as many countries as possible. Referring back to the terms of power which involves the economy ability as one instrument of power and it closely related to the accomplishing national interest.

According to Foreign Aid: An Introduction to US Programs and Policy, US foreign assistance is essentially created based on three major rational reasons: national security, commercial interest, and humanitarian interest. As matter o fact, it result into categorizes of three major objectives of US in providing foreign assistance. First is Peace and Security which is formed by the national security interest and has been the promoted by Bush and Obama administrations as important to ols to the war on global terrorism, composed by six major sectors: counter-terrorism; combating Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD); the stabilization operation and security reform; counter-narcotics; transnational crime; and conflict mitigation and reconciliation. Although generally speaking aid objectives is includes to first four points above, the meeting of these and other aid objectives conclude that US aims to achieve its national interest which includes the commercial interest and humanitarian concern. Second is Investing in People which is objectives that composed by three major areas which are health, education and social service, and also protection for

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125 Ibid.
vulnerable people. This objective is indicated towards the humanitarian concern. Third one is governing justly and democratically which is covering the national interest that explained in previous chapter. This objective covers the principle of United Nation to be the shining sample of democracy by promoting DRG program that is given to its agency and agenda.

The legalization of foreign assistance in foreign policy by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 into law by President Kennedy has brought foreign assistance to considerable foreign policy strategy and also separation of military and non-military aid. This is seen by the tremendously growing of international development assistance since the USAID created as the following milestone of the law legalization. US government itself has established a substantial body of democracy assistance and now devotes approximately $2.5 billion a year in the past 25 years with three main funders of democracy aid: the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) that is also known as the biggest funder for democracy assistance, the Department of State, and the private and nonprofit National Endowment for Democracy (NED). There are also other government sector that provides democracy assistance beyond United States, which are Department of Defense, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), and the Department of Justice.

4.2 United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as US Foreign Policy Tools in Creating Regional Stability

4.2.1 Background of US and Egypt Relationship

US has maintained its relationship with Egypt since the late 1970s. Geographically, Egypt is holding a geo-strategic location to bridge the African

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126 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
129 Ibid.
and Asian contingents with the Suez Canal providing access from the Red Sea to Mediterranean. Historically and culturally, Egypt is considered as advanced civilization among Arab countries which also give benefits for Egypt to have strong influences to whole region of Arabs countries. Egypt is considered as peaceful state as her stance being the founder of Non-Alignment Movement during Cold War along with Indonesia, India, Ghana, and Yugoslavia.

Since 1979 US relationship with Egypt is characterized by the extensive cooperation on the political, economic and military fronts, under Hosni Mubarak was based primarily on the country’s regional standing This reflected the premise that Egypt, as the largest and arguably most influential Arab state, served as a moderating presence in the broader Middle East. It preserves the peace treaty with Israel, with which it maintains a generally ‘cold’ peace, and overall sought to promote regional stability, for instance by facilitating periodic Arab-Israeli negotiations. Egypt generally supported US policy in Middle East, however controversial it is, for example the blockade of Gaza following 2007. In return, US government provided Egypt with around $2 billion in annual economic and military assistance since 1979, making it the second largest recipient of US assistance after Israel. President Sadat worked closely with the Shah of Iran, and later played a role in the containment of the Islamic revolution in Iran all in favor of American interest in the region (Pranger, 2001).

US and Egypt has fluctuated relationship, under Clinton administration it got stronger due to massive support from each countries. Egypt supported the regional level to engage to Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiation, while US domestically emphasized on economic reform that was welcomed by the Egypt government. Arab-Israeli peace process predominantly emphasized during this

131 Ibid.
134 Ibid.
administration, but the concept of democratic enlargement and in particular free market expansion were increasingly important of US policy to the Middle East, and were indeed related to the peace process. President Clinton underscored the importance of relationship of US and Egypt in 1993:

"Egypt has acted as one of our Nation’s partner over a long time. They were actively involved in Camp David peace process over a decade ago. And today, Egypt remains one of our most important global partners. We continue our partnership in working for peace and stability in the Middle East."\textsuperscript{135}

However, under G. W. Bush administration, the US–Egyptian relationship was quite treacherous due to the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the chaos that subsequently engulfed the country and the ensuing destabilization of the wider region, gravely aggrieved the Egyptian government.\textsuperscript{136} This is due to that US government insists on the involvement to reform the government of Arab countries and highlighting Egypt as one of the target.\textsuperscript{137} It ultimately led to the suspension of President Mubarak’s twenty-year old tradition of annually visiting Washington.\textsuperscript{138}

