

exclusive governance cannot be effectively addressed through the provision of basic services alone.

The United States should set an example by redefining its relationship with Ethiopia, starting with the recognition of this reality. In too many developing countries, legitimate concerns about unaccountable governance are given short shrift as aspirational and inconvenient tradeoffs for positive relations with host governments. But the quiet diplomacy of the past—backroom condemnation and public praise—has proven unable to ensure the sustainability of U.S. investments by failing to protect and promote stability, let alone encourage meaningful reform by the Ethiopian Government.

It is precisely because Ethiopia is a strategic partner of the U.S. that we should encourage remedies to the underlying tensions in the country. That does not mean we walk away from our partnership, but we should examine the type of assistance we provide to the Ethiopian Government to ensure it aligns with shared interests and activities that contribute to government capacity in a manner that addresses local concerns.

This is not without its challenges, and the only government that has the ability to successfully reform Ethiopia is its own. Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn and the rest of the Ethiopian leadership should begin by reassessing its crowd control tactics and ensuring accountability for those who have committed abuses. I support the call by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights for an independent, transparent, thorough, and effective investigation into violations of human rights committed during the unrest, and if the Ethiopian Government is interested in demonstrating its legitimacy, it would welcome such an inquiry.

I look forward to working with other Members of Congress, the Obama administration, and their successors to determine how best we can ensure that the assistance U.S. taxpayers provide to Ethiopia serves our long-term interests in the region.

#### IMPRISONMENT OF AYA HIJAZI

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I want to speak about a matter in Egypt, a long-time ally of the United States, a country with a rich history and culture, but whose people have suffered for years due to corrupt, repressive governments and an anemic economy that stagnates under excessive statist control. This is the situation despite more than \$75 billion in U.S. economic and military aid for Egypt over the past 50 years.

Today, more than 5 years after public protests led to the resignation of President Mubarak, followed by the election of the Muslim Brotherhood, the military-supported coup that forcibly removed and imprisoned President Morsi and thousands of his followers, and the election that brought President al-Sisi,

a former army general, to power, the United States and Egypt are struggling to preserve a long history of security cooperation.

That cooperation is important to the Middle East region as a whole, but U.S.-Egypt relations face increasing challenges as President al-Sisi tightens his grip on power by persecuting political opponents, silencing members of the media, including deporting American and other foreign journalists who criticize his policies and imprisoning representatives of civil society.

The brutal torture and killing of Giulio Regeni, an Italian student and journalist who many believe was an innocent victim of the Egyptian police, occurred only 4 months after the Egyptian army attacked a convoy of tourists in September 2015, killing 12 and injuring 10, including an American who continues to suffer from her injuries for which she has received no compensation.

Just last week, a court in Cairo froze the assets of some of Egypt's most prominent human rights defenders in an attempt to silence them and put their organizations out of business. The State Department responded by urging the Egyptian Government to ease restrictions on association and expression.

These and other incidents have cast a dark cloud over efforts to find a common way forward with the al-Sisi government.

In May 2015, after repeated appeals by me, Secretary of State Kerry, and others, the Egyptian Government finally released Mohammed Soltan, a young Egyptian-American who was imprisoned, along with his father, for nearly 2 years. His crime, if one can call it that, was taking part in a public protest. In return for his release, he was forced to give up his Egyptian citizenship, a Hobson's choice that no citizen of any country should have to make.

In the meantime, on May 1, 2014, the government arrested Aya Hijazi, 29 years old and also an Egyptian-American, whose husband, an Egyptian citizen, was also arrested, along with Sherif Talaat Mohammed, Amira Farag, and eventually Ibrahim Abd Rabbo, Karim Magdi, and Mohammed al-Sayyed Mohammed, for operating a nonprofit organization called the Belady Foundation, which is dedicated to helping abandoned and homeless children.

