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Post Arab Spring Examination of American Foreign Aid: Libya and Egypt

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Post Arab Spring Examination of American Foreign Aid: Libya and Egypt

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the

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By

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION
BY Andrew Robert Dickerson ENTITLED Post Arab Spring Examination of American Foreign
Aid: Libya and Egypt BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

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Every year, the United States uses foreign aid as a foreign policy tool. The Arab Spring
gave the United States an opportunity to achieve a historically difficult task in the Middle
East: promoting and establishing democracy across the Middle East. This study examines
United States foreign aid, primarily military and economic aid, and the success it has on
the ruling governing bodies in Libya and Egypt. Does American foreign aid lead to
stability of the recipient government? The majority of published works regarding foreign
aid effectiveness utilize a large-n case study over several decades without thoroughly
examining each case. The following study focuses on research from 2011-2016 with
only two cases allowing for more in depth research.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

I.   Research Question and Significance

Are the resources that the United States government sends to governments in the Middle East helping or hurting the survival of the regime they are supporting? The United States has long used foreign aid as a tool in foreign policy, including economic, military, and political aid. In 2011, the Arab Spring removed autocratic governments that held power for decades. The transition from autocratic to democratic rule brought forth instability on varying levels. The results of this study with examine whether foreign aid from the United States, whether it is economic, military, and political or a combination of all three, leads to stability in Libya and Egypt.

The link between foreign aid and regime stability is significant because the War on Terror is still in effect and the United States is looking at ways to continue to combat this problem. After the Arab Spring, strongholds for terrorism appeared in the North Africa and the Middle East region (MENA). Military aid is spent towards combating Islamist terror groups, such as the Islamic State and other jihadist groups inside Egypt and Libya. As long as there are safe havens for terrorist groups, radical groups will continue to grow and act as a destabilizing force in regions not only in the Middle East and North Africa, but around the world.

In this chapter, I introduce a literature review that will divide various opinions regarding foreign aid and whether or not it leads to stability. The first portion will be optimistic, summarizing published work believing foreign aid is effective and leads to stability. The next portion is published works stating foreign aid does not lead to stability. Next, I include various hypotheses connecting the schools of thought and my methodology and using Middle Eastern cases for testing.

II.   Literature Review

There are several arguments within the literature ranging from statements that foreign aid helps stabilize governments, to where they do not help and only prop up repressive ones. Other arguments are that aid only works in democratic countries and not autocratic ones. There are many arguments within foreign aid and stabilization.

There is a classification for the different kinds of aid. There is research for civilian aid to help boost economies and ways of life and there is a division for military aid saying if it is a good idea or bad idea to give this type of assistance to current regimes. I will review and categorize the literature based on two approaches: authors who are optimistic and pessimists who believe aid is ineffective.

There are different ideas that stem off the optimistic and pessimistic views of foreign aid. The first is the statement that foreign aid does work regardless of who is receiving it. Next, is the argument that foreign aid works; however, there are states that need it more than others and it requires more of an effort than just "throwing money" at the problem. There are pessimists in the field that believe aid does not work at all, either because states that receive American aid now become a target for terrorism, or

governments use the money and military resources to strengthen their security personnel and not actively fight terrorism in their state.

IIa. Division within Optimists

The first debate is about whether foreign aid helps provide stability. These studies focus primarily on economic aid rather than military aid. Bader and Faust (2014) argue that foreign aid stabilizes authoritarian and democratic regimes alike. Their research looks at the effectiveness of aid based on different domestic incentives. Ahmed (2012) states autocratic countries that receive foreign aid are less likely to have a collapse or major political dissent. Yom and Gause (2012) explain that many of the monarchies receive a lot of indirect and direct foreign aid, but the rulers use this money to counter political opposition that might stand in their way. This is beneficial for the United States due to the recipient effectively using aid to qualm political unrest among the local populace.

There are scholars that believe foreign aid is effective; however, there are states that need it more than others. Baccini and Urpelainen (2012) state that developing, young democratic countries need more aid than autocracies because they will spend the money on their population, unlike an autocrat who would likely abuse the opportunity and put funds towards other sectors such as their own bank accounts or the military. Baccini and Urpelainen (2012) used a quantitative model that specifically deals with economics and does not look at internal security. Dadush and Dunne (2011) state that foreign aid does work to stabilize regimes, but it has to be a long process, meaning time matters. The concept of foreign aid goes beyond the idea of just giving money to a certain country.

Trade agreements have to be established to provide a steady economic growth. The country giving aid has to have a more "hands on" approach towards the recipients. The more time the donor country invests in the recipient, the better the investment will become. Malik and Awadallah's *The Economics of the Arab Spring* (2013), foreign aid is important for transitional governments because the Arab Spring was fueled by poverty, unemployment and lack of economic opportunity. Awadallah argues economic instability was the main cause of the uprising and without economic assistance, countries would fall back into revolution.

Other research examined nations receiving aid rather than looking at nations who give aid, specifically the United States. Selim (2013) argues that, although the United States gave foreign aid to Egypt, the mass uprisings were too great for the recipient government to suppress, forcing the United States to switch their support towards the protestors. Even though they want to support the monarchy or regime in power, the task of supporting the current regime was too much to overcome. No military aid or economic aid could have prevented President Mubarak from being overthrown.

IIb. Pessimists

Some contend that foreign aid does not work at all. Zune and Brownlee both testify to this. Zune (2011) uses Yemen as a single case study focusing on the Obama administration and the ongoing situation in Yemen. Zune (2011) is against foreign aid due to the inability of the Yemeni government to disperse wealth to areas that need economic or military assistance. Brownlee (2011) is skeptical about democratization and stability in the Middle East in general because structurally, the Middle East is not suitable

for democracy. Deep sectarian violence and religious divides are simply too much to overcome to have a successful democracy.

Azam and Thelen (2010) use a two-part methodology in their cross-national empirical analysis in exploring their solutions to their puzzle. They make the correlation that there is a relationship between the amount of foreign aid and the number of attacks stating they would increase, especially if there is a United States military presence (Azam & Thelen, 2010). This piece uses two different data sources for the dependent variable. The first source is the ARQADE data set, made from information once available to the International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) website. The other is from the International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE) data set (Azam & Thelen, 2010). Results from the data display a positive correlation between terrorist attacks and increase number of troops stationed in Middle East from 1990-2001.

Young & Findley (2011) use the same databases as Azam and Thelen with ITERATE and AidData. Young and Findley argue that foreign aid does essentially fight terrorism and reduce instability when it is applied to specific parts of the economy. For the next set of hypothesis where terrorist attacks are the main cause of interest, Bouton (2014) uses the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), which tracks location, year, and primary attack of over 80,000 terrorist attacks from 1970-2012. Within the data they look at number of attacks directed at US interests in a host country in a given year, attacks directed at non-US targets and total attacks in a host country. The GTD classifies terrorist attacks according to the country where they take place, not the nationality of the terrorist (Boutton, 2014). They found that states that receive foreign aid to fight terrorism will not fight terrorism because once they do, that money will go away. States that pretend to

fight terrorism will continue to receive money and military equipment from the United States. If the recipient is effective in eliminating terrorism, the United States will not continue to contribute financially to that state. States with a terrorism problem have a desire to fight the problem, however the incentive to not fight is greater. Boutten and Carter (2014:15) use the US Agency for International Development as a source for data. This source is the agency in the United States government responsible for distributing economic and military aid.

Kono and Montinola (2013) article ties in with Boutton (2014) because Kono argues that powers such as the United States should not give aid to autocratic rulers because they will misuse the aid and let it go towards their military. Countries will pretend to be involved in the fight against terrorism so there will be a consistent cash flow from the United States. As long as there is a security problem, recipients will continue to combat terrorism in order to maintain cash flow.

Neumayer and Plumper (2011) identify origins of anti-American terrorism from 1978-2005. This is important because they want to understand why there is hostility towards Americans in the region. The article defines terrorist attacks as means used by (radical) political groups to pursue goals and strategies. The authors use a rational approach for defining terrorism assuming terrorists want to gain influence or achieve goals (Neumayer & Plumper, 2011). Neumayer and Plumper (2011) distinguish between different kinds of terrorist actors. For example, there is the terrorist group, the government of the terrorists' home country with which the group is in conflict with, and the foreign government with interferes in the domestic conflict on the side of the home

government. The distinction allows them to link terrorist attacks on foreign citizens to a political conflict between the terror group and its government.

Young and Findley (2011) are pro-foreign aid indicating it does work if it is used towards certain parts of the economy. After 9/11, foreign aid started to become an important tool in fighting the "War on Terror". At the same time, other countries started to rely on foreign aid to prevent terrorism in their country. Young and Findley use data from 147 countries from 1973-2004. Looking at this data, terrorism has changed significantly during this time period. Groups like Al Qaida and the Taliban did not exist during the 1970s and 1980s. The authors do a good job of addressing claims saying that aid should not work. They first argue that aid might not have an effect on factors that reduce terrorism such as poverty (Young & Findley, 2011). Scholars in the field make the connection that terrorists are uneducated and live in poverty. Young and Findley show that terrorist leaders are more likely to recruit higher educated, skilled individuals to run their cells around the world. This means that low levels of poverty or education in a country might not affect terrorist activities and more economic growth might not reduce terrorist activities (Young & Findley, 2011). Aid used towards education and conflict prevention/resolution had negative effects on terrorism. Aid applied towards governing, health and civil society reduced terrorism.

The next several sections will lay out my research design and will show what makes my study different from the already published research in the field.

III.   My Study

A lot of the scholarship I researched was published during the Arab Spring. During the time of publications, the uprisings were either still underway or just beginning. Now that it has been six years since the start of the Arab Spring, I can analyze how the transitions have been going and how the current regimes are still handling transitions now. Using the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) accompanied by examining the amount of aid through U.S Agency for International Development (USAID), I can examine the relationship between amounts of aid, attacks, and the failed state index. Neumayer & Plumper (2011) and Kono & Montinola (2013) use close large-n case studies with statistics; however their studies stop short of the Arab Spring.

My question will fill in the gaps after their studies via condensed regional data and case research. I am going to research a specific part of the world in a short time period. George and Bennett (2005:17) define a case as "an instance of a class of events". The term "class of events" refers to a phenomenon of scientific interest, such as revolutions, types of governmental regimes, kinds of economic systems, or personality types that the investigator chooses to study with the aim of developing theory regarding the causes of similarities or differences among instances of that class of events (pg 17-18). The study will be motivated towards effects of foreign aid towards transitional democracies. George & Bennett (2005:18) argue for the advantage of comparing small-n cases in a short time period allows for internal examination of single cases. Research for each case will be in depth and will foster a clearer understanding of causal mechanisms. As for my independent variable, I combine both military and civilian aid. A lot of the literature either focuses solely on civilian aid with regime stability like improving the

general way of life or military aid with fighting terrorism or improving internal security. Foreign aid has several different functions. The first function of aid is the ability to strengthen relationships between the donor county and the recipient. Aid is good for building a trustful relationship between two countries. Foreign aid is also an effective soft power tool that can be used unilaterally, or multilaterally. Foreign aid can be used to assist recipient countries in diminishing economic, social, and security issues.

My thesis will analyze the effect of American foreign aid has on the current governments of Egypt and Libya. My research will analyze why Egypt is stabilized and Libya is not. Both of these cases received high rankings for instability through Foreign Policy's failed state index and are facing security threats from terror groups in each of their countries and the region in general.

IIIb. Hypotheses

Because of the rise of Islamist groups in North Africa and the Middle East, along with the various divisions of the field, I have developed several hypotheses. The first hypothesis is the idea that high amounts of aid, whether it is economic or military is not effective when the recipient is incapable of governing itself effectively, meaning a null hypothesis. Egypt and Libya receive vastly different amounts of military aid. Egypt receives approximately a billion dollars a year in military aid, along with military equipment from the United States. Military aid to Libya can be described as sporadic. In the 2011 and 2013 fiscal year, Libya received $30 million from the United States, however, other than those two years foreign aid has plateaued around $5 million. High

amounts of aid to an unstable state will lead to additional instability, creating an inverse relationship between aid and stability.

The second hypothesis involves military aid. When there is more military aid than economic aid, results can be unpredictable towards the recipient regardless of whether they are stable or failing. An increase of military aid to an undemocratic state will not lead to democracy. I will use Egypt as examples for this hypothesis. In 2010, before President Mubarak was overthrown, Egypt received a little over 1.5 billion dollars in aid, with 1.3 billion of that going towards peace and security. Out of 1.3 billion dollars, all of 2.8 million went towards stabilization operations and security sector reform (ForeignAssistance.gov).

My last hypothesis is any amount of aid, economic or military is effective when the recipient is fairly stable because there are no major issues to warrant mass protests which would test the capabilities of the ruling regime. For example, an increase of aid to an already stable state will lead to more stability. On the other side of the spectrum, no amount of foreign aid will help stabilize an already stable government.

For the design, I will be using a small-n comparative case study consisting all of two countries, Libya and Egypt. I chose these countries because they are both went through a revolution that uprooted long term autocratic rulers, are potential safe havens for terrorist activity, and the survival of the current governments have regional implications. Prior to the Arab Spring, both cases oppressed political dissent. Both cases have a problem with armed Islamist militias. While my cases have similar characteristics, fundamentally, my cases are different. Libya is a rural country with a small population.

During Qaddafi's rule, every aspect of society was fun through his family, including the military. That is why the military disintegrated during the revolution and political process and it had to be rebuilt from the ground up. Egypt's military is their own separate entity separate from their government. Egypt and Libya's governments were and still are fundamentally different. Egypt's government foundation is much more solid compared to Libya's and that explains why Egypt had an easier transition period.

Libya is 85% urban compared to Egypt's 43%. Libya's is much higher because most of the population lives in cities that border the Mediterranean Sea (Gelvin, 2015:34). Egypt was able to survive the transition because of their institutions. While Egypt was under colonial rule, they adopted European modeled institutions (Gelvin, 2015:36). Qaddafi attempted to establish the same model as Egypt; however, he gave up after six days concluding "Libya was no Egypt" (Gelvin, 2015:70). Gelvin describes normal states as having a territory, functioning government and bureaucracy that rules over national territory, and a national identity. Weak states, like Libya lack the last two characteristics (Gelvin, 2015:73).

I will be using foreignassistance.gov for statistics on foreign aid. Within the website, I am going to use Peace and Security as the sole category. The data will show how much money is going to each country, each sector, and what it is supposed to be used for. I will be showing data starting from 2011 to the most current year available.

