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A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace

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In This Issue

In this issue of All Azimuth we present our readers a selection of studies focusing primarily on matters of peace and defense but delving also into the very salient Global IR debate. We open with Dr. Malek Abduljaber and Dr. İlker Kalın's collaborative work "An Empirical Analysis of the Women and Peace Hypothesis." This article examines an argument often found at the intersection of Liberal and Feminist IR: a positive correlation of female empowerment and enfranchisement with interstate peace. The article's novelty lies not only in its extended geographic coverage, encompassing far more regions than previous studies, but also in utilizing additional measures of differences in attitudes between the genders. Not content with limiting its inquiry to attitudes on the use of force, the article also engages with broader dimensions of international peace and conflict using data derived from the World Values Survey as well as the Arab Barometer. The analysis concludes that while some gender-based attitudinal differences are discernable in several cases, gender-based attitudes towards conflict evidences no significant variations across all cases.

Our second article, by (R) Amb. Dr. Hasibe Şahoğlu, "One Step Towards Reconciliation in Cyprus: Perceptions of the 'Other' for the Families of Missing Persons" examines peacebuilding in post-conflict societies, specifically relating to the perceptions of the 'other' in families who lost members to the conflict. This matter is explored in the context of the Cyprus dispute and by way of interviews conducted with Greek and Turkish Cypriot families. The article, moreover, investigates the contributions of initiatives like the Committee on Missing Persons (CMP) in helping intercommunal reconciliation. In this case, the analysis shows that Greek and Turkish Cypriot families' discourses fall along similar lines as both communities acknowledge their former shared bonds, recognize the negative role of politicians in aggravating the conflict, elicit empathy towards one another, and highlight the positive role of the CMP.

Article number three, "The Role of International Educational Exchange in Turkish Foreign Policy as a Reconstructed Soft Power Tool" by Dr. Fatma Kelkitli investigates if and how Turkey's soft power instruments, most prominently educational exchange initiatives, enhances Turkey's influence. Using voting patterns at the United Nations General Assembly as a measure of foreign policy congruence with exchange partners in three different time periods, Kelkitli finds that despite Turkey's rising investment in educational exchange programs, only a handful of countries seem to align with Turkey. In fact, the analysis suggests that as Turkey's investment in educational exchanges increases in a country, the less likely it is that they will align with Turkey at the UNGA. The findings are counterintuitive, suggesting that more work is needed to understand how soft power tools operate and translate into tangible influence.

Turning our attention from peaceful endeavors to those of security and defense the fourth article, entitled "Egypt's Defense Industry: Dependency, Civilian Production, and Attempts at Autonomy" by Dr. Zeinab Abul-Magd, illuminates the fortunes of Egypt's defense industry. The subject of defense industries has become particularly important given that defense industrialization in the Global South appears to have followed a dependent development route. Efforts to correct this dependence in Egypt have had mixed results. As Abul-Magd explains, while the Egyptian defense industry enjoyed periods of growth during

the Cold War, developments since the 1990s, including economic stagnation, competitive pressures, and limited technology transfers, have led to its stagnation. Despite state-led initiatives aimed at boosting the defense industry the Egyptian military has adapted to a civilian niche to compensate for the lack of civilian industries. While profitable, the focus on civilian production has consequently hampered efforts to manufacture defense goods, thereby reinforcing Egypt's reliance on imported arms.

Our fifth article, by Dr. Cenker Korhan Demir, "Professionalization, Local Military Context, and Reconstruction of the Army in Afghanistan", examines security in the Global South by way of investigating an important facet of state-building and security sector reform: namely, the reconstruction of the army in post-conflict Afghanistan. Through unstructured interviews with officers who served in this reconstruction process, the study finds that internationally implemented reconstruction efforts often fail to achieve their intended goals because they rarely take into careful consideration the idiosyncrasies of local conditions. In the case of Afghanistan, while a multinational intervention was able to deliver short-term security and stability, the reconstruction process of the Afghani Army was shaped by the organizational experiences of the multinational forces, which conflicted with the security situation on the ground. Other factors, such as ethnic and tribal cleavages within Afghanistan, further militated against an effective reconstruction effort.

Our final article, by Dr. Asena H. Demirer, "The Silence of non-Western International Relations Theory as a Camouflage Strategy: The Trauma of Qing China and the Late Ottoman Empire", discusses an important subject in the bourgeoning Global IR debate: the absence of Non-Western IR Theory (NWIRT) in mainstream IR discussions. Demirer argues that a part of the reason why the non-West has failed to imprint a unique impression on IR is because of European imperial legacies and their imposition of a political and intellectual standard of civilization. Former great powers that managed to retain their independence did so by adapting a strategy of mimicry to transform their institutions along with those of Western states, which non-Western states thought to be stronger. Non-Western elites thought that Westernization would not only help them to better resist Western encroachment but also sought to cope with the trauma of their encounter with the West. In addition to adapting to Western culture via modernization, non-Western elites eschewed local knowledge in favor of Western scientific standards, all of which stifled NWIRT. In fact, the recent emergence of NWIRT, especially in former empires, represents the culmination of an internal maturation process resulting in greater intellectual confidence in non-Western intellectual traditions.

An Empirical Analysis of the Women and Peace Hypothesis

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Abstract

For decades, social scientists have questioned whether women are more politically tolerant, peaceful, and less likely to prefer war to solve international conflict compared to men. Empirical analyses have been limited to a few geographic regions: North America (the United States); the Middle East (Israel and the core Arab World); and Africa (Rwanda). Furthermore, the measurement of the dependent variable, perceptions of war and peace, has been either evaluated with a single item or with a few items tapping on various dimensions of war and peace. This paper extends the geographic coverage in the literature to include a cross-national analysis containing North American, Latin American, Western European, Eastern European, African, Asian and Pacific nations, and utilizes thirteen items measuring gender differences in attitudes towards the perception of war, conflict resolution, foreign policy attitudes, international organizations' appeal, political tolerance, and international cooperation. The analysis utilizes the most up-to-date data of national representative surveys, the World Values Survey and the Arab Barometer, featuring mean comparison methods to supply readers with simple results informing the relationship between gender and perceptions of war and peace on a global level. The evidence reveals that there is no difference in perceptions between men and women regarding international conflict perceptions across countries.

1. Introduction

Are women more peaceful compared to men? Do women exhibit less belligerent views towards international conflict compared to men? Are men more politically tolerant compared to women? The women and peace hypothesis has undergone serious investigation in Western Europe, the Middle East and Africa, finding mixed evidence. On the one hand, scholars have supported the notion that women are more peace-oriented than men,[1] with some authors

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[1] J. Ann Tickner, "Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation," in *Gender and International Relations*, ed. R. Grant and K. Newland (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 27–40; Alison M. Jaggar, "Feminist Ethics: Projects, Problems, Prospects," in *Feminist Ethics*, ed. C. Card (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1993), 78–104; Marysia

suggesting that females are more dovish, tolerant and peace-oriented.[2] On the other hand, studies have concluded that men and women do not differ with respect to international conflict, war and peace perceptions and behaviors.[3] The current study extends the earlier research to encompass twenty-one countries across all continents around the globe. Further, the analysis includes an array of items measuring not only political tolerance, coexistence, war-initiation and peacemaking, but also individuals' perceptions of international organizations and foreign relations, constituting a more comprehensive outlook towards perceptions relevant to war and peace in world politics.

This article answers voices encouraging research on gender in international relations, negotiations and diplomacy. In their recent manuscript, Aggestam and Towns concluded that "first there is a need to move out of Europe and North America to provide greater focus on Africa, Asia and Latin America. Second, there is a need to move beyond the descriptive single case studies towards more systematic comparisons, which can trace change in institutional gender dynamics over time."[4] This study investigates perceptions of men and women towards several items related to war and peace across the world including countries that have been long neglected such as Brazil, India, and the Middle East. Furthermore, the study moves away from the single case study approach by providing fresh insights from nationally representative samples in a cross-national survey. The study also echoes previous researchers' belief in enlarging the scope and domain of their studies connecting gender and political science. For instance, does gender matter in brokering better negotiated deals? Or, how can diplomatic missions utilize social psychology models about gender perceptions to improve their odds of making a peace deal? Notice that perceptions are of utmost importance in negotiations and diplomacy, and if leaders and stakeholders develop favorable attitudes towards other parties and gender composition of a diplomatic delegation, the likelihood of peace is increased. The main research question in this study is: Are perceptions toward war and peace around the world different based on gender? As an answer to the research question, it is argued here that men and women will not differ in their perceptions towards war and peace. Findings from the most recent waves of the Arab Barometer[5] and the World

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Zalewski, "The Women/'Women' Question in International Relations," *Millennium* 23, no. 2 (1994): 407–23; Ted G. Jelen, Sue Thomas, and Clyde Wilcox, "The Gender Gap in Comparative Perspective," *European Journal of Political Research* 25 (1994): 171–86; V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2009); Pamela Johnston Conover and Virginia Sapiro, "Gender, Feminist Consciousness, and War," *American Journal of Political Science* 37, no. 4 (1993): 1079–99; Lise Togeby, "The Gender Gap in Foreign Policy Attitudes," *Journal of Peace Research* 31, no. 4 (1994): 375–92; Mark Tessler and Ina Warriner, "Gender, Feminism, and Attitudes Toward International Conflict: Exploring relationships with survey data from the Middle East," *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (1997): 250–81; Mark Tessler, Jodi Nachtwey, and Audra Grant, "Further Tests of the Women and Peace Hypothesis: Evidence from Cross–National Survey Research in the Middle East," *International Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (1999): 519–31.

    2   Tessler and Warriner, "Gender, Feminism, and Attitudes Toward International Conflict," 250–81; Conover and Sapiro, "Gender, Feminist Consciousness, and War," 1079–099; Cheryl Benard, "Assessing the Truths and Myths of Women in War and Peace," (paper presented at The United States Institute of Peace Conference Perspectives on Grassroots Peace building: The Roles of Women in War and Peace, Washington DC, 14 September 1999); Cheryl de la Rey and Susan McKay, "Peace as a Gendered Process: Perspectives of Women Doing Peacebuilding in South Africa," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 7 (2002): 91–102; Jean Bethke Elshtain, "II. Reflections on War and Political Discourse: Realism, Just War, and Feminism in a Nuclear Age," *Political Theory* 13, no. 1 (1985): 39–57; Patricia Ward Scaltsas, "Do Feminist Ethics Counter Feminist Aims?" In *Explorations in Feminist Ethics*, ed. E. B. Cole and S. Coultrap–McQuin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 15–26.

    3   Tessler, Nachtwey, and Grant, "Further Tests of the Women and Peace Hypothesis," 519–31; Valerie Morgan, "Women and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland" Global Forum Occasional Papers Series (Duke University Center for International Studies, Durham, North Carolina, 1996); Mary E. Bendyna, Tamara Finucane, Lynn Kirby, John P. O'Donnell, and Clyde Wilcox, "Gender Differences in Public Attitudes Toward the Gulf War: A Test of Competing Hypotheses," *The Social Science Journal* 33, no. 1 (1996): 1–22.

    4   Karin Aggestam and Ann Towns, "The Gender Turn in Diplomacy: A New Research Agenda," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21, no. 1 (2019): 9.

    5   Walid Al–Khatib, Rabah Hammami, Abdel–Hamid Abdel Latif, Rabih Habr, Mhammed Abderebbi, Khalil Shikaki, Imen

Values Survey[6] corroborate that despite a few statistically significant relationships between gender and attitudes towards international conflict in a few countries, such results do not amass sufficient evidence to generate overarching arguments suggesting that women are more caring, dovish, tolerant and less war-like, belligerent and hostile compared to men concerning international conflict.

This research contributes to the practice of international relations, diplomacy and peacebuilding projects in many respects. First, it calls into question the argument that "women possess unique advantages as negotiators, including greater cooperativeness and stronger ethics"[7] in world politics, finding no difference in recruiting females or males for crisis management teams or diplomatic missions working on negotiating settlements. Second, the findings of this research indicate that recruiting more women for military institutions does not imply a retreat from the warrior culture, shattering the myth of "recruit more women and lose a future war."[8] Third, the findings of this research call for more fine-grained scholarship on the combination of demographic and behavioral characteristics, the interaction between gender, age, educational level and personality type that characterize the profile of those possessing the highest level of peacebuilding, peacekeeping and peacemaking perceptions to be hired, promoted and recruited for international organizations, thereby bolstering efforts of making the world a safer haven for everyone.

The study is organized as follows. The first section provides a summary of the theoretical and empirical literature on the women and peace hypothesis. The second section provides details about the data and methods utilized by the research to test the proposition that women are more peace-oriented and less war-like compared to men with respect to international conflict, war and peace. Finally, a discussion section that outlines areas of future research, applied implications and conclusions of the research is supplied.

2. Literature Review

The women and peace hypothesis has received considerable theoretical and empirical attention across the social sciences and humanities. Writing on the existence of gender differences in attitudes and behaviors towards war and peace, authors have two main conceptual frameworks: the essentialist and the constructivist. Both views have been repeatedly tested for empirical verification and the evidence points to mixed support of the proposition suggesting that women are more peace-oriented and less belligerent compared to men when it comes to international conflict.[9]

Earlier feminist writers concluded that warfare constitutes the ultimate destruction of femininity. They argued that women are created to care, nurture and harness the fruits of peace, pacifism, tolerance and co-existence in the world. Simultaneously, this line of scholarship has

Mezlini, Arab Barometer, Public Opinion Survey, Wave IV (Ann Arbor, MI: Inter–university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2016–2017), https://www.arabbarometer.org/waves/arab–barometer–wave–iv/.

⁶   R. Inglehart, C. Haerpfer, A. Moreno, C. Welzel, K. Kizilova, J. Diez–Medrano, M. Lagos, P. Norris, E. Ponarin and B. Puranen et al., eds., *World Values Survey: Round Six – Country–Pooled,* Datafile Version: www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp (Madrid: JD Systems Institute, 2014).

⁷   Laura J. Kray and Jessica A. Kennedy, "Changing the Narrative: Women as Negotiators and Leaders," *California Management Review* 60, no. 1 (2017): 70.

⁸   Gerard J. DeGroot, "A Few Good Women: Gender Stereotypes, the Military and Peacekeeping," *International Peacekeeping* 8, no. 2 (2001): 23.

⁹   Christine Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era* (Cambridge University Press, 1994); R. Charli Carpenter, "Gender Theory in World Politics: Contributions of a non–feminist standpoint?" *International Studies Review* 4, no. 3 (2002): 153–65; Judy El-Bushra, "Feminism, Gender, and Women's Peace Activism," *Development and Change* 38 (2007): 131–47.

depicted men as aggressive, bold and belligerent in the public sphere. The essentialist view of the women and peace hypothesis concluded that women are more submissive, dovish and nicer compared to men.[10]

The constructivist prescription of the women and peace hypothesis advocates that the processes of socialization along with contextual political, institutional, and economic factors have led to the perceived differences among both genders towards international conflict. Proponents of this perspective believe that women may appear as more caring due to the way they are raised in society as mothers and individuals bringing peace to the household. Furthermore, the push for women to pursue degrees in the social sciences, humanities, nursing, education and healthcare field makes the association between women and tolerance, nurturing and caring more apparent. Constructivists argue that distinct patterns of gender socialization lead to perceived differences with respect to attitudes and behaviors towards international conflict.[11]

A more recent perspective argues that increased modernization levels are associated with the political liberalization of females. This perspective suggests that increased wages, political clout, social mobility and prestige obtained by females make them left-voters. This line of research relies on the assumption that modernization is associated with challenging patriarchal structures that seek to have women stay at home caring for their children. In turn, this suggests that if females advocate for social change through removing barriers to economic, social and political opportunities, they tend to be more liberal and are more likely to vote for the left. Therefore, they are expected to be more tolerant, advocates of peace and vocal anti-war voices.[12]

2.1. Empirical evidence

The empirical investigation of the women and peace hypothesis in Western democracies has found mixed support for this thesis. On the one hand, Conover and Sapiro found differences among male and female attitudes towards war and peace.[13] They concluded that women are more concerned about the waging of a prospective war compared to men, and in fact this difference increased with respect to attitudes towards actual wars, specifically in their study, the Gulf War—though it is worth noting that the authors cautioned about overemphasizing a conclusion of difference given that the differences found in both genders' attitudes towards war and peace were slight. Similarly, a line of studies from Western democracies found support for the difference hypothesis among men and women towards war and peace.[14] Haastrup, for instance, notes the increase in the European Union's recruitment and retention of females in

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[10] Inger Skjelsbæk and Dan Smith, eds., *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (London: Sage Publications, 2001); Annette Weber, "Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory," *Encyclopaedia on Peace and Conflict Theory* (Jul 2006): 2–13.

[11] Inger Skjelsbæk, "Sexual Violence and War: Mapping out a Complex Relationship," *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 2 (2001): 211–37; Karen Brounéus, "The Women and Peace Hypothesis in Peacebuilding Settings: Attitudes of Women in the Wake of the Rwandan Genocide," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 40, no. 1 (2014): 125–51.

[12] Ifat Maoz, "The Women and Peace Hypothesis? The Effect of Opponent Negotiators' Gender on the Evaluation of Compromise Solutions in the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict," *International Negotiation* 14, no. 3 (2009): 519–36; Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Women and War: Ten Years On," *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 4 (1998): 447–60; Nicole Pratt and Sophie Richter–Devroe, "Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no. 4 (2011): 489–503; Sarai B. Aharoni, "Who Needs the Women and Peace Hypothesis? Rethinking Modes of Inquiry on Gender and Conflict in Israel/Palestine," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 19, no. 3 (2017): 311–26.

[13] Conover and Sapiro, "Gender, Feminist Consciousness, and War," 1079–99.

[14] J. Ann Tickner, "Feminist Security Studies: Celebrating an Emerging Field," *Politics & Gender* 7 (2011): 576–81; J. Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg, eds., *Feminism and International Relations: Conversations about the Past, Present and Future* (Routledge, 2013).

mediation missions responding to the United Nations' call in 2000 based on Resolution 1325.[15] By the same token, David et al. found that empathy and empathetic feminist constructions make compromise more likely in areas of conflict.[16] Empathy, a trait often associated with femininity, was found to be a good predictor of compromise, therefore it could help mediate relationships between gender and attitudes and affect behaviors towards conflict.

Empirical support for the women and peace hypothesis is even more ambiguous in non-Western contexts. Brounéus extended the empirical investigation of the women peace hypothesis to a new context—Rwanda during its peacebuilding process. She argued that in war contexts, women are more likely to experience negative attitudes towards peacebuilding due to their higher risk of developing psychological disorders like depression and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).[17] Using data from a 2006 questionnaire, she found support for her hypothesis concluding that women in Rwanda are more negative towards peace and peacebuilding operations compared to men.

Empirical research on the women and peace hypothesis in the Arab World and Israel also allude to ambiguity. For example, Tessler, Nachtwey and Grant found no difference concerning ordinary citizens' attitudes towards the Arab/Israeli conflict.[18] They concluded that the women and peace hypothesis is not supported in the Middle East. Contrary to the findings of the study, recent analyses from survey data in Israel suggest that women are more warlike than men in the sense that they express more support to increasing the defense budget. Another contradictory finding suggested that women in Israel ranked peace higher than other values compared to men.[19] Women in Israel were also found more supportive than men of peaceful means of conflict resolution and preferring a non-military solution to the Iranian problem. Aharoni, meanwhile, reviewed the literature on the women and peace hypothesis and found that contextual factors lead to attitudinal differences towards peace and war between the genders.[20] For instance, the pattern of political violence in the Arab/Israeli conflict has led Arab women to be less peaceful than expected due to their daily experiences of political subjugation, violence and repression.

The literature on feminist international relations has increased its attention on the role of gender in determining important outcomes such as negotiated peace or diplomacy successes. Hermann's analysis of the Israeli peace movement sheds light on the role of Jewish groups that embraced peace with Palestinians, recognizing the long victimization of Arabs.[21] While no accurate statistics are provided regarding the percentage of male and female members of the varying "peace camp" agents, both males and females in Israel have joined and voiced the peace narrative. Also, the funding provided for the groups was not dissected based on gender indicating that both genders have made significant financial, personal and political contributions for peace. The likely evidence arising from such a detailed study is that both

[15]   Toni Haastrup, "Creating Cinderella? The Unintended Consequences of the Women Peace and Security Agenda for EU's Mediation Architecture," *International Negotiation* 23 (2018): 223.

[16]   David, Yossi, Nimrod Rosler, and Ifat Maoz, "Gender–Empathic Constructions, Empathy, and Support for Compromise in Intractable Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (2018): 1727–52.

[17]   Brounéus, "The Women and Peace Hypothesis in Peacebuilding Settings," 125–51.

[18]   Tessler, Nachtwey, and Grant, "Further Tests of the Women and Peace Hypothesis," 529–30.

[19]   Einat Gedalya, Hanna Herzog, and Michal Shamir, "Tzip(p)ing through the Elections: Gender in the 2009 Elections," in *The Elections in Israel – 2009*, ed. Asher Arian and Michal Shamir (New Brunswick: Transaction Publications, 2011), 165–93; Michal Shamir and Einat Gedalya–Lavy, "A Gender Gap in Voting? Women and Men in the 2013 Elections," in *The Elections in Israel – 2013*, ed. Michal Shamir (Piscataway NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2015), 229–53.

[20]   Aharoni, "Who needs the Women and Peace Hypothesis?,"311–26.

[21]   Tamar S. Hermann, *The Israeli Peace Movement: A Shattered Dream* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

men and women are capable of developing and possessing similar attitudes towards war and peace. Nevertheless, the overall picture emerging from the Middle East is at best mixed with respect to providing empirical support of the women and peace hypothesis.

All in all, exploration of issues related to gender in war and peace is clearly relevant in today's world, and is important to study. Nevertheless, most authors have concluded that the differences observed among both genders towards war and peace do not warrant practical significance given the slight distinctions found. Various statistical techniques utilized in the extant literature cause the slight differences in results, and therefore deprive us of having a clear answer to the question of women and peace hypothesis.

One of the most obvious limitations in the literature is that many authors utilize multivariate statistical techniques for testing a means' comparison hypothesis. While using advanced procedures is apt in many contexts, the interpretation of logistic regression or multilevel analysis coefficients while using scales often becomes difficult and not straightforward. The use of simpler procedures such as simple mean comparisons, independent samples hypothesis tests or Analysis of Variance seems to be more appropriate to answer the questions posed by the women and peace hypothesis. Moreover, much of the literature fails to utilize a wide range of measures to test whether females are actually more peaceful than males. The use of items measuring individuals' attitudes towards several dimensions of war and peace is logically a better strategy compared to the use of either war or peacebuilding items alone.

Many studies that have concluded by supporting the women and peace hypothesis thesis, have done so based on mere statistical significance. For example, small differences on Likert-items have furnished evidence supporting the women and peace hypothesis across many studies. Observing a 0.25 difference on a 1-7 Likert type item between men and women does not necessarily mean that the genders differ significantly on that item, even if there is statistical significance. Empirical support should be confirmed using many items, including looking at significant practical differences in addition to just statistical significance.