Under Obama’s administration, the US foreign policy towards Egypt & the political relations has shown great improvement compared to US-Egyptian relations during Bush Jr. Administration. There were several signs of this warmth, and US intentions to boast Egypt position as a moderate state of regional & international level.\textsuperscript{139} To the whole long of Egypt and US relationship that has been established peacefully since the peace treaty in late 1970s, foreign aid to Egypt has been a fundamental element in defining US – Egypt relations in past


\textsuperscript{137} Ibid.


few decades due to the huge amount of aid flowing among countries. In Egypt, USAID as the biggest responsible agency to manage this aid stream plays the role on how US government influences Egypt government policy.

4.2.2 USAID Presence In Egypt

United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is an single agency that is being responsible for the aid and assistance flow from US government for recipient countries in terms of economic, development and humanitarian. This agency is made to support the foreign policy goals of the United States which undertaken by State of Secretary and conducted based on agreement of US and recipient government’s consent. USAID itself created based on US obligation as the advanced country in the world to promote economic and social development which regulated under Foreign Assistance Act Under 1961 as a single agency that manage and organize the flow of foreign assistance.

US government and Government of Egypt has signed an agreement on development assistance on 16 August 1978, and concluded that The Government of the United States of America will assist economic, technical, and related assistance. The assistance agreement is the subject of applicable Laws and Regulation of US America and made available based on the arrangements and consented by the two of governments. Second is that the Government of Egypt made full contribution to permit its manpower, resources, facilities, and general economic conditions to support the purposes of designed assistances.

Since then, USAID has been contributing to Egypt development since late of 1970s and participating in improvement of Egyptian condition compared to three decades ago. Turning a low income country to have annual per capita

\[141\] Ibid.
income has reached $2,070 and Egypt is recognized as a lower-middle income country by the World Bank.\textsuperscript{142}

4.2.2.1 USAID Program in Egypt

After the first time initiated in Egypt, USAID focused on rehabilitating country’s infrastructure, especially things that is related to water supply such as ports and canals, water and sewage, power, telecommunications, and grain storage systems.\textsuperscript{143} This is as the fundamental facilitate to unlock the potential that Egypt has owned for long time for improving people’s life quality. As time goes by, the agency has expanded its assistance into many different sectors in partnership with the Egyptian people, including agriculture, health, education, and economic growth.\textsuperscript{144} USAID has conducting eight major programs regarding sustainable development assistance in the region of Egypt. These programs conducted along the direct project from USAID and corporation with local and international NGO.

\textbf{Figure 4.5} Democracy value to the programs of USAID-Egypt\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{145} The scheme is made based on writer’s analysis.
In order to promote democracy to the all level of society perspective, USAID insert the value of democracy in all sectors of assistance. The Agriculture and Food Security has close relationship with the sustainability of farmers and national food stock which assisted under program of Agricultural Policy Reform, Research Development, Production and Marketing, and Agricultural Workforce and Employability. This program was given the idea of democracy by giving the chance of women to be the farmers, meaning that USAID gives equality concept to the Egyptian people. The data retrieved from Official Website of USAID/Egypt, USAID has conduct major sectors of assistance in the Economic Growth and Trade which is the core of the whole development assistance is divided into five major project areas: Trade and Investment, Policy and Financial Reform, Small and Micro Enterprise Program, and Education Initiatives. In Education areas, USAID focus on Basic Education and Higher Education and Workforce Development.

USAID also concerns toward Environment and Global Climate Change and put effort in Egypt development assistance in Livelihood and Income from the Environment Program in the Sinai, Air Improvement, Environmental Policy, Lead Remediation, Sustainable Tourism and Economic Growth in Red Sea, and Environment Education. The political issues of Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment has been on focus on USAID since the issue of Human Right has emerged as crucial issues of 21st century and Egypt governmental is considered quite lack in this sector and USAID distributed the focus on women’s role in the major project areas such as Agriculture, Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance, Economic Growth and Trade, Education and Health.

In these major project areas it is believed that women have same opportunity as much as man does to contribute and participated in mentioned areas. In Water Sanitation, USAID has two major programs which are Potable

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147 Ibid.
148 Ibid.
149 Ibid.
Towards improvement of the health of Egyptian for more than 30 years, USAID has put concern into action into Family Planning and Reproductive Health, Maternal, Neonatal and Child Health, Nutrition, Emerging and Infectious Disease Detection and Response, and Health System Strengthening. The last but not least is Democracy, Human Right and Governance which is going to be elaborated further in following chapter.