I will use different indicators to examine each dependent variable. For political stability, I will use Freedom House rankings. For economic stability, I will use GDP, unemployment percentages, and economic projects as indicators for economic stability.

For the security dependent variable, I examine terror groups in both case studies, the amount of terror attacks, and the amount of deaths to measure. I also examine how effective and influential various terror groups are. All dependent variables are measured from 2011-2016.

For the security dependent variable, I use the Global Terrorism Database. Several authors in my literature review have used the Global Terrorism Database, which tracks location, year, and primary attack of incidents from a specific amount of time. I will use data from 2011 to most 2016. Since the term "terrorism" is so broad, it is important to clearly define it for my study. The database gives three different kinds of criterion. The first definition is "the act must be aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal" (GlobalTerrorismDatabase, 2017). The second criterion is, "there must be evidence of an intention to coerce, intimidate, or convey other messages to a larger audience or audiences than the immediate victims" (GlobalTerrorismDatabase, 2017). The last one is "the action must be outside the context of legitimate warfare activities, i.e. the act must be outside the parameters permitted by international humanitarian law (particularly the admonition against deliberately targeting civilians or non-combatants" (GlobalTerrorismDatabase, 2017). There is some data where there is uncertainty if an incident meets the desired criteria. I chose to not include uncertain data because it could inflate the data or skew results. The database includes attempted attacks, which will be part of my data because they still meet the first three criteria mentioned.

I examine sources of different data that will explain the relationships between my independent and dependent variables (George & Bennett, 2005). Process tracing can also potentially uncover new relationships or variables that could answer questions I never

thought of asking (George & Bennett 2005). George and Bennett (2005, 17) mention a "bigger is better" culture where there is a preference of "large n statistical studies" over "small-n studies" when there is enough data available for study. In statistical studies, there is always the risk of "conceptual stretching", by pairing dissimilar cases to obtain a larger sample (George & Bennett, 2005). This will not be an issue because my puzzle is not going to include a large number of cases.

This thesis will proceed as follows: Chapter one discusses and analyzes the security situation in Libya and Egypt from 2011-2016. I will discuss USAID's strategy for both cases, a brief background of American military aid, and finally why Libya and Egypt have been unsuccessful in eliminating their terrorism problem. Chapter two is the economic chapter. Chapter two examines American foreign aid towards economic development in Egypt and Libya. The second chapter will show Libya has the tools to have a stable economy, but a lack of direction and lack of budget prevent progress. The Egyptian economy is not progressing and is relying on short-medium term loans from Gulf States to keep their economy afloat. The second chapter will show United States' economic foreign aid has been unsuccessful in both cases. The third chapter will look at political stability in Egypt and Libya. That chapter discusses why Libya is a weak state and Egypt is not and will describe United States involvement in the political process of both cases.

Chapter 2: U.S Military Aid to Egypt and Libya

I.   Introduction

The following chapter will discuss the United States' military foreign aid to Egypt and Libya. The purpose of the chapter is to show how serious the security situation is, particularly in the Sinai and Libya in general. This chapter will analyze several terrorist groups and their success in preventing both countries from being fully stable and the danger they pose for further progress. Different aspects of black market economies, like smuggling and arms trading fuel these Islamic terrorist groups allowing them to continue operations throughout the region. I argue that American military aid is not effective in preventing terrorist attacks in both of my case studies. First, I will look at USAID's strategy of countering extremism and insurgencies including factors, called "push factors" that can cause somebody to radicalize. Next, I will examine the military aid relationship between the United States and Egypt followed up with how Sisi's regime handled protests and the link that has towards the distrust between law enforcement and the locals. In regards to Libya, I will show how sophisticated the different terror groups are, how they have been successful in gaining influence and territory within Libya, and how difficult it will be to solve the security problem in Libya.

Ia. USAID's strategy of fighting insurgencies

In 2011, USAID developed a policy titled *The Development Response to Violent Extremism and Insurgency*. The purpose was to provide a policy framework USAID could use to improve the effectiveness of its development tools in responding to violent extremism and insurgency (USAID, 2011). The policy looked to help USAID focus closer on capacity building and sustainability which are critical to long-term security and development goals. USAID recognizes that each situation is different and the terms and development response will need to be guided by American foreign policy (USAID, 2011). USAID's policy guides their organization to consider key criteria at the earliest state of program development, recognizing the response is part of a broader effort. The standards include an assessment of the catalysts of violent extremism and insurgency, host country commitment, and potential development responses. Other criteria include determination of an appropriate and critical role for development assistance (USAID, 2011).

The 2011 National Strategy for Counterterrorism states, "We are engaged in a broad, sustained and integrated campaign that harnesses every tool of American power-military, civilian, and the power of our values-together with the concerted efforts of allies, partners, and multilateral institutions. Efforts must be complemented by broader capabilities such as diplomacy, development, strategic communications, and the power of the private sector" (USAID, 2011). USAID defines violent extremism as "advocating, engaging in, preparing, or otherwise supporting ideologically motivated or justified violence to further social, economic, and political objectives. An insurgency is defined as an organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political

control of a region. It is a political and territorial struggle where both sides use armed forces to create space for their political, economic, and influence activities to be effective. (USAID, 2011).

Ib. Factors that could lead to radicalization

Multiple factors can lead to multiple paths to fuel an individual to radicalize. USAID calls these "push factors". These factors can be anything from long-standing grievances, to recent developments. USAID has learned that socioeconomic frustrations are significant not because of actual material deprivation, but because of the perception that government has abandoned them, much like the current situation in the Sinai Peninsula (USAID, 2011). Some more examples include levels of social marginalization and fragmentation among first and second generation rural-to-urban migrants. Socioeconomic frustrations may trigger a search for identity, meaning, and purpose (USAID, 2011). Poorly governed areas may lead to violent extremists establishing sanctuaries or safe havens. A lack of services like security creates a window of opportunity for jihadist groups to take advantage and gain support from the local population. Cruel treatment by police or security forces can lead to a desire for revenge and gives birth to a greater desire to embrace violent extremism (USAID, 2011). USAID responds to violent extremism by taking preventive measures that target geographic areas or populations believed to be vulnerable to the jihadists' appeals. Programs in these areas are generally small scale and distinct, but are part of a larger, developing portfolio (USAID, 2011).

II.   American military aid to Egypt

Between 1948 and 2015, the United States gave Egypt $76 billion in bilateral foreign aid (calculated in historical dollars-not adjusted for inflation), including $1.3 billion a year in military aid from 1987 to present day (Sharp, 2015). Since the 1979 Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty, the United States has provided Egypt with large amounts of military assistance. American policymakers have viewed aid to Egypt as an investment to regional stability, but mainly on long-running military cooperation and on sustaining the treaty-principles that are supposed to be mutually reinforcing (Sharp, 2015). All U.S military aid to Egypt finances the obtaining of weapons systems and services from U.S defense contractors. Egypt is one of the main recipients of FMF, a program with an appropriations account administered by the Department of State but implemented by the Department of Defense (Sharp, 2015). FMF is a grant program that permits governments to receive equipment and associated training from the U.S government or to access equipment through U.S commercial channels. Most countries receiving FMF purchase goods and services through government-to-government contracts, also known as Foreign Military Sales (FMS). The Obama administration has announced that future FMF grants may only be used to purchase equipment specifically for "counterterrorism, border security, Sinai security, and maritime security" (and for maintenance of weapons systems already in Egypt's arsenal) (Sharp, 2015). In order for the Egyptian military to be prepared to fight an unconventional war, they will need "heavy investment into rapid reaction forces equipped with sophisticated infantry weapons, optics and communication gear back by intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance platforms. Egypt will also need numerous modern aviation assets to transport their assets (Sharp, 2015).

Egypt is an important regional actor in the Middle East due to their population size, army strength, and religious authority in the Muslim world, along with their foreign policy ties to the United States and a "cold peace" with Israel in regards to Egypt's engagement with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Burgrova, 2014). The 2011 revolt and transitional process brought security issues to Egypt that has the potential to affect the wider regional security situation brought on by the government mismanaging the security apparatus and failed to deliver security as a fundamental and essential public good (Burgrova, 2014).

IIa. How Egyptian security forces handled the uprising

The Weberian conception of the modern state is defined as a "functioning state that has to possess a monopoly on the legitimate use of force over a given territory and its inhabitants" (Burgrova, 2014). When the state fails to accomplish this, the social contract between the state and citizens is broken. To counter this, citizens started to pledge loyalty towards non-state actors who will appear to ensure their security (Burgrova, 2014). During the Mubarak era, the security apparatus was used to discipline dissenters and protect the ruling establishment. Rampant use of torture and lack of accountability was a catalyst for the uprising that began in 2011 and it was not by accident the protests began on January 28. On the fourth day of protests, security forces withdrew from the public space altogether (Burgrova, 2014). Even though the Egyptian military was deployed in the streets during the 18-days, a security vacuum emerged. Police officers stopped patrolling neighborhoods and returned to the police stations. Egypt's security forces' actions have been described as polarized. At one end of the spectrum, Egyptian police are described as either passive or unwilling to commit to their job. On the other side, they are

viewed as using brutal tactics and cracking down on the populace, creating distrust between Egyptians and the state security body (Burgrova, 2014). There is a correlation between the failing security apparatus in Egypt and the increased demand for black weapon markets. Since 2011, demand has increased significantly, in some cases prices double or tripled (Burgrova, 2014). Once Qaddafi was toppled, heavy weapons like ground to ground missiles and rocket propelled grenades were brought over the border into Egypt. Regular citizens are using weapons like shotguns and homemade rifles to defend themselves against criminals (Burgrova, 2014). Another internal security issue is the uncontrolled intake and circulation of weapons acquired by non-state actors like criminal groups and militias (Burgrova, 2014).

IIb. Terror groups in Egypt and their influence

Over the past few years, Salafist groups have succeeded in gaining influence in the Sinai. Sharia courts emerged as an alternative to traditional tribal courts. While the Bedouins were focused on carrying out attacks at Egyptian personnel, Jihadi militants turned their attention to plan attacks on Israel (Burgrova, 2014). Weapons like Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPG's), machine guns and suicide car bombs have become the standard order of battle for militants to carry out their attacks. The deposition of Muhammad Morsi had a direct effect on the increase of terrorist attacks within Egypt. Some of the more active groups like Jamaat Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis, found an effective twist in their logic to expand the list of their enemies and include new military-backed Egyptian leadership (Burgrova, 2014). The overthrow of Morsi and repression of Muslim Brotherhood was seen as hostility towards Islam itself. Jamaat Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis issued a statement on September 16, 2013 saying "*this is a stage [the period after*

Morsi's deposition] when the enemies of Islam gather, seculars and deviants, hypocrites and crusaders inside together with outside in terms of Jews and western crusaders in a total warfare against Islam in Egypt and its spearhead in it are the Egypt and its spearhead in it are the Egyptian criminal police and army" (Burgrova, 2014). The military-backed government declared a nation-wide war on terror, which was interpreted by Jihadists as a war against all forms of Islam that are not perceived as moderate. State media and anti-Muslim Brotherhood outlets have alleged that the Muslim Brotherhood have taken advantage of personal contacts to militants and have used them as a tool to regain political power (Burgrova, 2014).

Only two days after Morsi was removed, emergency rule was declared in the northern Sinai and strict security measures were enforced, such as curfews starting at 4pm or shoot-to-kill policies around security checkpoints and security compounds (Burgrova, 2014). Violence and tension did not de-escalate once General al-Sisi took power. The army launched a counter-terrorism campaign and twenty five unarmed conscripts were killed execution style when their bus was ambushed on the way back to their barracks (Burgrova, 2014). Al-Sisi's administration blamed the Muslim Brotherhood for being responsible for the attacks and terrorism in Egypt in general. The most active militant group (Jamaat Ansar al-Maqdis) claimed responsibility for the recent attacks but they stated they are not aligned with any political groups, undermining the government's argument. Even though militant groups in Egypt appear to be political neutral, their targets show a pattern, with the targets being police and military personnel or compounds (Burgrova, 2014).

IIc. Problems in the Sinai

After Israel gave the Sinai back to Egypt in 1982, Egypt never had full sovereign control over the territory and it became important for the tourism industry mostly in the southern coast (Burgrova, 2014). Egypt is only allowed to deploy limited number of security and military forces as well as certain types of weaponry in four different zones. Several areas in the Sinai are critically underdeveloped and lacking basic infrastructure and services due to lack of state investment. Besides the income from seaside tourist resorts, the Sinai is one of the most economically and politically marginalized regions in Egypt (Burgrova, 2014). The local population consists of Bedouins. State media and officials portrayed Bedouins as criminals, smugglers, and spies, along with categorizing them as second-class citizens. Laws were passed to ban Bedouins from owning land or joining armed forces and the nomad population did not benefit from revenue generated by the tourism industry (Burgrova, 2014).

Compared to protestors in Cairo and other parts of Egypt, protestors in Sinai were armed and the protests lasted longer. Police stations were prime targets for Bedouins. As a result, police withdrew from the streets in the northern parts of the Sinai. Since police started becoming targets for attacks, they have shown little to no ambition in retaking their positions and returning to the streets to enforce the law (Burgrova, 2014). Between the uprising of 2011 and June 2013, security forces were targeted randomly. Majority of attacks were aimed specifically at police and military targets. Even though the security situation was slowly getting worse, the Egyptian military and Morsi's administration did not attempt to intervene until there was an attack on Rafah, an Egyptian city that borders the Gaza Strip (Burgrova, 2014). The attack happened in August 2012, where a group of

masked gunmen killed sixteen Egyptian border guards. After Rafah, the Egyptian military launched operation "Eagle" and their target were the Bedouins. The operation resulted in the Bedouins being subjected to raids, interrogations, torture and arrests without due process (Burgrova, 2014). When Morsi ran to get elected, one of the issues in his platform was to include Bedouins into Egyptian society and that goal never succeeded as a result of operation Eagle.