3. Research Design

This research utilizes cross-sectional national public opinion surveys across seven Middle Eastern countries: Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Morocco and Tunisia and 14 nations representing all major world regions: The United States, Mexico, Brazil, India, China, Russia, Nigeria, South Africa, Sweden, Japan, Germany, Australia, Pakistan, and New Zealand. The choice of including such countries has been informed by (1) earlier empirical investigations of the women and peace hypothesis for verification purposes; (2) expanding the geographic scope to include regions previously neglected, such as Latin America, South and East Asia; (3) adding support for any detected trends found cross-nationally. The surveys come from two large public opinion projects: the Arab Barometer in the Middle East and the World Values Surveys. Both surveys utilize random probability national representative samples for each country included, reducing the possibility of inaccurate data explanation. In addition, all interviews have been conducted face-to-face across all surveys utilized. The latest waves of both surveys are included in this analysis: the Fourth Wave in the case of the Arab Barometer and the Sixth Wave in the case of the World Values Survey. The time-frame of all surveys covers 2014 to 2017, allowing the investigation to detect any trends or differences in the most recent datasets available.

Measuring genders attitudes towards war and peace is not straightforward given the

latent nature of the construct. Nevertheless, a better analysis makes use of multiple items measuring the different aspects of perceptions towards war, peace and international conflict. Fortunately, both surveys contain several direct and indirect measures for operationalizing individuals' attitudes towards war and peace. In the Arab Barometer, several Likert-items and binary measures are used to investigate whether men and women differ with respect to their attitudes towards international conflict. Table 1 presents the selected survey questions and their original coding in the datasets. The questions from the Arab Barometer measuring the extent to which people consider their fellow citizens trustworthy and honest, as well as their tolerance towards people of different religions, were included. Further, items measuring whether men and women prefer a military intervention in the Syrian civil war and their belligerence towards the United States were utilized as proxies for attitudes on war and peace. Preference towards globalization has also been measured through preferences for better relations with the European Union and seeing a more connected planet in all forms, shapes and ways. Most importantly, a preference for the two-state solution in the Arab/Israeli conflict has been used to measure whether men and women differ on war and peace.

Table 1- Selected Survey Questions from the Arab Barometer and World Values Survey

Arab Barometer Wave IV	
Survey Question	**Measurement/Coding**
Where would you rate citizens of your country on this scale?	7 Point Likert Scale (From Dishonest to Honest)
Generally speaking, do you think most people are trustworthy or not?	1. Most people are trustworthy. 2. Most people are not trustworthy. 98. I don't know 99. Declined to answer
People disagree on whether the world becoming more connected is a good thing. Some think it is good because it makes your society more culturally diverse. Others think it is bad because it diminishes traditional values. Do you think the world becoming more connected is good or bad for society?	1. Very good 2. Somewhat good 3. Neither good nor bad 4. Somewhat bad 5. Very bad 98. I don't know 99. Declined to answer
In your opinion, which of the following potential solutions do you favor to end the civil conflict in Syria?	1. Reforms led by the current government 2. Holding free and fair elections under international supervision 3. Military intervention by an Arab coalition 4. Military intervention by an international coalition including Arab and Western countries 5. None of the above 6. Other 98. I don't know 99. Declined to answer
Please tell me to what degree you would describe yourself as feeling angry toward [the United States]?	1. I strongly agree 2. I agree 3. I disagree 4. I strongly disagree 98. I don't know 99. Declined to answer
Do you prefer that future economic relations between your country and (country)? (The United States, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, The European Union, and Russia)	1. Become Stronger 2. Remain Same 3. Weaker 4. Don`t Know 7. Refuse to Answer

Do you support or oppose the solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict based on the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside Israel known as the two-state solution?	1. Support 2. Oppose 98. I don't know 99. Declined to answer
Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion:	1. Democracy is always preferable to any other kind of government. 2. Under some circumstances, a nondemocratic government can be preferable. 3. For people like me, it does not matter what kind of government we have. 98. I don't know 99. Declined to answer
For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbors, dislike it, or not care? [People of a different religion, people of a different race or color, immigrants or foreign workers, people of a different sect of Islam]	1. Strongly dislike 2. Somewhat dislike 3. Would not care 4. Somewhat like 5. Strongly like 98. I don't know 99. Declined to answer
World Value Survey Wave 6	
Survey Question	**Measurement/Coding**
I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? [Having the army rule]	1. Very good 2. Fairly good 3. Fairly bad 4. Very bad
I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all? [the United Nations]	1. A great deal 2. Quite a lot 3. Not very much 4. None at all
Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never under any circumstances do it. [Attending Peaceful Demonstrations]	1. Have done 2. Might do 3. Would never do
I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country? [having a democratic political system]	1. Very good 2. Fairly good 3. Fairly bad 4. Very bad

As seen from Table 1, to aid the comparison using the World Values Survey, several items were used to measure individuals' perceptions towards war and peace. Those included whether or not individuals participate in peaceful demonstrations, whether individuals deem the United Nations as a worthy institution, and the degree to which they support democracy. Finally, an item measuring individuals' preference towards army rule was employed to gauge whether men are more belligerent than women.

Descriptive statistical methods were utilized to investigate the differences between the two genders with respect to attitudes towards international conflict. These included frequency analysis and graphical display of the variables using bar charts, line graphs and other types of nominal and ordinal methods of data representation. Furthermore, mean comparisons utilizing hypothesis testing methods, *t*-tests, Analysis of Variance and Chi-Square tests, were utilized to investigate the statistical significance of means' differences. Notice that while the analysis may yield statistical significance, the difference hypothesis will only be warranted if practical differences on the various measures of war and peace are detected with respect to the two genders.

4. Results

Figure 1 displays the extent to which Arab men and women trust their fellow citizens, believe that they are honest, and prefer a more connected world. The line graphs for the three measures show no discernable practical differences in attitudes towards trust, honesty or globalization based on gender. This supports previous findings suggesting that men and women in the Middle East do not differ with respect to tolerance, coexistence or cultural openness towards the world, measures of political tolerance and liberal worldviews.

Figure 1: Arab Barometer scores on the perception of trust, honesty, and globalization

Figure 2: Arab Barometer scores on gender differences toward tolerance

Figure 2 moves the analysis from a generic inspection of gender differences towards tolerance, by examining gender attitudes towards international conflict. It explores Arab citizens' views towards the use of military intervention to solve the Syrian problem; the extent to which their respective country should be open toward the European Union; and their feelings towards the United States. Generally, men and women do not differ with respect to any of the measures utilized. There are a few noticeable differences, such as in Tunisia with respect to the use of armed forces in Syria, and in Egypt in its outlook toward cooperation

with Europe. While such differences exist, they are not stark. Those differences do not seem to spoil the general trend that men and women do not differ with respect to their attitudes towards international conflict.

Figure 3: Arab Barometer scores with respect to war and peace perceptions

Figure 3 further demonstrates that men and women do not differ with respect to war and peace perceptions in the Arab World. Arab men and women possess very similar appeals for democracy across the region. By the same token, they do not significantly differ with respect

to tolerating a neighbor from a different religious sect. Finally, and most importantly, Arab men and women did not systematically differ with respect to their advocacy for the two-state solution in the ongoing long-standing Arab/Israeli conflict. Using different measures of war, peace and international conflict, the results confirm earlier findings concluding that men and women do not differ with respect to war and peace in the Middle East.

Figure 4: World Values Survey scores on the perception of dictatorships, army rule, and the United Nations

Figure 4 utilizes data from the World Values Survey to verify the conclusions found in the Middle East and investigate whether the region is unique with respect to the women and peace hypothesis. The Figure displays male and female feelings towards dictatorships, army rule, and the United Nations, an international organization associated with peace and global cooperation. Men and women's feelings across countries, all continents included, did not differ with respect to either item. While Pakistan seems to exhibit a difference, this anomaly may be explained by contextual factors such as high crime rates, corruption, political polarization and terrorism within the country.[22] Even when such factors are considered, the difference is not vast, reaching a similar conclusion to other studies conducted in the Middle East, namely, that there is not a strongly marked difference found between men and women with respect to war and peace perception.

Figure 5: World Values Survey scores on the perception of democracy and peaceful demonstrations

Figure 5 displays individuals' participation rates in peaceful demonstrations and means of democracy thermometers across 14 countries from six continents around the world. The

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[22] Ismail Aisha and Rashid Kashif, "Time Series Analysis of the Nexus Among Corruption, Political Instability and Judicial Inefficiency in Pakistan," *Quality & Quantity* 48 (Sep 2014): 2757–71.

graphs indicate that men and women do not differ dramatically either with respect to their participation rates in peaceful demonstrations nor in their attitudes towards democracy desirability, except a noticeable difference in New Zealand. This evidence confirms lends support to those earlier analyses that showed similarity between men and women with respect to their attitudes and behaviors towards war and peace.

Table 2 displays the Analysis of Variance results by country testing for the effect of gender on means differences with respect to democracy in the Middle East. Support for democracy has been associated with a wide range of attributes such as high political tolerance, higher likelihood for initiating peaceful actions, and advocacy for peacemaking in conflict zones. Thus, the measure provides an adequate proxy for attitudes towards peacebuilding, peacemaking, and peacekeeping, all of which represent attitudes on international conflict, the core dependent variable for this research. Notice that in the last column, means differences are reported between males and females in each country and that all of them are less than 1 on the 1-10 Likert item measuring individuals' attitudes towards democracy in the Middle East. While statistical significance exists in few cases such as Algeria or Tunisia, a practical substantial difference between the two genders is not observed. A move of less than 1 on the 1-10 scale of democracy is practically insignificant for any real applied or policy purposes. Results of the ANOVAs confirm that males and females in the Arab World do not differ with respect to perceptions of war, peace and international conflict.

Table 2- ANOVA Results: Gender on Democracy

Country	F	P-value	Sample Size	Mean's Difference
Entire Sample	22.97	0.01	6677	0.33
Algeria	8.17	0.04	1029	0.48
Egypt	3.28	0.70	1055	0.36
Jordan	1.48	0.22	1168	0.18
Morocco	4.79	0.29	1039	0.31
Palestine	2.11	0.14	1158	0.23
Tunisia	11.09	0.01	1128	0.67
Lebanon	2.47	0.11	1180	0.23

To confirm the results of the ANOVAs, another item measuring support for the two states solution, the dependent variable, has been used. Results from a series of Chi-Square tests are displayed in Table 3. The table clearly shows that in the vast majority of cases, there is no difference in attitudes towards peace in Palestine. The statistical significance of the test in Jordan and Palestine is not noticeable when the means of males and females are juxtaposed against each other displaying minimal differences. The statistical difference found in the data does not support a conclusion of attitudinal difference. Although both genders seem to possess statistically different views on some items, the difference in means is very minimal given the measurement level of the variables and the type of questions used. It would be misleading to conclude that both genders differ on war and peace perceptions based on the presented evidence. Therefore, this research found, as did some earlier studies, statistical significance for the women and peace hypothesis in a few countries without being substantiated by descriptive statistics, thus removing the meaningfulness of this conclusion in the face of the holistic evidence supporting the idea that women and men do not differ with respect to war and peace in the Middle East and the rest of the World.

Table 3- Chi Square Gender and Two States Solutions per Country

Country	Two-Tailed P-Value from Chi-Square
Algeria	0.54
Egypt	0.95
Jordan	*0.01*
Morocco	0.68
Palestine	*0.04*
Tunisia	0.90

5. Discussion and Conclusions

This study has extended research on the women and peace hypothesis to more countries than any previous analysis. Countries in Africa, Asia, Middle East, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Latin America, North America and Oceania have been included. This study also included measures of political tolerance, coexistence, military intervention, peace demonstration participation rates, and attitudes towards globalization, a measure of international connectedness. The findings of this research confirm those earlier studies that concluded there is no difference between men and women with respect to war and peace perceptions and behaviors. Note that such results do not *dis*confirm the proposition that trauma, conflict and sexual abuse prevalent in civil wars make women feel more negative about efforts of peacebuilding or peacekeeping. This study simply tests whether gender has any explanatory power with respect to attitudes towards war, peace and international conflict. Under unique circumstances, genocides, civil wars and terrorism, women and men may differ with respect to any international effort attempting to restore peace.

The findings of the current research contrasts with some earlier studies in the United States and Western Europe. Based on the amounted evidence from the World Values Survey, this study shows that men and women in the US, Germany, Australia, Sweden, Canada and New Zealand yield to so insignificant differences with respect to attitudes towards international conflict that they can be attributable to methodological distinctions. This study, however, utilized more than a single item and a variety of indicators to verify the women and peace hypothesis in the US and the West. Statistical significance did not establish real and practical significance between the genders concerning the main outcome, perceptions of war and peace. Moreover, the use of multiple items was employed to avoid the measurement trap offered by the use of a single item or one aspect of the construct, such as the Arab/Israeli conflict, the Gulf War, or the Rwandan Peacebuilding process.

In comparison of Western democracies and non-Western countries, our findings suggest some slight differences in gender-based peace attitudes. Citizens regardless of gender in Western democracies seem to be more willing to participate in peaceful demonstrations, rate democracy better, and less likely to prefer armed forces rule than citizens in non-Western countries. Such differences may be explained by a plethora of factors including institutional stability, regime type, corruption, crime rate, quality of political representation, culture, and economic well-being. Notice that India, Pakistan, Brazil and South Africa score lower than Germany, Sweden, Australia and the US on most peace-oriented items confirming the above hypothesized delineation.

Moreover, the findings show that there is no practical differences overall in gender-based attitudes towards war and peace in non-Western countries, although a few countries deviated

from this general pattern on several different items, such as Tunisia with respect to the use of armed forces in Syria, Egypt in its outlook toward cooperation with Europe, and Pakistan in preference of the army rule. Such differences can be attributable to country-level factors (i.e. economic, cultural, social, and political). Also, note that these countries follow the general pattern on other items with other non-Western countries that men and women do not differ with respect to attitudes towards war and peace.

The findings support Tessler's et al. idea that the available theory giving rise to the women and peace hypothesis needs to be further specified.[23] Under what conditions could women be more peaceful compared to men? Under what conditions do we expect both genders to exhibit similar attitudes towards war and peace? These are some of the questions that need to be investigated to aid in better understanding of the women and peace hypothesis. Furthermore, the use of continuous measurements to operationalize theoretical constructs would enable researchers to better detect statistical and practical relationships, compared with a reliance on ordinal and nominal measures.

The findings of this research also contribute to current debates concerning gender in diplomacy, and a rising advocacy for gender parity in external relations. It is the view of the authors that women hold similar views on war and peace to men, and it is therefore illogical to argue that females are less war-like or more peace-favoring. The evidence from this analysis and elsewhere suggests that females and males do not drastically differ, and therefore both genders should be included equally. This is advantageous to the issue of diversity of delegations, adding many positive attributes to teamwork, and the well-being of the nations involved, since women comprise half or more of the populations in those nations, yet they only represent currently a fraction of negotiation, mediation and diplomatic missions.

Future research on the women and peace hypothesis should not focus on a single case and attempt to generalize results from cross-sectional evidence. A single or few cases from the same region do not provide enough evidence to conclude that women are more peaceful compared to men. Further, the use of a single item, factor, or component does not suffice. To make a conclusion of such magnitude, researchers must establish that women are peaceful, less likely to participate in wars, more likely to participate in peaceful activities and less belligerent towards other nations or groups within their respective nations. Available data fails to capture the multidimensionality of the concept of peace. True, available data allow researchers to model a few facets of the structure of the peace construct such as perceptions of the Arab/Israeli conflict in the Arab World; nevertheless, the Arab/Israeli conflict does not capture the entire structure of the construct. Moreover, if the question begins with a simple inquiry of whether men and women differ with respect to a latent construct, a means' comparison suffices. An advanced multivariate analysis, such as multilevel modelling or logistic regression are more complex options to answer a simple question that an Analysis of Variance, a *t*-test, Means' Whitney U test or any means' comparison hypothesis test is designed to perform. In essence, this research demonstrates that a social question as simple as that of the women and peace hypothesis can be answered more appropriately with a simple statistical inquiry than through the use of complex statistical methods.

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[23]   Tessler, Nachtwey, and Grant, "Further Tests of the Women and Peace Hypothesis," 530.

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One Step Towards Reconciliation in Cyprus: Perceptions of the 'Other' for the Families of Missing Persons

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Abstract

By the end of the inter-ethnic conflict in 1974, there were over 2000 people who were reported as missing in Cyprus. Since 2005, with the efforts of the Committee of Missing Persons (CMP), 870 remains of the missing persons have been discovered, exhumed and returned back to their families. Although there exist several studies focusing on disappearances during violent conflicts, there is a dearth of academic research that investigates the reconciliation at the grassroots level, particularly for the families of the missing persons. The aims of this paper are twofold. Utilizing twenty two in-depth interviews with the families of Greek and Turkish Cypriots who experienced 'ambiguous losses' in the 1963 and 1974 conflicts in Cyprus, the paper firstly aims at improving the understandings of how disappearances shape the perceptions of 'the other' group in a post-conflict society. Secondly, the paper also aims to investigate the potential role of CMP on trust building and reconciliation efforts in Cyprus. The paper reveals that there is a subtle step forward for reconciliation among the families of missing persons, which were clear in the narratives of the families who started showing empathy towards the other. While both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots showed very little hatred towards each other and noted that there were no problems at the individual level, they continued to blame the politicians and radical groups for their losses. The opening of borders and the contributions of the Committee of Missing Persons (CMP) in reducing the pain of relatives and helping to bond relations in line with trust building and reconciliation efforts were also acknowledged by both sides.

1. Introduction

Inter-ethnic violence all over the world has many social, economic and psychological consequences. Disappearances, as one of the consequences of violent conflicts, have long-term socio-psychological effects on the families of the missing persons.[1] Special attention must therefore be given to the families of the missing persons during reconciliation processes in post-conflict societies, as the missing persons issue can create inter-ethnic mistrust between the groups thereby halting the reconciliation efforts, while discovery and exhumation of a

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[1]   Jodi Halpern and Harvey M Weinstein, "Rehumanizing the Other: Empathy and Reconciliation," *Human Rights Quarterly* (2004): 561–83; Mary Ellen Keough, Sara Kahn, and Andrej Andrejevi, "Disclosing the Truth: Informed Participation in the Ante Mortem Database Project for Survivors of Srebrenica," *Health and Human Rights* 5 (2000): 69–87.

family member may increase trust in 'the other'.[2]

There has been remarkable development in Cyprus towards reconciliation with the opening of crossings across the Green Line in 2003, which allowed both communities to meet and communicate in their daily lives for the first time since the 1974 conflict. With the operationalization of the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP), which was established in 1981 but started activities in 2004, another concrete step was taken for reconciliation in Cyprus, as it began to allow families and friends of the missing persons to have some degree of closure. Through the efforts of the CMP, by the end of 2018, out of a total of 2,002 missing persons in Cyprus, 1,192 remains were discovered and 870 of these were identified and handed back to their families. This makes the contemporary times in Cyprus particularly significant for investigating the possible outcomes of these developments at the grassroots level, especially for the families of missing persons.

This paper, which centres on the socio-psychological status of the families in post-conflict situations, aims at investigating the perceptions of families who had/have a missing family member, towards 'the other'. While doing so, it also aims to explore perceptions of these families and politicians on the role of the CMP as part of the reconciliation process in Cyprus. What are the perceptions of both Turkish and Greek Cypriot families of missing persons about each other? How has closure through the discovery and exhumation of their family members influenced these perceptions? In light of these, what do they see as having been the role of the CMP on peace building through trust building and on the reconciliation process in Cyprus?

Through enhancing the understandings of reconciliation for the families of missing persons in a post-conflict country, the paper contributes to the literature on the impact of reconciliation interventions (such as Missing Persons Committees) at the grassroots level in particular, and on conflict and peace studies in general. The following two sections provide a sketch of the major studies on reconciliation's theoretical background and on the country context before moving on to the specifics of the methodology employed in this study. The findings are presented in the last section, in which the paper reflects on the subtle positive changes in the perceptions of the families of missing persons towards the other, and the role of the CMP.

2. Theoretical Underpinnings: Peace Building, Transformations and Reconciliation

Peace building became a part of the international agenda in the 1990s, and since the 2000s there has been a shift in focus from international to local peace building models and interventions. The initial Western neo-liberal peace building models and interventions, which followed a top-down approach and could not be sustained by peace building missions in post-conflict societies, raised criticisms about the effectiveness of existing models and interventions, and called for major modifications in the theory and practice of peace building.[3] After the 2000s, critical emancipator theorists, calling for a more holistic approach to peace building, stated that without hearing the voices and addressing the needs of the local community leaders, civil society organizations and individuals in peace processes, mistrust and dissatisfaction between communities would persist, and endanger any peace process that was attempted in

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2   Janine Natalya Clark, "Missing Persons, Reconciliation and the View from Below: A Case Study of Bosnia-Hercegovina," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 10, no. 4 (2010): 425–42.
3   Roger MacGinty, "Indigenous Peace-Making versus the Liberal Peace," *Cooperation and Conflict* 43, no. 2 (2008): 139–63.

post-conflict societies.[4] The emancipator approach, however, was itself criticised for being "romantic, relativist or particularistic, anti-democratic, anti-development … an affront to 'liberal peace'… and certainly a rejection of the 'natural' right of the North to intervene in the political formation of the South".[5] These developments gave birth to a more hybrid approach to peace building. Neoliberal peace building models were required to become more inclusive and started involving the local alongside the neo-liberal international interventions. The literature on peace and conflict studies, thus, has increasingly been highlighting the significance of the local level i.e. the local turn for enhancing the effects of international peace building interventions and promoting a legitimate peace.[6]

Building sustainable peace through repairing relations between conflicting groups, and providing closure, healing, and justice to victims of the conflict and their families is at the core of conflict transformation theory, which guides the main theoretical underpinnings of this paper. The theory relies more on the local for change than on neo-liberal peace building theories. Lederach believes that peace building is "a long-term process of systemic transformation from war to peace. Key dimensions of this process are changes in the personal, structural, relational and cultural aspects of conflict".[7] Since peace building is a long-term process, the theory focuses on the transformations rather than reconciliation, which generally connotes an end to the conflict. Lederach states that "peace building initiatives must be rooted in and be responsive to people's subjective realities, grievances, and needs in order to sustain holistic reconciliation and peace".[8] Therefore, for Lederach, reconciliation also plays the leading role in enabling a sustainable peace. The relationships destroyed by conflict can be rebuilt through transformations towards reconciliation, and thus strengthen the peace building potential in post-conflict societies.

Reconciliation can be defined as "a process of relationship building across divisions, as a transformation of existing relationships, as well as a creation of new relationships after the horrors of war".[9] Reconciliation is not an end itself, and connotes long-term transformations in relationships between the conflicted groups. It is a process that involves realisation of sufferings from both sides and willingness to rebuild the relations, and "moves towards a goal that will never fully be achieved, but a goal that serves as a model of social harmony".[10] It is also multi-layered and takes place at all levels from national to individual. "While social reconstruction occurs at the level of the state and communities, reconciliation involves the ability of one individual to regain empathy for another".[11] Understanding the interpersonal transformations at the grassroots level, therefore, is crucial to have meaningful reconciliation and peace processes in post-conflict societies as "[i]t is the interpersonal ruins, rather than

[4]   Hanna Leonardsson and Gustav Rudd, "The 'Local Turn'in Peacebuilding: A Literature Review of Effective and Emancipatory Local Peacebuilding," *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 5 (2015): 825–39.