Backing up for a moment, Aya's mother and father came to the United States to pursue master's degrees and because Aya's grandmother, who lived in Virginia, wanted her family nearby. Three of Aya's uncles, an aunt, and their families live in Houston and are all American citizens. Aya grew up here, went to middle school and high school in Virginia, and graduated from George Mason University. At George Mason, she was a volunteer for Search for Common Ground, a respected peacebuilding organization based in Washington.

After graduating, Aya moved to Cairo where she met Mohammed Hassanein, whom she married, and who, like Aya, wanted to be involved in social work. Together they founded Belady, which means "our country," and which Aya and the members of her organization call "an island of humanity." That same year, Aya was accepted to study at the American University in Cairo, a prestigious institution that receives funding from the U.S. Government, focusing on social work and children's welfare, but she and her husband were arrested before she began her studies.

The charges against them are as salacious as they are farcical: sexually abusing children and paying them to participate in antigovernment demonstrations. Since then, Aya, her husband, and the five Belady volunteers have been in prison. After more than 2 years, the government has yet to disclose a shred of evidence to support the allegations, and Aya, her husband, and the other defendants are still awaiting a fair, public trial and a chance to defend themselves.

Aya Hijazi's case fits a pattern. We have seen it time and again, not only in Egypt, but in other repressive societies where governments are unaccountable and abuse the judicial process to silence dissent and intimidate those who are perceived, rightly or wrongly, to be engaged in activities that may reflect poorly on the authorities.

We all want relations with Egypt to improve, just as we want the Egyptian people to enjoy the rights and opportunities they deserve. With ISIS and other extremist groups infiltrating throughout the Middle East and beyond, impoverished Egyptian youths, who have few educational and professional options, are particularly vulnerable to ISIS recruitment.

But the more governments curtail the rights and ability of people with grievances to express themselves and to seek redress through peaceful means, the more likely it is that they will resort to violence. This is not a new concept. Anyone who has read the Declaration of Independence understands it. It is what ultimately brought about the downfall of President Mubarak.

The Egyptian Government has imprisoned Aya without trial for more than 850 days. That alone is inexcusable and a violation of Egyptian law, which holds that no one can be subjected to pretrial detention for more than 2 years without being released with or without bail. On February 3, 2016, the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights published a petition signed by 25 Egyptian human rights organizations against the detention of the Belady founders and volunteers. On May 20, 2016, the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights organization submitted Aya's case to the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, seeking her release. On May 21, Aya's trial date was

postponed, yet again, to November 19, 2016. Last week, White House officials called for her release.

Aya has suffered emotionally and physically. She is often prohibited from writing to or receiving correspondence from her family, and her reputation and that of the other defendants, as well as her organization, has been tarnished by unproven allegations. She and the others should be immediately released. Absent proof, made available for all to see, that they have committed a punishable offense, the charges should be dismissed.

Egypt was among the 48 countries that voted for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948. That is a vote to be proud of, but the al-Sisi government's persecution of Aya Hijazi and others who have been subjected to lengthy imprisonment without trial or whose only offense is to criticize government corruption and abuse or to participate in nonviolent social activism makes a mockery of Egypt's vote.

The Universal Declaration, among other rights, includes the following: article 9, No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile; article 10, Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him; article 11(1), Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense; article 19, Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers; and article 20, Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

Each of these articles has been violated in Aya Hijazi's case.

On January 20, 2017, the next President of the United States will take the oath of office. That is 116 days from today. The next President will immediately face every imaginable challenge, foreign and domestic, including the instability and violence in the Middle East and North Africa.

I therefore urge the Government of Egypt, in the remaining months of the Obama administration, and in particular President al-Sisi, who also has a daughter named Aya and who I believe, if he examined this case, would agree that Aya Hijazi does not belong in prison, to recognize this opportunity and take steps to enable our next President to immediately engage with Egypt in a manner that brings our countries closer together, not farther apart. A key step would be the satisfactory resolution of the cases of Aya Hijazi, her husband, and the Belady volunteers and of United States non-governmental organizations that have

been prevented from working in Egypt on behalf of the Egyptian people.