The Sinai has the most terrorist attacks in Egypt. In 2013, there were 225 attacks and 67% of these attacks took place in the Sinai, specifically in the north. In 2014, the total number of attacks dropped to 80 or 38% of total attacks (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015). Despite the pledge of allegiance by Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis ('Supporters of the Holy House') to the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS) in November 2014, Al Qaeda Central (AQC) has continued to spread their influence in Egypt since the overthrow of President Morsi (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015). AQC wanted affiliates in the Sinai to "offer sanctuary to their brothers, the Mujahedeen". ISIS attempted to expand their influence in Egypt through the Sinai. In April 2014, Egyptian military officials mentioned that some senior ISIS operatives could be relocating to the Sinai Peninsula (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015). Another group, Ajnad Misr ('Soldiers of Egypt') is a Salafi-jihadist group based in Giza who target government personnel and assets. They have pledged allegiance to al Qaeda leadership, but group members have little to no knowledge on the global jihad ideology and its implications (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015). The group carried out fifteen attacks in Cairo in 2014 and has the potential to motivate or radicalize other young Egyptians to carry out attacks. Egyptian forces saw a change in militant tactics when jihadists started using vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices

to overwhelm defensive forces followed by taking control of terrain. After the initial suicide attacks, militants would use technicals, which are fighting vehicles with mounted heavy machine guns (Stratfor Analysis, 2015). The militants' use of anti-aircraft guns, anti-tank missiles and mortars forced the Egyptian military to respond with F-16 fighter jets instead of Apache helicopters for air support. The exact number of casualties for both the militants and Egyptian army varies depending on the source (Stratfor Analysis, 2015).

Since mid-2013, Egyptian tactics against terrorist elements included air strikes, dismantling safe houses, and finding weapons and explosives caches (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015). During the Mubarak administration, peace in the Sinai has been maintained by cooperation between the government and Bedouin tribes. The Bedouins provided security for industrial sites and pipelines, along with being a mediator for tribal crises (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015). Trust between the Egyptian government and the Bedouins started to fail once Bedouin leaders were being assassinated by terrorist groups over the years, along with Mubarak's regime losing control on the overall security situation along with diminishing intelligence capabilities in the peninsula (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015). President Sisi uses harsh measures to combat terrorism and criticism of his regime. Since Morsi was ousted, security forces have repeatedly used excessive force resulting in unlawful killings. The judicial system has handed down death sentences and police have made mass arrests (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015).

Table 1.1

Comparing Terrorist attack injuries/deaths in Egypt to U.S Military Aid to Egypt						
	2011	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
Dollar amount (Billions)	$1.3	$1.31	$1.24	$1.31	$1.31	$1.31
Deaths	27	20	160	93	782	291
Injuries	106	106	453	315	922	375

The following data in this graph is from two different sources. The dollar amount for aid is from foreignassistance.gov. The terror attack data on injuries and deaths are from the Global Terrorism. On October 31, 2015, a Russian passenger jet carrying 224 people was downed over the Sinai Peninsula by terrorist group Wilayat Sinai using an explosive hidden in a can of pineapple juice (Dearden, 2016). Earlier in 2015, 21 Egyptian Coptic Christians were kidnapped and eventually beheaded on a beach. Conflict has not resided in 2016 between the Egyptian military and different Islamic groups in the Sinai. The data from the above table shows Egypt has been receiving a steady amount of aid consistently over a billion dollars since Mubarak was removed from power. The majority of this aid is military aid. Giving Egypt a billion dollars in aid does not solve the terrorism problem, however, I would assess that Egypt is not on the verge of collapsing.

IId. Constraints the Egyptian military faces

During September 2013, the Egyptian military increased their efforts towards Jihadists components in the Sinai. The army had some success but they had three major constraints (Burgrova, 2014). The first constraint was the army had limited personnel and weaponry in the region due to provisions from the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty (Burgrova, 2014). Egyptian limitations were exposed when there was a funeral for four members of Jamaat Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis. Hundreds of fellow fighters and Jihadist fugitives attended the funeral and were able to leave without anyone being apprehended because security forces were worried they would be outnumbered (Burgrova, 2014). The second constraint is the fact that the Egyptian army is not equipped or trained to fight a counter-insurgent campaign in a desert mountainous area. United States military equipment given to Egypt, being tanks and F-16 fighter jets are not effective against small, mobile group of militants (Burgrova, 2014). The third constraint is the extensive damage that collateral damage has had on the local population. The locals are more willing to support local jihadi groups. Sinai cleric Sheikh Hamdin Abu Fasil described operation Eagle under Morsi as: *"Instead of coming with water and food to the Bedouin, they [the government] came with heavy weapons to drive the Bedouin from the desert. This increases the tension and turns the region into a barrel of a gun that can blow up at any time"* (Burgrova, 2014). The longer the "iron fist" mentality continues, the longer Bedouins will cooperate with Jihadist groups. The combinations of the Bedouins' knowledge of the terrain along with the militants' "know how" and tactics with planning terrorist attacks can become a problem for Egypt's tourism industry and Egypt's relationship with Israel.

New anti-terrorism laws were enacted in November 2014. These laws expanded the definition of terrorism, putting human rights at risk (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015). The new terrorism laws define terrorism as actions that could obstruct the work of public officials, universities, mosques, embassies, or international institutions. Anyone convicted on belonging to any group that "harm national unity or social peace" may be sentenced up to 10 years in prison (Chenessau & Azzam, 2015). Any social activist has the potential to be labeled a terrorist by the Sisi regime.

The Sinai is not an isolate issue, but instead a regional problem with potential to destabilize the region. After the 2011 uprising, Israel faced multiple cross-border attacks and infiltration attempts carried out by Sinai-based militants (Burgrova, 2014). Israel responded with deploying troops along the southern borders. While goals towards Israel in terms of destruction were not met, the presence of troops in southern Israel took a toll on Israeli tourism revenues (Burgrova, 2014).

III.   Terror groups in Libya

In 2015, ISIS in Libya created two strongholds outside their base in Iraq and Syria. The first base was in the Sinai and the second base is in north-central Libya in the city of Sirte. The Islamic State's goal is to transform Libya into a terrorism safe haven where they can train operators and launch operations into sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Europe (terrorisminfo, 2016). The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism information Center assess ISIS in Libya is more of a regional and international threat than the franchise in Iraq and Syria.

The Islamic State (IS) secured a stronghold in Sirte, a coastal city with an approximate population of 60,000. Sirte is home to governmental-economic infrastructure, including banks, roads, a port, and military bases (terrorisminfo, 2016). Once Qaddafi fell, Ansar al-Sharia filled the political vacuum. IS operatives went to Sirte in pickup trucks with mounted guns and took over the city with little to no resistance. ISIS controlled Sirte with a small force of fighters ranging from 200-400 fighters. ISIS preserved control by enforcing a strict Salafist Islamic code on the local populace (terrorisminfo, 2016). Violators were beheaded in the main square, internet access was supervised and restricted and coed education was forbidden. Islamic State established a police force to oversee law and order, patrol neighborhoods and be a mediator between tribes and families, if necessary (terrorisminfo, 2016).

Some notable attacks by the Islamic State include the attack on the Corinthia hotel on January 27, 2015. The Corinthia is a luxury hotel, visited by government officials and foreigners because it is used for government activity (terrorisminfo, 2016). The attack started with a car bomb that exploded near the hotel. Gunmen entered the hotel and killed ten people. The gunmen were identified as Sudanese and Tunisian. The motive behind the attack was to damage the prestige and governance of the Islamic Tripoli government and kill foreign diplomats, including Libyan government officials and militia operatives who visit the hotel (terrorisminfo, 2016). During 2015, ISIS carried out multiple attacks against foreign embassies in Libya. These attacks resulted in little to no casualties because embassies were abandoned due to the instability. The motivation behind the attacks were to glorify ISIS, damage the image of the Islamic government in Tripoli, and

send a threatening message to countries whose embassies were attacked (terrorisminfo, 2016).

Table 1.2

Comparing Terrorist attack injuries/deaths in Libya to U.S Military Aid to Libya						
	2011	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
Dollar amount (millions)	$30.0	$5.39	$30.71	$5.49	$4.15	$9.5
Deaths	28	28	184	519	460	382
Injuries	35	35	582	780	685	395

The data to the above table is provided by foreignassistance.gov and the Global Terrorism Database. The above data shows the sporadic amount of military aid from 2011 to 2016. The amount of terrorist related deaths and injuries has consistently been on the rise.

IIIa. Human trafficking fueling ISIS economy in Libya

Historically, the Sahara has been a pipeline for smuggling for over a thousand years and Libya has always been a key destination and transit point for black market trade. Since the fall of Qaddafi, the smuggling and trafficking business involving armed jihadist groups and organized crime has increased exponentially (Globaliniative, 2015). The flow of money and arms from Libya has had consequences for northern Africa including facilitating the rebellion in Mali in 2010 and continue to be a source for conflict in Egypt and Libya today. The more lucrative trade in Libya is the migrant trade, valued at $255-

323 million a year (Globaliniative, 2015). The Libyan arms trade post-Qaddafi is valued

in the range of $15-30 million annually with most of the arms being purchased by

militant groups in Libya and the Sahel (Mali, Niger, and Chad) (Globaliniative, 2015). In

2011, Qaddafi's armed forces had approximately 76,000 active duty personnel and

40,000 reserve units held 250,000-700,000 firearms, of which 75% were estimated to be

assault rifles. Assault rifles sell for approximately $150-1,000; while more advanced

weaponry like surface-to-air missiles, sell for tens of thousands of dollars apiece

(Globaliniative, 2015). The arms trade in Libya is estimated at $4-15 million for light

arms, with ammunition it ranges from $15-30 million. The true value is difficult to obtain

because of the difficulty to sometimes track the weapons being smuggled. Migrant

smuggling has increased from Libya along with Tunisia. During Qaddafi's rule, Libya

had an agreement with Italy regarding the amount of seaborne refugees (Globaliniative,

2015). In 2010, 4,500 seaborne refugees were picked up in 2010. By 2014, the number

rose to at least 170,000 despite the increased instability in Libya and the danger of

crossing the Mediterranean. Forced and illegal migration has become one of the largest

sources of income in Libya and many groups are profiting (Globaliniative, 2015).

Smugglers usually charge $800-1,000 per person for passage from Sub-Saharan Africa to

Libya, then an additional $1,500-1,900 across the Mediterranean. To reach Libya, Syrian

refugees would enter either Egypt or Sudan, two countries that did not require visas for

Syrian citizens. Under Morsi's presidency, refugees were welcomed in Egypt

(Globaliniative, 2015). Once al-Sisi took power, refugees were pushed to use routes south

into the Sinai, where the government control is weak to non-existent. This creates a

market for the Islamic State to facilitate the flow of migrants into Libya thus creating a cash flow that is used to purchase weapons and finance operations (Globaliniative, 2015).

IIIb. Ansar al-Sharia in Libya

The successful expansion of ISIS in Libya would not have been possible without the alliance of Ansar al-Sharia (ASL). ASL is described as an insurgent, non-state actor, religious, social services provider, violent terrorist group. From an ideological point of view, ASL is an Islamist, Jihadist, Salafist, and Sunni group. The main goal of ASL is to implement sharia law in Libya (counterextremism, 2017). ASL is comprised of two smaller groups, the Ansar al-Sharia Brigade in Benghazi (ASB) and Ansar al-Sharia Derna (ASD), each group formed in 2011 after the fall of Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi. ASL was responsible for the U.S consulate attack in Benghazi which killed four Americans, including the U.S ambassador to Libya Christopher Stevens (counterextremism, 2017). After the Benghazi attack, ASB was forced out of Benghazi and ASD was dismantled. ASB changed their image and started to publicly denounce violence. ASL launched a dawa, or charitable campaign where they provided social services and charity in Benghazi (counterextremism, 2017). This campaign was successful and won back the trust of Libyans which allowed ASL to open branches in Derna, Sirte, and Ajdabiya. Foreign and local intelligence groups have revealed that since 2012, ASL has strengthened ties with international violent jihadist groups by holding clandestine meetings with al-Qaeda affiliates in North Africa and training and exporting fighters to Syria, Iraq, and Mali (counterextremism, 2017). Like other jihadist groups, ASL uses social media to recruit. The organization has Facebook, Twitter, and Google accounts but their pages are often taken down. Through social media, ASL features their

outreach and social service campaigns. Recruits are drawn to the group for their charity

work and preaching. ASL has recruiters in foreign countries. Recruiters have directed

Tunisian citizens who want to fight in Syria towards training camps in Libya. ASL also

uses money to recruit young fighters. ASL's training camps in Libya host fighters from

other organizations. Since Libyan General Khalifa Haftar announced a major offensive

against armed Islamist groups in eastern Libya in May 2014 (codenamed Operation

Dignity), ASL changed their strategy from gaining support through charity and social

work to conducting military action (Zelin, 2015). ASL copied the model of Ansar al-

Sharia in Tunisia by viewing their outreach and social services campaign as an important

part of building not only an Islamic society, but an eventual Islamic State governed by

interpretations of Sharia (Islamic law) (Zelin, 2015). ASL is a complex terrorist

organization with multiple identities. On one hand, they are a charity, security service, a

health service, and a religious education provider. On the other hand they are a

functioning militia, terrorist organization and a training base for foreign fighters (Zelin,

2015). After the Arab Spring, countries that experienced a significant political shift,

particularly Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia represented a "fresh start" for a new jihadist

campaign after al-Qaeda in Iraq failed to control territory and institute sharia law (Zelin,

2015). In an audio message, al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri thought this

environment provided an opportunity "for dawa and informing…Only God knows for

how long they [local governments and the West] will continue, so the people of Islam and

Jihad should benefit from them and exploit them" (Zelin, 2015). The "dawa first"

strategy worked initially when ASL and AST were recruiting members at an

unprecedented level. Over the past few years, this strategy has slowed down, particularly

in Egypt. Within a month of al-Sisi gaining power in 2013, all the key members of ASE had either been arrested or forced to join Jama'at Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis in northern Sinai. ASL launched an international dawa campaign targeting Syria, Sudan, and Gaza (Zelin, 2015). This began in November 2012 when ASL sent aid to Syria and Gaza. Since the fighting with Libyan forces started, ASL has stopped their international aid campaign.

Ansar al-Sharia will continue to fight against the ideology of democracy in Libya and Egypt because democracy establishes an adversary to the *shura* (council), or Islamic governance (Zelin, 2015). According to ASL, democracy is fundamentally incompatible with Islam. ASL associates liberal values found in democratic societies as "lust". ASL views democracy as full of "provisions and deceitful illusions". ASL argues that the United States' definition of "terrorism" is used as a label for those who do not agree with the "democratic" agenda. ASL calls for a movement among Muslims to be educated on "the goals of these belligerent states and their allies" (Zelin, 2015). ASL's goal is to indoctrinate their fighters with the belief they are defending their religion and way of life and to be constantly in a state of war with the United States. ASL believes Libya is suffering from humiliation and disgrace because it abandoned "governing with Islamic Sharia" (Zelin, 2015).