[5]   Roger MacGinty and Oliver P. Richmond, "The Local Turn in Peace Building: A Critical Agenda for Peace," *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 5 (2013): 764.

[6]   MacGinty and Richmond, "The Local Turn in Peace Building: A Critical Agenda for Peace"; Giulia Piccolino, "Local Peacebuilding in a Victor's Peace: Why Local Peace Fails without National Reconciliation," *International Peacekeeping* 26, no. 3 (2019): 354–79.

[7]   As cited in Thania Paffenholz, "International Peacebuilding Goes Local: Analysing Lederach's Conflict Transformation Theory and Its Ambivalent Encounter with 20 Years of Practice," *Peacebuilding* 2, no. 1 (2014): 15.

[8]   John Paul Lederach, *Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997): 24.

[9]   Maria Ericson, "Reconciliation and the Search for a Shared Moral Landscape–An Exploration Based Upon a Study of Northern Ireland and South Africa," (PhD diss., Lund University, 2001), 27.

[10]   Virginie Ladisch, "The Challenge of Peacebuilding" *The Cyprus Review* 19, no. 1 (2007): 95.

[11]   Halpern and Weinstein, "Rehumanizing the Other: Empathy and Reconciliation," 567.

the ruined buildings and institutions that pose the greatest challenge for rebuilding society".[12] One of the ways of understanding interpersonal transformations is perhaps to focus on the groups that are most affected by the conflict, such as the families of the missing persons who have experienced ambiguous losses.

Disappearance, especially during conflicts, creates challenges of identity and meaning for the families of the missing. Women, for example, who do not know if they are wives or widows and desperately seek to construct positive meanings from their experiences.[13] These kinds of disappearances are defined as "ambiguous loss".[14] In other words ambiguous loss occurs when a family member is psychologically present, but physically absent.

Ambiguous loss erodes resilience.[15] From a psychological perspective, cognition is blocked by the ambiguity and lack of information, decisions are put on hold, and coping and grieving processes are frozen.[16] As Boss states "ambiguous loss is the most stressful loss because it defies resolution and creates confused perceptions about who is in or out of a particular family. With a clear-cut loss, there is more clarity—a death certificate, mourning rituals, and the opportunity to honour and dispose remains. With ambiguous loss, none of these markers exists".[17] As Kovras and Loizides state "[a]ll the missing persons' families have suffered regardless of their ethnic origins. They might be Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots, or they might be Palestinians, Argentineans, or in Bosnia-Herzegovina they might be Serbs, Bosnians or any other ethnic origin. All families had similar fate and suffering dreams and nightmares. All these missing persons' families are in a way related".[18] Until the families receive the remains of their loved ones and place them into a grave to which they can go and pray, they feed their hostility against the guilty side, and the harm and sorrow remains. When they learn about the fate of their loved ones and put them in their place to rest; they start to heal their wounds, forgive the other side and reconcile. Therefore, if the involved parties want to achieve a sustainable peace through reconciliation between conflicting parties, they have to give great attention to the missing person's issue. Following the 1963 and 1974 conflicts there were more than 2,000 ambiguous losses in Cyprus, and it took 26 years before the first remains of one of these missing persons was returned to his family.

While at the national level the issue of missing persons of conflicting nations or societies may turn into a political instrument[19] and can be used as propaganda as it was in the Cyprus conflict,[20] understanding the interpersonal reconciliation of individuals who experienced

[12]   Halpern and Weinstein, "Rehumanizing the Other: Empathy and Reconciliation," 563.

[13]   Pauline G. Boss, "Ambiguous Loss Research, Theory, and Practice: Reflections after 9/11," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66, no. 3 (2004): 551–66; Pauline G. Boss, *Ambiguous Loss: Learning to Live with Unresolved Grief* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Malathi De Alwis, "'Disappearance 'and 'Displacement 'in Sri Lanka," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 22, no. 3 (2009): 378–91; Simon Robins, "Constructing Meaning from Disappearance: Local Memorialisation of the Missing in Nepal," *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* (IJCV) 8, no. 1 (2014): 104–18.

[14]   Pauline G.Boss, "Ambiguous Loss Research"; Pauline G. Boss, *Ambiguous Loss: Learning to Live with Unresolved Grief.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999)

[15]   Pauline G. Boss, "Ambiguous Loss: Working with Families of the Missing," *Family Process* 41, no. 1 (2002): 14-7.

[16]   Pauline G. Boss, *Ambiguous Loss: Learning to Live with Unresolved Grief* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999)

[17]   Pauline G. Boss, "Ambiguous Loss Research," 553.

[18]   Iosif Kovras and Neophytos Loizides, "Delaying Truth Recovery for Missing Persons," *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 3 (2011): 520.

[19]   Paul Sant Cassia, *Bodies of Evidence: Burial, Memory and the Recovery of Missing Persons in Cyprus,* vol. 20 (NY & Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005); Hubert Faustmann and Erol Kaymak, "Cyprus," *European Journal of Political Research* 47, no. 7–8 (2008): 939–46.

[20]   Bouris, *Complex Political Victims;* John D. Brewer, "Justice in the Context of Racial and Religious Conflict," *Logos* 41 (2004): 80–103; Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

ambiguous losses becomes imperative, particularly at a time when concrete steps have been taken for reconciliation through the establishing of a functioning Committee of Missing Persons in Cyprus.

3. Country Context: A Short Political History of the Cyprus Conflict and Establishment of the CMP

Cyprus, being at the crossroads of three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa, faced multiple invasions in her history. In 1571 the Ottoman Empire conquered Cyprus and ruled for three centuries, which resulted in changes in the demographic structures of the island. In addition to 12,000 Turkish foot soldiers who fought against the Venetians and settled in Cyprus, 20,000 decommissioned soldiers and 2,000 cavalry were also sent to Cyprus with their families, and formed the core origins of Turkish Cypriots.[21] When the Ottoman governing of Cyprus came to an end in 1878, Britain took Cyprus as a protectorate and declared Cyprus as a crown colony in 1914.

In 1923, the Republic of Turkey was established. The Treaty of Lausanne was a cornerstone for the new Republic's foreign policy, which recognised Cyprus officially as a British Colony with Article 21. There were two main issues on Cyprus which created problems for the British during their ruling period. One of them was the aspiration of Greek Cypriots for unification with Greece (ENOSIS) and the second one involved the difficulties of keeping the two communities stable, as Turkish Cypriots started to want division as a way of preventing ENOSIS.

After World War II, aggression and the desire for ENOSIS started to increase. While the international community put pressure on Britain to give independence to the island, Greek Cypriots established a terrorist organization called Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA) and Turkish Cypriots established an underground organization called the Turk Mukavemet Teşkilatı/Turkish Resistance Movement[22] (TMT) in order to prevent ENOSIS. When Britain faced the Suez failure; it accepted to have bases in Cyprus and decided to solve the problem of Cyprus with Greece and Turkey. When Turkish Cypriots announced their will for "*Taksim"* (division) of the island between Turkey and Greece, the violence between the two communities flared and the situation became more complex.

In 1959 Turkey, Greece and Britain signed an agreement in London to organize Zurich and London Agreements for the constitution of Cyprus. Archbishop Makarios, as the leader of the Greek Cypriots, and Dr. Fazıl Kucuk as the leader of Turkish Cypriots, signed all the treaties. In Zurich, a constitution and two more treaties were outlined with the consent of all parties, and on August 16 1960, Cyprus became an independent republic state. With this constitution the republic was granting equal political rights to both communities. The Greek Cypriots, however, wanted to end this partnership with the Turkish Cypriots and gradually unify Cyprus with Greece. This desire intensified the inter-ethnic rivalry. Archbishop Makarios joined the Non-aligned Movement[23] to use these countries to help him achieve the union with Greece,

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[21] "Kıbrıs'ın sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi tarihi," TRNC Foreign Ministry Information Department, accessed October 22, 2018, https://pio.mfa.gov.ct.tr/kibrisin-sosyal-ekonomik-ve-siyasi-tarihi/.

[22] Turkish Resistant Movement (TMT): It was an underground organization established by Rauf R. Denktaş and an military officer from Turkey as to resist against EOKA and EOKA-B

[23] Non-aligned Movement: After WWII during decolonization at the 1955 Bandung Conference (Asian-African) the member countries decided to call for "abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers." They agreed to join together to support national self-determination during the Cold War.

which was a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).[24] Greek Cypriots considered the 1960 Constitution as favouring the Turkish Cypriots, and therefore formed a plan called the 'Akritas Plan,'[25] which was aimed at ending the Republic by suppressing the rights of Turkish Cypriots. According to Moran, Cyprus was not a correctly constituted independent country.[26] The plan aimed to force constitutional changes before any guarantor power could interfere. Thirteen amendments to the constitution[27] were proposed to the Turkish Cypriots by their Greek counterparts, all of which were rejected by Turkish Cypriots and Turkey. This fuelled inter-ethnic violence. On 21 December 1963, Greek Cypriots shot and killed a Turkish Cypriot couple, leading to the outbreak of war. In 1964 the United Nations decided to send in a peacekeeping force (the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus -- UNFICYP). In the wake of the conflict, Turkish Cypriots became virtually isolated from the world.

A military government came to power in Greece by coup d'état in 1967, following which the Cyprus conflict began mounting again. Between the two communities, negotiations started in May 1968, under the umbrella of the Good Offices of the United Nations Secretary General. Between 1968 and 1970 the leaders had three rounds of unsuccessful talks, with the Secretary General holding both sides responsible for the failure to achieve progress. Another National Organization of Cyprus Struggle (EOKA-B) was established with the aim of achieving Cyprus' unification with Greece. As Makarios did not support these aggressive ideas the rebels decided to remove Makarios from power.[28] EOKA-B, which was under the control of Athens, tried to force Makarios to resign and leave the country. As a response, Makarios prohibited EOKA-B and asked them to hand their weapons over to the police. He ordered the police to arrest some members of EOKA-B, and wrote a letter to the president of Greece to withdraw all their officers from the island.[29] After receiving this letter, the Junta in Greece decided to organize a coup-d'état and remove Makarios. On 15 July 1974, after an attack on the presidential palace, the British helped Makarios leave the country, and nationalist-irredentist Nikos Sampson, who was known as being against Turkish Cypriots, took power. Sampson's goal was to annex Cyprus with Greece as soon as possible and make the island a "Hellenic" republic.[30] When the coup d'état was achieved and the pro-enosis Nikos Sampson came to power, Turkish Cypriots started to worry about their lives and about the possibility of unification with Greece. The Turkish Government asked Greece to release Sampson and call back all the officers from Greece, but was unsuccessful. Turkey decided to intervene and protect the Turkish Cypriots and the independence of the island. Under the Treaty of Guarantee, Turkey asked Britain to conduct a joint operation, but the British

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[24]   Michael Moran, "Cyprus and the 1960 Accords: Nationalism and Internationalism," *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs* 6, no. 2 (2001): 28–45.

[25]   Akritas Plan: In 1963 the Greek Cypriot authorities put up a plan to reach ENOSIS through annihilation of all Turkish Cypriots within a short time.

[26]   Moran, "Cyprus and the 1960 Accords".

[27]   According to the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus the Vice President was entitled to have veto power, but the Greek Cypriots now wanted to abolish this power. They also asked for a reduction in the Turkish Cypriot component in the civil and military arms of the government. In the Constitution it had been agreed that in at least five district the two sides would have separate municipalities, but until 1963 only in Lefkosa were separate municipalities established and now the Greek Cypriots wanted to unify those as well. Other important amendments the Greek side wanted was to have the Greek- Cypriot President and the Turkish Cypriot Vice President elected by the Greek Cypriot-dominated House of Representatives, neither as a whole nor separately by two sides, and to abolish separate community voting on fiscal, electoral and some other matters.

[28]   Jan Asmussen, *Cyprus at War, Diplomacy and Conflict during the 1974 Crisis* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008).

[29]   Asmussen, *Cyprus at War*.

[30]   Yiannis Papadakis, "Nation, Narrative and Commemoration: Political Ritual in Divided Cyprus," *History and Anthropology* 14, no. 3 (2003): 253–70.

refused. With all other efforts having failed, on 20 July 1974 Turkey sent in its soldiers to re-establish stability on the island and protect the Turkish Cypriots from possible attacks by the Greeks. At the beginning of the fight, Greek forces occupied Turkish Cypriot enclaves and took them as prisoners of war. At the same time, while the Turkish troops were fighting with Greek forces, they moved towards Lefkoşa, and along the way took Greek Cypriots as prisoners of war.[31] Within two months, Turkish troops had taken control of 36% of Cyprus.

During the 1963-67 conflict, 43 Greeks and 229 Turks went missing.[32] During this period many Turkish Cypriots were abducted from the roads, from their workplaces and even from hospitals while receiving medical treatment. The Report of the UN secretary General to the Security Council provided authentic information regarding missing Turkish Cypriots prior to 1974.[33] On the other hand, the Greek Cypriot authorities have persistently declined to account for the fate of missing persons since 1963, as well as those missing since 1974 (Interview 2, 21, 22, 2017, interview 4, 8, 2018). While the Turkish side listed all Turkish Cypriot missing persons, and in 1968 Turkish Cypriot Leader Rauf R. Denktaş addressed the families of missing persons and told them that all missing persons were considered as martyrs, the Greek side denied that they have missing persons and did not list them (Interview 2, 21, 2017, interview 4, 2018). The families of the missing persons on the Greek side established a committee called *Relatives Committee for Missing Persons* 1963-64, but they were unable to gain any attention from the government until after 1974. Sir Geoffrey Howe, the former British Foreign Minister, in a letter written to a retired MP, stated that the problem of missing persons started in 1963 when the conflict began between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities.

In the words of a Greek Cypriot interviewee, the reason for not recognising the existence of missing person issue between 1963-67 was "Greek nationalism, which was an obstacle in front of reality that these kinds of people prefer to accuse the other side instead of trying to understand the truth and the feelings of those families of missing persons" (Interview 1, 2017). No effort was shown about solving the missing person's issues until after 1974, when over one thousand Greek Cypriots went missing. Until 1974, "The Greek side did not even accept that there was an issue about disappearance of people in Cyprus" (Interview 2, 2017).

The first agreement about the CMP was reached between Turkish and Greek Cypriots at a high level meeting held in May 1979 under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General.[34] Both the Turkish and Greek sides blamed each other for not having made any progress on establishing a joint committee for missing persons until 1981.

After the establishment of the CMP, for more than 20 years nothing was done except for listing the missing and finding out where they were buried (Interview 3, 2017). From the Turkish perspective at the time, the Greek side in particular was using the missing persons issue as propaganda material (Interview 2, 2017, Interview 4, 2018). On the other hand the Turkish side was also delaying the issue because many of the Greek Cypriot missing persons were buried in Turkish military areas (Interview 4, 2018). After the European Court of

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[31] Neoptolemos Kotsapas, *Girne düştü* [Girne has Fallen Down] (Lefkosa-Cyprus; Galeri Kültür ve Alaşiya Yayınları,, 2015), 60–70.

[32] Committee of Missing Persons.

[33] United Nations, Security Council Report No: S8286 (1967), accessed January 12, 2018, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/document/cyprus-s8286.php.

[34] United Nations, Resolution 36/164 on missing persons S/36/164, 1981, accessed January 12, 2018, https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/36/164.

Justice became involved, the CMP gained greater importance and was pushed to start taking concrete actions on uncovering the fate of the missing persons and handing over the remains to the waiting families (Interview 2, 2017, Interview 4, 2018). Both sides' politicians agreed not use the issue for propaganda purposes (Interview 1, 2017, Interview 4, 2018). Although the political debacle continued between the two sides' negotiators, the reactivation of the CMP was ultimately decided upon and implemented in 2004. The Committee for Missing Persons (CMP) remained inactive for almost 23 years but after reactivation the CMP has been described as the most successful bi-communal project since South Cyprus EU accession.[35] When the CMP resumed activities after 20 years and started finding the remains of missing persons, the activities and the methodology used started to be copied by other post-conflict societies. The CMP is the only bi-communal project in which the two sides are working in harmony, and it has become an example for other societies in the Middle East.[36]

The CMP started its program for exhumations and identification of missing persons on 30 June 2005. The stages of exhuming and identifying the missing persons are part of a very long and complicated process—beginning with finding the remains of missing persons through the exhuming of mass graves, to identifying the remains using the latest scientific DNA methods, to releasing the remains to families for funeral services.

The CMP today is one of the few functioning institutionalized bi-communal bodies in Cyprus. Through its work, with the collaboration of young scientists from both communities, from 2006 until today, 1,217 remains out of a total of 2,002 missing persons have been found. Out the 2,002 missing persons, 1,510 are Greek Cypriots and 492 are Turkish Cypriots (Figures 1-3).

Figure 1: Exhumations and Identifications in Cyprus 2006-2018[37]

[35] Kovras and Loizides, "Delaying Truth Recovery for Missing Persons."
[36] Kovras and Loizides, "Delaying Truth Recovery for Missing Persons."
[37] "Figures and Statistics of Missing Persons," Committee on Missing Persons, accessed January 12, 2018, http://www.cmp-cyprus.org/sites/default/files/facts_and_figures_31-12-2017_0.pdf.

Figure 2: Greek Cypriot Missing Persons[38]

Figure 3: Turkish Cypriot Missing Persons[39]

Although there has been a small number of studies conducted with the families of missing persons in Cyprus, most of these have been related to stories of the missing persons themselves. To the author's knowledge there has not been a study conducted after the CMP has started finding remains and returning the missing persons to their families, nor has there been any study that has mainly focused on how the process of finding the remains of missing ones has influenced peoples' thoughts about 'the other'. The main concern of this research is not to give a detailed picture of what has happened in terms of the missing persons or to summarize the occasions in a statistical way, rather, it aims to discuss the missing persons issue in a more humanistic and holistic perspective through which understandings of peace building through reconciliation efforts in Cyprus can also be enhanced.

4. Methodology

For this research 22 face to face in-depth interviews were conducted to explore the perceptions and thoughts of the families/relatives of missing persons. The participants were selected through snowball sampling using multiple starting points to eliminate selection bias and ensure inclusion of diverse groups that represent a subset of the families of missing persons in Cyprus. Out of seventeen interviews with the relatives of missing persons, nine were conducted with Turkish Cypriots and eight were conducted with Greek Cypriots.

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[38] "Figures and Statistics of Missing Persons."
[39] "Figures and Statistics of Missing Persons."

Five interviews were also conducted with prominent people who had knowledge about developments on the missing person's issue. After multiple exchanges of emails and phone calls to gain rapport with the possible participants, the interviews took place at the homes of the families of missing persons and lasted for two to three hours. The interviews were conducted in Turkish with the Turkish Cypriots, and mainly in English with Greek Cypriots. Only one interview was conducted mostly in Greek with the help of a local Greek-English translator. All the participants were asked for their consent, and informed about the voluntary nature of the study, matters related to data management and usage, and the confidentiality of their participation. Refusals were rare, and only one key respondent, a third member of the CMP, refused to be interviewed, although this was due to time limitations rather than unwillingness to talk.

The interviewees were asked to elaborate on how they felt about their loss and how they perceived the people from other group. They were also asked about their thoughts about the CMP and the reconciliation process. The questions were open ended in order to allow for free responses to this sensitive topic, and to better capture the local meanings and understandings for the families. All the interviews were audio taped with the permission of the participants. Audio recordings were transcribed in Turkish, and then were studied through inductive content analysis[40] and coded as themes.

There are several factors that can affect the way an interview was shaped. For instance the ethnic identity has an impact on the interviews because the interviewee may assume that the researcher is from the 'other' side and might therefore have a bias.[41] Furthermore when the researcher is from opposite side, the interviewee might answer the questions in a careful manner, trying not to hurt the researcher. In such cases the researcher must choose the questions very cleverly, and speak carefully and sincerely to gain the interviewee's trust. There were also several other challenges faced by the author in this study. Firstly it was difficult to decide from where to start searching, as the subject matter is very sensitive. The participants were carefully selected from the missing person families. Although the author knew many families who had lost loved ones during the 1963-1974 conflicts in Northern Cyprus, there was a lack of information about such families on the South side. In Cyprus since the island is divided, it is difficult to reach people who live in different parts, therefore the only information the researcher could find about Greek Cypriots was through personal networks that operated as the starting point for her research in the South. In the North, the first name of a family member was learned through the CMP. After receiving the first names from both sides, it became a snowball effect, as everyone during the visit recommended another name.

Another difficulty faced during the interviews was related to reciprocity. Families who still had a missing family member approached the researcher with a hope of her being an authority or of her becoming a connection in the North for finding their lost ones. Although it has been 43 years since the 1974 Peace Operation happened, many Greek Cypriot families who lost someone in their family still think that their relatives are alive and might be found somewhere. One of the sisters of a missing person insisted on putting the picture of her loved

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[40] Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research* (Sage publications, 1990); Ali Yildirim and Hasan Şimşek, "Sosyal bilimlerde nitel araştırma yöntemleri," (Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık, 2005).

[41] Joanne McEvoy, "Elite Interviewing in a Divided Society: Lessons from Northern Ireland," *Politics* 26, no. 3 (2006): 184–91.

one in the Turkish newspapers, just in case he had gotten married with a Turkish Cypriot and just hadn't informed his family. Another sister asked for the same thing, with the rationale that maybe someone would recognize him and inform his relatives where he is living.

Finally, the author was a Turkish Cypriot, and although interviews and the treatment of people towards her did not reflect any biases, interviewer bias might have influenced the answers.

5. Findings

> K. was 15 years old when her brother C. disappeared in the 1974 conflict in Cyprus. He was a 21 old year soldier, who was last seen in H. (an area which remained in the north) before he disappeared together with 14 other soldiers. K.'s mother never lost hope about finding C alive, until she died in 1994. Every year she took out his clothes, washed and ironed them and put them back in the wardrobe again saying that he was going to be back. They believed that he was taken to Turkey as a prisoner and was going to return one day.

> When the borders between the Turkish and Greek sides were opened in 2003, K. together with a soldier who saw C. for the last time, went to the place where her brother was last seen to gather information about what happened to the missing Greek soldiers. When she started searching about her brother, some villagers got afraid and set fire to the well, where the soldiers had been hidden. When the CMP started its activities, it found the remains of the soldiers, including those of C., in that same well, and the remains were then returned to the families for burial.

> Until the borders were opened and they started to meet with the families of the Turkish missing persons, K. was not aware that the same kind of violence had also been done by Greek Cypriots to the Turkish Cypriots. After she listened to the same kind of stories from Turkish Cypriots and felt their sorrow she stopped hating Turkish Cypriots. K. got the information that two of the Turkish Cypriots who shot the soldiers were still alive. Now, she wants to go and ask them about the last feelings and words of her brother, but she clearly mentioned that she did not want any revenge. (Interview 5, 2017)

It emerged during the interviews that the times, places and the stories of disappearances were different for each family of a missing person. The psychological distress and ambiguity of the families of missing persons, however, were very similar to that of K.'s family, as was their relief when the remains of their family members were discovered and returned back to them. It was also the time for most of the families of missing persons to start showing empathy towards the other, although they were still looking for further closures from those accountable for the disappearances of their family members. The interview findings are analysed in three sections.

