

RELEASE IN FULL

From: Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>
Sent: Thursday, June 28, 2012 4:17 AM
To: H
Cc: Hanley, Monica R
Subject: Fw: Excerpt: Egypt q&a in Charlie Rose conversation

Here is the full excerpt - worth reading through. I think it's really solid.

----- Original Message -----

From: Adler, Caroline E
Sent: Thursday, June 28, 2012 04:05 AM
To: Sullivan, Jacob J; Reines, Philippe I
Subject: Excerpt: Egypt q&a in Charlie Rose conversation

MR. ROSE: Let me move to Egypt and I'll come back to some of these other points. What's happening there today, and what is your understanding – and I'll begin with Secretary Baker and then come back – of what's the risk for the United States and what's the risk for the Middle East in terms of where the army is, where the people who created the Arab Spring is, and where the Muslim Brotherhood is?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, I think the risks are quite large, because for some time we've been looking at Egypt as perhaps a textbook success case of how --

MR. ROSE: Of the Arab Spring?

SECRETARY BAKER: Of the Arab Spring. Yeah. Now, people say not an Arab Spring, it's also an Arab Winter, because of what's happening. And there's some, in my view, potential for that to happen.

It is not, as we sit here today, not an unalloyed success, because the military have come in, they've taken power back, and it looks like they're going to keep it. And then we have a question of whether the results of the election are going to be confirmed or observed. There are all these questions coming forward within the last, frankly, last week – week or ten days. So it's a real problem, because if Egypt goes the wrong way, if we lose the Arab – if we lose the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty – and that's possible if the more radical elements in Egypt end up on top after all that's happening now – that would be a very destructive and destabilizing event.

MR. ROSE: That's not, by definition, what necessarily will happen if Morsi becomes the president.

SECRETARY BAKER: No. Not just – not Morsi, but there could be – we don't know who's going – and we don't know whether the president's going to have power or whether the military is going to keep the power.

MR. ROSE: Well, the military suggested it might very well keep it, haven't they?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I mean, Jim is right. We are concerned and we have expressed those concerns. We think that it is imperative that the military fulfill its promise to the Egyptian people to turn power over to the legitimate winner. We don't know yet who's going to be named the winner of the election, but we think that the military has to proceed with its commitments to do so.

And so the actions that they've taken in the last week are clearly troubling. And it's been a fast-moving situation, because we've had Mubarak's serious illness intervene; we don't yet have vote totals coming out; we don't yet know what the military really has meant by these statements and decrees. They've said one set of things publicly, then they've been backtracking to a certain extent.

But our message has been very consistent, that, look, we think, number one, they have to follow through on the democratic process. And by that, we mean, yes, elections that are free and fair and legitimate, whose winner gets to assume the position of authority in the country, but who recognizes that democracy is not about one election, one time. And we have very clear expectations about what we are looking to see from whoever is declared the winner, that it has to be an inclusive democratic process, the rights of all Egyptians – women and men, Muslim and Christian, everyone – has to be respected. They have to have a stake in the future of the democratic experiment in Egypt. The military has to assume an appropriate role, which is not to try to interfere with, dominate, or subvert the constitutional authority. They have to get a constitution written. There's a lot of work ahead of them.

We also believe it is very much in Egypt's interest, while they're facing political turmoil and economic difficulties, to honor the peace treaty with Israel. The last thing they need is to make a decision that would undermine their stability. And furthermore, we think it's important that they reassert law and order over the Sinai, which is becoming a large, lawless area, and that they take seriously the internal threats from extremists and terrorists. So they have a lot ahead of them.

SECRETARY BAKER: Plus, the dissolution of the parliament.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah.

SECRETARY BAKER: I mean, they've just come in and dissolved the elected parliament. How do you put that humpty dumpty back together?

MR. ROSE: But the impression – (laughter) – hard. The impression is that during the time of the revolution that was taking place that the lines between the American and the military was very good and very strong. And does that still exist?

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, there certainly is a continuing effort to reach out. And in fact, I know that there are ongoing conversations between our military leaders and their counterparts in Egypt. But the message is the one that I just said. We expect you to support the democratic transition, to recede by turning over authority. And we are watching this unfold, but with some really clear redlines about what we think should occur, based on what the people of Egypt thought they were getting.

One of the stories that will emerge even more in the months ahead is that the people who started the revolution in Tahrir Square decided they wouldn't really get involved in politics. And I remember being there – and this kind of goes back to your very first question – going to Cairo shortly after the success of the revolution, meeting with a large group of these mostly young people. And when I said, "So are you going to form a political party? Are you going to be working on behalf of political change?" They said, "Oh no. We're revolutionaries. We don't do politics."

And I --

MR. ROSE: Exactly.

SECRETARY CLINTON: -- I sat there and I thought that's how revolutions get totally derailed, taken over, undermined. And they now are expressing all kinds of disappointment at the choices they had and the results. But the energy that went in to creating this participatory revolution, giving people a sense of being citizens in a modern Egypt, has to be rekindled because this -- as hard as this has been, this is just the beginning. They are facing so many problems that we could list for an hour that they're going to have deal with. And they have to somehow paint a picture for the Egyptian people about what it's going to take to get the result of this hard-fought change that they've experienced.

MR. ROSE: That's true about every country, isn't it? Whether it's Libya --

SECRETARY CLINTON: It is. Absolutely.

MR. ROSE: -- or Tunisia or Egypt or whatever happens in Syria.

SECRETARY BAKER: Absolutely. We do not know.

SECRETARY CLINTON: Absolutely.

MR. ROSE: We will not know how it shakes out and who the leaders that will come to power will be --

SECRETARY CLINTON: No.

MR. ROSE: -- and what they're ambitions will be to play what role in the world scene.

SECRETARY CLINTON: That's right.

SECRETARY BAKER: That's correct.