IV. Conclusion

My conclusion is United States military aid to both Egypt and Libya is not effective in fighting terrorism. The security situation in Libya continues to be a problem and will always be the driving force in preventing any progress from being made. Not only did the Obama administration not actively assist post-revolution in Libya, very little military aid

was delivered to forces fighting Islamic extremists. As a result of this, the Islamic State was able to seize and control various oil fields throughout the country preventing economic progress being made. Due to lack of economic opportunities, groups like Ansar al-Sharia have been successful in infiltrating the local populace and gaining support by providing various charities the main one including providing an education. While Egypt is not on the brink of becoming a weak state like Libya is, Egypt has been consistently receiving over a billion dollars in military aid for the past five years. The problem in the Sinai Peninsula is not going away mainly because of Egyptian military strategy and law enforcement alienating them from the local population.

Chapter 3: U.S Economic Aid to Egypt and Libya

I.   **Introduction**

The United States believes assisting Libya and Egypt economically will increase their chances of achieving stability and finally creating a stable democratic government. Contrary to the United States' beliefs regarding restoring economic prosperity to both of my case studies, American economic aid has been unsuccessful. This chapter will show there is economic potential for both of my cases, along with how interconnected it is to my dependent variables. This chapter will show Libya lacks direction and diversification for economic success, while USAID is attempting to improve Egypt's private sector. The data in this chapter will show little to no success has been achieved for both cases.

II.   **Libya**

For the past several years, the world's attention has been fixated on North Africa and the Middle East (MENA) because the region is failing at addressing historical problems and offering a path for political and economic stability for current and future generations (Global Employment Trends, 2014). Political tensions in Libya have resulted in a flow of migrants into countries such as Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Tunisia. Economic growth has slowed down in the region, falling to 2.2 per cent in 2013, well below the global average (Global Employment Trends, 2014). Youth unemployment in MENA is the

highest in the world, reaching 27.2 percent in the Middle East and 29 percent in North

Africa in 2013. Foreign investment has not made a significant improvement in the

economic status of the region. This can be explained by only certain sectors receiving

economic aid such as the hydrocarbon industry (Global Employment Trends, 2014). The

hydrocarbon industry is a capital intensive industry and offers jobs only for certain skill

sets, such as petroleum engineers, which need to be imported from other countries. The

local populace did not benefit from foreign investment towards labor-intensive sectors

like construction, because jobs were quickly filled by migrants. While both countries

have credible security threats to their economic growth, Egypt is taking appropriate steps

to secure foreign investments from the international community. While the United States

and its allies are looking at investing into Libya's public sector, the United States is

looking mainly to invest in Egypt's private sector. Egypt's aid from the United States is

being released in parts and must meet certain requirements first, which will be explained

later in the chapter.

IIa. U.S aid to Libya

The U.S State Department recognized Libya has the potential to stabilize

economically, however, division among all political, economic and security groups

will prevent further economic success.

The U.S State Department released a Joint Communique on Libya stating:

"We support the fulfillment of the LPA's mandate to keep oil infrastructure,

production, and export under the exclusive control of the National Oil Corporation

(NOC) acting under the authority of the PC. All oil revenues generated by the NOC must

be transferred to the Central Bank of Libya (CBL), which must put the funds at the disposal of the PC. We support Prime Minister al-Sarraj's call for dialogue to reduce tensions in the oil crescent and applaud his leadership in this regard. We welcome the recent transfer of the oil facilities in the oil crescent to the NOC as well as the plans to increase oil production and exports" (U.S State Department, 2016).

The U.S State Department views Libya's economic institutions, including the NOC, CBL, and Libyan Investment Authority (LIA), as institutions that must function to benefit all Libyans. The Presidency Council possesses the power to preserve and protect Libyan resources for the benefit of the Libyan people. The State Department is intent on working with the Presidency Council to stabilize and reconstruct Sirte. Areas recently liberated from are a high priority and the Presidency Council (PC) is encouraged to inaugurate the Benghazi Reconstruction Fund (U.S State Department, 2016).

Libya's economic problems are taking a turn for the worse as rival governments and militias continue to fight for decreasing national wealth. Oil fields, pipelines, and export terminals, along with boardrooms of financial institutions are being affected (CrisisGroup, 2015). Since 2011, economic progress has been bogged down by attacks, labor strikes, and armed takeovers of oil and gas facilities. The takeovers show the increased power of militias and the failure to include them into the national security sector. The oil and gas facilities have also posed as targets of revenue for the Islamic State (CrisisGroup, 2015). The Central Bank of Libya (CBL) and National Oil Company (NOC) are under control of the Tripoli government, the internationally recognized parliament in Tobruk and its government in al-Bayda is trying to establish similar institutions. The Libyan economy is being eroded by corruption and mismanagement.

Along with reduced oil prices, damage to production and export sites and other infrastructure blockades, corrective action appears urgent (CrisisGroup, 2015). The next several paragraphs will illustrate how intertwined both the security and economic situations are.

Development programs are created to encourage sustainable broad-based economic progress and social stability in developing countries. U.S aid of this kind is managed by the U.S Agency for International Development (USAID) and is used for long-term projects in a variety of economic areas (USAID, 2016). Some programs within USAID include agriculture programs to focus on reducing poverty and hunger, adding opportunities for farmers, and reliable farming practices for sustainable agriculture. Private sector development programs focus on support for small businesses that lack access to banking (USAID, 2016). While natural resources offer a promising future to any country that has an abundance of them, Libya's natural resources are a source of conflict and are a "curse".

IIb. Problems with the Libyan Economy

Libya's resources are the cause of the conflict that has worsened since July 2014. Qaddafi was effective in maintaining control over Libya by distributing money made from oil. Once Qaddafi was removed from power, oil and economic production steadily decreased and by July 2013, oil and gas facilities were on the brink of shutting down. Oil exports went from 1.4 million barrels a day to 200,000 barrels a day (CrisisGroup, 2015). Government contracts were paid without delivery of goods or services and politicians secured credit from banks to import goods that were not delivered or were delivered in

small quantities than specified. Public-sector wages increased due to payroll fraud (CrisisGroup, 2015). Out of the eighteen billion dollars allocated for 2013 salaries, just over three and a half billion dollars were estimated to have gone to persons fraudulently on public payroll (CrisisGroup, 2015). The battle for Libya's natural resources can be divided into two periods. The first period dating from late 2012 to mid-2014, saw employees of oil and gas pipelines pressing the central government for salaries (CrisisGroup, 2015).

This changed when Operation Libya Dawn was launched in July 2014 to remove militias from Tripoli International airport which was seized in August 2011. Most stoppages resulted from short protests such as: employees of Benghazi-based state-run Arabian Gulf Oil Company (AGOCO) forced closure of headquarters following dispute over company management temporarily stopping sales. Fighters injured in the 2011 revolution blocked an oil refinery in Zawiya, west of Tripoli due to lack of medical care. Demonstrators blocked oil fields in the southwest demanding jobs and training for local residents or new equipment for security forces (CrisisGroup, 2015). Other stoppages that challenged hydrocarbon resource management included the inability to incorporate revolutionary brigades into a national security sector.

Cevik, Fenochietto & Gracia (2015) say Libya's economy is dependent on exhaustible and volatile hydrocarbon resources. Libya's natural resources constitute a majority of their government revenue. Libya has one of the largest hydrocarbon reserves in the world with crude oil reserves of 47 billion barrels and 53 trillion cubic feet of natural gas as of the end of 2010 (Cevik, Fenochietto & Gracia, 2015). The hydrocarbon sector accounts for 65% of GDP and 95% of total fiscal revenue. The dependency of the

hydrocarbon sector was made evident during the revolution when production fell from 1.69 million barrels per day in 2010 to 0.48 million barrels in 2011, leading to a 62% decrease in GDP (Cevik, Fenochietto & Gracia, 2015). Resource wealth has given Libya the opportunity for development, but Libya faces noteworthy constraints of absorption capacity and intergenerational equity. The main problem within the Libyan economy is the mismanagement of resource revenues. To prepare for the day when Libya's hydrocarbon reserves run out, the government has to run surpluses during times where market prices are high and invest in alternative sources, like financial assets and public investments that add to the economy's productive capacity (Cevik, Fenochietto & Gracia, 2015). Investing during surpluses in oil prices can be used during periods of low production which will protect the economy against unstable oil prices, promote a balanced and diversified economic growth, and improve intergenerational equity in resource wealth (Cevik, Fenochietto & Gracia, 2015). Libya's budget design lacks a clear policy or developmental strategy and weak connection between policy priorities and expenditures. The budget is for a single year on a cash basis and does not provide information about macroeconomic parameters such as real GDP growth and inflation (Cevik, Fenochietto & Gracia, 2015). The budget follows two separate and uncoordinated processes at both the central and line ministry levels.

Auty (1993) highlighted the under-performance of resource abundant and extracting countries compared to non-resource abundant countries. Empirical studies showed an opposite correlation between economic growth and natural resource abundance among developing countries and the Libyan economy is no exception to this study (Cevik, Fenochietto & Gracia, 2015). Although Libya has been a substantial

producer of crude oil since the 60's, it shows lower economic and social indicators when compared with other developing oil and non-oil producing economies (Cevik, Fenochietto & Gracia, 2015). The energy sector in Libya is important not only for domestic development, but for international markets as well. Oil sector is expected to generate significant future revenue, crucial for reconstruction of Libya's economy, infrastructure, and execution of sustainable growth (Cevik, Fenochietto & Gracia, 2015). Energy sector in post Qaddafi Libya is important for the global economy and European countries because the majority of Libyan crude oil and natural gas has been sold to Europe.

Libya's current financial forecast looks bleak. In 2014, their deficit was $16.4 billion or 44% of the GDP and the balance of payment deficit was $22 billion. An anonymous IMF official estimated the 2015 deficit ranging from $14.4-21.6 billion, which makes up 42-68% of their GDP (CrisisGroup, 2015). The low oil prices will increase the stress on reserves. In the first nine months of 2015, reserves dropped $15.4 billion, an improvement compared to the $31.2 billion drop in 2014. A short term plan for stabilizing finances include agreement by rival camps on two measures (CrisisGroup, 2015). Oil and gas production have to increase and maintain a unified financial system. In areas where infrastructure has not been damaged, but production has stopped, like the Sharara and al-Fil oil fields in the south west, Libyan and international actors should broker ceasefires to reopen oil fields in the southwest, Libyan and international actors should broker ceasefires to reopen oil fields and pipelines (CrisisGroup, 2015). In areas with extensive damage like the Sidra port, security guarantees should be negotiated to allow repair to restore export capabilities.

Table 2.1

Egyptian and Libyan GDP from 2011-2015 (Billions of US Dollars)					
Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Egypt	$236	$276.35	$286	$301.5	$330.78
Libya	$34.7	$81.91	$65.51	$41.14	$29.15

The above graph indicates a steady decline in Libya's GDP since 2012 (source:

http://www.tradingeconomics.com/libya/gdp)

III.   The Case of Egypt

The relationship between Egypt and the United States regarding economic aid has

gone through different stages throughout the years. In the mid-1970s, the United States

looked to expand their relationship with Egypt, encourage peace with Israel, and promote

a capitalist economy (Sharp, 2015). In the mid to late 1990s Egypt went from an

impoverished country to a low-middle class income economy and both countries started

to rethink the assistance relationship, emphasizing "trade not aid". The Bush

administration requested congress to cut aid to Egypt in half in 2009 to $200 million

(Sharp, 2015). From 2010 to 2013 congress gave Egypt $250 million. ESF stands for the

U.S-Egyptian Enterprise Fund. Currently there are no bilateral agreements between the

United States and Egypt on overall levels of economic assistance. U.S economic aid to

Egypt is divided into two parts: (1) USAID programs like public health, education,

economic development and (2) Egypt's economy and national budget has stabilized with

help of Gulf Arab monarchies who injected billions of dollars into the Egyptian economy and treasure, providing grants, loans, and fuel imports (Sharp, 2015). Government spending continues to outpace revenue, leader to larger deficits. Egyptian officials have attempted to persuade the international community that Egypt is a safe investment. The Central Bank has devalued the Egyptian pound, and the government has started major infrastructure projects, like an $8.5 billion expansion of the Suez Canal, a project expected to triple revenue (Sharp, 2015). Various economists assess that Egypt needs $60 billion in foreign direct investment over the next four years to consistently maintain a five percent growth rate.

In late 2011, Congress passed P.L. 112-74, the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2012, it authorized the creation of an enterprise fund for Egypt, Jordan, and Tunisia. The goal of this fund was to further develop Egypt's private sector, especially in the agricultural sector by making investments in small to medium-sized businesses or providing entrepreneurs with loans and technical assistance (Sharp, 2015). In November 2012, the State Department notified Congress of their intent to spend $60 million. Another $60 million to the fund was sent to Congress in October 2013.   The fund was formally launched under the Morsi administration; some members of Congress were concerned about plans to expand U.S-Egyptian economic cooperation. In the fall of 2012, Chairwoman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen placed an informal hold on the initial $60 million ESF obligation, which was later lifted (Sharp, 2015). In 2013, after the military removed Morsi from power, Senator Lindsey Graham placed a hold on the second payment of $60 million in ESF "until he sees Egypt moving towards democracy". Senator Graham's spokesman added that the

Senator believes American taxpayers deserve a much clearer explanation of what exactly is President Obama's policy towards Egypt" (Sharp, 2015). Senator Graham lifted his hold in early December 2013 just as Egypt's amended constitution was made public in preparation for their national referendum on its adoption. The FY2015 Consolidated Appropriations Act contained a number of conditions on U.S assistance to Egypt similar to what Congress included in 2014 with one exception: an executive branch national security waiver which allows the removal of limits places by Congress that would prevent the provision of 2014-2015 assistance to Egypt until the Secretary of State certifies Egypt's government meets "democracy-based conditions" (Sharp, 2015). On May 12, 2015, Secretary Kerry authorized to provide aid to Egypt because he determined aid to Egypt was important to national security interest of the United States. The FY2015 Act requires that funds may only be made available if Secretary Kerry certifies Egypt is sustaining a strategic relationship with the United States and is meeting their obligations under the 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty. The funds provided to Egypt "notwithstanding any other provision of law," an exemption that would allow aid despite a clause that prevents foreign assistance to a country whose elected head of government is removed by military coup d'état or decree (Sharp, 2015). For FY2015, if the Secretary of State cannot verify democracy-based conditions mentioned in the act and chooses not to use the national security waiver, military aid may be available at a minimum rate necessary to existing contracts, except defense articles and services from contracts cannot be delivered until certification requirements are met (Sharp, 2015). Another provision in the FY2015 Act requires the Secretary of State to report on any defense articles withheld from delivery to Egypt. The report must include detailed descriptions of conditions the

Government of Egypt must meet to continue the delivery of military equipment. For FY2016, both the House and Senate drafted foreign operation bills which would provide the President's full request for Egypt up to $1.3 billion in FMF and $150 million in ESF. Unlike the prior two appropriation acts (FY2014-FY2015), FY 2016 bill does not possess the need for verification for proof the Egyptian government is transitioning towards democracy. The FY2016 bill requires Secretary Kerry to report to lawmakers on issues regarding elections, governing democratically, and advancing minority rights (2016). The FY2016 bill allows the Secretary of State to waive certification requirement if aid to Egypt is deemed as a national security interest.