5.1. "We were good friends before": Hatred and broken trust

Unless the relatives of missing persons have a proper burial, providing closure to a long period of anguish and uncertainty, they may remain unhappy and be hateful. A few interviewees in line with this talked about hatred towards the other. A Turkish Cypriot woman (Interview 6, 2017) whose father has been a missing person since 1964 showed hatred towards Greek Cypriots, to a level at which she hoped they would all die. Her hatred involved not only having a missing father, but also losing trust in Greek Cypriots, who had in fact good relations with her father:

In 1964 we were living in Tuzla and I had a two month son. Although the conflicts started my father insisted on doing his job, a driver. He had good relations with Greek Cypriots. He was driving passengers to Dikelya, one of the two British bases. In May 1964 many people told my father not to go to work but he didn't listen. Around 11:00 someone came and told us that my father was captured and the bus was taken. Then we didn't hear anything about my father. I was so depressed and because of my hostility, in the 1974 war I thought and hoped that all the Greek Cypriots would die. (Interview 6, 2017)

Showing hatred towards the other was not very common among the families of missing persons, and these feelings were more common when they were talking about the times of conflict. Indeed, the loss of trust in friends and neighbours was a much more common theme that reappeared during the interviews, particularly among the Turkish Cypriots who were living in peace with the Greek Cypriots before the conflicts of 1960s, and later realised their friends or neighbours were involved in the killings of Turkish Cypriots:

We were very good friends with some Greek Cypriots but later on we realized that one of them was a member of EOKA-B. We heard that he captured many Turkish Cypriots, killed and threw them into wells. (Interview 13, 2017)

Some of the interviewees specifically mentioned that they did not hate "the other", but they also mentioned that they were still not comfortable with them. For instance, the son of a missing person, who also lost his father in 1964, said he did not see Greek Cypriots as enemies but admitted he is a little bit leery of them. He felt more comfortable being in the North rather than the South, and preferred not discussing the Cyprus problem with his friends.

I don't feel any hatred to Greek Cypriots. Sometimes I travel to the Greek side but when I come back I feel more comfortable. Generally I do not prefer to discuss Cyprus problem with my Greek Cypriot friends. They do not have a tendency to understand. Even my best friends do not accept our political equality. (Interview 15, 2017)

Some others tried escaping from old memories, like one Greek Cypriot interviewee, whose parents went missing in 1974. She reported being unable to visit her village, although she was able to meet with her Turkish best friend from the same village after the borders were opened in 2003:

Our life went upside down after our parents disappeared and we left the village. We had no money, no job and no land to do agriculture…For many years me and my husband were watching the village from our windows, but we don't want to go to the village now because we will go through the same sorrow. The whole family wants to sell all the land we have there… Besides being best friends we were living on the same road. In 1963 when Turkish Cypriots started to see Greek Cypriots as a threat to their lives, they moved to Turkish populated secure places. For forty years we the two friends did not see each other. When the borders were opened in 2003 we started to visit each other.(Interview 9, 2017)

Although most of the Greek Cypriot interviewees expressed tremendous sadness because of the loss of their loved ones, they did not show too much hatred to Turkish Cypriots and it seemed that they did not want any revenge. Some of them even mentioned the help they had received from Turkish Cypriot neighbours during the conflict as a good memory:

My two sons were arrested by Turkish people and brought to the camp near the village. The next day my friend, Turkish Cypriot N., helped me go and see my sons M. (17 years) and E. (19years) just for ten minutes. I and my wife visited our sons the next day also, and when

the Red Cross came to our village they told us about our sons. When the Red Cross went to the camp the Turkish army officers rejected that they have any prisoners and since then their destiny is not known. (Interview 10,2017)

5.2. Empathy: We have similar stories

As Ladisch states, the main emphasis should be on creating dialogue and mutual understandings about the past, acknowledging the harm done on both sides, and moving forward.[42] More than the stories of hatred and mistrust, there were far more narratives of mutual understandings and empathy between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

I feel no hatred to Greek Cypriots; I know how they feel because both sides did almost the same faults and suffered a lot." (Interview 15, 2017)

I use empathy, as I know Turkish Cypriots also did many bad things to Greek Cypriots." (Interview 13, 2017)

I tried to explain that if we had to do something we had to do it with Turkish Cypriots…I argued openly that we should always be mindful that there were also Turkish Cypriot missing persons. (Interview 16, 2018)

The Greek side tried to show that there is a tragedy of missing persons, only one-sided, this is not correct. There were missing persons long before the Turkish invasion and this is what we have to face. (Interview 17, 2018)

It is seen that the opening of the borders in 2003 was a milestone, which helped many Turkish and Greek Cypriots to understand what really happened. Both sides understood that the "other" was not very different than them, and that both sides had missing family members and similar sufferings. In this case, the empathy towards the other appeared as the most common expression used by most of the families. For instance, a Greek Cypriot woman whose brother is a missing person (Interview 12, 2017) showed her empathy as follows, and mentioned that her hatred was not towards ordinary Turkish Cypriots:

I have some Turkish Cypriot friends and my family are aware that the same kind of things happened to Turkish Cypriots as well. I don't have any hostile feelings against the ordinary Turkish people.

The ones to blame for them were not the ordinary people of Cyprus, it was the politicians and the fanatics following these politicians. A Greek Cypriot woman said:

I don't feel hatred towards Turkish people, but never want to have any war again. I am aware that these kinds of things were done to Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriots. We were good friends, living in nearby villages before the conflict, and I believe that conflict started because of the politicians. (Interview 18, 2017)

EOKA is the one to blame for all these kind of problems, the fanatics did the same things to Turkish Cypriots. (Interview 9, 2017)

5.3. The *CMP's* contribution to reconciliation

Almost all of the interviewees appreciated the works and projects of the CMP, with its goal

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[42] Ladisch, "The Challenge of Peacebuilding."

of recovering and identifying the remains of missing persons, and then handing them over to their families. The relatives of the missing persons in Cyprus believe that the CMP may also contribute considerably to the establishment of peace and reconciliation in Cyprus. More than half of the interviewers criticize the years 1982-2004, which the CMP spent without any progress, and they blame the politicians for not giving enough importance to the missing persons issue for all those years. In particular those interviewees who were themselves politicians appreciated the work of the CMP, both for its contribution to recovering the pain of relatives and helping to bind relations in line with reconciliation.

The CMP's role could help the reconciliation processes by bringing the past to the current day through mutual efforts, and make both sides realize that there were missing persons from both Greek and Turkish Cypriots:

> *Any efforts to confront the wrongs of the past and name them as events not to be repeated are for sure a contribution to the Cyprus peace process. Denial of past wrongs creates distrust between the sides. I also feel it is an exceptional example of work done for a humane purpose by teams of cooperating experts from all over the island as well as from other countries. It is proof that if you work together for a common good stripped of politics and discrimination, there can be no harm, only benefit and the CMP showed this.* (Interview 19, 2017)

> *In the negotiations, the missing persons issue was never discussed before the Missing Persons Committee was established. After the Committee on Missing Persons was established the Greek side has lost one of the six legs of their propaganda materials. They were using the missing persons issue at international platforms for propaganda and abusing the issue. Now they cannot do this. As the excavations began, the facts appeared that both sides had missing persons and that the problem was not started in 1974 but in 1963. It has been proven in the world that the losses of the Turkish side are more civilian, and the losses of the Greek side are the fighting soldiers.* (Interview 8, 2018)

The CMP's efforts also helped people to have closure, but they have also seen this development as just a start of the reconciliation between the two sides, rather than an end itself:

> *Because of the good works of the CMP, the winds of hatred have been enormously reduced. Because people on both sides have seen that mistakes were mutual."*(Interview 1, 2017)

> *Finding the missing persons and giving them back to their families highly contributed to the relaxation of the families. But this is not enough for reconciliation. Especially authorities on both sides should sit for more sustainable strategies which are agreed upon.* (Interview 14, 2017)

> *The topic of loss is a humanitarian issue and the expectations and hopes of the lost martyr families to reach their loved ones is rising with the successful work of the CMP. While the Committee on Missing Persons accelerated this program to meet these expectations, it adhered to the principles of scientific methods, international protocols and standards, which have not been compromised since its establishment. The CMP has done very good work. The families with the losses have relaxed. This is a positive contribution to the Cyprus problem. However, on the other hand, when families receive the bones of their loved ones they are better able to understand what the other side did to them.* (Interview 20, 2018)

Families of missing persons from both sides appreciated the efforts of the CMP, and have generally seen the exhumations of missing persons as a very positive step towards building empathy between two communities. Many of them stated the importance of understanding

the past, and acknowledgement of mutual suffering and a commitment to forward looking approaches based on cooperation and mutual respect.

6. Conclusions

This research aimed to improve understandings of reconciliation processes and the possible impact of the CMP at the grassroots level through looking at the perceptions of the families of missing persons towards the other in Cyprus. The findings suggested that the focus on the missing persons issue in Cyprus since the mid- 2000s has brought about subtle changes and contributed positively towards reconciliation efforts, at least by reducing hatred and creating empathy between the two communities at the individual level. Although there continues to exist some discomfort in being in touch with the other, most of the families participating in this study expressed their empathy towards the other. This empathy, as noted by the majority of the families, emerged after they realized the existence of similar sufferings of the families on the other side after the opening of borders and with the efforts of the CMP. Almost all of the interviewees appreciate the works and projects of the CMP and believe that the CMP may also contribute considerably to the establishment of peace and reconciliation in Cyprus. As Ladisch specified, "[a]nother way to conceive of reconciliation is a process of acknowledgement of one's own suffering as well as that of the other."[43] In other words, the findings of this research revealed that reconciliation does not mean to forget, but it means to remember without deliberating pain, bitterness, revenge, fear, or guilt, to co-exist and work for the peaceful handling of continuing differences.[44] This research also revealed that exhumations and reburials contributed greatly to healing the pain of the families of missing persons, and to developing empathy towards the other. These findings remind us of the importance of collaborative efforts, like those of the CMP, in conflict situations.

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[43]   Ladisch, "The Challenge of Peacebuilding."
[44]   Willemien Du Plessis, "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission," in *Healing the Wounds: Essays on the Reconstruction of Societies after War,* ed. Marie-Claire Foblets and Trutz von Trotha (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2004), 169–200.

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List of Interviews done by Author

Interview 1. Former president of South Cyprus, 2017
Interview 2. The former mayor of Lefkosa (Turkish side), son of a missing person, 2017

Interview 3. Turkish member of the CMP, 2017

Interview 4. Former president of North Cyprus, 2018

Interview 5. Sister of a missing person, 2017

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Interview 7. Daughter of a missing person, 2017

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Interview 9. Daughter of a missing couple, 2017

Interview 10. Father of two missing person, 2017

Interview 11. Brother of a missing person, 2017

Interview 12. Sister of a missing person, 2017

Interview 13. Technical director of BRT (Radio, television), director at Telecommunication Department, 2017

Interview 14. Former speaker of the parliament of North Cyprus, 2017

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Interview 19. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of North Cyprus, 2017

Interview 20. Chairperson of the Martyr's Families and Veterans Association, 2018

Interview 21. Chairperson of Relatives Committee for Missing Person 1963-64 and brother of a missing person, 2017

Interview 22. Former Turkish member of the CMP, 2017

The Role of International Educational Exchange in Turkish Foreign Policy as a Reconstructed Soft Power Tool

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Abstract

International educational exchange has been used frequently as a foreign policy instrument by leading actors of the international arena since the post-Second World War years. This article on the other hand, aims to throw light on the policies and actions of a middle power; namely, Turkey, which has been designing various international scholarship programs for foreign policy ends since the early 1990s. Following a brief evaluation of the international educational exchange programs launched by the USA, Russia, the UK, the EU and China for foreign policy purposes, the study examines the Great Student Exchange Project introduced by Turkey in 1992 to carve out an influential place for itself in the South Caucasus and Central Asia. It will then delve into the Türkiye Scholarships Program, Mevlana Exchange Program and the scholarship programs of the Türkiye Diyanet Foundation, which have been introduced during the Justice and Development Party period to build up and/or boost friendly ties between Turkey and various targeted countries. The study finalizes by investigating the impact of these scholarship programs on the realization of Turkey's foreign policy goals by exploring to what extent the sending countries align their foreign policy preferences with those of Turkey through analysis of their voting behaviours in the United Nations General Assembly.

Keywords: Soft power, Turkish foreign policy, international educational exchange, higher education, international scholarship programs in Turkey

1. Introduction

The higher education period denotes a significant and determining stage in the life of an individual. It is during those years that people acquire the theoretical and/or applied information which is deemed requisite for their professional life. They also build social bonds, some of which may endure in the succeeding years. Furthermore, it is mostly on the university campus that people are equipped with the academic and intellectual wherewithal through the lens of which they grasp the dynamics and workings of the world. This informative, constructive and transformative feature of higher education has led foreign policy makers to take it into serious consideration as an important soft power tool, particularly since the Cold War years.

The soft power of a country, which was defined by Joseph Nye as getting other countries to want what it wants,[1] is based on three resources: culture; political values; and government

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policies.[2] The cultural aspect of soft power has many manifestations, such as art, education, literature and mass entertainment.[3] Since the post-Second World War period, education has been utilized substantially by leading powers of the world such as the United States of America (USA), Russia, the United Kingdom (UK), the European Union (EU) and China, in the form of offers of scholarships and academic exchange programs to students of countries that were on their radar owing to foreign policy priorities.

International educational exchanges as a soft power instrument serve mainly three goals. Firstly, they enhance mutual understanding between the sending and host countries. Exchange students and/or scholars are given the opportunity to get first-hand knowledge about the political system, institutions, values, and socio-cultural characteristics of the host country, which reduces the likelihood of misinformation, prejudices and stereotyping, and thus helps to forge a solid and stable political association between the parties. Secondly, some foreign students who study in higher education institutions of the host country may subsequently take up positions of authority in their home countries and continue to retain close links with the host country. These people may be instrumental to diffuse the host country's world view, values and practices to the masses in their home countries and elicit sympathy among the public towards the host country.[4] Finally, the positive inclinations of these potential future elites towards the host country may induce them to back up some of the foreign policy moves of the host country.

Concomitant to the civilianization of domestic politics that gained speed following the commencement of EU accession negotiations in October 2005 and a gradual desecuritization of its foreign policy with the advent of a 'zero problems with neighbours' approach, Turkey started to invest more seriously in its soft power potential.[5] International educational exchange in this vein became a significant soft power tool employed by Turkish foreign policy makers. Turkey launched the government-funded Türkiye Scholarships Program in 2012, which welcomed international students at undergraduate and graduate levels to study in Turkey. The introduction of the Mevlana Exchange Program, which was designed for exchange of students and academics between Turkish higher education institutions and the rest of the world, followed shortly. Furthermore, the Türkiye Diyanet Foundation, which was set up in 1975 to support the activities of the Presidency of Religious Affairs of Turkey, increased its quotas for international scholarship students at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, and opened up many higher education institutions abroad.

This study aims to examine to what extent these international educational exchange programs have contributed to the enhancement of mutual understanding and to the foundation of friendly relations between Turkey and the sending countries. A suitable way to gauge this is to find out whether these sending countries are propping up Turkey's foreign policy moves. Studies which concentrate on appraising Turkey's utilization of international educational exchange programs for foreign policy ends are scarce. Lerna Yanık's[6] article

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1   Joseph S. Nye, "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy* 80 (Autumn 1990): 167.
2   Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 11.
3   Nye, *Soft Power*, 11.
4   Paul A. Kramer, "Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 5 (November 2009): 779.
5   Tarık Oğuzlu, "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 61, no. 1 (March 2007): 89-94.
6   Lerna K. Yanık, "The Politics of Educational Exchange: Turkish Education in Eurasia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 56, no. 2 (March 2004): 293–307.

assesses the intent of the international educational exchange programs introduced by Turkey in the early post-Cold War period. Pınar Akçalı and Cennet-Engin Demir's[7] work scrutinizes the international educational programs of Turkey in the Turkic Republics of Central Asia and Caucasus in the post-Soviet era in terms of their successes and failures from the viewpoints of some of the relevant policy makers in this field as well as experts from various think-tank institutions in Turkey. Gözde Yılmaz's article focuses on the underpinnings of the Mevlana Exchange Program and argues that it is inspired by the EU's Erasmus program,[8] whereas Bülent Aras and Zulkarnain Mohammed's article investigates the role of the Türkiye Scholarships Program in diffusing Turkey's soft power.[9] However none of these four studies probes through empirical means the impact of international educational exchange programs on the realization of Turkey's foreign policy objectives. This study intends therefore to make a contribution to the literature by investigating to what extent sending countries align their foreign policy preferences with those of Turkey, through an analysis of their voting behaviour in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA).

This article is divided into three parts. The first part explores the international educational exchange programs initiated by the USA, Russia, the UK, the EU and China to further their foreign policy goals, and which served as inspiring examples for Turkey's similar efforts. The second part starts with a review of Turkey's endeavour in the early 1990s to make use of international educational exchanges in order to raise its profile in the neighbouring regions, by examining the Great Student Exchange Project. It then moves on to the Türkiye Scholarships Program, Mevlana Exchange Program, and the scholarship programs of the Türkiye Diyanet Foundation, all launched by the Justice and Development Party (JDP) government, and aims to explore the activities they have carried out to help the establishment of closer ties between Turkey and the sending countries. The last part scrutinizes the impact of these international educational exchanges on actualization of Turkey's foreign policy goals. Accordingly, this part compares and contrasts the voting behaviour of sending countries in the UNGA to the voting preferences of non-sending states between the years 1985 and 2018 in order to find out the extent of foreign policy convergence between Turkey and the sending countries over the long-term.

2. International Educational Exchange in the Service of Foreign Policy Goals: Examples from the USA, Soviet Union/Russia, the UK, the EU and China

The post-Second World War epoch witnessed the emergence of a fierce competition between the USA and the Soviet Union in political/ideological, economic, and military dimensions. Washington started to embark on the fourth dimension, the cultural aspect,[10] following the unveiling of the Fulbright Act of 1946 and the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948. These two documents, which aimed to increase the USA's understanding of other countries and their understanding of the USA and promote cooperative international relations, envisaged the financing of international educational exchange programs by the USA government.

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[7] Pınar Akçalı and Cennet Engin–Demir, "Turkey's Educational Policies in Central Asia and Caucasia: Perceptions of Policy Makers and Experts," *International Journal of Educational Development* 32 (2012): 11–21.

[8] Gözde Yılmaz, "Emulating Erasmus? Turkey's Mevlana Exchange Program in Higher Education," *Asia Europe Journal* (February 2018): 1–15.

[9] Bülent Aras and Zulkarnain Mohammed, "The Turkish Government Scholarship Program as a Soft Power Tool," *Turkish Studies* (2018): 1–21.

[10] Philip H. Coombs, *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy: Educational and Cultural Affairs* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1964).

The partakers of these educational exchange programs would gain exposure to the USA's scientific and technological achievements, its liberal democratic political system, as well its material wealth. American accomplishments in higher education, political freedom, and economic well-being were expected to impress these people, generate feelings of appreciation and friendliness towards the USA and instigate them to initiate policies and practices in their home countries similar to the American ones. Leadership potential along with academic excellence became the key determinants for the selection of the scholarship holders, as the participants were considered as culture carriers who would create a multiplier effect by influencing other people in their own societies. So, it is not surprising that 37 Fulbright alumni have served as heads of state or government.[11]

The Cold War years also witnessed the utilization of international educational exchanges for foreign policy ends by the Soviet Union. Starting in the mid-1950s, the Soviet Union had set its sights on the newly independent states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and began offering higher education scholarships to acclimatize the prospective leadership cadres of these countries to communist ideas along with Russian language and culture. Another significant endeavour in this direction was the opening of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia in Moscow on 5 February 1960, which offered higher education programs to foreign students, especially to those coming from developing countries, as an extension of humanitarian aid. Presidents, prime ministers, political party leaders, ambassadors and intellectuals from many African, Asian and Latin American countries can be named among the notable alumni of this university.[12]

Higher education has also been appraised as one of the significant soft power tools of the Russian Federation, the successor state of the Soviet Union. The Russian government provides scholarships to 15,000 international students on a yearly basis, which includes free tuition, maintenance allowance, and dormitory accommodation.[13] These scholarship programs are expected to help the formation of "pro-Russian national elites" who will be of great value to building good rapport between Russia and their home countries.[14]

The UK designed an international postgraduate scholarship program in 1983 with financial support from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and partner organizations. The Chevening Scholarship Program aims to support the UK's foreign policy goals "by creating lasting positive relationships with future leaders, influencers, and decision-makers".[15] Accordingly, among the program's nearly 50,000 alumni there exist presidents, prime ministers, ministers, members of parliament, party leaders, ambassadors, writers and journalists.[16]

The EU came forth with its postgraduate scholarship program, Erasmus Mundus, in 2009. The program, which has fallen under the Erasmus+ program as a result of the reorganization process in 2014, offers joint masters and doctorate degree education packages to international students in two or more higher education institutions in the EU.[17] The participants of the

[11] "Notable Fulbrighters," U.S. Department of State, accessed January 1, 2019, https://eca.state.gov/fulbright/fulbright-alumni/notable-fulbrighters.
[12] "Peoples' Friendship University of Russia," Study in Russia, accessed January 3, 2019, https://studyinrussia.ru/en/study-in-russia/universities/rudn/students/.
[13] "Russian Government Scholarships," Study in Russia, accessed January 5, 2019, https://studyinrussia.ru/en/study-in-russia/scholarships/.
[14] "Russia Wants to Take More Foreign Students to Build 'Pro-Moscow Elites'," *The Moscow Times*, April 24, 2015.
[15] "Chevening Scholars", Chevening, accessed January 5, 2019, https://www.chevening.org/scholars.
[16] "Chevening Alumni", Chevening, accessed January 5, 2019, https://www.chevening.org/alumni.
[17] "Scholarship Statistics," Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, accessed January 5, 2019, https://eacea.

scholarship program are defined by former President of the European Commission Jose Manuel Barroso as the EU's best ambassadors,[18] and are expected to help the foundation of better ties between their home countries and the Union.

China's offer of scholarship programs to international students kicked off in the mid-1950s. Most of the students came from African and Asian countries, and China attached importance to conveying its own version of socialism, its value system, as well as language to these young people. The scholarships programs were structured and institutionalized with the establishment in 1997 of a regulatory body called the China Scholarship Council, under the control of the Chinese Ministry of Education.[19] The Chinese Government Scholarship Program started to offer fully and partially funded programs to international students. The fully-funded scholarship program is comprised of free tuition, accommodation, medical insurance and a monthly stipend, whereas the partially-funded version covers only tuition fees.[20] Most of the scholarship students continue to come from Africa and Asia. China hopes that future elites of these countries who are exposed to Chinese education, language, culture and society will be sensitive to Chinese viewpoints and interests.[21]

Turkey, unlike the USA, Russia, the UK, the EU and China, is a middle power with limited global ambitions and modest financial resources. Yet, concomitant to the end of the Cold War, Turkey seized an opportunity to raise its profile in the South Caucasian and Central Asian regions thanks to the receding Russian power in these areas following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Accordingly, Turkey pursued an active foreign policy in the early 1990s which also made use of international educational exchanges to permeate these regions culturally. The following section will begin by delving into the major instrument of this cultural expansion strategy, the Great Student Exchange Project; it will then discuss other international educational exchange programs brought forth by successive Turkish governments.