Thus, US government through USAID hardly tries to add the democracy idea and perspective to the society in all programs and assistance that is conducted by USAID in order to attain the goals of spreading democracy that not only covering the political side, but also into the common social life of Egyptian.

4.2.2.2 USAID Aid Index

Here are the data that retrieved from official website of foreign assistance of USAID disbursement in Egypt from Fiscal Year 2009 – 2012.

![Figure 4.6 Fiscal Year 2009](http://foreignassistance.gov/)

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150 Ibid.
151 Ibid.
152 http://foreignassistance.gov/
In 2009-2011, the disbursement spending of USAID/Egypt is gradually decreased following the budget cutting from US government that more concern on
the domestic issue follows the downfall of US economy due to Subprime Mortgage Crisis that happens when Obama took office for the first time in 2008. The focus on US is more paid on economic recovery and indirectly affects the whole budget spending in the first three years of development assistance, includes the DRG program by USAID/Egypt.

In 2011-2012, the disbursement spending on DRG is significantly increased following the democratic transition and economic recovery that is occurred in Egypt and US. USAID put concern on the transition of Egypt and was act responsible to assist further in the transitions that is faced by the Egyptian people. By finely watching the transition in Egypt, US government can prepare its strategic plans to conduct its foreign policy in the new face government. As Carothers mention in Aiding Democracy Aboard, the primary assistance used to establish democratic governance is funding the electoral process, building state institution, and building the improvement NGO participation.156

4.2.3 USAID in Promoting Democracy in Egypt

The democracy promotion is the principal idealism of United States that is forthright listed in the official document and the development agenda (Carothers, 2009), it compulsory responsibility of leading example of America to spread it to non-democratic countries to be democratic countries. US National Security Strategy (NSS) emphasized further since September 11, 2001, democracies are the most effective partners for addressing transnational security issues, such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation, climate change and disease, aside mentioning promotion of democracy, human rights, and governance as US National interest in every issued.157 In the developing world, new democracies are much less likely than non-democracies to be sources of refugees, famine, human trafficking, and

cross-border criminal activity. The US put more concern in the Middle East and African region towards democracy assistance after cold war ended.

In promoting democracy in this region, US government hands the responsibility to several main agencies, such as DRG, the State Department’s Human Rights and Democracy Initiative (HRDF) and its Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI). This thesis is specifically focusing on the USAID participation in Egypt democratic transition, thus, before elaborate more the democracy assistance in Egypt, defining the democracy assistance itself is important to limit the context of democracy promotion effort conducted by USAID.

“technical assistance and other support to strengthen capacity of reform-minded governments, nongovernmental actors, and/or citizens in order to develop and support democratic states and institutions that are responsive and accountable to citizens. These efforts also include promoting democratic transitions in countries that are not reform minded. Democracy programs promote the rule of law and human rights, transparent and fair elections coupled with a competitive political process, a free and independent media, stronger civil society and greater citizen participation in government, and governance structures that are efficient, responsive, and accountable.”

Therefore, it is been crystal that the involvement of USAID is managed under the Democracy, Human Right and Governance that has three major project areas. First is Rule of Law and Protecting Human Rights that aims to help expanding the easy way for justice for all citizen so that all people will have equal status before the law and being avoided by the misuse of law. In this area, USAID works to provide non-profit legal office, conduct training for the mediators and judges so that they know how to work properly and fairly, and then closely works with Ministry of Justice. Second is Good Governance and combating corruption in which USAID works along with the Egyptian government in forming strategies and initiatives for decentralization of governance system. The decentralization is one of important aspect because by decentralizing the authority, it will lessen the

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158 Ibid.
159 Ibid.
potential of autocracy government that might triggering the dominance of particular officials. Third is in the sector of Civil Society and Civic Participations in which where USAID is working to encourage the improvement of Egyptian civil society by having program and funding the NGOs that put concern on enhancing the organization culture and management, political freedom, demanding accountability and transparency of government. By focusing the civil society, it also means to focus on media sector to give alternative informations and become the social and government controls.