Table 2.2

Egypt vs. Libya USAID Economic Aid (Millions of US Dollars)						
Year	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
Egypt	$256.81	$94.64	$340.75	$181.63	$222.62	$97.28
Libya	$93.81	$67.70	$22.10	$49.60	$14.99	$16.62

The data to this table was provided by USAID's website in their "trends" section: explorer.usaid.gov/aid-trends.html. The following data shows an overall negative trend in the amount of aid. 2013-2014 were particularly bad years for both cases. These years had the most instability overall. Although Egypt's economic aid can be described as sporadic, Egypt's GDP per capita has improved and Egypt's unemployment has either stabilized or slightly decreased. The bottom row represents an overall negative trend for Libya. The overall struggle in Libya towards a stable government and economy is reflected in the aid

amount. Aid amounts will not be increased during times of instability because this is seen as an unsafe investment. The bottom table shows unemployment rates in Egypt has been stable compared to the rates in Libya.

According to USAID, over 800,000 job seekers enter the Egyptian labor market annually, but businesses not been able to keep up with job demand. Unemployment in Egypt was 5.2% in 1980s and since then has steadily risen to 12.8%. The majority of Egyptians seeking work look for employment with small and medium enterprises as they make up more than 95% of private enterprises and over 80% of private sector employment in Egypt (USAID, 2016). USAID views the growth and profitability of small and medium sized businesses as essential to creating jobs for women and youth as well as promoting trade and investment to increase growth rates (USAID, 2016). USAID looks to improve business and monitor the environment to promote private sector competiveness. They face a complicated, time-consuming process for registering businesses, securing operating licenses, and complying with tax requirements. USAID looks to address these constraints and assist in growing small businesses into medium-sized enterprises and ultimately to mature, thriving enterprises (USAID, 2016). Secondary schools in Egypt do not provide students with marketable skills to enhance their chances of employability. USAID looks to help secondary schools improve their capability to provide students with these skills through improved technical education systems (USAID, 2016). Another constraint Egypt faces for economic growth is a lack of private sector innovation and growth through entrepreneurship. Egyptian schools do not focus on critical thinking needed for establishing start-ups that meet market needs. Entrepreneurs lack access to market information and services that would assist in making

up the deficit (USAID, 2016). USAID is working with the Egyptian private sector to improve small businesses' access to technology, market information, and help new businesses grow into more sophisticated entities that meet market demand. Since 2012, more than 12,000 entrepreneurs have been trained, leading to 149 companies generating new jobs. Registration times for new businesses improved, assisting business owners to start their businesses, generate profit, create jobs and contribute to the economy (USAID, 2016). Since 2012, 15,000 technical school instructors have been trained and twenty five career centers at vocational schools have helped 8,000 graduates gain employment.

Table 2.3

Unemployment percentages between Egypt and Libya						
Year	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
Egypt	12%	12.7%	13.2%	12.9%	12.9%	12.6%
Libya	17.1%	14.8%	13.8%	19.3%	14.4%	16%

The data is in this table is provided by the following websites:

theglobaleconomy.com/Egypt/Unemployment_rate/, ieconomics.com/Libya-unemployment-rate-forecast, and www.tradingeconomics.com/egypt/unemployment-rate.

IV.   Conclusion

I assess with high confidence the political and security climate Libya and Egypt will undermine both unilateral and multilateral economic efforts and foreign aid will not be effective, whether from the United States, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), or the European Union (EU). Even if the United States gave Libya as much economic aid as they give Egypt, I believe the result would still be the same. Libya lacks the fundamentals for an economy to build upon. The Libyan economy is reliable upon natural resources and lacks diversification. Because Egypt's economy is based more in the private sector, it makes foreign investments more attractive. The security situation in Libya is affecting foreign investments. Libya's oil production has plummeted since the revolution was over and Islamic militants took control of various oil fields. The lack of organization makes planning future investments and economic projects obsolete. While the process for registering businesses, securing business licenses, and tax requirements can be complicated and time consuming, USAID is taking the right steps in Egypt to improve the private sector. Egypt has an economic environment that has potential for growth. USAID is giving money to Egypt to send their students to technical schools in attempts to cut down on unemployment and creating potential for more businesses to be created.

Chapter 4: Political Stability and Democracy in Egypt and Libya

I.   **Introduction**

During this chapter, I examine political stability in both Egypt and Libya. The purpose of this chapter is to show the similarities and differences between both cases and what makes each of them unique, along with explaining why Egypt is stable and Libya is not. American foreign aid, both military and economic, does not assist in stabilizing political institutions in Libya and in Egypt. The chapter starts with examining pre and post-Arab Spring American foreign policy and how it affects Egypt and Libya. Next, I will discuss the current political climate in Libya and Egypt followed by why Libya is a weak state and what it will take to stabilize Libya. I will conclude the chapter by comparing and contrasting U.S efforts in both countries and indicators of the outcomes.

II.   **Pre and Post-Arab Spring American Foreign Policy**

Since 2011, the Arab uprisings represent an important turning point in the struggle for democracy in the Arab World. The Arab World faced revolutionary movements in the 1950's that led to authoritarian governments. Throughout the Middle East military officers held power for decades, including Gamal Abd-al Nasser in Egypt and Muammar al-Gaddafi in Libya. During this time, governments throughout the Middle

East changed the political landscape from an artificial parliamentary system to one controlled by a single party. The governments in the 1950's moved to nationalize the economy and attempted to weaken or eliminate socio-economic centers of power in order to facilitate the combination of resources necessary to form an authoritarian state (Ibrahim, 2016). Once these leaders took power the military governments managed to meet peoples' social and economic needs, however, they managed not to accommodate any form of dissent that questioned their power. To distract the public from dissension, these governments used patriotism, nationalism, and militarism (Ibrahim, 2016). They either eliminated or directly influenced institutions of the state and society that did not comply with their policies. In Egypt, massive military spending, commitment to pan-Arabism, social welfare programs, and Soviet aid were key pillars to the regimes' survival (Ibrahim, 2016). The social programs that kept the general public satisfied began to erode by the 1970s once capitalism began to be introduced to the economy. Capitalism also led to government employees selling state assets and gaining additional power through corruption (Ibrahim, 2016).

In the Post-Iraq War Middle East, there was a trend of 'deliberalization'. Deliberalization happens when a regime struggles to contain mass public disapproval of the war, jihadist movements supporting Iraqi Sunnis, and an increase of threats for sectarian violence (Fawcett, 2013). Due to the increased popularity of Islamic movements, authoritarian governments, particularly both of my cases, consolidated power. After the immediate reaction to consolidate power, a medium term consequence was the steady resentment towards incumbent regimes (Fawcett, 2013).

Since World War II, U.S foreign policy in the Middle East had three goals: containing Soviet influence, securing oil, and defending Israel. During the Cold War era, the pursuit of stability was a priority over democracy for the United States government (Ibrahim, 2016). Another term for American foreign policy in the Middle East during the twentieth century is the "holy trinity" (Hudson, 1996). After September 11th, the Bush administration adopted three policies to protect American interests: defeating terrorism, promoting democracy, and destroying weapons of mass destruction (Ibrahim, 2016). President Bush's 2002 National Security Strategy goals were political and economic freedom, peaceful relations with other states, and respect for human dignity (President Bush, 2002). The strategy states America must stand firm for the demands of human dignity, rule of law, limits of absolute power of the state, and other rights that can be found in the United States' Bill of Rights (President Bush, 2002). The United States will use foreign aid to promote freedom and support those who struggle non-violently for it, ensuring the nations moving toward democracy are rewarded for the steps they take (President Bush, 2002). Although the Bush administration publicized these aspirations, they fell flat in practice. Throughout his presidency, both Egypt and Libya continued to violate and suppress human rights. For regional conflicts, the United States should invest time and resources into building international relationships and institutions that can help manage local crises when they emerge. Also, the United States should be realistic about its ability to help those who are unwilling or unready to help themselves (President Bush, 2002).

Containing Soviet influence strengthened Middle Eastern anti-American sentiment that was felt during the timeline of this study. Because the Soviet Union no

longer exists, I assess stability has taken precedence in American foreign policy followed by the promotion of democracy. President Obama was determined not to follow in President Bush's footsteps in the Middle East. President Obama wanted to improve the image of the United States in the Muslim world, trying to mend the United States' poor hypocritical reputation with democracy promotion. Additional resentment was created as a result from toppling stable secular governments, such as Iraq, creating a power vacuum resulting in a larger regional problem. The Arab Spring took the Obama administration by surprise and they did not seem to make any drastic policy changes in response (Ibrahim, 2016). Instead of a "one size fits all" approach to the Arab Spring, the Obama administration chose to respond on a case-by-case basis. On May 19, 2011 President Obama gave a speech at the State Department stating the "wave of change sweeping the region could not be denied", and "failure to speak to the broader aspirations of ordinary people will only feed the suspicion" (Ibrahim, 2016). President Obama then later clarified that U.S policy aims "promote reform in the region and to support peaceful transitions to democracy".

Democracy is the ability of citizens to influence the state and the political institutions that govern them. Stable democracies need to protect basic rights and liberties of minority groups. Without these protections, illiberal democracies can develop where a majority consistently discriminates and ignores minorities (Rieffer-Flanagan, 2014). By this definition, neither case study has ever had a stable democracy. Since the fall of Qaddafi, Libya is split into two major governments, a secular government located in Tobruk, and an Islamist government located in Tripoli. Since the removal of Mubarak, Egypt went from autocratic rule, military rule, democratic rule, then back to military rule,

which eventually shaped into a quasi-democratic state. Minority rights under Mubarak were non-existent. Morsi promised to include minorities, mainly Bedouins, more into Egyptian society, however his promises never came to fruition. President al-Sisi continued to deploy similar tactics Mubarak's regime used, including limiting freedom of speech and minority political participation.

In 2009, democracy-related support and programs for Egypt were downgraded from $50 to $20 million and support for Egyptian civil society was cut from $32 to $7 million. Near the end of the Mubarak era, the Obama administration did not pressure Egypt, nor forcefully engage in diplomatic efforts to promote democracy in Egypt (Rieffer-Flanagan, 2014). The Obama administration initially responded to the Arab Spring with support for democracy, stating democracy "is not a secondary interest. It is a top priority that must be translated into concrete actions and supported by all the diplomatic, economic, and strategic tools at our disposal" (Rieffer-Flanagan, 2014).

Between 2010 and 2012, funding for civil society decreased 70% from $20.4 million in 2010 to $6.2 million in 2012, eventually dropping to $3.4 million in 2014 (Rieffer-Flanagan, 2014). In the summer of 2013, National Security Adviser, Susan Rice reviewed American foreign policy towards Egypt. The United States shifted focus from promoting democracy to other areas, notably the situation in Syria, promoting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, and trying to finalize a nuclear deal with Iran (Rieffer-Flanagan, 2014). Even though Rice denied Egypt was no longer a priority, lack of resources towards Egypt show Egypt was not a priority. The new Egyptian constitution approved in January 2014 did not contribute to a democratic political transition (Rieffer-

Flanagan, 2014). In the referendum, there was no room for opponents of the referendum nor critics of al-Sisi and the interim government.

President Hosni Mubarak was one of America's most reliable allies in the Middle East for over a quarter century. As uprisings spread throughout Egypt, President Mubarak continued to resist protests wanting to complete his presidential term which was set to expire in September 2011. After two hesitant weeks, the United States chose to side with the protestors (Ibrahim, 2016). The United States was in an awkward position during this time because while they supported protestors' right to peaceful protest and assembly, Mubarak was discouraged from resigning. Instead, Mubarak was advised not to run for re-election (Ibrahim, 2016). As a result of this indecisiveness, mixed signals were sent throughout the Arab world. On one hand the United States supports human rights and democracy as a matter of principle, while encouraging autocratic allies to peacefully end protestors' attempt for democracy and regime change. Egypt was considered an asset by mediating the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis, containing Iran's influence and nuclear goals and aiding in the war on terrorism (Ibrahim, 2016). Once Mohammed Morsi was elected, the Obama Administration endorsed the election results and vowed to work with the newly elected president. President Morsi's ties with the Muslim Brotherhood caused doubts on his ability to lead a government for all Egyptians (Ibrahim, 2016). Morsi was accused of mishandling the economy and failing to address the same problems that caused the initial uprising. On July 3, 2013, Morsi was removed from power by military leadership. The Obama administration proceeded the same way as they did with Morsi, with caution (Ibrahim, 2016). As violence broke out between pro and

anti-Morsi supporters, Acting Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs, Elizabeth

Jones issued this statement:

> "Mr. Morsi proved unwilling or unable to govern inclusively, alienating many Egyptians. Responding to the desires of millions of Egyptians who believed the revolution had taken a wrong turn and you saw a return to security and stability…we welcome the interim government's commitment to a political roadmap to restore a democratically elected civilian government. We continue to urge the government to be inclusive, respect the rights of all Egyptians, and respect the rule of law, freedom of expression and peaceful assembly, the role of civil society and religious freedom" (Ibrahim, 2016).

In summary, hesitation does not make for effective foreign policy and this chapter will

continue to show the damage it has created to both case studies.

IIa. Libya

The revolts in Tunisia and Egypt encouraged antigovernment demonstrations led by

rebel forces in Benghazi mid-February 2011 (Ibrahim, 2016). Much like the Egyptian

political crisis, the Obama administration did not have a clear plan for Libya. The

administration first voiced their concerns regarding violence towards peaceful

demonstrators. The following statement was issued:

> "The United States strongly supports the universal rights of the Libyan people. That includes the rights of peaceful assembly, free speech, and the ability of the Libyan people to determine their own destiny. These are human rights. They are not negotiable. They must be respected in every country. And they cannot be denied through violence or suppression" (Obama, 2011b)

As Qaddafi's military assaults on civilians continued into a potential humanitarian

crisis, the Obama administration decided to join a coalition led by NATO to stop the

violence (Ibrahim, 2016). President Obama enacted a no-fly zone in Libya in order to protect the Libyan people.