3. Turkey's Educational Demarche in the Post-Cold War Period: Scholarship Programs

Turkey had not anticipated the sudden and total disintegration of the Soviet Union and therefore was not well-prepared for the altered international environment. However, following initial surprise and confusion, the country got down to work by taking stock of the opportunities extant in the regions that had been freed from the Soviet grip. Azerbaijan and the Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan became priority areas for Turkey in the early 1990s, as Turkey and these countries enjoyed some common ethnic, linguistic, historical and cultural ties.

Turkey's major tool of attraction to lure Azerbaijan and the four Turkic Central Asian states into its orbit became the Great Student Exchange Project, which aimed at improving the educational level in those countries; assisting in meeting qualified manpower needs; fostering a young generation that would be on friendly terms with Turkey; and establishing

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ec.europa.eu/erasmus-plus/library/scholarship-statistics_en.

[18] Maria Chepurina, "Higher Education Cooperation in the Toolkit of Russia's Public Diplomacy," *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali* 81, no. 1 (2014): 65.

[19] "About Us," China Scholarship Council, accessed January 6, 2019, https://www.cscscholarship.org/about-us.

[20] Rashid Latief and Lin Lefen, "Analysis of Chinese Government Scholarship for International Students Using Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP)," *Sustainability* 10, no. 2112 (2018): 2.

[21] Rui Yang, "China's Soft Power Projection in Higher Education," *International Higher Education* 46 (2007): 25.

a permanent 'brotherhood and friendship bridge' with the Turkic world.[22] The scholarships provided through the Project included tuition fees, a monthly stipend, one year Turkish language education, accommodation in state dormitories, health insurance, clothing support, books and stationery support, and pass cards for transportation.[23]

Turkey granted 42,318 of these scholarships between 1992 and 2011 as part of the Great Student Exchange Project. The beneficiary countries sent 31,307 students to Turkey during this period. Of these, only 8,914 students ultimately graduated from higher education institutions in Turkey, while 16,138[24] of them eventually lost their scholarships and returned to their home countries. The low graduation rate (28%) could be attributed to various factors, such as the inadequate monthly stipends, the low level of Turkish language proficiency among students, accommodation problems, and the absence of comprehensive orientation programs for foreign students. Nevertheless, some of the participants of the Great Student Exchange Project did ultimately assume high-level political positions in their home countries, from ministers and deputy ministers, to members of parliament, and proved to contribute to the cultivation of friendly ties between their countries and Turkey[25]. This development appeared as a valuable motivating factor for Turkish foreign policy makers to continue with the scholarship program, albeit under a new name and with new content.

The Turkish government launched the Türkiye Scholarships Program in 2012 under the aegis of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). The Program is aimed at supporting Turkey's public diplomacy activities by strengthening the country's political, economic and cultural relations developed in the international area through maintaining close ties with the international students.[26] The international students are expected to act as "country ambassadors" who will build bridges of friendship between Turkey and their countries. The Program also reflects the changes in Turkey's foreign policy priorities. Compared with its predecessor, this program welcomes more students from African, Middle Eastern and Asian countries in accordance with the JDP governments' increased interest in these regions.[27]

The Program covers tuition fees, a monthly stipend, one year Turkish language education, accommodation in state dormitories, health insurance and a round-trip flight ticket.[28] The amount of monthly stipends granted to the international students recorded an increase parallel to improvements in Turkey's financial situation. However, infrastructural problems surrounding dormitories and, more importantly, the overall difficulties encountered by international students while adapting to Turkish-educated programs, persist.[29] There have also

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[22] Yüksel Kavak and Gülsün Atanur Baskan, "Educational Policies and Applications of Turkey Towards Turkic Republics and Communities," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* 20 (2011): 96.

[23] Kavak and Atanur Baskan, "Educational Policies," 100.

[24] Muhammet Musa Budak, "Student Exchange Programs as Public Diplomacy Means and Turkish Examples" (Thesis, Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, 2012), 68.

[25] "Mezun Hikayeleri" [Alumni Stories], Türkiye Mezunları [Türkiye Alumni], accessed January 17, 2019, https://www.turkiyemezunlari.gov.tr/haberler/mezun-hikayeleri/1/.

[26] "Türkiye Bursları Yönetmeliği" [Regulation on Türkiye Scholarships], Mevzuat Bilgi Sistemi [Legislation Information System], accessed January 19, 2019, http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/Metin.Aspx?MevzuatKod=7.5.19799&MevzuatIliski=0&sourceXmlSearch=T%C3%BCrkiye%20Burslar%C4%B1%20Y%C3%B6netmeli%C4%9Fi.

[27] The number of students coming from the African countries has recorded a remarkable surge since 2012. While the incoming students from Africa averaged approximately 1,400 annually between 1999-2012, they made up nearly one-third of the 16,000 Türkiye Scholarship bursars in 2017. See "Türkiye Mezunları Tanzanya'da Buluştu" [Türkiye Graduates Met in Tanzania], YTB, accessed January 19, 2019, https://www.ytb.gov.tr/haberler/turkiye-mezunlari-tanzanyada-bulustu.

[28] "What the Scholarship Covers," Türkiye Scholarships, accessed January 19, 2019, https://www.turkiyeburslari.gov.tr/en/page/prospective-students/what-the-scholarship-covers.

[29] Aras and Mohammed, "The Turkish Government," 12.

been criticisms against the selection criteria. Many candidates have suggested that there be a written exam before the interview process in order to increase the number of accomplished students admitted into the program.

The Türkiye Scholarships Program has introduced two significant novelties that were absent in the Great Student Exchange Project. Firstly, it organizes various academic and social programs for international students to inform them about Turkish history, culture and literature and thus help them to understand Turkish society and build long-term relationships.[30] Second is the foundation of a web site dedicated to graduates of the Program, and the establishment of alumni associations in the sending countries. This alumni network aims to maintain contacts among the scholarship recipients, generate employment opportunities for them, sustain their association with Turkish language and culture, and ensure that they contribute to the development of cordial relations between Turkey and their home countries.[31]

The Mevlana Exchange Program, which was designed by Turkey's Council of Higher Education (YÖK) in 2011 and came into effect in 2013-2014 academic year, became another international educational exchange program utilized as a soft power instrument for Turkish foreign policy objectives. The Program encompasses the exchange of students and academic staff between Turkish higher education institutions and higher education institutions of other countries through the signing of bilateral protocols.[32] It, in addition to increasing the academic capacity of Turkish higher education institutions and making Turkey a centre of attraction in the area of higher education, anticipates the sharing of Turkey's historical and cultural heritage.[33] By eliciting recognition among international students and academics, Turkish foreign policy makers aspire for strengthening friendly ties between Turkey and the sending countries.

Students participating in the Program are given a non-refundable scholarship during their studies while academics benefiting from the Program are offered transportation support and monthly allowances. The countries with which Turkey has signed bilateral Mevlana exchange protocols give valuable hints regarding priority areas in Turkish foreign policy. Turkey has signed exchange protocols with six African states (Algeria, Djibouti, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia), four South Caucasian and Central Asian countries (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan), four Balkan states (Albania, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Romania), four Middle Eastern states (Iran, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Yemen) two European countries (Malta, the UK) and one Asian country (Malaysia).[34]

The Türkiye Diyanet Foundation (TDV), an organization established to prop up the activities of the Presidency of Religious Affairs of Turkey, also contributes to Turkey's soft power diffusion by extending scholarships to international students at the undergraduate and graduate levels and opening up higher education institutions in countries where

[30] "Türkiye Bursları" [Türkiye Scholarships], YTB, accessed January 20, 2019, https://www.ytb.gov.tr/uluslararasi-ogrenciler/turkiye-burslari.
[31] "Hakkımızda" [About Us], Türkiye Mezunları [Türkiye Alumni], accessed January 20, 2019, https://www.turkiyemezunlari.gov.tr/hakkinda/.
[32] "Mevlana Değişim Programı" [Mevlana Exchange Program], YÖK, accessed January 22, 2019, http://www.yok.gov.tr/web/uluslararasi-iliskiler/mevlana-degisim-programi.
[33] "Mevlana Değişim Programı Kitapçığı" [Mevlana Exchange Program Booklet], YÖK, accessed January 22, 2019, http://www.yok.gov.tr/documents/757816/1380059/Mevlana-Kitapcik-Yeni_08.06.2015_%C4%B0statistiksiz.pdf/13a2eeb0-efbd-4815-b755-56f3f8990d9e.
[34] "Yükseköğretimde Uluslararasılaşma Strateji Belgesi 2018-2022" [2018-2022 Strategy Document for Internationalization of Higher Education], YÖK, 24, accessed January 23, 2019, http://www.yok.gov.tr/web/guest/yuksekogretimde-uluslararasilasma-strateji-belgesi-2018-2022.

Turkey aims to gain influence. The TDV scholarship covers tuition fees, a monthly stipend, dormitory accommodation, education support, health insurance and a round-trip flight ticket. While the TDV between the early 1990s and mid-2000s preferred setting up higher education institutions in the South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) and Central Asia (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan), it subsequently has focused on establishing new universities in Africa (Somalia), Asia (Bangladesh, Malaysia) and the Middle East (Palestine), again in accordance with the realignment of Turkey's foreign policy interests.[35]

In the nearly three decades since the inauguration of the Great Student Exchange Project, Turkey has introduced significant international educational exchange initiatives for enhancing the recognition of its historical background, political values, and socio-cultural features among young populations of the countries with which it aims to advance ties. Furthermore, increases in the number of foreign applications to the Türkiye Scholarships Program, the Mevlana Exchange Program and various scholarship programs of the TDV over these years[36] demonstrates the increasing interest of the sending countries to sustain friendly and thriving relations with Turkey.

It is for sure that Turkey's leading motive in extending scholarship programs to international students and academics is to create support for its foreign policy goals. Therefore, the final part of the article examines to what extent Turkey's foreign policy preferences converge with those of the sending countries' by analysing their voting behaviour in the UNGA.

4. Testing the Contribution of International Educational Exchanges to the Realization of Foreign Policy Goals of Turkey

The study makes use of the UNGA voting records between the years 1985 and 2018 in order to explore the extent of foreign policy convergence between Turkey and those states that benefit from Turkey's international scholarship programs. Although one state's upholding of another state's cause in the UNGA through harmonization of its voting behaviour with that other state's might be influenced by a diverse set of factors such as the global context, each state's international standing, definitions of national interest, or domestic considerations; its bilateral relationship with the other state still impinges on its foreign policy decisions. Based on this rationale, this part of the study scrutinizes to what extent the countries with which Turkey has engaged in international educational exchanges have aligned their voting behaviour with Turkey's regarding foreign policy decisions in the UNGA.

The raw UN voting data draws on the data set prepared by Erik Voeten, Anton Strezhnev and Michael Bailey[37] which includes all the roll-call votes issued in the UNGA between 1946 and 2018. The research focuses on the voting results between 1985 and 2018. The data are divided into three time periods for the purposes of this study: 1985-1991, 1992-2011 and 2012-2018. The period between 1985 and 1991 signifies the Cold War years during which Turkey did not offer any noteworthy international educational exchange programs. The period between 1992 and 2011 denotes the time span which covers the Great Student

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35 "2017 Faaliyet Raporu" [2017 Annual Report], TDV, 28, accessed January 24, 2019, https://tdvmedia.blob.core.windows.net/tdv/files/Media/Files/raporlar/TDV_2017_FaaliyetRaporu.pdf.

36 "Türkiye'de 108 Bin Uluslararası Öğrenci Öğrenim Görüyor" [108,000 International Students Study in Turkey], *Hürriyet*, 17 May 2018, "2017 Faaliyet Raporu," 90, and "Türkiye Scholarships", Türkiye Scholarships, accessed January 26, 2019, https://www.turkiyeburslari.gov.tr/en/page/about-us/turkiye-scholarships.

37 Erik Voeten, Anton Strezhnev and Michael Bailey, "United Nations General Assembly Voting Data," accessed August 28, 2019, https://dataverse.harvard.edu/file.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/LEJUQZ/KKG7SW&version=21.0.

Exchange Project that was designed in accordance with Turkey's new foreign policy goals in the wake of the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union. The final time period, between 2012 and 2018, corresponds to the era during which the JDP government launched the Türkiye Scholarships Program, Mevlana Exchange Program and expanded the scope of the international scholarship programs of the TDV with renewed interest in Africa and the Middle East. The quantitative UNGA voting affinity analysis utilized in this study is applied separately to these three time periods in order to reveal the changes in the voting cohesion scores throughout the years.

The research compares and contrasts the voting convergence of Turkey with three reference groups. The first group is comprised of Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, China, Colombia, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, Greece, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Libya, Malaysia, Morocco, North Macedonia, Oman, Pakistan, Romania, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Ukraine and Yemen. These are the countries whose students and/ or academics study and/or give lectures in Turkey within the framework of the Türkiye Scholarships Program, Mevlana Exchange Program and the scholarship programs of TDV.[38]

The second group encompasses Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Comoros, Ethiopia, Gambia, Georgia, Ghana, Guinea, Jordan, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Montenegro, Serbia, South Korea, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam, Zambia and Zimbabwe, countries which benefited from the Türkiye Scholarships Program, but did not send students and/or academics within the framework of the Mevlana Exchange Program or the scholarship programs of TDV.[39]

The third group includes other countries which have not been part of Turkey's international scholarship programs, namely, Angola, Armenia, Bahrain, Belarus, Benin, Bhutan, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei, Cambodia, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chile, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cuba, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Gabon, Guatemala, Guinea Bissau, Haiti, Honduras, Israel, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Moldova, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, North Korea, Qatar, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovenia, South Africa, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tajikistan, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Togo, United Arab Emirates, Uruguay, Uzbekistan and Venezuela.

The Agreement Index (AI) method propounded by Simon Hix, Abdul Noury and Gerard Roland to measure party group cohesion in the European Parliament is used to measure the degree of voting convergence between Turkey and these three groups in three separate consecutive time periods mentioned above. The formula of the AI is as follows:

$$AI_i = \frac{MAX\{Y_i, N_i, A_i\} - 0.5\,[(Y_i + N_i + A_i) - MAX\{Y_i, N_i, A_i\}]}{(Y_i + N_i + A_i)}$$

[38] See "Yükseköğretimde Uluslararasılaşma Strateji Belgesi 2018-2022," 24, 40; "2017 Faaliyet Raporu," 28; and "Alumni," Türkiye Scholarships, accessed February 6, 2019, https://www.turkiyemezunlari.gov.tr/.

[39] "Alumni," Türkiye Scholarships, accessed February 6, 2019, https://www.turkiyemezunlari.gov.tr/.

The Y_i denotes the number of Yes votes, N_i the number of No votes and A_i the number of Abstain votes expressed by group i for a specific resolution.[40] The AI_i figure is ranged between 0 and 1. The closer it is to 1, the higher the voting cohesion of the group. Conversely, scores closer to 0 represent lower voting convergence within the group. The AI is employed in this study as a quantitative UNGA voting affinity analysis tool as it is suitable for tracking changes in cohesiveness for the same group of states over time.[41]

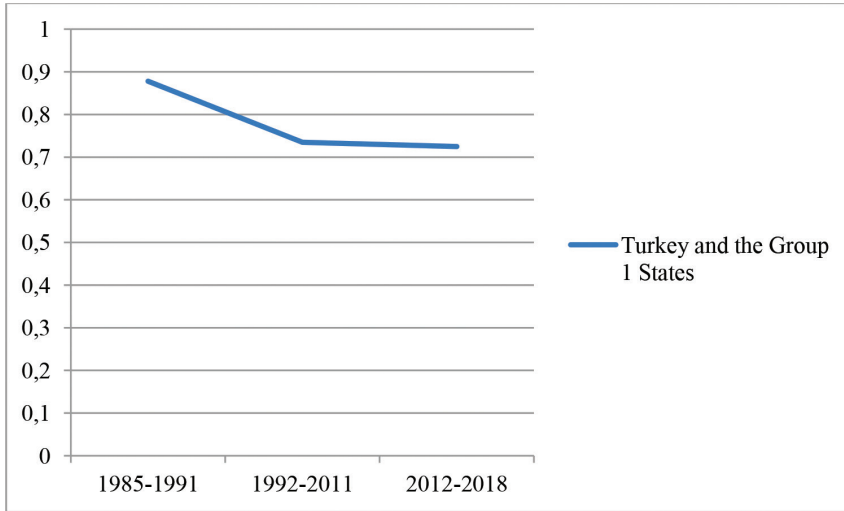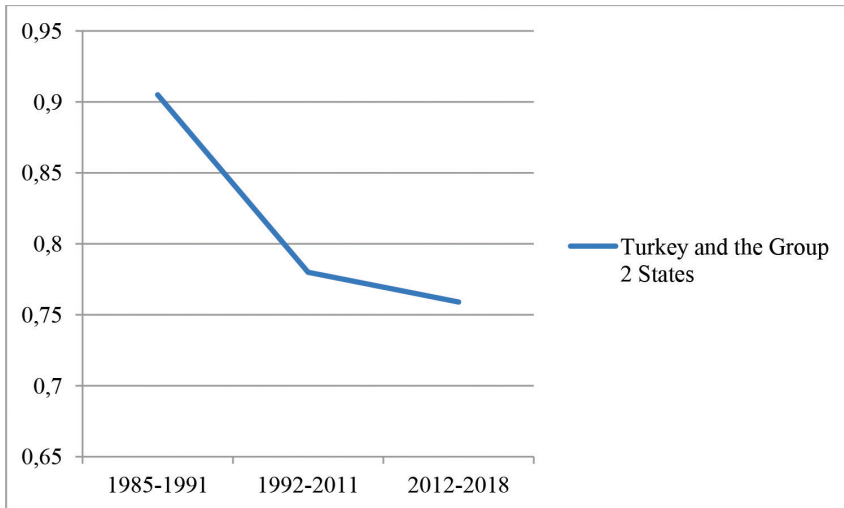Figure 1: Agreement Index$_1$

Figure 2: Agreement Index$_2$

40 Simon Hix, Abdul Noury and Gerard Roland, "Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament," *British Journal of Political Science* 35 (2005): 215.
41 Peter Ferdinand, "Rising Powers at the UN: An Analysis of the Voting Behaviour of BRICS in the General Assembly," *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (2014): 381.
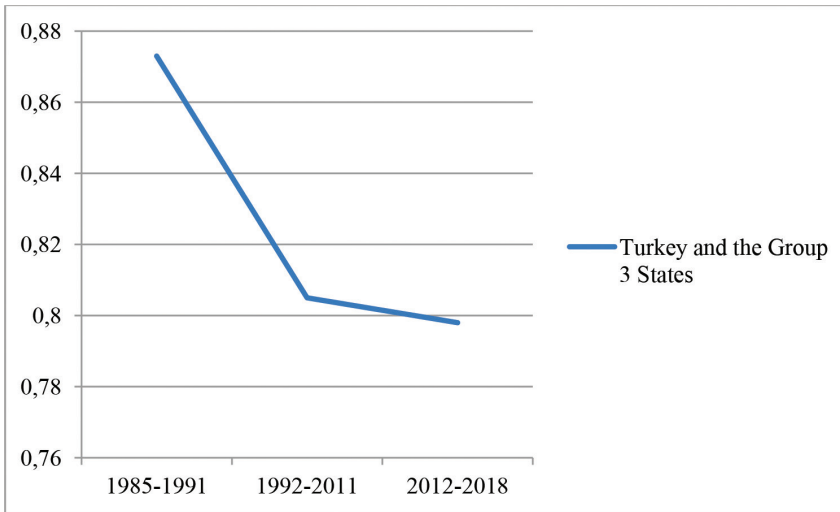
Figure 3: Agreement Index$_3$

The scores of Agreement Index$_1$, Agreement Index$_2$ and Agreement Index$_3$ as shown in Figure 1, Figure 2 and Figure 3 reveal interesting results. Figure 1 demonstrates that the voting agreement scores between Turkey and the Group 1 states have declined steadily over the observed years. The trend is the same for Turkey and the states of Group 2 although the overall convergence here is higher than that between Turkey and the Group 1 countries. What is most remarkable for the purposes of this study is that for much of the measured time frame, the data reveal more voting preference alignment between Turkey and the *non*-sending countries than with the countries which have been exposed to Turkey's international scholarship programs since the early 1990s.