According to the USAID Strategy on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance issued on June 2013, it is reported the efforts on DRG towards the world has close relation to national security and global prosperity. DRG programming can support broader US government efforts to counter terrorism and extremism by addressing corruption, exclusion and human rights abuses, which extremists use to build their narratives and fuel recruitment. USAID conducts programs and policies that support human dignity, greater social cohesion, cooperation and inclusion of marginalized groups can provide direct and positive alternatives, especially for youth. In 2011, a joint State Department-USAID Strategic Goal and the USAID Policy Framework (2011-2015) identified DRG as a core development objective, explicitly recognizing human rights as a component of “expanding and sustaining the ranks of stable, prosperous, and democratic states.” There is fundamental close relations among promotion and protection of human rights that linked to the society development as part of US foreign policy and a part of USAID’s development mandate. Indeed USAID has created formal bureau for the DRG, but the core of democracy itself is also inserted to the other programs under other sectors.

The non-democratic governmental system is often considered as the source misuse of power, especially when it is ruled by the same regime for

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163 Ibid.
certain long period of time. Study said that non-democratic such as autocracy is having twice risk to face an economic crisis as a democratic state, having extra chances to deal with conflict, which can be devastating to a country’s economic and social fabric and development potential.\textsuperscript{164} The same people restraining a society tend to be a corrupt government which resulting in the inability of an illegitimate government to manage conflict, mass economic problems, and sustainable development. The national resources are supposed to be taken care for the prosperity of its people often robbed from development to private advantage, with certainty of the hidden by its official.

Even though not all non-democratic countries contain many negative effects, but non-democracies tends to constrain basic human right of people to stimulate and smooth the age of particular regime. The violation against civil and political liberties are often happened not only in political side, some of them goes further to the very basic needs such as the educational and economic opportunity, marginalization groups such as women that often occurred in patriarchal society, and religious and ethnic minorities, the list goes on with the vulnerable and minor sub groups such as people with disabilities, and LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) and indigenous persons. Meanwhile, democracy has been measured consistently higher than non-democracy governmental system in socioeconomic area. The measurements was indicated by the infant and child mortality, life expectancy, primary school enrollment, adult literacy, female youth literacy, female secondary school enrollment access to clean water, cereal yields, crude death rates and population growth.\textsuperscript{165}

In DRG Strategy report, it is said that a study of 17 developing countries in Africa showed that a transition of democracy has been accompanied by a measurable improvement in the quality of governance which limit the society in poverty block is being supplanted by a virtuous, self-reinforcing, cycle of democracy, improved governance and economic growth (USAID, 2013).

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., 41-43.
Democracies shows higher scores in terms of socioeconomic as a research in 118 countries is found a close relationship among regime type such as democratic, autocratic, or incoherent with health indicators, such as life expectancy at birth and child mortality.\textsuperscript{166} Although, some will argue that the mortality is more likely related to the education and income equality, democratic systems demonstrates to have significantly improved health outcomes.\textsuperscript{167} In addition, by having access toward primary necessity, it is possible for democratic country to have higher life prosperity level which includes the higher income and life expectancy compared to non-democratic country. Furthermore, the transitioning countries have more opportunity to expand their economic sectors as since they just remodeled the strategy.

The terrorist attack of 9/11 has led the US to increase funding for democracy promotion in the MENA drastically and has been considered as key foreign policy of Bush administration. Democratizing the Arab world, in particular, is seen as an important instrument in the ‘war on terror’.\textsuperscript{168} US government created numbers of policies and programs to assist the democratization of Arab World which is claimed will stimulate the regional governmental reform to support that global agenda. Three major reasons argued by Katarina Dalacoura why US put extra effort to implement the democracy promotion policies across Arab and North Africa regions.\textsuperscript{169} First is due to the fact that democracy is part of a wider set of US interests and concerns which contains the whole agenda of the US to maintain its hegemony post cold war in 1990.\textsuperscript{170} Second is she argues that the Bush administration conceives democracy as a panacea because of it seemingly eluded the problems its implementation may cause and lacks clear ideas about achieving this implementation.\textsuperscript{171} Third is democracy promotion policies have limited outcomes because neither a politically

\textsuperscript{166} USAID. (2013). Usaid strategy on democracy, human rights, and governance, june 2013. [report] USAID.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid.
neutral nor a more interventionist approach can initiate a reform process if it is not already underway for domestic reasons.  