Even though the administration had support both home and abroad for their efforts in the multilateral approach in dealing with Qaddafi, the Obama administration failed in providing a safe transition to a democratic Libyan state (Ibrahim, 2016). The incident that captured the essence of failure within Libya was the September 2012 attacks in Benghazi ultimately killing U.S Ambassador Christopher Stevenson and three other Americans (Ibrahim, 2016).

IIb. Stability of Egypt

Since the 2011 Egyptian revolution, change has been slow. In March 2015, an Egyptian court ruled parliamentary elections be postponed marking a setback for Egypt's plan for democracy (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2015). Egypt is sending signals to the United States saying they are willing to move away from closer ties with them and creating a closer relationship with Russia. These signals are a result Russia agreeing to build a nuclear power plant in Egypt, increased trade over the past year, and Putin vowing to increase weapons sales to Egypt. Due to Egypt's new, broad anti-terrorism laws that brand majority of protestors terrorists, up to 43 non-governmental workers, many who are American, were convicted and as of 2015 were still being held in Egypt (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2015). Chairman Ros-Lehtinen calls for President Sisi to pardon these individuals in order to move forward in democratic reforms and improving the U.S-Egypt bilateral relationship. Morsi was removed from power because his administration forced a constitution to pass with "exceptional" executive authority

(Foreign Affairs Committee, 2015). Once Sisi was elected, his government understood the need for economic investment in Egypt and strengthening ties with regional allies. Egypt believes the international community has to play an active role in stabilizing Libya.

As the economy started to worsen under Morsi and popular opinion shifted from favorable to unfavorable and Egypt's state institutions started to turn against him. Rather than trying to compromise, the Muslim Brotherhood mobilized their supporters and would use violence to defend Morsi (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2015). Once the military took power from the Muslim Brotherhood, the generals thought they either had to destroy the Brotherhood, or risk them remobilizing and seeking revenge. The Muslim Brotherhood has made calls for jihad and fighting the Sisi regime. Withholding military aid to Egypt in response to crackdowns against protestors did not change Egypt's authoritarianism (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2015). At this time, political participation does not exist in Egypt. The way al-Sisi is currently ruling Egypt is a reliable indicator on how stable Egypt is overall. Al-Sisi's regime is mimicking some of Mubarak's methods by using force and jailing journalists and activists. Although Egypt is not as unstable as Libya, expectations towards democracy in Egypt have not been met so far (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2015).

On Wednesday June 25, 2014, the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa met to discuss Libya. Chairman Ileanan Ros-Lehtinen gave an introduction outlining several key points regarding the current situation within Libya. The Arab Spring brought forth a period of hope for the future and prospect of democracy in the Middle East and North Africa. The lack of infrastructure, lack of democratic institutions and the lack of political will make the chances of democracy flourishing in Libya slim to

non-existent (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). The problem with Libya is there are multiple crises occurring at the same time and they are all linked together. Libya is not capable of securing their borders which means it cannot repel the influx of foreign fighters streaming across their porous borders. Because Libya's government cannot secure their borders, it cannot take advantage of oil revenues and reserves which leads to the inability to stimulate the economy. Political factions remain divided thus stalling the state building process. A stalled state building process means the inability to make critical economic and security reforms (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen advocates the United States have a hands-on approach and find a way to work with the various political parties in order to resolve issues so Libyans can form a government that can de-escalate tensions and fighting and finally get Libya on pace to transitioning to democracy (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014).

Libya is a result of a failed policy. The Obama administration played an active role in overthrowing Qaddafi, however once the conflict was over, the United States let their allies, being the EU and other NATO members take an active role in the transition process. Ros-Lehtinen describes the situation in Libya as an "uphill battle" that the administration cannot afford to take lightly in fear of Libya turning into Iraq and another strategic defeat in the Middle East (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). After the conflict, the U.N was in charge of border security. The EU did not assist until 2013 when they sent some border security assistance teams and only sent a portion of what was initially agreed upon (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). From 2013-2016, the U.N has made several attempts to bring the opposing governments to peace talks and reach an agreement with no success. The 2015, the U.N held peace talks in Skhirat, Morocco meant to establish a

single governing body that was supposed to ensure "broad representation". Talks broke

down as critics of the plan believed the new government did not accurately represent all

of Libya's tribes and factions (Al-Jazeera, 2016). In January 2016, the U.N's backed

government located in Tobruk voted to reject a new unity plan to unite the rival

government (Al-Jazeera, 2016).

I assess Libyan political stability cannot be achieved by American unilateral

intervention. The problem in Libya will have to require a committed multilateral solution

comprised of the United Nations and European Union. Safety of American personnel

must always remain a priority as well (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). Ambassador

Anne Patterson, Assistant Secretary to the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs issued the

following statement:

> "Libya's transition faces significant challenges that will require intensive
> engagement by the U.S and our international partners for many years. Since the
> fall of the Gaddafi regime, Libyans have been struggling to build a stable and
> effective democratic government that provides a secure environment and
> economic opportunity. The stakes for the United States, as well as for the Libyan
> people, are substantial. U.S national security interests require vigorous U.S.
> engagement to support Libya. We are pursuing several important initiatives to try
> and arrest further political and security instability and help revive Libya's private
> sector so it can play a crucial role in stabilizing the country and we would like to
> do more. First, in the immediate term, we are urging Libyans to agree to general
> principles to build consensus and guide the remainder of the political transition
> and stressing that political differences must be settled through dialogue and
> compromise. Second, we are working with Libya, its neighbors, and the
> international community to strengthen Libya's internal security and tightening
> border security. Finally, once there is sufficient political stability and security, we
> have created a framework that partner countries will use to coordinate their
> assistance in key areas. We are also encouraging the U.S private sector to come in
> and help rebuild Libya's economy and its institutions" (Foreign Affairs
> Committee, 2014).

The previous statement made by Ambassador Patterson shows the Obama administration recognized the severity of the problems in Libya. The United States still wanted Libyans to make political decisions regarding the transition process and who would take over the final legitimate governing body, relying on dialogue and compromise to solve the political crisis. The statement made by Ambassador Patterson makes it seem solving the political security is the number one priority, followed by solving the security problem, and lastly solving the economic.

The first key factor for a successful transition from lawlessness to a stable democracy is the development of Libyan armed forces. In 2013, the United States committed to help train a force of 5,000-8,000 personnel. These personnel will help form the core of the Libyan military. This will cost approximately $600 million over eight years and will be led by United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). Despite 2014 being a year of instability and violence in Libya, Assistant Secretary Patterson believes Libya is taking positive steps in their economy and democratic transition (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). One of the United States' goals is to train Libyans in the basics of public administration and finance. The United States also focused efforts with European allies on promoting democratic processes crucial for long-term stability (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). Derek Chollet, an executive vice president and senior advisor for security and defense policy at The German Marshall Fund of the United States, outlines four issues on creating political stability: general purpose force, counterterrorism training, border security, and efforts to secure U.S Embassy in Tripoli (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014).

Chollet stressed in the hearing that this is an international effort and not a unilateral move by the United States. United Kingdom, Italy, and Turkey have all begun training Libyan personnel as of 2014. However, as stated earlier, what has made progress in Libya crawl at a slow pace since 2011, are the multiple crises occurring at once all affecting each other at the same time (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). In addition to educating military personnel, the next goal is to develop a counterterrorism program funded by the Global Security Contingency Fund. Chollet also advised Libya is using the Global Security Contingency Fund for border security. The United States understands security risks are high while operating an embassy in an environment as volatile as Tripoli. In response to this, the United States has placed several military forces in the region to be on standby in case they are needed to respond to an emergency to avoid another situation that would mirror that September 2012 Benghazi attacks (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014).

Table 4.1

Libya Freedom House Rankings 2011-2016				
Year	Status	Freedom Rating	Civil Liberties	Political Rights
2011	Not Free	6.5	6	7
2012	Partly Free	4.5	5	4
2013	Partly Free	4.5	5	4
2014	Not Free	6	6	6
2015	Not Free	6	6	6
2016	Not Free	6.5	6	7

In the above table, the freedom rating, civil liberties, and political rights are ranked from a scale of 1-7. 1 is the best and 7 is the worst. For the status portion, freedom house ranks countries as either "free", "partly free", and "not free".

III.   Egypt

Ambassador Patterson advised the Egyptians are concerned with their border along Libya. The Egyptian/Libyan border is essentially 700 miles of desert. Egypt has increased their presence along the border through an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) base (Foreign Affairs Committee, 2014). The UAV's are Chinese made by supported by the United Arab Emirates. Overall, the relation between Libya and Egypt can be

considered professional and cordial, but Egypt is worried about the fighting in eastern Libya spilling into Egypt. Egypt also has a large number of quest workers in Libya. Ambassador Patterson was also asked if allowing others to lead sets a precedent for not holding others accountable to their commitments. At a glance, allowing others to lead does set a precedent for not holding others accountable to their commitments; however the problem in Libya is a difficult one. The Obama administration was in between acting multilaterally and unilaterally in Libya. Hesitation by the administration has not expedited the process of a successful transitional government.

IV.   Political Transition in Egypt and Libya

In the modernization theory, the challenge authoritarian regimes face is that once societies reach a certain level of social mobilization (education, literacy, urbanization, and size of the middle class) that regimes do not accommodate demands for political participation risk they will take revolutionary forms unless otherwise contained by exceptional means such as totalitarianism. North Africa states were considered middle range for modernization where democratization pressures were significant but could still be contained (Hinnebusch, 2015).

Dr. Eva Bellin argues regimes' resilience is effective based on reliability of the effectiveness of security forces along with militaries' responses to uprisings (Hinnebusch, 2015). Egypt's military retained institutional autonomy of top political leadership but also had conflicts of interest with the presidential family. Egypt's military also had a stake in the economy. Libya's military was not institutionalized and this caused a split due to tribal and family ties (Hinnebusch, 2015).

When Mubarak took over Egypt from President Anwar Al Sadat, he inherited a false multiparty system and an Islamist movement created to quell secular opposition. Mubarak continued to systematically limit liberals and the left. Mubarak prevented political parties being established and prevented them from reaching an audience within Egypt (Awad, 2013). Despite Mubarak's efforts to limit Islamist's power, the combination of economic liberty and private enterprise allowed the Muslim Brotherhood to build a solid economic base. When the Muslim Brotherhood was close to obtaining any kind of power, Mubarak's regime turned to repression, jailing, and torturing members (Awad, 2013). Mubarak's regime endorsed Salafists to balance out the Muslim Brotherhood because of their involvement in charity; they did not have a centralized movement, and their lack of involvement towards politics. After the military took over and the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) took over, stability was priority in the new political system. SCAF wanted to introduce little to no changes when it came to their role and privileges.

Secular middle class youth who are internet proficient played an important role in starting anti-regime movements. Educated but unemployed members of society who saw themselves as victims of discriminatory "crony" capitalism looked to democracy as the answer to their problem (Hinnebush, 2015). The absence of ideology and organization meant they could not build a counter government capable of replacing incumbent regimes, nor mobilizing mass votes. Secular liberals in Egypt could not compete with Islamists in elects that compromised democracy to revive the ability of the "deep state", meaning the military or the monarch to use them against the Islamists. Critics of Islamist groups argue democratic elections have potential to bring anti-democratic Islamists to

power, which in turn would end democracy. Others argue that including Islamists in the political process would incentivize them to moderate ideology in order to gain coalitions with secular opposition opponents (Hinnebusch, 2015). Islamists had an advantage over liberals and secularists because they had electoral experience, charities, schools and television stations, welfare services, funding from Gulf States, and the use of mosques and madrassas for recruitment. Liberals and secularists spent time and energy towards street protests while Islamists spent their efforts towards winning elections (Hinnebusch, 2015). All parties in Egypt want limits on majorities built into the constitution: secularists want the military to introduce guarantees against Islamist majorities while the Muslim Brotherhood wants legislation examined by a religious body like Iran's Council of Guardians (Hinnebusch, 2015). According to Hinnebusch, the middle class values personal liberty more than democracy. According to Islamists, democracy is valuable but serves a subordinate role to religious law (Hinnebusch, 2015).

Dr. Adham Saouli from St. Andrew's University states that major unintended consequences of the Arab uprisings have been state failure (Hinnebusch, 2015). Vulnerability of the state traced back to identity-fragmented Arab states to the limited inclusion of groups by regimes assembled around sectarian cores with artificial borders exposing them to the "destabilizing effect of trans-state interference" (Hinnebusch, 2015). Libya suffered state failure from the military's incapacity to defend territorial integrity either because they were kept intentionally weak or decimated by foreign intervention. As order broke down in both Libya and Egypt, people turned to their tribes for security. During a war economy, rival groups look to gain access to capital through smuggling, looting, arms trade, and exploitation of natural resources (Hinnebusch, 2015).

Those not participating in these illegal acts either gravitate towards warlords and militias for survival or flee the country as refugees. Regarding Egypt and Libya, it is the latter. Refugees fleeing the Islamic State in parts of Iraq and Syria travel through Egypt into Libya where eventually they cross the Mediterranean into southern Europe.

Another pathway for democratic transition is polyarchy. Democratization literature identifies several conditions. First, being the existence of a shared political community allowing peaceful electoral transition has been challenging in the Middle East and North Africa due to tribal lines running deeper than an allegiance towards the state (Hinnebusch, 2015). Democratic consolidation depends on a balance of class power and a "democratic coalition" and their ability to extract the democratization process from the state. In Egypt, an anti-regime coalition used the internet to mobilize a large force against the ruler to a point where the military, who prioritized their own interests over the state, enabled an outside coalition to engineer a presidential departure (2015). A split between Islamists and secularists along with an over-sized politicized military allowed a significant "restoration" of the old regime, which Hinnebusch defines as the outcome of a state that survives an uprising where the elite class uses information and wealth to their advantage to command levers of bureaucracies and cohesion to combat a divided public (Hinnebusch, 2015).

As of 2017, the Arab Spring removed four presidents and made a mobilized public a factor in regional states. Initially, the main problem during the transition period was to incorporate the masses into democratization and ultimately democratic consolidation (Hinnebusch, 2015). I do not believe U.S aid would help strengthen the

democratization process in either country. As the data shows, majority of U.S foreign aid to both countries is in the security sector.

During the Arab Spring, Egyptians were angry about how Egypt was ruled, the aggressive security measures, corruption, and the deteriorating economic and social situation. There were several changes that emerged from the transition post-Arab spring. Egyptian youth led protests while the Muslim Brotherhood emerged as the most organized political group. The military, the protagonist of transition, wanted little change as possible (2013).