A further in-depth analysis was also employed to examine the extent of voting convergence between Turkey and the Group 1/Group 2 states on a regional basis over the three time periods. In this analysis, the voting agreement scores between Turkey and Group 1 and 2 countries in the Balkan, Asian and Middle Eastern regions declined progressively over the years as indicated by Figure 4, Figure 5 and Figure 7. In a similar vein, voting convergence between Turkey and the Group 1 states in Latin America also showed a downward tendency since the early 1990s (Figure 10). However, the agreement index scores between Turkey and the Group 1 and 2 states in Africa (Figure 6) depict some upward tendencies. Although the voting cohesion figure between Turkey and the Group 1 African states recorded a 0.094 decrease during the 1992-2011 period, they saw a rise in the consecutive time period. Similarly, the voting agreement score between Turkey and the Group 2 African states registered a 0.084 decrease during the 1992-2011 period but a 0.001 increase in the succeeding time span. It is possible to observe similar trends regarding the voting convergence between Turkey and the Group 1 post-Soviet countries as well. As shown in Figure 8, despite a 0.097 decrease in the voting cohesion figure during the 1992-2011 period, the voting agreement index for this group recorded a 0.013 increase in the 2012-2018 period. The voting convergence between Turkey and the Group 2 post-Soviet countries (Georgia) on the other hand, is on a declining trend as indicated by Figure 9.
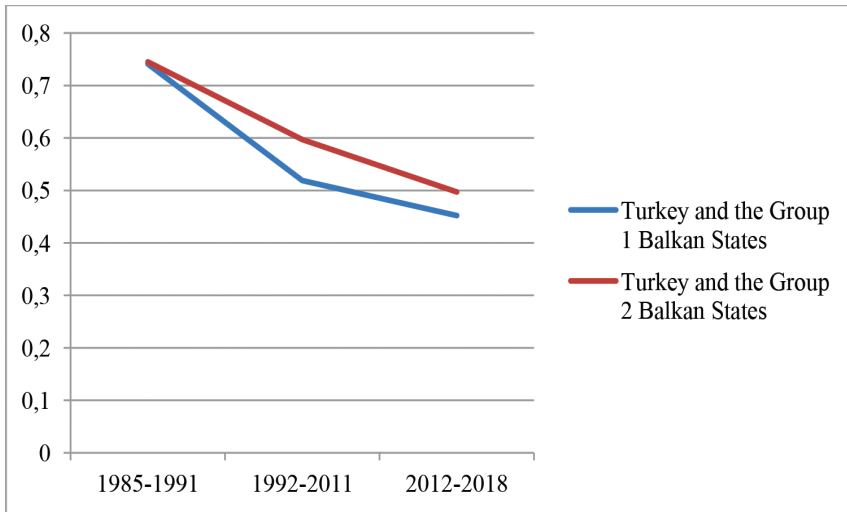
Figure 4: Agreement Index$_{Balkans}$

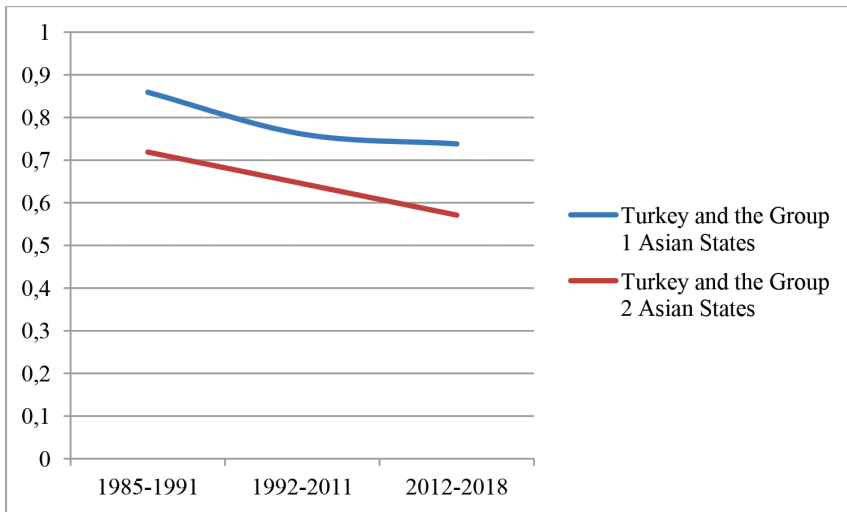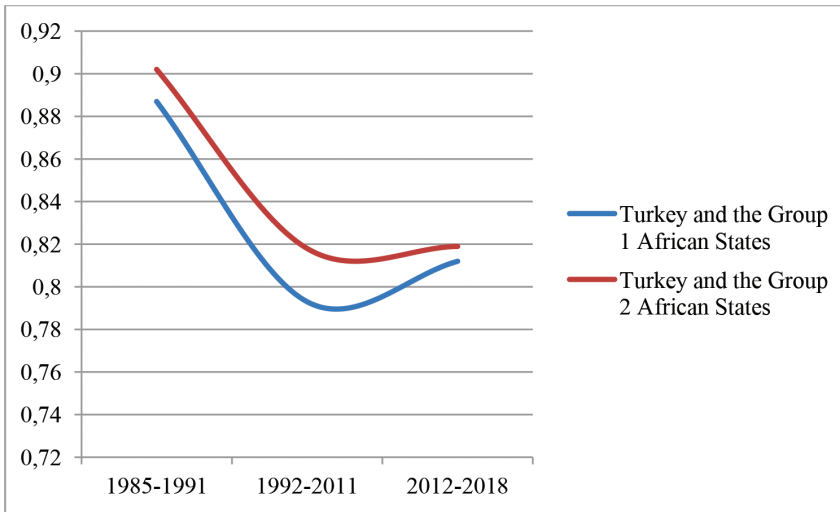

Figure 5: Agreement Index$_{Asia}$

Figure 6: Agreement Index$_{\text{Africa}}$

Figure 7: Agreement Index$_{\text{Middle East}}$

Figure 8: Agreement Index_{Post-Soviet Region}

Figure 9: Agreement Index_{Post-Soviet Region}

Figure 10: Agreement Index$_{\text{Latin America}}$

The findings disclose that the rise in the number of applications to various Turkish international scholarship programs and the increase in the total number of international students studying in the country since 2012 have not always induced the sending countries to harmonize their voting behaviours in the UNGA with those of Turkey. In fact, with the exception of the cases of Africa and the post-Soviet region, Turkey's voting preferences in the UNGA seem to diverge progressively from those of the states participating in the international educational exchange programs.

5. Conclusion

The employment of international educational exchanges for foreign policy ends is a long and arduous process. Yet, major powers of the world such as the USA, Russia, the UK, the EU and China have regarded these interactions for a long time as substantial components of their soft power arsenal.

Turkey is a middle power with limited soft power potential compared to these prominent global powers. Still, in the immediate post-Cold War period Turkey came up with a remarkable initiative, the Great Student Exchange Project, to fill the vacuum created in the South Caucasus and Central Asia by the fall of the Soviet Union. While the lack of a well-designed action plan, inadequate financial resources, and cooperation and coordination problems among different state institutions caused the original Project to fall short of expectations, Turkey subsequently managed to rebrand the initiative under a new name and with new content and institutions in 2012. The reconstructed Türkiye Scholarships Program along with the newly introduced Mevlana Exchange Program and the expanded international scholarship programs of the TDV have become significant soft power tools for Turkey to win the hearts and minds of foreign publics through educational diplomacy.

Turkey's attempt to utilize international educational exchanges for the realization of its foreign policy objectives however, has recorded meagre levels of success. The voting preferences in the UNGA of those countries to whose students and academics Turkey has extended increasing numbers of scholarships since the early 1990s, have, overall, actually

become *less* coherent with Turkey's voting choices over the years. The only bright spot in the equation is the augmentation of the voting agreement scores between Turkey and cooperating African states and between Turkey and the post-Soviet states (excluding Georgia) in the 2012-2018 period. All in all, although a diverse set of factors might have been influential in the UNGA decision making patterns of the sending countries, sometimes irrelevant to their bilateral ties with Turkey, the fact that the 1992-2018 voting cohesion scores between Turkey and the non-sending countries has been higher than those between Turkey and the sending-countries indicates that international educational exchange programs may not have much positive impact on the realization of Turkey's foreign policy goals in the post-Cold War period.

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Appendix

Agreement Index Scores

Agreement Index$_1$	1985-1991	1992-2011	2012-2018
Turkey and the Group 1 States	0.878	0.735	0.725
Agreement Index$_2$	**1985-1991**	**1992-2011**	**2012-2018**
Turkey and the Group 2 States	0.905	0.780	0.759
Agreement Index$_3$	**1985-1991**	**1992-2011**	**2012-2018**
Turkey and the Group 3 States	0.873	0.805	0.798

Agreement Index$_{Balkans}$	1985-1991	1992-2011	2012-2018
Turkey and the Group 1 Balkan States	0.741	0.519	0.452
Turkey and the Group 2 Balkan States	0.745	0.597	0.497
Agreement Index$_{Asia}$	**1985-1991**	**1992-2011**	**2012-2018**
Turkey and the Group 1 Asian States	0.859	0.761	0.738
Turkey and the Group 2 Asian States	0.719	0.645	0.571
Agreement Index$_{Africa}$	**1985-1991**	**1992-2011**	**2012-2018**
Turkey and the Group 1 African States	0.887	0.793	0.812
Turkey and the Group 2 African States	0.902	0.818	0.819
Agreement Index$_{Middle East}$	**1985-1991**	**1992-2011**	**2012-2018**
Turkey and the Group 1 Middle Eastern States	0.843	0.782	0.752
Turkey and the Group 2 Middle Eastern States	0.737	0.719	0.693
Agreement Index$_{Post-Soviet Region}$	**1985-1991**	**1992-2011**	**2012-2018**
Turkey and the Group 1 Post- Soviet States	0.751	0.654	0.667
Turkey and the Group 2 Post-Soviet States	-	0.533	0.465
Agreement Index$_{Latin America}$	**1985-1991**	**1992-2011**	**2012-2018**
Turkey and the Group 1 Latin American States	0.829	0.793	0.759

Egypt's Defense Industry: Dependency, Civilian Production, and Attempts at Autonomy

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Abstract

Egypt's defense industry is the oldest and largest in the Arab world. However, most of its military factories have converted into manufacturing consumer goods to the civilian market for profit. Meanwhile, they continue to produce traditional weapon systems that mostly do not respond to urgent needs to combat terrorism in asymmetric warfare. In addition, Egypt is largely dependent on U.S. firms for procurement and co-production. After a political crisis in 2013, the Ministry of Military Production (MoMP) has attempted to revive defense production through new co-production initiatives with international arms firms. The country also attempts to reduce its dependence on the U.S. by seeking procurement from other states such as France, Russia, and Germany. Such efforts remain noticeably limited, because the Egyptian military still focuses on its civilian business enterprises.

Keywords: Egypt, defense industries, military business enterprises

1. Introduction

Egypt's defense industry has a long history for the past six decades that renders it the oldest and largest among the Arab states. It started to expand in the 1950s-60s, and reached its peak in collaboration with Western manufacturers in the 1980s. However, it has suffered from a problem of dependency on Western technology, especially the U.S., and has limited R&D. This problem, and other economic reasons, led to substantial conversion of the military industrial base into civilian production for profit in the 1990s-2000s. For the past three decades, military factories have been mostly converted into manufacturing consumer or capital goods for the civilian market. Meanwhile, they have continued to produce traditional weapons systems that do not particularly respond to recent needs to combat terrorism and asymmetric warfare with scattered fundamentalist cells on the country's eastern and western borders. The last few years have witnessed a degree of change towards reviving arms production, especially after 2013 when a severe crisis with U.S. supply took place and a war on terrorist groups erupted. In today's Egypt, there are efforts to diversify sources of supply outside U.S. firms. In addition, there are ongoing attempts to achieve autonomy through co-production with international manufacturers. However, the outcomes of such efforts remain limited, as most

of the Egyptian military's attention still focuses on its civilian business enterprises that target the domestic consumer market for profit.

This article investigates the historical roots and current realities of the Egyptian defense industry. It begins by presenting a historical background of the industry, emphasizing issues of dependency on Soviet and Western technology from the 1950s to the 1980s. This period was marked by generous government spending on developing the industry. The article then moves to the problematic period of massive defense conversion to civilian production in the 1990s-2000s, which took place due to the country's economic reform and liberalization scheme that entailed cuts in the military's budget. Such conversion came about in a global context in which many other states adopting neoliberal policies reduced military budgets and allowed their armies to engage in civilian business to compensate them for their financial losses. Finally, the paper looks at the past five years in the developments taking place in Egypt's defense industry under the current military president Abdel-Fattah al-Sisi. It, therefore, examines the regime's attempts at reducing dependency on the U.S. through seeking procurement from European suppliers while also concluding co-production agreements with European firms. While investigating these three periods between the past and the present, the article highlights domestic, regional, and global conditions that made the Egyptian state and its defense industry opt for certain decisions regarding procurement and partnership.

The article concludes with policy recommendations about advancing Egypt's defense industry as an emerging state in a globalized market. If Egypt seeks to join other emerging countries in arms manufacturing, its military factories that currently focus on production for the civilian consumer market should divest themselves of civilian business enterprises and re-focus on partnership efforts with international firms.

2. Historical Dependency: From the Soviets to the U.S. (1950s-1980s)

In the 1950s-60s, Egypt's defense industry started to develop within a socialist state and in a Cold-War context, when Egypt was aligned with the Soviet Union. The first military regime that ruled the country after the end of British colonialism, led by then young colonel Gamal Abd al-Nasser, sought to establish military power for the recently independent republic because of a combination of domestic, regional, and international factors. Egypt was a state with a national desire to build a strong army to defend itself against potential aggression from European imperial powers or Israel, similar to the Suez Crisis of 1956. The regime also had regional ambitions to expand its Arab nationalist and later socialist ideology against conservative Arab monarchies, such as Saudi Arabia, and their Western backers, which was reflected by their support for movements of national independence and socialist endeavors in other countries in the region.[1]

During this period, Egypt found itself caught between the two camps of the Cold War, and opted for the Soviet Union's side after the U.S. repeatedly declined Nasser's requests for arms deals and economic aid. Nasser turned Egypt into a socialist state in the early 1960s, and he followed an Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) model to foster overall economic development. Thus, the regime invested in a nascent defense industry with an import-substitution plan, but primarily with Soviet technology. Nasser, for example, erected factories to manufacture Soviet automatic assault rifles and short-range ballistic missiles. With West Germany's support, it built a supersonic jet fighter. During this period, military

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[1]   See Zeinab Abul-Magd, *Militarizing the Nation: The Army, Business, and Revolution in Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 35–77.

factories enjoyed exceptional financial support from the underdeveloped state's budget.[2]

However, the USSR noticeably granted Egypt limited access to technology transfer, and equipment manufactured by Soviet designs had to be shipped to Russia for maintenance. Moreover, after being defeated by Israel in 1967, and falling subsequently into an economic crisis, Egypt's defense industry severely suffered. The war economy's budget constraints and public austerity drastically affected spending on the arms factories. As a result, most Western manufacturers, such as West Germany, left the country and technology transfer attempts were aborted. As Florence Gaub and Zoe Stanley-Lockman indicate, "[t]wo years after the war, several programmes had to be shut down and three quarters of military industrial capacity diverted to civilian production, and the Ministry of Defence Production was abolished."[3] This situation continued through the 1973 war and for the rest of the 1970s, as the Egyptian economy was exhausted by two wars and unable to substantially invest in a largely halted defense industry.

In the 1980s, the Egyptian defense industry recovered with significant expansion, taking advantage of new shifts in international and regional conditions. Although Egypt's wars with Israel had ended in 1973 and a peace treaty was signed in 1979, the military remained the most powerful state institution. Under Field Marshal Abdel-Halim Abu Ghazala, Minister of Defense and Military Production from 1981 till 1989, the defense industry expanded tremendously by relying on Western technology. Abu Ghazala craftily re-positioned the Egyptian military and its arms production within fluid international and regional contexts and took advantage of them. Two ex-military presidents that Abu Ghazala served, Sadat (r. 1970-1981) and Hosni Mubarak (r. 1981-2011), had already switched Egypt's Cold-War alliances from the Soviet camp to the U.S., and this helped Abu Ghazala with concluding co-production deals with American firms. With many ambitious initiatives in existing or newly opened military factories, Abu Ghazala exported Egypt's increasing production of heavy and small armaments to neighboring countries— such as Iraq, which was engaged in a prolonged war with Iran. He also succeeded in concluding a co-production agreement of the M1A1 tank with the U.S.[4]

Abu Ghazala reactivated the Egyptian military's role within a global context of the Cold War as it was approaching its end. Because Egypt at this point was already on the U.S. side in this war, the Ronald Regan Administration annually granted $1.3 billion in military aid. As part of this aid package, Abu Ghazala successfully pressed the U.S. to sign an agreement of co-production for the M1A1 tank in 1987. Abu Ghazala convinced the U.S. assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, who was then attending the annual meeting of the U.S.-Egyptian Cooperation Committee in Cairo, to go ahead with the project, and even identified a location for manufacturing the tank in a factory under construction in Abu Za'bal, north of Cairo. The U.S. sent a team to Egypt to inspect military production facilities that could be expanded and improved for new activities.[5] Prestigiously for Abu Ghazala, Egypt

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[2] Abul-Magd, *Militarizing the Nation*, 35–7; Joe Stork, "Arms Industries of the Middle East" (MERIP Report 144, January–February 1987), 12–6.

[3] Florence Gaub and Zoe Stanley-Lockman, "Defence Industries in the Arab States: Players and Strategies," (European Union Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Papers, March 2017): 18.

[4] See Abul-Magd, *Militarizing the Nation*, 78–111.

[5]   *Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1988–89 (Part 3): Hearings and Markup before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundredth Congress, First Session, February 3, 10, 23, 25; March 3, 11, And 19, 1987*, 100th Cong. 140–41 (1987) (statement of Robert Pelletreau, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Department of Defense); Tony Walker, "US Sweeten the Pot for Defense Projects in Egypt," *Financial Times*, May 7, 1987.

was the first country to build this tank outside the U.S., and he hoped to produce 1000 to 1500 pieces. Nonetheless, he needed U.S. permission for intended exportation, and the Americans retained the right to veto any undesired re-sales. According to the *Washington Post*, Abu Ghazala "lobbied Washington for more than a year to get approval for the M1…and has overcome U.S. Army opposition in Defense Department Deliberations." However, the newspaper cited controversy in the capital about transferring sensitive military technology to Egypt, and critiques of Egypt's ambition to become a military power—a threat to Israel.[6]

In return for large aid and such military advantages, the U.S. had specific— albeit unwritten – regional expectations from Egypt. The long list included assisting in Persian Gulf security or the protection of the oil-producing Arab states; containing the radical Palestinian front and persuading the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) to sit at the negotiating table towards long-term Israeli security; targeting Libya, as it was led by radical Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, a close Soviet ally; watching Syria, as led by Hafez al-Assad, a recipient of heavy Soviet military aid who regularly intervened in Lebanon; targeting the new Islamic republic in Iran, a prominent enemy of the U.S. since the 1980 hostage crisis; and reducing communist influence in the Sudan by maintaining good and militarily cooperative relations with them and countering neighboring Qadhafi's intervention in the country. Throughout the 1980s, Egypt fulfilled its duty against Iran when it provided Iraq with weapons during its prolonged war against Iran's newly born Islamic republic under Ayatollah Khomeini, and militarily threatened Libya and was a few times on the brink of war with Qadhafi.[7]

General Dynamics collaborated with Egypt's Military Factory 200 in Abu Za'bal to modify this facility to adapt to producing M1A1 Abrams on a large scale. Egypt was to make 40 percent of the tank, and the rest was to be manufactured in the U.S. and assembled in Factory 200— which also repaired M60 tanks and produced light armored vehicles. It was the "best tank in the world," as U.S. Defense Secretary then asserted after signing the deal with Abu Ghazala at the end of 1988, authorizing him to produce only 524 tanks.[8] The factory opened for business in 1991. However, when the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) assessed the project a few years later, it concluded that the U.S. should not have responded to Egypt's pressure to engage in this expensive partnership. It was a $3.2 billion project, where the U.S. carried $2.491 billion and Egypt $663 million of the cost. A GAO report asserted that selling Egypt complete tanks was a much cheaper choice, with a cost of only $1.9 billion.[9] Moreover, the same report revealed that Egypt would not reach her hopes

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[6]   Patrick E. Tyler, "Pentagon Agrees to Let Egypt Produce M1 Tank; Move Expected to Draw Fire in Washington," *Washington Post,* June 29, 1987. Also see Michael Gordon, "U.S. May Allow Egyptians to Buy and Assemble M-1 Tanks," *New York Times,* June 30, 1987; Barbara Slavin, "A Tankful of Trouble for Egypt? Critics Say Co-producing M-1 Tanks is Misguided Show of Friendship," *St. Petersburg Times,* January 23, 1988.

[7]   *Supplemental 1979 Middle East Aid Package for Israel and Egypt: Hearings and Makeup before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs and on Europe and the Middle East, House of Representatives, Ninety-Sixth Congress, First Session April 26; May 1, 2, 8, and 9, 1979, 96th* Cong. 152 (1979); *Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1983 (Part 3): Hearings and Markup before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-Seventh Congress, Second Session, March 15, 23, 30; April 1 and 27, 1982, 97th* Cong. 14–15 (1982) (statement of Morris Draper, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Department of State). *Also see Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1988-89 (Part 3): Hearings and Markup before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, One Hundredth Congress, First Session, February 3, 10, 23, 25; March 3, 11, And 19, 1987, 100th* Cong. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

[8]   "Export Briefs…Egypt, US Sign Pact," *Journal of Commerce,* November 4, 1988. Also see "Egypt and U.S. Agree on a Joint Tank Plan," *New York Times,* November 2, 1988.

[9]   United States General Accounting Office (GAO), *Military Aid to Egypt: Tank Production Raised Costs and May not Meet Many Program Goals,* GAO/NSIAD-93-203 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Accountability Office, 1993), 2.

of technology transfer and self-sufficiency in tank production through this project. "Six increments of production were initially planned, with Egypt progressively completing more of the tank. However, the plans for Egypt completing more of the tank in each increment have been reduced, limiting the production technologies transferred to Egypt…"[10] The report affirmed that the Egyptian goal from the project conflicted with those of the U.S. It stated, "from the program's inception Egyptian self-sufficiency was limited because, for security reasons, the United States retained control of key technology items needed to produce the tank,"[11] and added that financial constraints made technology transfer minimal.

Aside from this complicated project, Abu Ghazala considerably expanded arms manufacturing after obtaining technology from various advanced sources, including Britain, France, and China. When Abu Ghazala assumed his position in 1981, two main state bodies were already engaged in arms production. The first was the Ministry of Military Production (MoMP), with 15 factories, 70,000 employees, and $240 million value of production. The second was the Arab Organization for Industrialization (AOI), with seven factories, 18,000 employees, and $100 million value of production. The latter was founded in 1975 in collaboration with three Gulf countries, Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Qatar, providing capital to build a strong Arab defense industry as it signed coproduction agreements with European firms. When Sadat signed the peace treaty with Israel, the three Gulf countries withdrew from the project and demanded their money back, while European partners were hesitant to continue. But Abu Ghazala carried on.[12] His expanded military plans reached 30 factories with about 100,000 employees and an average of $400 million value of production. His exports jumped from $30 million in 1981 to $550 million in 1988.[13] These plants assembled French jets, Chinese fighters, Brazilian trainers, British helicopters, British missiles, aircraft engines, guns and ammunitions, and much more. These systems attracted orders from oil-producing Arabian Gulf states and Egypt's African neighbors.[14] Interestingly, the U.S. granted Egypt the right to export arms to the American market, but experts opined that this agreement—signed between Abu Ghazala and U.S. Defense Secretary — was mainly symbolic.[15]

During this promising time, Egypt made considerable profits from arms sales, especially those to Iraq to use in its long war against Iran as well as to the Afghan *mujahidin,* who were backed by the U.S. against the Soviets.[16] However, Egypt suffered from technological difficulties and a noticeable problem with sustainability. Philip Stoddard, of the Defense Intelligence College, stated, "[m]ilitary sales in 1982 reached $1 billion, making weapons Egypt's second largest source of export revenue after oil. Much of this trade was with Iraq, financed by subsidies from the Gulf states…Whether Egypt will be able to maintain sales at these levels is open to question…much of Egypt's arms industry is in the developing stage… "[17] Likewise, LTC Stephen H. Gotowicki, of the U.S. Army, argued that Egypt's engagement in assembling advanced weaponry with Western producers did not render it technologically

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[10]   United States General Accounting Office (GAO), *Military Aid to Egypt,* 1–2.
[11]   United States General Accounting Office (GAO), *Military Aid to Egypt,* 15.
[12]   Jim Paul, "The Egyptian Arms Industry" (MERIP Reports 112, February 1983), 26–8.
[13]   LTC Stephen H. Gotowicki (U.S. Army), "The Role of the Egyptian Military in Domestic Society," Published at DoD's Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO), National Defense University, 1997, accessed 29 August 2011, http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/egypt/egypt.htm.
[14]   Stork, "Arms Industries of the Middle East," 12–6.
[15]   "Egypt Wins Right to Export Arms to the U.S.," *New York Times,* March 24, 1988.
[16]   See Joe Stork and James Paul, "Arms Sales and Militarizing the Middle East," MERIP 112 February 1983), 5–15.
[17]   Philip H. Stoddard, "Egypt and the Iran–Iraq War," in *Gulf Security and the Iran–Iraq War,* edited by Thomas Naff (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1985), 36–7.

capable. "The Egyptians receive kits for assembly, but the technology involved is closely maintained by the Western partner."[18] Regarding U.S. technology in particular, Ralph Sanders, professor at the National Defense University, asserted that buyers of American arms generally enjoyed trivial access to the technology to help with independently manufacturing them.[19]

By the end of the 1980s, Egypt reduced spending on military industries once more because of budget constraints. The industry needed around $4-6 billion to properly develop. For example, a report by the EU's Institute for Security Studies states, "The development of the Sakr-80 missile for instance cost $100 million in R&D. As a result of these resource constraints, Egypt was not able to provide seed money or investment capital for new ventures. It also had to limit its projects of production under license, thereby hindering its acquisition of skills and know-how. Lastly, lack of funds stood not only in the way of the development of a national arms industry. It also affected existing projects as they were either cancelled (such as the Lynx helicopter programme) or delayed."[20]

Therefore, by the early 1990s, lack of technology and budgetary problems led to a state decision to convert considerable parts of the arms production lines into civilian manufacturing. The Egyptian defense industry witnessed a period of drastic decline in the following three decades, but the military institution managed to generate immense profit through creating a business empire of civilian enterprises functioning within, or rather above, the domestic market.