During Obama’s administration, the challenges of US government in Middle East were the series of program to bring an end to Iraq War, the unresolved conflict of Arab-Israeli, Iran nuclear proliferation program, the terrorism issues across Middle East countries, confronting Islamic extremism. The democracy promotion issue seems getting less attention by Obama’s presidential policy compared to the other issues on the plate, furthermore compared towards the economic crisis recovery of US in his early administration. During this period of time, Obama represents de-prioritization of democracy promotion in Middle East by stating the four core US interest in Middle East during United Nations speech in Sep 24, consist of confronting external aggression to the US and its allies, ensuring the free flow of oil, dismantling terrorist networks and preventing the development of Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD), and Middle East Peace Process (MEPP) and diplomacy with Iran. This analyze is also supported by the fact that USAID fund for Democracy and Governance was decreased in first couple of years of Obama’s administration and just increased after the Arab Spring happened in 2011.

In 2008, the US Government provided $415 million in economic assistance to Egypt, which includes $55 million to support programs to promote democracy. The democracy promotion through Democracy, Human Right, and Governance program is essential to sustain the USAID overall development agenda (USAID, 2013). In Egypt, where the country adopts different government system as US is being obstacle to implementing and executing the programs that conducted based on US agenda. Despite of that, democracy that wanted to be institutionalized is encouraged by the process driven by a society’s citizenry (United States Agency for International Development, 2006).

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172 Ibid.
Before the revolution in 2011, Egypt claimed as a democratic country and has several characteristics of democracy. At the same time, fact on the grounds did not indicate and reflect how democracy was supposed to be because its constitutional, legal, and institutional framework are designed to make sure that the hegemony of authority is in place and the power stability remains having no significant threats. Not until 2005, when the election was having multi parties, in prior it was only a single available party during the presidential election which left no choice but choosing the same party for over 25 years. The other side of political circumstance was not even better than the stepping stone of democracy, the incumbent leader for almost three decades has stimulated government that is lack of transparency and accountability. In other words, the terms that Egypt uses as democracy is more considered as autocracy governmental system by the international perspective.

Despite of the all up and down of US effort to promote democracy in Egypt, it contains explicit meaning to secure the national security of US and eventually promoting democracy become on of the core of US foreign policy. Furthermore, the reason why it is Egypt is not only due to classical reason to secure its national interest for long lasting economic and political prospective for regional stabilization and long-running military cooperation, but also that Egypt has been able to bridge the relationship of US to the Middle East countries that seems reluctant to US and the Egypt effort to bring peace among Arabian countries and Israel by extending the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. This argument is supported by Steve Smith that states the relationship of democracy promotion and US national interest:

“The problem is that neoliberalism is so dominant in the world economy that the political is being increasingly reduced to the economic. The most obvious example of this is the way that the market is presented as an autonomous force that governments cannot manage, a force that slowly but surely removes more and more of what was previously politics into the market. These forces also reconstruct the subject with the effect of reducing the realm of what appears both politics and politically possible. In this light, the form of democracy being promoted by the US fits exactly into this reduced political role for government and the state. As such, US democracy promotion seems designed to put in place the type of state
apparatus required by neo-liberal economics. In short, low intensity
democracy is the type of democracy that best suits US economic
interests.”

4.2.3.1 Democracy Promotion Program and Policies

In promoting the DRG in Egypt region, USAID has faced many challenges
that essentially being obstacle towards the programs itself. Since 2005, USAID
has legally have an authority to provide grants to NGOs or association that put
concern and implementing similar value or DRG promotion but not yet
recognized by the government of Egypt by the legalization of Consolidated
Appropriations Act in the amendment phrase “With respect to the provision of
assistance and the specific nature of that assistance shall not be subjected to the
prior approval by the Government of Egypt.” Therefore, since this legalization
of act, the Egyptian government through Law No. 84 year 2002 has asked USAID
to stop funding non-registered NGOs in Ministry of Social Solidarity and Justice
(MoSSJ) and also to stop funding US NGOs that is not having standing agreement
with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA). Law No. 84 2002 allows two
types of NGOs which are Community Development Association and Civic
Foundation. Community Development Association requires minimum ten
founders to get the authorization from MoSSJ meanwhile Civic Foundation
requires no minimum founders.