IVa. Seculars vs. Islamists in Egypt and Libya

Secularists and Islamists have different ideas for government and that is why there has been a theme of political violence in both cases. No amount of foreign aid will resolve this issue for either Libya or Egypt. In Egypt, Secularists want a civilian head of state and democratic state. The Muslim Brotherhood requests a civilian head of state, along with "an Islamic reference". In the end, SCAF sided with the Muslim Brotherhood because the left was disorganized and their ideas and vision for the country seemed unfavorable in the eyes of the military (Awad, 2013). SCAF thought by backing the Muslim Brotherhood, the country would run smoothly, however the military never had any agreements with opposition, whether it was Islamist or secularist.

Protests did not stop once the military gained power. Demonstrations were met with more repression and violence. Protestors were prosecuted through military courts. To counter protests, strikes and sit-ins, the military adopted a law prohibiting actions that "hurt the population's interest" (Awad, 2013). This was not effective in preventing

further protests and this resulted with several hundred deaths from late 2011 to mid-2012. Muslim Brotherhood President Morsi abolished the SCAF's constitutional declaration after being in power for only five weeks. Morsi changed the composition of the SCAF by dismissing senior leadership like the chairman and deputy chairman and appointing a new minister of defense (2013). From February 13 to May 30 2011, SCAF suspended Egypt's 1971 constitution. SCAF though about amending the constitution but it never happened.

IVb. U.S Efforts Assessed

From 2011 to the end of the Obama administration, the United States played a delicate role in the political transition in Egypt. The United States went from initially supporting protestors and called for Mubarak to step down, to a democratically elected Muslim Brotherhood government, to military rule. The United States faced a dilemma of supporting a secular government that overthrew a democratically elected one. The 1974 Trade Act specifies considering human rights while financially dealing with other countries falls under the Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor Affairs (Shannon & Cummins, 2014). Section 7008 of Public Law 112-74, the most recent foreign operations appropriations act, states "none of the funds appropriated shall be obligated or expended to the government of any country whose duly elected head of government is deposed by military coup d'état in which the military plays a decisive role" (Shannon & Cummins, 2014). On July 26, 2013, U.S State Department spokesperson Jen Psaki stated the "law does not require us to make a formal determination as to whether a coup took place, and it is not in our national interest to make such a determination" (Shannon & Cummins, 2014). The Obama administration made several calls to Egypt to return to a democratically elected government. Once that

did not work, the United States suspended the delivery of four F-16s in July, then did not

participate in joint military exercises with Egypt following bloody crackdowns on

protestors (Shannon & Cummins, 2014). These tactics only opened up an opportunity for

Russia to pledge a $2 billion arms deal.

Table 4.2

Egypt Freedom House Rankings from 2011-2016				
Year	Status	Freedom Rating	Civil Liberties	Political Rights
2011	Not Free	5.5	5	6
2012	Partly Free	5.0	5	5
2013	Not Free	5.5	5	6
2014	Not Free	5.5	5	6
2015	Not Free	5.5	5	6
2016	Not Free	5.5	5	6

As previously mentioned in table 4.1, Egypt's Freedom House rankings and

scales are the same as Libya's. Countries are considered "free", "partly free", or "not

free". For the other categories, 1 equals the best ranking, while 7 equals the worst.

I would consider Egypt to be authoritarian in nature and neither democratic, nor

showing any signs of heading towards becoming a democracy. This is due to new anti-

terrorism laws being passed and cracking down on opposition groups, particularly

Islamist groups. While Egypt is experiencing an on-going terrorism battle, mainly in the

Sinai Peninsula, I assess Egypt is fairly stable compared to Libya. Libya can be

considered a failing state, due to several governing bodies claiming to be the respective legitimate governments and multiple armed groups with various affiliations fighting for control.

Table 4.3

Fragile States Index Rankings for Egypt and Libya 2011-2016						
Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Egypt	45	31	34	31	38	38
Libya	111	50	54	41	25	25

Data for Table 4.3 was provided by fundforpeace.org Fragile State Index. The rankings in the previous table are out of 178. The lower the number, the more unstable the country is. While the United States wants to spread the growth and sustainability of democracy around the world, there are moments where stability is preferred to democratization.

V.   Conclusion

Although the United States gave varying amounts of aid to Egypt and Libya, one variable remains the same. I assess the United States' approach or lack of approach, to Libya and Egypt caused greater political instability, thus leading to overall greater instability. The Obama administration approached the Arab Spring on a case by case basis and hesitated during both of Egypt's revolts when both Mubarak and Morsi were removed from power. US aid to Egypt did not fluctuate very much from 2011-2016. At this moment, Egypt is at a crossroads for their democracy to succeed. Secularists within

Egypt are willing to give up democracy altogether if it means Islamists are not included within government. Both secularists and Islamists are against a military figure as a head of state. Both groups favor a civilian as a head of state. Libya has an internal battle between Secularists and Islamists on a grand scale because both factions have their own government they believe is legitimate. Along with two major opposition governments, Libya has many armed tribes and militias.

The Obama administration played an active role in assisting rebels overthrow Qaddafi; however the transition process was left up to the EU and other NATO allies. Although I believe more aid to Libya could have made a difference in strengthening all aspects of the country, how the situation was handled has created steep setbacks that will take many years of intensive planning and training. The United States did not want another outcome like the Iraq War; however, due to lack of involvement post-revolution, it appears that more American and European involvement in Libya seems unavoidable. While examining all the research and data regarding Libya, I would advise it is necessary for not only the United States, but the International Community to become more involved in Libya. I do not think U.N held peace talks between both rival governments will create a solution to the steady problem that Libya has become. Future presidential administrations in the United States will have to examine Libya in a closer glance.

From 2011-2016, United States foreign aid used for democracy and the promotion of democracy to Egypt has steadily decreased. Historically, foreign aid to Egypt has been heavily military aid. Egypt has been receiving aid totally approximately $1.2 to $1.3 billion, with at least $1 billion going towards military aid. As previously stated, the Obama administration initially sided with protestors and favored the growth of

democracy within Egypt, however, in a two to three year span other events started occurring that shifted resources, being the Syrian conflict, Iran nuclear deal, and the on - going Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Obama administration shifted resources from supporting democracy to supporting the Egyptian economy. Despite the lack of financial resources to promoting democracy in Egypt, the state is functional and provides more services to its population compared to Libya. In both cases, the promotion of democracy started strong, but through the years steadily declined.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In 2011, a historic political shift swept across the Middle East and Northern Africa. Autocratic rulers who spent decades in power by using corruption and their loyal security apparatuses to oppress any political or social opposition were removed from power. Social media became an important tool in increasing revolutionary participation and documenting the revolution itself. Social media played a prominent role in the Egyptian revolution. Can democracy finally be established and sustained in the Middle East?

Throughout this thesis, I have examined the security, economic, and political situation in Libya and Egypt from 2011-2016. I have found that American foreign aid to Libya and Egypt has not led to increased stability in my dependent variables for both cases. While Egypt is not a weak state like Libya, there has been little to no progress made in the security, political, and economic sectors. While Egypt receives over a billion dollars of military aid a year, the Sinai Peninsula continues to be a constant source of conflict. Police and the military continue to be targets of violence resulting in al-Sisi cracking down on Egyptians with raids, interrogations, torture, and arrests without due process. In return, Egyptians in the Sinai will continue to feel alienated and will gravitate towards terror groups, such as Egypt's franchise of Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), the Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis. As previously stated in the first chapter, Egyptian policing can be described as extreme on both ends of the spectrum. Although the Sinai is

dangerous for police, either cracking down too hard, or not policing the area at all is not an effective way in stabilizing the peninsula. Islamic militants in both countries are well armed and possess automatic rifles, rocket propelled grenades, shoulder-fired surface to air missiles and various types of anti-aircraft guns fixated on the backs of pickup trucks.

After the overthrow of Muammar Qaddafi in 2011, all aspects of government ceased to exist. American foreign aid has not been an effective tool in helping stabilize the continuous security situation in Libya. The amount of money stemming from illegal activities, such as weapons trades and transporting migrants to Europe across the Mediterranean Sea outweighs the amount of money the United States gives to Libya by a large margin. Groups like Ansar al-Sharia (ASL) fill voids in Libyans' lives that were created post revolution, such as providing education, security, and other charity. While ASL is not as violent as Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis in Egypt, ASL recruits foreign fighters who want to fight in Syria by placing them in training camps in Libya. ASL is still capable of committing violence and terrorism throughout Libya, but violence is not their primary method.

The dual threat of ASL and the Islamic State in Libya will have to be properly addressed before any progress can be made. Outside Iraq and Syria, ISIL's franchise in Libya is their most sophisticated franchise and has the potential to become the next main battleground when the Syrian conflict comes to an end. In the ending months of 2016, the Islamic State was pushed out of Sirte but still poses a threat towards Libya and its neighbors. Libya's borders with all of its neighbors are porous and not patrolled regularly; however, some neighbors are taking measures to strengthen security. In 2015, Tunisia began building a wall and water trenches, while Algeria is building a fence (Abi-

Habib & Morajea, 2016). Neighboring countries, such as Algeria and Niger have been warned to stay on alert in order to attempt to block foreign fighters looking to return to their home countries (Abi-Habib & Morajea, 2016). U.S airstrikes played an important role in retaking Sirte. Sirte was the only city in Libya under the Islamic State's control. Sirte provided a strategic value because it has access to the water. While losing Sirte was a significant defeat for the Islamic State, there is plenty of countryside to hide, mainly in the southern and eastern parts of the country. Once Libya unites politically, the daunting task of securing their borders and having full sovereignty will become plausible.

In the past several years, the North Africa and Middle East region (MENA) is in a semi economic quagmire. Lack of opportunity in the region has caused migrants to take refuge in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Europe. The only industry in the region that received significant foreign investment during the time line of my study was the hydrocarbon industry.

Libya's economic problems are intertwined with their own security problems. Oil fields are soft targets and this makes them vulnerable to terrorist attacks. The Libyan economy is mismanaged and corrupt. Libya's economy is one dimensional and will not grow because oil fields are under constant threat. The security threat plays a direct role in shutting down oil production, which leads to hydrocarbon employees not getting paid, which then will lead to strikes and a further economic downfall. A two pronged approach must be in place in order for the Libyan economy to improve. There are multiple crises happening at the same time in Libya, therefore, Libyan oil fields must be secure from any radicalized groups wishing to take advantage of an easy target. Libya has the resources to have a growing economy, however mismanagement of resource revenues prevent this

from happening. At the moment, Libya also does not have a clear plan for their economy. Libya's budget lacks direction. With the trend of economic aid shown in this study, I assess Libya's economy will not improve in the immediate future. In order for the Libyan economy to improve, it will take committed multilateral involvement. The process to improve the Libyan economy will be messy and time consuming. Lots of resources, like capital and training personnel will have to be spent.

From 2011 to 2016, the United States was more involved and invested in the Egyptian economy than the Libyan economy. In late 2011, Egypt was included in a congressional enterprise fund whose purpose was to develop Egypt's private sector, particularly investing in small to medium sized business (Badreldin, 2015). Egypt is more a strategic asset than Libya is. This statement is true because the United States overrode laws regarding foreign aid with Egypt. Although President Morsi, a democratically elected president was removed by the Egyptian military, Secretary of State John Kerry authorized aid to Egypt because Egypt is important to the national security of the United States (Badreldin, 2015). This action shows the United States values stability in Egypt more than the value of democracy. As long as Egypt is continuing a strategic relationship with the United States and is in accordance to the Egypt-Israel peace treaty, the United States will continue to supply Egypt with both military and economic aid (Badreldin, 2015).

Like Libya, the political and security climate scares off foreign investment, forcing Egypt to take loans from Persian Gulf monarchies in order to compensate for Egypt's import/export deficit (CIA, 2017). The loans are for short-medium term investments from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait for $18 billion

(Badreldin, 2015). Although Egypt's economy is surviving right now with foreign loans, the resiliency of the Egyptian economy will be scrutinized once money from the Gulf States stops flowing into Egypt (Badreldin, 2015). The next question would be can Egypt survive on their own with little to no foreign aid? Can Egypt eventually close the import/export gap?

The Egyptian economy is in a quagmire and can be described as struggling. Although Egypt is experiencing continuous economic problems, their economy is still stronger than Libya's. Egypt has the means to strengthen their economy and does not have to start from the ground and work their way up. Although Egypt's unemployment has plateaued at approximately 12.6 percent, Egypt has a steady supply of job seekers; however, local businesses are unable to keep up with the demand. USAID in Egypt wants to decrease the time it takes to register businesses, secure licenses and tax requirements (2016). If USAID is successful in eliminating Egyptian bureaucratic "red tape", unemployment in Egypt will decrease, more businesses will grow, and foreign investments will increase, eventually leading to a stronger Egyptian economy.

In Chapter three, I discussed political stability in both Egypt and Libya. My study shows that political stability has not improved in either country, but has worsened in separate ways. Historically, tribal lines and religion played a dominant role in Middle Eastern politics. Libya has two different governments believing they are the legitimate governing body. Libya's problems predate their 2011 revolution by several decades. Throughout Qaddafi's rule, Libyan political institutions were purposefully weakened. During the transition period, both countries experienced internal disagreements on who should be head of state. In Egypt, groups who wish to have a secular head of state are

willing to go as far as eliminating any prospects of democracy in order to not have an Islamist government. Although there is not an all-out civil war in Egypt, these types of disagreements prevent democracy from being established in Egypt.

For the majority of this study, Egypt has been classified as "not free" according to freedomhouse.org. After Mubarak resigned in 2011, Egypt received an upward trend arrow. An upward trend arrow can be defined as a certain country is taking the right steps in becoming from politically liberated. Along with the overthrow of President Mubarak, Egypt received an upward trend arrow because of judicial independence and political pluralism (freedomhouse.org, 2017). Although Egypt received an upward trend, Egypt's overall scores were low for civil liberties, political rights, and overall freedom rating. In 2012, Egypt had their highest ranking. Egypt upgraded from the category "not free" to "partly free". This boost in ratings was due to holding a presidential election that was fairly close to international standards and took away power from the military, or the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) (freedomhouse.org, 2017). The new political upgrade did not bring an end to instability. Unilateral action from the new Islamist majority government was met with resistance and a power struggle between judicial and political branches boiled over resulting in Egypt's lower house of parliament being dissolved (freedomhouse.org, 2017). In an attempt to gain control of a chaotic political situation, President Morsi gave himself additional executive powers. After giving himself additional power, a new constitution was written but was criticized as it was written by an majority Islamist assembly. President Morsi failed trying to politically stabilize Egypt, and the hope for a democratic Egypt would seem to never recover.