3. Defense Conversion and Continuous Dependency (1990s-2000s)

By the end of the 1980s, experts predicted that Egypt's arms production was highly promising and most likely would increase.[21] Unfortunately things went in the opposite direction over the following decade. In the early 1990s, the growing Egyptian arms industry faced an economic crisis, as domestic, regional, and international factors once more pushed it toward defense conversion to the production of civilian goods. It embarked on a process of massively transforming much of its military production lines to serve the civilian market and generate profits locally. Meanwhile, Egypt continued to be almost fully dependent on the U.S. for procurement, through the annual military aid package. Egypt's only significant co-production project remained to be that of General Dynamics' M1A1.

In fact, the army's business activities in the civilian market had already started in the 1980s under Abu Ghazala. Upon signing the peace treaty with Israel in 1979, the Egyptian military created an economic entity called the National Service Projects Organization (NSPO) to establish business enterprises and assimilate the efforts of officers and conscripts alike into them. The NSPO continued to rapidly expand its profitable economic endeavors through the 1990s, but it was no longer the only military body doing so. Military factories that had formerly produced ordnance such as ammunitions, missiles, aircrafts, rockets, explosives, pistols, and armors, were now heavily utilizing their facilities and labor to produce consumer

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[18] Gotowicki, "The Role of the Egyptian Military in Domestic Society".
[19] Ralph Sanders, "Arms Industries: New Supplies and Regional Security [National Security Implications]," *The DISAM Journal* 13 (Winter 1990/1991): 105.
[20] Florence Gaub and Zoe Stanley-Lockman, "Defence Industries in the Arab States: Players and Strategies," (European Union Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Papers, March 2017), 16.
[21] See Yezid Sayigh, *Arab Military Industry: Capability, Performance, and Impact* (London: Brassey's: Putnam Aeronautical 1992), 45.

goods such as washing machines, refrigerators, TVs, kitchenware, fertilizers, and more.[22]

In 1991 in particular, defense conversion was inevitable in Egypt. This year marked the eruption of the Gulf War in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, which negatively affected the country's arms sales and consequently its manufacturing programs. At the regional level, Egypt's defense industry lost its existing and future market in Iraq as well as the U.S.-backed Arab Gulf states, and its arms sales in this area plummeted. This market was not only closed because of the end of the Iraq-Iran war in 1988,[23] but also due to the sanctions imposed on Saddam Hussein during the 1990s after his invasion of Kuwait and defeat by the U.S.-led operation to liberate this small oil-producing country. The end of another long-standing Cold-War dispute, the Afghan war, similarly closed a considerable market for Egyptian arms sales to the jihadists.[24] Furthermore, oil producing Arab Gulf states that had been current or prospective customers of Egyptian arms sales now switched directly to the most advanced producer, the U.S., which had militarily saved them during the crisis of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The U.S. sold its regional clients an ever-increasing amount of ordnance over the following two decades.

> More important, right after the end of the Gulf War, the George H. W. Bush Administration took serious steps to restrict weapons production in the Middle East, by introducing an "arms control initiative" restraining technology transfer of non-conventional and conventional weapons to the region. A report published by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) in May 1991, titled "Middle East Arms Control and Related Issues," highlighted the expansion of Egypt's defense industry. It states that,

Egypt has a rapidly growing military industrial sector. It has cooperative ventures with several countries... Egypt produces jet trainers of French design and Brazilian design and helicopters designed by French, British, and Italian firms. Small arms, machine-guns, motors, recoilless weapons, rocket launchers, artillery and electronic equipment produced by Egypt were designed in the Soviet Union, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Italy. Argentina and Italy cooperated on the development of the Condor II surface-to-surface missile until the project was terminated under U.S. pressure.[25]

At the end of the same month that this report appeared, President Bush issued the "White House Fact Sheet on the Middle East Arms Control Initiative" seeking "to restrain destabilizing conventional arms build-ups in the region…The initiative calls on the five major suppliers of conventional arms to meet at senior levels in the near future…"[26] The U.S. later even considered breaking its already existing agreements of co-production of M1A1 with Egypt.[27]

Now that Egypt's old ambitions to build a large military industry targeting global markets were no longer feasible, mass defense conversion began. At this point of the early 1990s, Egypt had at least 25 publicly known military factories: 16 functioned under MoMP and nine under AOI. They were mostly built between the 1950s and 1970s, and were geographically

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[22] See Abul-Magd, *Militarizing the Nation,* 78–111.

[23] Business Monitor International Ltd, "Egypt Defence and Security Report," Quarter 4, Issue 4 (2011): 59.

[24] Stark, "Arms Industries of the Middle East," 14.

[25] *Middle East Arms Control and Related Issues,* Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, CRS Report No: 91-384F (Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, May 1, 1991), 14.

[26] "White House Fact Sheet on the Middle East Arms Control Initiative," May 29, 1991, accessed April 24, 2016, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=19637, 579–80.

[27] United States General Accounting Office (GAO), *Military Aid to Egypt: Tank Coproduction Raised Costs and May Not Meet Many Program Goals,* GAO/NSIAD-93-203 (Washington, D.C., July 27, 1993), 3.

concentrated in limited areas—especially in Helwan in the south of Cairo, Abu Zaʻbal in the north of Cairo, and on the Cairo-Suez road. By 2010, 40 percent of the MoMP's production turned civilian, and the remaining 60 percent still military.[28] The situation was more drastic at the AOI. By 2009, 70 percent of the AOI's outcome became civilian, with only 30 percent still military.[29]

For example, the MoMP's Helwan Company for Engineering Industries, also known as Factory 99, was one of the large plants that went through this conversion process. For more than three decades since it was built in 1958, Factory 99 specialized in manufacturing casings for various sorts of ammunition, including anti-armor warheads, runaway bombs, and artillery rockets. It switched to producing completely different consumer and non-consumer goods: stainless steel tableware and kitchenware, fire extinguishers, gas regulators, and auto parts such engines and bumpers. Also, for more than three decades since it was built in 1954, the MoMP's Shubra for Engineering Industries Company, known as Factory 27, produced small arms ammunition. It shifted to manufacturing electric engines to use in assembling consumer goods such as electric fans and washing machines. The Helwan Metal Devices Company, or Factory 360, built in 1964, began by producing sheet metal used in the construction of trenches and making mines sapper charges. It switched to manufacturing washing machines and other home appliances, such as refrigerators, freezers, air conditioners, water heaters, and gas ovens. Furthermore, the Heliopolis Chemical Industries Company, factory 81, once manufactured ammunition for anti-aircraft guns and developed long-range bombardment rockets. It transitioned into non-military goods such as paints and raw rubber for car tires.[30]

At the AOI, the Arab British Dynamics Company used to produce guided missiles with an English partner—British Aerospace Dynamics. In 1998, the company faced a crisis with the withdrawal of the British co-producer, leaving it with no sources of advanced technology. It reduced its activities to only installing missile launchers on jeeps. In addition, it shifted to manufacturing tobacco producing machines, auto parts, gas stopcocks, medical equipment, industrial burners for bakeries, and furnaces. Another instance at the AOI is the Sakr Factory, which originally produced artillery rockets, light guided missiles, and grenades. It switched to manufacturing water storage plants, large electronic monitors for stadiums and advertisement boards, loaders, minibuses, agricultural and irrigation machines, and different sorts of trucks for sewer cleaning, water carrying, and postal services. The AOI's Aircraft Factory originally assembled and produced aircrafts, and had to diversify to produce ambulances, garbage recycling machines, and treatment plants for sewage, potable water, and industrial drainage. It also produced furnished trucks transporting vaccines and medical waste. The Electronics Factory that originally specialized in avionics, such as producing aircraft communications systems and radar, now shifted to producing TVs, personal computers, digital satellite receivers, telephone switching systems, photocopiers, and printers.[31]

The hasty conversion process suffered from a noticeable lack of institutional planning,

[28] Ibtisam Taʻlab, "Dr. Sayyid Mashʻal Wazir al-Intaj al-Harbi li-l-Masry al-Yuom (2-2)," *al-Masry al-Youm,* September 15, 2010.
[29] Ahmad Abd al-ʻAzim, "al-Fariq Hamdi Wahiba- Raʾis al-Hayʾa al-ʻArabiyya li-l-Tasniʻ- fi Hiwar maʻa Ruz al-Yusuf," *Ruz al-Yusuf,* November 3, 2009.
[30] Sayigh, *Arab Military Industry,* 55–7. The official website of MoMP, accessed January 15, 2014, http://www.momp.gov.eg/Ar/Facts.aspx.
[31] Sayigh, *Arab Military Industry,* 57–60; Website of AOI, accessed January 15, 2014, http://www.aoi.com.eg/aoiarab/factories/abdinfo.html; http://www.aoi.com.eg/aoiarab/factories/acfinfo.html; http://www.aoi.com.eg/aoiarab/factories/sakrinfo.html.

so various corps duplicated the production of the exact same goods without taking into consideration the prospect of competing with each other over the same local market. Several of the factories of the MoMP and AOI copied each other's work, and they both copied NSPO's products. The most striking example is the number of factories that manufactured water and sewage sanitation plants. Military Factories 10 and 270, the AOI's Engine Factory, and the Aircraft factory all assembled similar systems mainly to sell to government projects. Another example is in the chemicals sector. While the NSPO had a large chemicals complex geared for civilian production, the MoMP had three chemicals plants (Factories 18, 81, and 270) engaged in overlapping activities. Moreover, the Chemical Warfare Department produced pesticides, drugs, detergents, and vinegar—copying the goods of the NSPO's chemicals complex. The Supply Authority also produced drugs—duplicating the work of the latter two. In addition, many converted industries produced vehicles and trucks of various forms, including Factory 200, the Sakr Factory, and the Aircraft Factory. Both Banha for Electronic Industries, or Factory 144, and the AOI's Electronics Factory produced TVs, personal computers, and satellite receivers. Many enterprises overlapped in manufacturing kitchenware, home appliances, furniture, irrigation equipment, sports equipment, and garbage recycling systems. The Department of Weapons and Ammunition produced sports equipment, which military Factories 54 and 999 already produced. Outside factories in the field of commercial agriculture, the NSPO's large commercial farms yielded processed food, and so did the Third Army's farms.[32]

Switching from military to civilian production took place within a pervasive milieu of transforming Egypt into a market economy. Upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, Egypt among other previously socialist regimes faced U.S. pressure to transform into a free-market economy—neoliberalism. In 1991, Egypt concluded U.S.-backed agreements with the IMF and the World Bank to apply an Economic reform and Structural Adjustment program. One of the cornerstones of this program was the reduction of fiscal deficit through significant cuts in public spending.[33] Amidst swiftly applying these market measures, the Egyptian defense industry was hurt in some areas, but benefited in many others. Mending the budget deficit entailed cuts in military expenditure as a considerable part of public spending. The Military budget drastically dropped in the early 1990s.[34] Nevertheless, the regime compensated the military for these budget losses by allowing it to expand its civilian production activities, initially by converting large parts of the defense industry and later by creating new business ventures. Military factories not only weathered all waves of privatization and maintained their subsidies and privileges intact, but they also expanded further. By the end of the 1990s, military industries employed about 200,000 workers.[35]

While Egypt undertook these transformations, i.e., neoliberal transition moving hand in hand with defense conversion, there was an ongoing global wave of similar changes in many other states that once aligned with the Soviets. The end of the Cold War rendered the American economic system a global model for all former socialist and post-communist

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[32] See Abul-Magd, *Militarizing the Nation,* 112–51.
[33] See Karima Korayem, *Egypt's Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment* (Cairo: Egyptian Center for Economic Studies, 1997); Dieter Weiss and Ulrich Wurzel, *The Economics and Politics of Transition to an Open Market Economy: Egypt* (Paris: OECD, 1998), 44–51.
[34] See Abul-Magd, *Militarizing the Nation,* 112–51; Tables, 251–52.
[35] Jamal Mazlum, *al-Quwwat al-Musallaha wa-l-Tanmiya al-Iqtisadiyya* (Cairo: Markaz Dirasat wa-Buhuth al-Duwal al-Namiya, 1999), 106.

states to follow. Economic liberalization measures that regimes transitioning into the market economy applied required substantial cuts in public spending, including in military budgets. Many of these regimes allowed their military institutions to create business enterprises that compensated for their financial losses, most especially in order to avoid officers' mutinies or potential coups d'état. The phenomenon of military business, or "Milbus" as Jörn Brömmelhörster and Wolf-Christian Paes refer to it, emerged when the IMF and the World Bank pushed governments transforming to neoliberalism to adopt more conservative fiscal policies. In order to coup-proof their regimes, these governments hid military expenditures in "a complex web of budgetary and off-budgetary transactions, often incorporating elements of military business."[36] This generated the global phenomenon of "Milbus" in many places, including Russia, China, Indonesia, and Pakistan all the way to Argentina, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Panama.[37]

Evidently, undertaking defense conversion in a neoliberal milieu led to failure in achieving its manifest goal: making armies help with national economic development. On the contrary, the experiences of many states show that conversion while transitioning to the market economy made armies a burden on the economy rather than a fair competitor in and contributor to it. This is due to the extensive privileges they receive from their regimes at the expense of public and private businesses. According to free-market theoretical assumptions, defense conversion should take place smoothly and efficiently with little state intervention: the market should fix any problems that might occur during the process. Nevertheless, many theorists debunk this assumption and insist that centralized planning is essentially needed, at least because of the very nature of military business that resents abiding by the rules of a free market and superiorly acts beyond them.[38] Probably Russia presents the most conspicuous example of defense conversion that went wrong because it took place while applying economic reform, whereas China presents an opposite case where the process succeeded because it occurred under heavy government planning. Unfortunately, the 1990s Egyptian experience was closer to the Russian model, and thus came out inefficient.[39]

During the 2000s, the Egyptian military business embarked on a new stage of substantial expansion in its economic activities. This was when the ambitious elder son of President Mubarak, Gamal, delved into the political and economic scene with an apparent scheme to inherent his father's presidential seat. Gamal Mubarak accelerated the rate of transitioning to the market— which came at great benefit of the military entrepreneurs. He took over the ruling party by forming the "Politics Committee," whose membership was composed of his close patronage circle of business tycoons and neoliberal minds in the country. From this very circle, a cabinet dominated by private business figures took form in 2004, and remained in office until the 2011 uprisings. This cabinet rapidly privatized more public-sector enterprises, eliminated subsidies, liberalized the agricultural land rents, and reduced spending on public services, among other things. Similarly, the elected parliaments of 2005

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[36] Jorn Brommelhorster and Wolf-Christian Paes, eds., *The Military as an Economic Actor: Soldiers in Business* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 9.

[37] For Milbus cases in the Middle East, in states such as Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Syria, Yemen, and the Sudan, see Zeinab Abul-Magd and Elke Grawert, *Businessmen in Arms: How the Military and Other Armed Groups Profit in the MENA Region* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, April 2016).

[38] Seymour Melman and Lloyd Dumas, "Planning for Economic Conversion," *The Nation,* April 16, 1990. Also see Seymour Melman, *The Demilitarized Society: Disarmament and Conversion* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1990).

[39] For the Russian case, see Julian Cooper, "Soviet Military Has a Finger in Every Pie," *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 46 (1990): 22–2. For the Chinese case, see Dongmin Lee, "Swords to Ploughshares: China's Defence Conversion Policy," *Defence Studies* 11 (March 2011): 1–4 and 20.

and 2010 were dominated by Gamal's business cronies and issued laws that contributed to the hastened market transformations. In order to appease the military institution that watchfully witnessed a young civilian approaching the presidential seat—which had been occupied by only officers ever since 1952— Mubarak allowed the army to extensively expand their civilian enterprises.[40]

Within this domestic milieu, the military seized many public-sector enterprises that were up for sale and transferred their ownership to the various military entities. Because advanced technology was indispensable in old and new ventures, the officers partnered with American, German, Chinese, French, Eastern European, Japanese, and more firms now entering the open market. With them, the military invested in new heavy industries, such as railway wagons, luxury cars, ships, steel, cement, etc. Military business continued to enjoy various forms of tax and customs breaks. When the country's stock market was reactivated and both private and public enterprises became listed, none of the military companies registered themselves— the officers maintained full lack of transparency about their capital and annual revenue, and sought to avoid having stockholders to share their firms with.[41]

For example, the AOI seized the only state-owned manufacturing plant of railway wagons in the country when it was privatized in 2004, and thus established a monopoly over this sector. With a long career and good connections with global technology, SEMAF was founded as a public-sector company in 1955. In 1986, SEMAF entered into a joint venture with a French rail group to introduce the first fleet of underground metro cars to the long waiting inhabitants of crowded Cairo.[42] Taking advantage of the extended wave of privatization, the AOI "annexed" SEMAF – located in Helwan near many other factories of the AOI— with its more than 1400 workers. The plant carried on with manufacturing train and underground wagons for its new military owner, which made deals worth billions of Egyptian pounds and presented overhauling services to the government.[43]

In another incident of the military seizing vital state-owned enterprises that were supposed to be privatized, the military appropriated several maritime and river transport companies. In 2003, the MoD created a new organization called the Maritime Industries and Services Organization (MISO), as a corporation enjoying its own legal entity. MIOS immediately took over three gigantic public sector firms: the Egyptian Company for Ship Repairs and Building, the Alexandria Shipyard, and the Nile Company for River Transport—in 2003, 2007, and 2008 respectively. Moreover, MISO created another new venture, Triumph for Maritime Transport, in 2009. Needless to say, ex-navy officers head the organization and its subsidiaries. The property rights of the Alexandria Shipyard were "transferred" from the state to MISO.[44] When the organization appropriated the Nile Company for River Transport from its mother state-owned holding company, the head of the latter was another former navy

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[40]   See Holger Albrecht, "Does Coup-Proofing Work? Political-Military Relations in Authoritarian Regimes Amid the Arab Uprisings," *Mediterranean Politics* 20 (2015), 39; Abul-Magd, *Militarizing the Nation,* 112–51.

[41]   See Abul-Magd, *Militarizing the Nation,* 112–51.

[42]   Paul Betts, "French Rail Group Awarded Cairo order," *Financial Times,* January 7¸1986.

[43]   See the factory's official website, accessed January 15, 2014, http://www.aoi.com.eg/aoiarab/aoi/semaf/pages/AboutA.html; Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim, "800 'Arabat Qitar Jadida bi-'Istithmarat 1.5 Milyar Junayh," *al-Ahram,* May 26, 2004.

[44]   Muhammad Amin, "al-Liwa' Bahari Ibrahim Jabir al-Dusuqi: Hadafuna Tatwir wa-Raf' Kafa'at Tirsanat al-Iskandariyya," *Uktubar,* January 23, 2011.

officer.[45] MIOS fostered good ties with Chinese, Eastern European, French, and local firms.[46]

Moreover, the military ventured into the manufacturing of a crucially resource: steel making.[47] In 2005, the MoMP finished the construction of a large steel rolling plant as part of military Factory 100.[48] Also known as the Abu Za'bal Company for Engineering Industries, Factory 100 was established in 1974 and originally produced ordnance such as anti-aircraft, tube artillery, and tank guns.[49] The attached gigantic steel plant needed large capital in order to acquire Western technology and expertise, which the regime made available to the military. The MoMP invested LE1.5 billion in this mill, in collaboration with a German company, SMS Siemag, and other global steelmakers.[50] As usual, this new venture enjoyed advantageous tax breaks: the minister of military production insured that his projects in steel and other sectors were exempt from customs or pay very little duties.[51] Another NSPO company benefited from the venture by feeding the mill with needed iron scrap, particularly the NSOP's Queen Service company which was active in scrap trading.[52]

In another sector of production of strategic goods, the NSPO invested in a large cement plant. It created Arish Cement Factory in North Sinai in 2010.[53] The brand-new facility was erected on an appropriated piece of state land, around 210 acres, in addition to seizing hundreds of other acres of surrounding quarries to feed it with raw material, and more land to construct roads connecting the plant to those quarries. This time, the military chose to collaborate with a non-Western partner to obtain technology and construct the facility: a Chinese state-owned company, and the MoD footed a bill of $370 million in total cost. According to a company statement, Sinoma Group was the first incident of a Chinese contractor working in Egypt's construction sector. The plant has about 800 workers—all civilians except for the top managers who are generals; many of them traveled to China to receive professional training.[54]

These are only a few examples from the civilian business empire that the Egyptian

[45]   "Bay' Sharikat al-Nil li-l-Naql al-Nahri ila Jihaz al-Sina'at al-Bahriyya," *al-Ahram,* October 3, 2008; "Wazarat al-Difa' wa-l-Intaj al-Harbi. Qarar Raqam 3 li-Sanat 2010 bi-Sha'n Insha' Sharikat al-Nil lil-Naql al-Nahri," *al-Waqa'i' al-Rasmiyya* 66, year 182, March 21, 2010.

[46]   Du'a' Najib and Ahmad al-Dimirdash, "al-Intiha' min Tatwir Tirsanat al-Iskandariyya," *Amwal al-Ghadd,* March 18, 2013; Alexandria Shipyard's website, accessed April 15, 2014, http://www.alexyard.com.eg/ar%20first%20stage.html; Mamduh Sha'ban and Jamal al-Khuli, "Tirsanat al-Iskandariyya Tahtafil bi-Tadshin 'al-Huriyya 3'," *al-Ahram,* December 28, 2010; Rubban Muhammad Bahyy al-Dina Mandur, "Takhalluf Sina'at Bina' Sufun A'ali al-Bihar fi Misr," *International* (London) n. d., accessed April 15, 2014, http://www.international-mag.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=651:2011-12-11-12-50-20&catid=37:getaways&Itemid=532; Website of Chinese company, indicating sources of technology, accessed April 15, 2014, http://www.cstc.com.cn; Muhammad Amin, "al-Liwa' Bahari Ibrahim Jabir al-Dusuqi: Hadafuna Tatwir wa-Raf' Kafa'at Tirsanat al-Iskandariyya, " *Masress,* January 23, 2011, accessed 15 April 2014, http://www.masress.com/october/110405.