This law allows the establishment of Association, foundations, and non-
profit organization for definite or infinite period of time which must be registered
to Ministry of Social Solidarity and Justice for the organizations and Ministry
Industry and Trade for non-profit organization (Article 56). Until December
2007, this law has provides access for around 24.500 of associations, foundations,

175 Smith, 2000, 77
176 Ibid.
177 Office of Inspector General. (2012). Audit of usaid/egypt’s transition support grants program
SUPPORT GRANTS PROGRAM 2012
178 Document Attached.
non-profit companies and the unions. Retrieved from the International Center for Not-for-Profit-Law, this law has several step barriers for organization. First is barrier to entry due to the registration mandatory which filtering NGOs with certain requirement and prohibit those NGO that is not registered in MoSSJ, afterward the rejection of registering new organizations are vague , inviting the exercise of excessive government discretion.179 Second is the barrier to activities according to the requirement to relate to the General Assembly (GA) meeting that invites the interference of government in internal affairs of the association and imprisonment sanction is available for those who do legal violation.180

Law 84 of 2002181 explicitly gives authorization and control to the government of Egypt to interfere to the internal affairs of Organizations. As stated in:

- The administrative authority has the right to call a General Assembly meeting (Article 25),182
- The Minister of Social Affairs may appoint acting members of the board of Directors where there are insufficient members to hold a meeting (Article 40);183

The law citation that vaguely regulate the life of organization

- Subscribing to or joining any club, organization, society or authority outside Egypt without first information the administrative authority;184
- Threatening the national unity or public order or public attitude;185

The Egyptian government makes harsh and strict law for those who against the government, which includes of imprisonment by conducting as an unregistered association, conducting activities that threaten the national unity, and receiving foreign funds without prior governmental approval, are all examples of violations that could lead to the imposition of sanctions for unspecified actions. Which kind of action that is belong to violation or threaten against the

180 Ibid.
181 Document Attached.
182 Ibid.
183 Ibid.
184 Ibid.
185 Ibid.
government. Furthermore, the brutality of official are often interfering the organization activities and definitely reflects how hard the government tried to oppress the freedom of society (International Center for Non-Profit Law, n.d.).

Third is barrier to speech and advocacy due to the regulation of law that prohibits NGO engagement in all political activities includes the advocating for the political activist or party that is being assault by government, the advocating the program of the political parties, prohibition to contributes to the electoral campaigns. Fourth and fifth is the barrier to international contact and resources due to the requirement of prior ministry approval to join or having affiliation with foreign organization and approval to receive foreign funds from Egyptian individual or abroad.186

Before Uprising 2011

Egypt has witnessed a succession of waves of repression and authoritarian regimes since 1952. The National Democratic Party (NDP) which is an Egyptian single party that join the president referendum since its establishment by President Anwar Sadat to Hosni Mubarak that is forced to step down in 2011. Furthermore, Egyptian political situation under Hosni Mubarak was adopting semi-presidential system under Emergency Law (Law No. 162 of 1958) that has remained in place in 1981 after the assassination of Anwar Sadat.

This law provides unlimited powers to the authority to suspend the constitutional right in the name of security and stability and to be used continually to suppress political dissent, to facilitate the arbitrary detention of those who against government. This law also gives privilege authority to conduct unfair trials of civilians before state security or military courts.187 In other words this power authorize the state to oppress and restrict individuals and ban newspapers more easi, provide access to authorities to try civilians in front of military and security courts under certain circumstances without further and proper investigation. This

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186 Ibid.
regime also banned Muslim Brotherhood, declared Muslim Brotherhood as illegal political party and arrested the members of party. The NDP for almost 30 years are allegedly conduct orchestrated referendum to maintain its leader on the top of command and keeping the Emergency of Law in the stage of governance as long as they can.

During this time, the DRG program of USAID in Egypt was facing challenging situation toward the betterment the value of democracy itself, even when USAID has invested more than $800 million in local government and decentralization projects in Egypt. The use of assistance did not seem bearing any result in the way nature of democracy does under same centralized leader for more than two decades regime. Although Article 55 of Egypt’s 1971 constitution guarantees freedom of association, this right is only principally lip service with nonsense practice. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) face burdensome registration requirements and other regulations, as well as harsh penalties for violations. It is been known that Mubarak regime does political censorship to any opponent that is not in favor of incumbent governance policy. USAID is not allowed to overstepped the government policy for supporting the transitional of adopted democracy of Egypt to common democracy that perceived by the international affairs, meanwhile the NGOs that exist in Egypt is controlled by the government to be always in favor of tyranny regime.

However, USAID has tried to integrate the democracy aid into its traditional development assistance in Egypt in early 1990s and focused on the four areas: election and political participation, civil society, rule of law, civil society, and few times later it expands to the assistance for governance and media programs. As the democracy aid became the new element on development aid, the

190 Ibid.
first democracy aid is spent mostly for the rule of law and civil society.\textsuperscript{191} Furthermore, the USAID also has annual spending to conduct DRG program that is agreed by the USAID and Egypt government and spend under the program of particular ministry of Egypt government system.\textsuperscript{192} USAID assistance in government sector and NGO is indeed limited by the law of Egyptian at that time, but the effort of USAID to promote democracy that comes from outside Egypt and the brutality of regimes has lead people to have their revolution against tyranny government in 2011.