In 2013, Egypt's classification fell from "partly free" back to "not free" after President Morsi was removed. Egypt also received the not free status as a result from crackdowns against Islamist political groups and civil society, along with the increased role of the military in the political process (freedomhouse.org, 2017). Politically, there was lots of activity in Egypt. In the spring activists who named themselves Tamarrod, which translates to "Rebellion", started a petition demanding the withdrawal of confidence from the Morsi government and early elections. Millions of demonstrators took to the streets on June 30, the anniversary of Morsi's inauguration (freedomhouse.org, 2017). After the protests started, the military gave Morsi two days to answer to popular demands, or promises he fell short on delivering. On July 3, Morsi was detained by the military, the constitution was suspended, and an interim government was installed led by Adli Mansour, chairman of the Supreme Constitutional Court (freedomhouse.org, 2017). A new constitution was to be written by a panel of legal experts and revised by a 50 member committee. This committee was not demographically or politically representative, with five women, four Coptic Christians, and one Islamist member. Secret votes were occasionally conducted and the final document gave additional powers to the military, the judicial branch, and the police (freedomhouse.org, 2017). Morsi's supporters demonstrated against the interim government and were met with harsh opposition resulting in more than 1,000 deaths. Islamist protestors believed the Coptic Christian community was behind Morsi's overthrow and the status quo treatment of the Islamist community (freedomhouse.org, 2017). Egypt went from overthrowing a democratically elected government via coup d'état, to establishing a new constitution

with no room for dissent, to eventually disbanding the Muslim Brotherhood and declaring them a terrorist organization.

Egypt received a "not free" status by freedom house for the 2014 fiscal year. This was mainly due the marginalization of political opposition, state surveillance of electronic communications, encouraging the public to report political dissent, and mass trials of Muslim Brotherhood members (freedomhouse.org, 2017). Elections were held May 26-28 where victor Abdel Fattah al-Sisi won 95 percent of the vote. The government targeted journalists reporting on political opposition. During 2014, the insurgency in the Sinai Peninsula grew stronger. The government responded with demolishing hundreds of homes along the Gaza Strip border trying to stop the flow of weapons and militants (freedomhouse.org, 2017). In 2015 and 2016, Egypt did not make any political progress, resulting in another "not free" status due to the same government activity that occurred the year before.

I.   Freedom House: Libya

In 2011, as a result of Qaddafi losing control of Libya, Libya improved their status from "not free" to "partly free". Media freedom and access to information expanded. The initial constitutional draft had requirements for more freedom of expression and the press. The press also had more access to political officials (freedomhouse.org, 2017). Journalists were able to cover more news and not have to worry about violence or being intimidated. This is a vast improvement compared to the Qaddafi regime, where there was no independent press, only state controlled media. In

the beginning stages of the protests, state media outlets only showed demonstrators loyal to the regime.

2012 Freedom House results were the same as the previous year. Libya was considered "partly free". The National Transitional Council (NTC), formed shortly after armed conflict broke out in February 2011 (freedomhouse.org, 2017). Their goal was to influence Libya towards their first democratic elections, which would eventually take place in July 2012. In August, the NTC handed power to the new legislative body, the General National Council (GNC) (freedomhouse.org, 2017). These political achievements were tarnished by the failure to establish security and rule of law. GNC was unable to control parts of the country due to semiautonomous militias (freedomhouse.org, 2017). While some militias associated themselves with the rebuilding national army, others became proxies for the government, or even acted under their own supervision. The lack of oversight created an unsafe environment for journalists (freedomhouse.org, 2017).

For 2013, Libya remained the same at "partly free". 2013 was a difficult year for Libya attempting to contain security challenges and building a constitutional system by electing a 60 member assembly called the General National Congress (GNC) (freedomhouse, 2017). The GNC continued to pass laws and decrees, however the ability to enforce these laws were limited. The lack of ability to enforce laws led to an increase in frustration among the citizens mainly with the multiple autonomous militias (freedomhouse, 2017). Demonstrations began and were met with violence. Most notable acts of violence took place in June in Benghazi, where 32 people were killed after civilians protested abuse by a local militia. In November of 2013, 43 people were killed

as protestors wanted regional militias to leave the cities of Zintan and Misrata (freedomhouse, 2017). Before he was kidnapped, Prime Minister Ali Zeidan vowed to investigate, however the militias involved were not prosecuted.

2014 was a difficult year for Libya. Overall freedom rating, civil liberties, and political rights categories all declined according to freedom house. Libya was downgraded from "partly free" to "not free". Overall, these decreased rankings are a result from Libya's humanitarian crisis, Libya's descent into civil war, and increasing political polarization (freedomhouse, 2017). Libya held elections February 2014 for a Constituent Assembly tasked with drafting a new constitution, along with municipal council elections that began in April. The House of Representatives (HoR) was supposed to replace the General National Congress as the country's interim legislative body in June (freedomhouse, 2017). Opponents of the House of Representatives revived the General National Congress and started the branch in Tripoli, while the House of Representatives was in Tobruk.

In May 2014, General Khalifa Haftar launched an offensive as the head of a coalition called Operation Dignity that pledged to rid Libya of Islamists. This pledge included all Islamist groups, including moderate and extremist groups. In response to Operation Dignity being formed, Libya Dawn was formed and pledged their support towards GNC based in Tripoli (freedomhouse, 2017). The civil war comprises not only of a battle between ideologies, but a regional battle between different militias. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates supplied arms to Operation Dignity, while Qatar and Turkey sided with the Islamist coalition, Libya Dawn (freedomhouse, 2017).

In 2015, Libya had the same freedom house political status as "not free". The civil war in Libya was at its peak. In the conflict, hundreds of armed rival groups were entrenched in a stalemate. The conflict broke down infrastructure and displaced approximately 400,000 people since mid-2014 (freedomhouse, 2017). The security breakdown and political vacuum allowed the Islamic State to take over Sirte. The United Nations began to get involved with attempting to cease the political violence by attempting to establish a unified government with negotiations involving members of the competing governments, political party representatives, and council members (freedomhouse, 2017). In December 2015, representatives from both groups signed a UN agreement saying the HoR would be the primary legislature, while GNC members would make up most of the State Council, a secondary consultative body (freedomhouse, 2017). This agreement would be in place until a new constitution would be adopted and new parliamentary elections. The agreement appeared promising, but fell apart once hardliners on both sides deemed the agreement unacceptable. Although a legislative agreement was created, there was no such agreement security wise to dismantle armed groups. According to Freedom house, there was no significant improvement within Libya for the 2016 fiscal year.

As of February 8, 2017, Russia and the European Union support General Haftar in having a formal role to unite Libya. The European Union has a vested interest in trying to unite Libya in order to solve the migrant crisis. Russia looked to strengthen relations with General Haftar mainly to combat the Islamic State and other terror groups (Barigazzi & Herszenhorn, 2017).The EU is concerned with Russia's increased interest and influence within Libya because there is the possibility that the Kremlin would obtain some control

over the flow of migrants to Europe from Africa. EU foreign policy chief Federica Mogherini stated the European Union will not dictate solutions to Libya. These solutions must be accomplished by Libyans (Barigazzi & Herszenhorn, 2017).

II.   Analysis of Hypotheses

In the introductory chapter, my first hypothesis state that high amounts of aid, whether economic or military is not effective when the recipient is either a failed state or on their way to becoming a failed state. I assess this hypothesis to be true based on my findings with both of my cases. American foreign aid to Egypt has been consistently over a billion dollars, hovering around $1.3 billion during the time frame of my case study. Approximately one billion dollars is spent towards security, whether that is helping maintain the Egyptian armed forces, buy new equipment, or help reform police and intelligence services to curb terrorism. Since Mohammad Morsi was removed from power, security stability in Egypt has worsened. Islamist groups used Morsi's removal as an attack against Islam as a whole. As of March 2017, clashes between Islamic State affiliates and the Egyptian security forces occur almost daily with little sign of slowing down. American foreign aid is having no impact on the security dependent variable. Foreign aid towards the security sector Egypt is important.

My second hypothesis said when there is much more military aid than economic aid, results can be unpredictable. Lack of diversification in funds can cause other variables to start to fail. The Egyptian and Libyan economies are just as important as the political and security sectors. If it was possible to suddenly solve Libya's and Egypt's economic problems overnight, this would relieve tension and would make things easier to

solve problems politically and security wise. American foreign aid has had no impact in both case studies and their economies.

My last hypothesis said any amount of aid, economic or military is effective when the recipient is fairly stable because there are no major issues to warrant mass protest, thus causing the ruling government the potential to be overthrown. For this hypothesis, I assess there are no results because neither of my case studies were stable enough to begin this. The transition process was not easy for both of my cases, resulting in even more protests and clashes between military personnel and civilians. Interim governments did not rule for long and it can be argued these interim governments never had full sovereignty over their respective territories.

III.   Future Assessment for Egypt and Libya

I assess with medium to high confidence the security, economic, and political climate for both of my cases will not improve in the immediate future and both of my cases are not better off as of March 2017 than they were in 2011. Egypt and Libya have radical Islamic groups within their countries that possess the will and the means to fight the status quo. Weapons caches from Qaddafi's old army find their way across Libya's borders into the hands of its neighbors including Egypt. While guns flow from Libya into Egypt, several migration routes flow from Egypt into Libya. Due to hundreds of armed rival militia groups in Libya, I assess with strong confidence the Libyans are not capable of stabilizing their country on their own. While the European Union wants Libya to make decisions for Libya, this idea appears unrealistic. Libya is too broken to solve their own issues by themselves. The foreign policy of letting Libya try to fix itself is dangerous not

only for Libya, but for MENA. The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria view Libya as a suitable destination for their next area of operations if the conflict in Iraq and Syria were to eventually end. I assess Russia views their relationship with General Haftar as beneficial and they will continue to improve ties with him, along with playing a more active role in trying to solve the conflict. If General Haftar was more moderate towards Islamists in Libya, Russia would not be interested. General Haftar offers no disadvantage for Russia. He is a key figure in the process of eliminating radical groups throughout Libya. As previously stated, if the Kremlin were to somehow gain control of the flow of migrants from Libya into Europe, this would pose as a significant problem to the European Union. Russia could use this as a weapon to balance the EU and NATO.
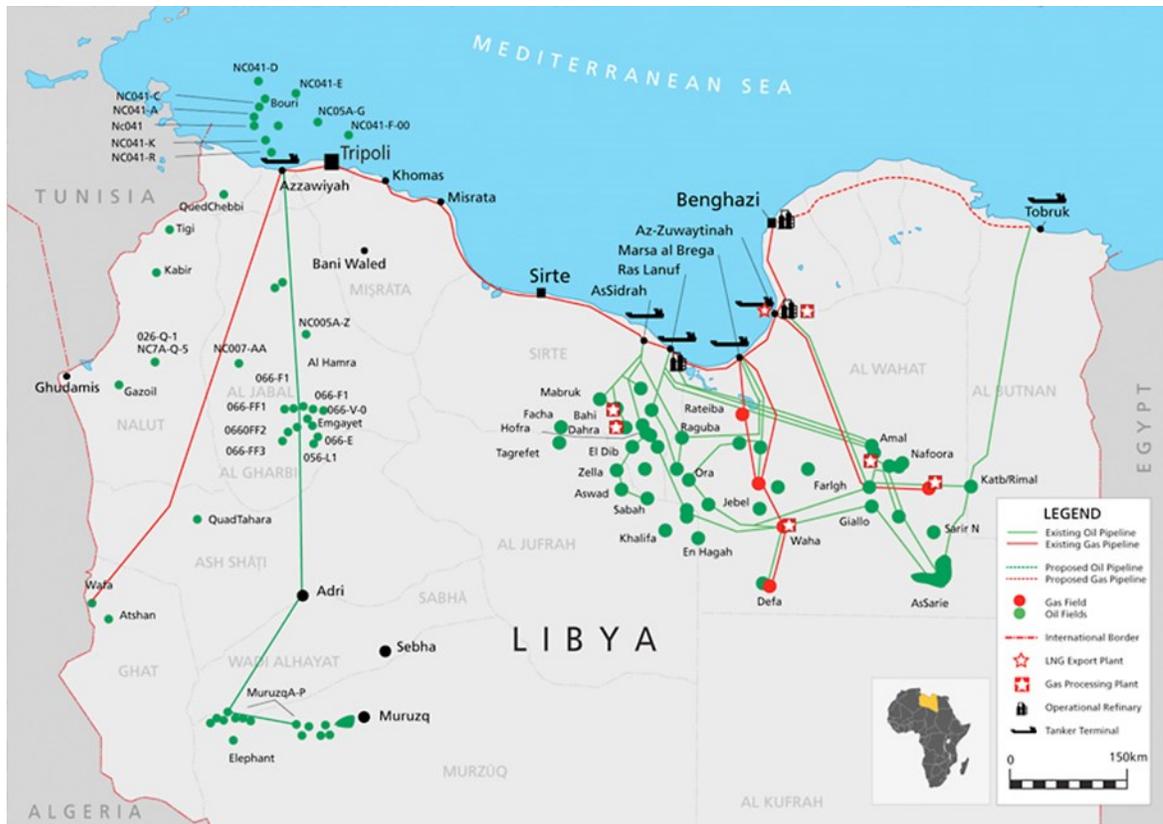
Figure 5.1

The map shows the majority of oil and gas fields, along with oil and gas pipelines are in Eastern Libya, which is territory controlled by General Haftar and Operation Dignity. I chose to use this graphic to give a visualization of Libya's oil and gas fields, along with their energy capabilities.

Economically, there are little to no prospects for both case studies. The political and security climates are to blame. As of March 2017, the Egyptian economy is surviving on loans from foreign governments, mainly Saudi Arabia and a few other Gulf states.

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[1] Source: Heritage Oil Limited, 2014. Map of Libya's Natural Resources-Available at http://www.heritageoilltd.com/our-operations.aspx subject to copyright.

What will happen once Egypt stops getting loans? Will Egypt be able to financially

support itself with little to no foreign help? I assess Egypt has the means to support itself,

however the political and security problem must be solved first. Egypt has a lot of small

to medium sized businesses and a large private sector workforce, the opposite of what

Libya has. USAID has worked to minimize bureaucratic interference and facilitate the

process it takes to start up a business in Egypt.

Libya has more to offer than Egypt does in regards to natural resources. Libya

however does not have the means to possess a basic economy. Once the Libyan economy

has a direction and strategy, they will be able to move forward towards self-sufficiency.

Just like their political problems, Libya is not capable of solving their economic problems

on their accord and will need extensive foreign intervention to fix their problems.

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