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES AND INDONESIA

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, according to recent reports, more than 3,000 people have been killed in the Philippines in the 12 weeks since President Duterte announced his campaign to wipe out illicit drug use.

More than 1,000 of those deaths were at the hands of the Philippine National Police during counternarcotic operations, compared to 68 such killings this year in the months prior to President Duterte taking office, half of which happened in the period between his election and inauguration. The rest were killed apart from police operations, incited by President Duterte's violent rhetoric, which has been well documented. The vast majority of these individuals were low-level drug users, victims of a government seeking to make up for years of ineffective, corrupt law enforcement and rampant crime by terrorizing the population into submission.

As the ranking member or chairman for more than 25 years of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee that funds U.S. foreign assistance programs, I have been frustrated that we often fail to learn obvious lessons when it comes to foreign assistance investments. One example is that economic opportunity and security alone cannot assure stability. Stability requires legitimate governance and the protection of human rights. This is not just an aspiration; it is a practical, strategic imperative.

As a former prosecutor and now ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, I know the difference between those who need help versus those who deserve to be punished. I also know, as do most people, that, when governments condone extrajudicial killings and forced disappearances and prey on vulnerable populations, they are sowing the seeds of instability, not preventing it.

For roughly 700,000 Filipino drug users, the prospect of being summarily executed on the street has led them to turn themselves into the authorities. That would seem to be a good thing. But given the shortage of drug treatment centers, these individuals are either told to pledge that they will remain drug free and sent home to recover on their own, or they are imprisoned in overcrowded, inhumane conditions. By failing to address the needs of those who have risked coming forward, President Duterte is missing an opportunity to combat the drug trade in one of the most sustainable ways possible: by helping hundreds of thousands of people get the help they want to beat their addiction.

No amount of killing will result in reforms that improve the judiciary, end corruption and impunity in law enforcement, or rehabilitate those caught

in the vicious cycle of addiction. To the contrary, if President Duterte is serious about improving conditions in the Philippines, he should be focusing on improving services for Filipinos, not casting them aside; holding law enforcement accountable, not giving them a blanket license to kill suspects; and strengthening the judiciary, not undercutting it.

In a troubling sign that these concerns are falling on deaf ears, President Duterte's most vocal opponent of his antidrug policies, whom President Duterte has publicly accused of being involved in drug trafficking and attempting to smear him, was recently removed from her position as the head of the senate human rights panel investigating the killings. She was replaced by a senator who supports giving the police the authority to arrest anyone without a warrant.

I know that as ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator CARDIN also has concerns with the situation in the Philippines, and I yield to him for any remarks he may wish to make.

Mr. CARDIN. I thank my friend from Vermont for his raising this important issue and appreciate the opportunity to join him today.

The relationship between the United States and the Philippines is tremendously important for both our nations and both of our people; yet I fear that today, because of the way in which the new government of President Duterte is approaching this issue, we may find ourselves at something of a crossroads.

If the current trends continue, we can expect that over 6,000 people will be dead as a result of extrajudicial killings in the Philippines by the end of this year—6,000 people. This is not a situation in which there is occasional error or the overzealous application of force. This is systematic, widespread, brutal, and beyond the bounds for a constitutional democracy.

And as my colleague from Vermont pointed out, these dead are not just drug dealers—although that would be troubling enough given the lack of due process—but also include addicts, who need help, as well as innocent bystanders.

I understand President Duterte's desire to stop the devastation caused by illegal narcotics. I believe that most of my colleagues do. We, too, have seen what drug trafficking and addiction can do in our communities. We also have a long history of both successful and unsuccessful efforts to combat narcotics, but we have learned that there is a right way to approach this issue—with law enforcement, due process and rule of law, with treatment—and a wrong way. President Duterte, in advocating and endorsing what amounts to mass murder, has chosen the wrong way. Senator LEAHY is absolutely right when he said that a lack of respect for rule of law and democratic governance breeds instability, distrust, and sometimes violence.