\textbf{After Uprising 2011}

Tunisia started the series of Arab Uprising in the Middle East and African region by pushing down the decade long regime of Ben Ali and it seems one of factor that inspires Egypt follows what her neighbor did not longer than a month later. Even so, the Egyptian uprising towards democratization government is astonishing and unpredictable by the journalist, policy makers, and scholars (Snider & Faris, 2011). After the uprising happened, the democracy euphoria clouds the Egyptian society towards new governmental system and the vacuum of power during transition needs more attention in order create a real democracy. US government put extra efforts upon the transitional time by providing $65 million for programs to support democratic transition\textsuperscript{193} and increasing the fund of USAID by almost 30 per cent in 2012 to 2011. The support of democratic transition are focused on immediate priorities such as preparing free and fair elections, empowering citizens to play a role in their country’s future, protecting and expanding universal rights, expanding independent civil society, and building democratic institutions that are transparent and accountable.\textsuperscript{194}

\textsuperscript{192} The agreement is attached in the background.
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid.
Supporting and escorting democratic transition of governmental provides opportunity for any party to take advantages in the upcoming election as the future leader. It has US through USAID has full attention toward the newly transitioned country as since it has been in the national interest and the focus of foreign policy, USAID gives assistance in the new step of democracy of Egypt aiming to assist Egyptians build democratic institutions and fair processes that offer greater opportunity, accountability, and participation in political life. The United States does not fund candidates or political parties. The assistance is implemented by Egyptian organization and international NGO that working partnership with Egyptians in accordance of democracy that put forward the value of non-violence or peaceful solution, adhering equal rights for women and minorities, tolerant and pluralistic society.

Hence, post uprising it is been reported that USAID has increased the fund more than 30 per cent and the use of budget assistance is summarized below.

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**Figure 4.10** USAID’s DRG spending in Egypt 2011

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195 Ibid.
In 2011 of the year of uprising, USAID spent $15.8M dollar to cover 945 journalists training, 194 assistances to civil society organization, and 16 financial assistances to media outlet to help their sustainability under Civil Society assistance program.\textsuperscript{196} USAID emphasize of half budget on this sector because democratic political culture requires a vibrant civil society sector and an independent media. These groups ensure that citizens are well informed about the actions and performance of government institutions and have the means to freely influence public policies. Contrary to the previous regime that silence the media and civil society to be in the side of government, the new face Egyptian need to consider the awareness of freedom of its people in order to conduct new government system.

In the same period of time, USAID is also spent $2.7M to conduct training for 787 in fiscal and management skills to strengthen local government which seems important for the sustainability of democracy. Fiscal and management skills provide planning, management, and accounting to promote better governance and are essential for decentralization. Decentralization is an important way for the government to allow decision-making to be closer to its citizens. Last one, $12M has been spent to provide 93.638 people to get legal service center as well as being used to measure the country’s effectiveness in providing access to justice for disadvantage communities. It also covers to assist 104 legal institutions and associations that are trying to improve the legal system and rule of law.

Soon after the transition happen, in March 2011 USAID/Egypt grant $65M assistance to conduct a mission program Transition Support Program that has focus on helping democracy by increasing public participation in elections and political process, expanding access to justice and attention to human rights problems, and promoting transparency and accountability.\textsuperscript{197} As of November 30,\textsuperscript{196} \textsuperscript{197}


2011, USAID/Egypt had disbursed $9 million to grantees.\textsuperscript{198} For the Transition Support Grants Program, the mission used cooperative agreements, grants, and fixed obligation grants (FOGs), based on the type of work being performed by the respective grantees and the level of USAID/Egypt involvement.

Following effort of USAID is seen by the disbursement of budget spent in Egypt in 2012 that is increased more than 30 per cent compared to the previous year that has been constantly decreasing during 2009-2011. As matter of fact, the democratic transition in Egypt attracts US government to put further concern on democracy promotion as since it will be the material overview of the strategic plan of US government in the following years after the governance activity started.

\textbf{CHAPTER V}

\textbf{CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION}

\textbf{5.1 Conclusion}

Democracy promotion that is implemented by the USAID has become the national interest of US government and become one of the cores of US foreign policy since its being established by 28\textsuperscript{th} President Woodrow Wilson and this is making USAID strategic goal is to bring more democracy to wider society who has not adopted democracy system. Wilson idea which eventually broadly known as liberal internationalism or Wilsonianism as the paradigm that concern on promoting democracy to bring peace to the world and US as the winner of war has responsibility toward other countries to promote peace. This responsibility has

\textsuperscript{198} Ibid.
deeper root on American history that has been existed as legal country for more 40 presidential administrations, meaning that US has more ideas and more advanced compared to other states in terms of political experiences.

Aside of promoting democracy is the set of idea to bring peace to the world, the democratic promotion emerged as an organized and coherent US strategy to maintain stability in the countries concerned both for the state itself and wider society. This is happened due to the nature of democracy that is considered as the safest way to ensure the US national security and stability. The stability itself impacts the various political, economic, military and other interest identified by US government. For instance, stability is a necessary requirement for the success of free market economies which is the US primary concern. As part of this strategy, US have sought to gradually replace proxy authoritarian government with elite-based democracies in the capacity that US able to do under certain circumstance.

One of way promoting democracy is through development assistance in Egypt that has special program on democracy issues like USAID and also penetrating the idea of democracy in all programs they have conduct in the regions. USAID has special sector that specialized in promoting democracy which is conducted under Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance program, furthermore the value and idea of democracy such as freedom of expression, entrepreneurship, and gender equality are inserted to other sectors as well making the democracy promotion is indulged to the very basic activities. Egypt is the greatest allies of US in Middle East that able to settle the conflict among Arabian countries and definitely makes Egypt as one of strongest and important allies of US in MENA. Egypt is able to handle their neighborhood and Israeli conflict meaning that Egypt hold strategic position to bridge the relationship of US with Arab and Middle East countries has resulted Egypt to receive numerous amount of assistance from US.

Promoting democracy in Egypt is one of strategic goal of USAID and during Mubarak administration, USAID was facing challenging situation. Egypt
has assigned bilateral agreement with USAID for decades, but the effort of
democracy promotion in Egypt did not seem get full attentions from Egyptian
government before the uprising due to the interest of government remaining in
power for infinite time and democracy is recognized to threaten the current
government interest. The DRG project that is assigned to Egyptian government
was not bearing any result, such as decentralization project that is very lack of
transparency and accountability. The democracy encouragement to civil society
and NGO is facing hard time too due to the limitation of activities that ruled under
Egypt constitution to give sanction and imprisonment to those who tries against
the government.

USAID is not forcing the people to *coup de etat* against its government for
the sake of democracy, neither interfere the administration of government to
change the system. Mubarak regime was strongly oppressing the freedom of
people especially in political issue and was supported by military; the only way to
change the regime is through revolution that is also happening in a row in Middle
East. USAID may not the only reason of Egyptian uprising for craving the
democracy state system, but USAID is considered success to introduce the
democracy concept to the Egyptian people and this success of USAID to
implement US national interest in democracy is reflected by the Egyptian uprising
to lead the march towards democracy and USAID effort to escort the beginning of
Egyptian democracy by conducting first democratic presidential election in 2012.
As matter of fact, the concept of spreading democracy initiated by US government
in Egypt along with its up and down definitely reflect the success of US intention
to turn non-democratic to democratic country.
5.2 Recommendation

The democracy that initiated by Wilson is mainly to serve the peaceful living among people and to bring the end of war. Although Clinton stated that by building democracy everywhere is the best strategy to ensure the security, but the relationship within US and particular country defines more on how US might be able to take have mutual relationship with that country. In Egypt, during Mubarak even though Egypt is considered as authoritarian government, US still able to maintain its relationship by being strong allies in Middle East region and now since the Mubarak already step down, Egypt now is dealing with the transition. US might escort the transition by not only giving increasing amount of fund and assistance and working government-to-government, but also to seek the spaces between such as more approaches for the government-to-people or people-to-people assistance such as expansion of exchanges and wider network of scholarship for the long invest of democracy.

In Egypt itself, the democracies that oftentimes being referred with direct economic prosperity apparently need more effort to attract the people to stay in democracy line. The people need more knowledge that democracy is not the direct prosperity, but it gives more chances compared the previous regime. Furthermore,
the newly elected president is expected to know for not having repetition history with his predecessor by issuing privilege absolute constitution to ensure his administration that will not be toppled down by Egyptian people or otherwise the democracy is being betrayed by democratic elected leader.

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