The name of the French company is Bureau Veritas. "Alexandria Shipyard, Acquired Earlier by the Military Production Sector, Delivering Two Large Sized Barges, part of a L.E. Billion Order for 16 Barges Issued by Citadel Group's Affiliate Handling Land River Transport Investments at Home," *AmCham Egypt Project News*, August 10, 2010.

[47]   See official website of this company, accessed April 15, 2014, http://www.ezzsteel.com/main.asp?pageid=119.

[48]   'Usama 'Abd al-'Aziz and Mukhtar Shu'ayb, "al-Ra'is Yaftatih Masna' Darfalat al-Sulb al-Makhsus al-Tabi' li-Wazart al-'Intaj al-Harbi bi-Abu Za'bal," *al-Ahram,* December 7, 2005.

[49]   Saygh, *Arab Military Industry,* 54.

[50]   "Mash'al: Mashru' 'Imlaq li-'Intaj wa-Darfalat al-Sulb," *al-Ahram,* March 16, 2004; Mamduh Sha'ban, "Ba'd Najah 'Intaj 'Awwal Lawh min al-Sulb bi-l-Darfala, Mash'al: al-'Intaj al-Harbi Yusahim fi Tatwir al-Sina'at al-Thaqila," *al-Ahram,* September 23, 2005; 'Abd al-'Aziz and Shu'ayb, "al-Ra'is Yaftatih Masna' Darfalat al-Sulb al-Makhsus".

[51]   Minister Ali Sbri stated this in an interview in March 2012. Zeinab Abul-Magd, "Siyadat al-Liwa' Sayuqatil al-Sha'b," *al-Masry al-Youm,* April 3, 2012.

[52]   See the company's website, accessed April 13, 2014, http://queenservicealex.blogspot.com.

[53]   *Al-Waqa'i' al-Misriyya,* no. 160, year 183, July 12, 2010.

[54]   Dalia 'Uthman, "al-Mushir Yaftatih Masna' 'Asmant al-'Arish," *al-Masry al-Youm,* May 1, 2012; Amira Ibrahim, "al-Mushir Yaftatih 'Awwal Masna' Asmant 'Asakari bi-Taqat 3.2 Tann Sanawiyyan bi-Taklufa 174 Milyun Yuru," *al-Dostor al-Asly,* April 30, 2012; Sinoma, "Kiln inlet steel tower of GOE Project Line 1 in Egypt contracted by TCDRI installed," accessed April 13, 2014, http://en.sinoma.cn/news/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=989. The Chinese company's name is TCDRI, part off state-owned Sinoma Group, and its website, accessed April 13, 2014, http://www.tcdri.com.cn/english/intro.asp.

military expanded before the 2011 uprisings. One of the most frequently asked questions about the military business empire in Egypt is its exact size: how many enterprises developed, how much profit they generate annually, and their proportion of the national economy. Because military enterprises are untaxed and unaudited by either the parliament or public accountability agencies, and they are not even listed in the stock market with publicly open company profiles, it is almost impossible to estimate their precise number and gain access to their annual profit. Robert Springborg estimates their size from anywhere between 5 and 40 percent of the country's economy and asserts that they make billions of dollars.[55] Economist Ahmed al-El-Naggar calculated them at only 1.8 percent in 2013. The ex-minister of defense and current military president, Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, also presented an estimate, asserting that they made up only 2 percent of the national economy in 2014.[56] Whereas high estimates take into consideration the military formal and informal control over state land and other public construction and service sectors, the lower estimates mostly depend on materially counting the visible commercial facilities they own.

After a new military president took back full power in 2014, this empire was conspicuously further extended into old and new sectors of manufacturing and services. In the meantime, the new military regime faced a crisis that pressured it to give attention back to its long-neglected defense industry.

4. Attempts at Autonomy: Diversification and Co-Production (2013-2018)

In 2013, a crisis with U.S. military aid forced Egypt to make serious attempts to diversify its sources of procurement and increase recent co-production initiatives. In the summer of that year, then minister of defense, al-Sisi, relied on widespread mass protests to overthrow the Islamist president and subsequently formed an interim government. In summer 2014, al-Sisi swept the presidential election and assumed full power. As a result, the Obama administration informally perceived the events as a military coup and suspended U.S. arms shipments due to Egypt as part of its aid package for two years, until 2015. Such an act placed pressure on the Egyptian military to limit its dependency on U.S. arms by diversifying and seeking new co-production agreements with non-American firms, namely European companies in states that were willing to collaborate with the ex-general. In addition, a war on terrorist groups that proliferated in the country upon deposing the Islamist president, especially the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (known as ISIL or ISIS) in the Sinai Peninsula, and their repeated attacks across the country further pressured the military to diversify and co-produce new weapon systems. Regional actors in support of Islamists that posed a military threat to the Egyptian regime, especially Turkey and Qatar, contributed to such pressure. Meanwhile, other regional actors, especially the UAE and Saudi Arabia, financially backed al-Sisi's military endeavors towards reduced dependency on the U.S.

For around a decade before this crisis and under President Mubarak, Egypt had already ventured into new initiatives towards co-production away from the U.S. According to Shana Marshall, Egyptian military industries sought partnership with "second and third-tier" international defense manufacturers, but at a limited scale in comparison to the large number of licenses that were successfully acquired in the1980s. Marshall argues that the Egyptian defense producers, hoping for reduced reliance on U.S. firms, attempted to form ties with

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[55]   Alex Blumberg, "Why Egypt's Military Cares about Home Appliances," *NPR*, February 4, 2011.
[56]   "Nass Muqabalat Reuters ma'a al-Sisi," *Reuters*, May 15, 2014.

lesser-ranked or smaller manufacturers and engage in small-scale projects with them with a goal of technology transfer.[57]

Marshall indicates that Egypt's new co-production partners then were subsidiaries or small independent suppliers that benefitted from sales contracts with a country in desperate need for access to technology. Such efforts were largely concentrated in the "Mubarak Complex for the Defense Industry," constructed primarily to provide new facilities to old military factories in the outskirts of the densely populated Cairo. According to Marshall, contracts concluded with foreign firms included, for example, the production of,

> [A] waterjet-powered fire-fighting vessel (with 4X4 vehicle deployment ramp) built in 2004…based on design technology and materials provided by Teknicraft Design (of New Zealand) and the local Egyptian agent of Hamiltonjet (also of New Zealand)…The website of an Egyptian consulting firm revealed that it had worked on another product development plan, this one encompassing the military-owned firms Arab International Optronics and Benha Electronics Factory, along with Motorola and the French defense firms Thales (which owns half of Arab International Optronics) and Thomson CSF.[58]

Meanwhile, the Egyptian military was far from terminating its dependency on the U.S. The MoMP continued to co-produce M1A1 with General Dynamics, and aimed at increasing its share in manufacturing the tank from 80 to 90 percent. Other projects with American firms that were closely tied to this tank's production with other major manufacturers needed to continue. Marshall indicates that they included "a 2005 agreement with United Technologies to co-produce M88A2 tank recovery vehicles, and a twenty million US dollar contract signed with Oshkosh Defense in 2009 to co-produce the M1070 tank transport and refueling vehicle."[59]

More importantly, Egypt continued to receive U.S. military aid, at the considerable annual amount of around $1.3 billion. This was in the form of financing arms sales from U.S. firms to Egypt. For the previous three decades, Egypt traditionally used this grant to purchase "large-scale conventional military equipment" from major American defense manufacturers. On the eve of the 2013 crisis, the list of U.S. companies that supplied Egypt included Lockheed Martin, Boeing, DRS Technologies, L3 Communications, Boeing, Raytheon, AgustaWestland, US Motor Works, Goodrich and Columbia Group.[60] According to a Congressional Research Service report, the Obama Administration shifted this tradition by announcing that "grants may only be used to purchase equipment specifically for 'counterterrorism, border security, Sinai security, and maritime security' (and for sustainment of weapons systems already in Egypt's arsenal)."[61]

Up until 2013, most of Egypt's procurement came primarily from U.S. firms except for a small portion from European manufacturers. These purchases included vehicles from AM General; Apache AH-64D from Boeing; CS gas allegedly used in Tahrir from Combined Company; M1A1from General Dynamics; F-16C/D from Lockheed Martin; and Black Hawk aircraft from Sikorsky (UTC). Aside from this, Egypt received sales from the British multinational BAE Systems of aircraft KF-16 C/D; airbuses from the joint German-French

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[57]   Shana Marshall, "Egypt's Other Revolution: Modernizing the Military-Industrial Complex," *Pambazuka News,* February 16, 2012. https://www.pambazuka.org/governance/egypts-other-revolution-modernizing-military-industrial-complex

[58]   Marshall, "Egypt's Other Revolution".

[59]   Marshall, "Egypt's Other Revolution".

[60]   "10 U.S. Companies Profiting Most from U.S. Military Aid to Egypt," *Huffington Post,* August 22, 2013.

[61]   Jeremy M. Sharp, *Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations,* CRS Report No: RL33003 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, March 24, 2017), 22.

company EADS; and a joint Turkish-British BAE System project of tracked and wheeled armored combat vehicles.[62]

Three weeks after the al-Sisi-led coalition overthrew the Islamist president, the Pentagon suspended a shipment of 12 Lockheed Martin's F-16 fighter jets to Egypt, probably for the first time since Egypt started to receive an annually fixed military aid package three decades earlier after signing the peace treaty with Israel. This was followed by freezing the shipment of 20 Boeing Harpoon missiles and around 125 M1A1 Abrams tank kits. Furthermore, the "Bright Star" routine mutual exercise between the Egyptian and U.S. armies was cancelled. However, the U.S. decided in 2014 to deliver ten Apache helicopters "to help combat terrorism, particularly in the Sinai."[63] Suspended supplies were only released about two years later, after al-Sisi was elected president and spent many months in office.[64] During this period, al-Sisi sought procurement elsewhere, especially in Russia. Before he was elected president and in his capacity as minister of defense, Field Marshal al-Sisi visited Vladimir Putin near Moscow to negotiate a $2 billion arms deal. On the same visit, Putin supported al-Sisi's candidacy in the presidential election.[65] The Obama Administration resumed military aid in March 2015, after a visit by U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry to Cairo, during which he attended an international economic conference to support the military regime's economic development plan.[66]

The UK and the EU as a whole similarly suspended arms sales to Egypt after the events of the summer of 2013. The UK revoked arms deals for components of military combat vehicles with Egypt. Like the U.S., the UK resumed those sales in 2015.[67] As for the EU, according to a report published by the Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), it suspended a large number of licenses on the grounds of their potential use in domestic oppression of civilian opposition, but it later allowed some of them to resume provisions. In August of 2013, the EU "suspended 49 existing licenses as well as new license applications for the Egyptian Army, Air Force and Internal Security Forces or Ministry of the Interior until further notice."[68] In October of the same year, the EU completed assessing the situation and declared that,

> 24 licenses would have the suspension lifted as it did not judge the goods might be used for internal repression, seven would be revoked as there was a clear risk that the goods might be used for internal repression, and the remaining 16 would remain suspended because the goods might be used for internal repression.[69]

Therefore, the 2013 crisis stirred the military regime to intensify efforts to diversify suppliers and pursue new co-production contracts. As a result, the last few years, under al-Sisi and with his minister of military production ex-general Mohamed al-Assar, have witnessed renewed and increased attention on the domestic arms industry. Although most of al-Assar's

[62]   See Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT) page on arms supplies companies to Egypt, pages created August 20, 2013, accessed August 1, 2019, https://www.caat.org.uk/resources/countries/egypt/arms-supplying-companies.
[63]   "Midde East and North Africa," *The Military Balance* 115 (2015): 323.
[64]   See Zeinab Abul-Magd, "U.S. Military Aid to Egypt Lost Value," *Jadaliyya*, July 25, 2013; Robert Rampton and Arshad Mohammed, "Obama Ends Freeze on U.S. Military Aid to Egypt," *Reuters*, March 31, 2015.
[65]   "Egypt's Sissi Negotiates Arms Deal in Russia," *Times of Israel,* February 13, 2014; "KSA, UAE to Finance Russian Arms Deal with Egypt," *Egypt Independent,* February 7, 2014; "Putin Backs Sisi 'Bid for Egypt Presidency'," *BBC*, February 13, 2014.
[66]   U.S. Department of State, "Remarks at the Opening Plenary of the Egypt Economic Development Conference. John Kerry, Secretary of State, Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, 13 March 2015," accessed October 10, 2015, http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2015/03/238872.htm; Kevin Liptak, "Obama Lifts Freeze, Ships Arms to Egypt," *CNN*, March 31, 2015.
[67]   "Britain Quietly Resumes Multi-million Pound Arms Deals with Egypt," *Newsweek*, July 31, 2015.
[68]   Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), "Egypt," November 11, 2013, accessed June 10, 2018, https://www.caat.org.uk/resources/countries/egypt.
[69]   Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), "Egypt".

activities continue to focus on civilian production, he has initiated some attempts at military co-production with international firms.[70]

In 2017 al-Assar claimed that military manufacturing increased by 230 percent in 2015/2016. Nevertheless, he did not provide specific details about the items produced or the volume of output, insisting that such information constitutes a national security secret and should be kept hidden from the public. He stated that his ministry manages 20 companies, which include 17 factories that engage in military and civilian production, a construction company, and a research center. They employ around 34,500 workers.[71] He affirmed that his ministry plans to focus on efforts of military co-production with international firms instead of importing, and he specified Russian firms in this regard and named UAE as an Arab partner. He also reached out to France, Portugal, Belarus, Croatia, Serbia, and Pakistan to discuss collaboration. Al-Assar asserted that Egypt hoped to rely on manufacturing partnerships with other countries for arms supply as an alternative to imports.[72] However, the results of such numerous talks were not announced nor manifested in actual projects launched on the ground.

There are currently only two publicly known co-production initiatives that Egypt is engaged in—apart from the continuity of the M1A1 tank project with the U.S. The first was contracted in 2014, with the French shipbuilder Naval Group (formerly DCNS) to make the Gowind 2500 corvette, which is considered the most advanced naval technology in France. In 2014, Egypt concluded a contract with the French state-owned firm to purchase four ships, three of which were to be constructed in the Egyptian military-owned Alexandria Shipyard. Technology transfer was included in the procurement agreement, and it was to take place in the military shipyard. In 2016, Egypt received the first ship and gave it the name of "ENS El Fateh." In 2018, Egypt completed the building of the second ship and gave it the name of "ENS Port Said." In mid 2019, it completed and launched another one and called it "al-Moez (981)." In order to provide "in-service support," the Naval Group created an Egyptian subsidiary, Alexandria Naval, to take charge of such tasks.[73]

The second co-production initiative was also contracted in 2014, but with an American partner which meant that it didn't count for attempts at diversifying. It was between the Egyptian Navy and the Louisiana-based firm Swiftships, and the firm indicated that its project does include technology transfer. The transaction, according to the company's webpage, was for:

> [B]uilding up to thirty Patrol Craft in a period of seven years. The shipyard in Egypt was replicated to Swiftships' ISO standards by the company's own Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) specializing in shipbuilding and ship repair. The work was performed by local labor under direct Swiftships-trained Egyptian supervisors and SMEs. The Co-production program allows the EN to train their craftsmen at the Swiftships Academy in Morgan City, Louisiana, to gain in-depth knowledge of the capabilities and quality of the product, while enforcing product quality and management.[74]

[70]   See the website of the Ministry of Military Production and its news, accessed June 10, 2018, http://www.momp.gov.eg/Ar/Default.aspx.
[71]   Muhammad Hasan and Maha Salim, "Intilaqa Jadidia fi Intaj al-Masani' al-Harbiayya," *al-Ahram*, May 20, 2017; Mahmud al-Badawi, "Wazir al-Intaj al-Harbi: Mustamirrun fi Tasni' al-Asliha…wa-la Nu'lin 'Anha," *al-Watan*, January 24, 2017.
[72]   "Wazir al-Intaj al-Harbi al-Misri: al-Tasni' al-Mushtarak Badilan 'An Istirad al-Asliha," *Sputniknews*, December 11, 2017.
[73]   "Middle East and North Africa," *The Military Balance* 117 (2017): 361; "Egypt receives first Gowind 2500 Corvette from France," https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/24042/Egypt-receives-first-Gowind-2500-Corvette-from-France, accessed July 17, 2019; "Egypt Launches First Locally Built Gowind Corvette," https://www.egyptdefenceexpo.com/news/egypt-launches-first-locally-built-gowind-corvette, accessed July 17, 2019.
[74]   "Swiftships offers its international clients the opportunity to build its own vessels under the Co-Production Program," http://swiftships.com/services/co-production/, accessed June 10, 2018.

However, Egypt continues to heavily rely on arms imports much more than its own production. It purchased items from European states that were willing to deal with the new military president for mutual interests— based on counterterrorism efforts and for benefiting their national manufacturers. It concluded especially large deals with France and Russia, with Germany coming in third. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)'s 2016 report of "Trends in International Arms Transfers," Egypt was the eleventh largest importer of major weapons globally between 2012 and 2016. The World Bank's aggregates indicate that these imports tripled after the 2013 wave of terrorism and the need to contain ISIL in Sinai. They increased from $630,000,000 in 2011; $675,000,000 in 2013; to $1,483,000,000 in 2016. This marked a 69 percent increase in recent years. France alone was the source of 40 percent of the country's imports—an equal parentage to that of the U.S. at the time. Egypt is currently the largest client of France with deals worth billions of Euros for fighter jets and warships. It has also signed many large arms deals with Russia, including contracts for 50 combat aircraft and 46 combat helicopters. Germany "quintupled" its arms sales to Egypt and Saudi Arabia—a main regional backer of al-Sisi—with deals worth hundreds of millions of Euros.[75] The UK resumed much smaller arms deals worth around only £48.8 million in 2015. It was anticipated that China might become one of Egypt's suppliers away from the U.S., but it did not because Egypt continued to prefer Western suppliers. China tried to compete with Germany and offered two cheaper submarines in 2015, but the deal didn't work out. Egypt purchased the German submarines instead.[76]

Egyptian imports tremendously increased again in the following year. According to SIPRI's latest report "Trends in International Arms Transfer" of 2017, Egypt jumped into the ranking of the third largest importer of weapons globally during the last five years. Egyptian imports increased by 4.5%, and it came third after India (12%) and Saudi Arabia (10%). France replaced the U.S. as the largest exporter of weapons to Egypt. Between 2008 and 2012, the U.S. was the main supplier with around 45% of Egyptian imports. Between 2013 and 2017, France took this place by providing Egypt with 37% of its procurement.[77]

Thus, since 2013 France has been by far the largest supplier to Egypt, after the sale of the 24 Rafale aircraft manufactured by Dassault Aviation, followed by the Mistral warship manufactured by Naval Group (these are in addition to the above mentioned four corvettes Gowind for co-production). The French government lent Egypt a loan of 3.2 billion Euros to conclude the Rafale contract in 2015, and oil-producing Gulf states that are close allies of al-Sisi helped fund the deal.[78] Al-Sisi visited Paris in late 2017 and was received by the newly elected president, Emanuel Macron. As journalist Jenna Le Bras explained in a report

[75] World Bank, "Arms Importers (SIPRI trend indicator value)." https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.MPRT.KD?end=2016&start=2011&year_high_desc=true, accessed June 10, 2018; Aude Fleurant, Pieter D. Wezman, Siemon T. Wezeman, and Nan Tian, "Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2016," (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Sweden, February, 2017), 6 and 11; Ben Knight, "Germany quintuples arms sales to Saudi Arabia and Egypt," *Deutsche Welle,* November 14, 2017.

[76] See Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT), "Egypt in the News," accessed June 10, 2018, https://www.caat.org.uk/resources/countries/egypt/news; Emir Nader, "UK Arms Deals with Egypt Soar Amid Warming Diplomatic Ties," *Daily News Egypt,* August 1, 2015; Siva Govindasamy and Ahmed Mohamed Hassan, "China Tries Trying to Undercut Germany on Submarine Offer to Egypt," *Reuters*, September 15, 2015.

[77] Pieter D. Wezeman, Aude Fleurant, Alexandra Kuimova, Nan Tian and Siemon T. Wezeman, "Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2017," (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Sweden, March 2018); "Ma'had Stockholm li-l-Salam: Misr Thalith Akbar Muswarid Silah fi al-'Aalam bi Ziyada %225 Khilal Khams Sanawat," *Mada Masr,* March 14, 2018.

[78] "3.2 Billion Euros of Egypt-French Arms Deal Financed by Loan from Paris: Sisi," Reuters, March 1, 2015; Michel Cabirol, "Egypte: douze Rafale cloués au sol par Bercy," *La Tribune,* October 23, 2017; "Middle East and North Africa," *The Military Balance* 116 (2016): 316.

published at the Cairo-based *Mada Masr*,

> The relationship between the two countries in recent years has centered on military and
> security cooperation and counterterrorism, while France has turned a blind eye to Egypt's
> worrying human rights record. Macron defended this position during Sisi's visit, saying it is
> not his place to 'lecture' Egypt on civil liberties."[79] The agreement of the Mistral helicopter
> carrier, manufactured by French shipbuilder DCNS, cost Egypt about $1 billion.[80] By the
> end of 2017, France expressed an interest to sell Egypt "A400M air-lifters and 36 NH90
> helicopters, of which 24 would be land-use Tactical Troop Transports (TTH) and 12 NATO
> Frigate Helicopter (NFH) for maritime operations.[81]

Oil-producing Arab Gulf states supported other Egyptian deals, besides the abovementioned French Rafale. Saudi Arabia and the UAE are the two main backers of Egypt in this realm. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) announced in 2015 that it was establishing "an armed-forces commission" to provide financial and military aid to counterterrorism activities in Egypt and other Arab countries.[82]

While Egypt intensified its arms importation or co-production activities, it has been entangled in domestic and regional conflicts under al-Sisi. The Egyptian army is engaged in Sinai with ISIL; in Yemen together with Saudi Arabia and the UAE to a limited degree; and on its borders with Libya by aiding its Eastern military ruler. Such engagements pressured the regime to obtain more weapons. According to the 2016 *Military Balance* report, repeated armed attacks of ISIL and other Jihadist groups in Sinai and elsewhere in the country resulted in,

> [S]ubstantive troop deployments and military operations, whilst insurgent activity on
> Egypt's borders has led to closer security cooperation with other North African states. State
> breakdown in Libya and Syria, and arms smuggling activities across the border, has become
> of particular concern. In 2015, Egypt was part of the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen, supplying
> 800 troops, and warships to enforce a maritime blockade in the Bab el-Mandeb.[83]

Moreover, in the Saudi-led "Operation Restoring Hope" in Yemen, Egypt contributed 6 F-16C Fighting Falcons.[84]

It is important to note that the MoMP still gives increasing and noticeable attention to its civilian business enterprises aside from the arms industry. Since he assumed his position in September 2015, al-Assar added numerous civilian projects aiming at lucrative profit for his ministry. This included a pharmaceuticals plant and another one for baby formula in collaboration with the ministry of health, and other initiatives to manufacture electricity meters for the ministry of power, water sanitation plants for the ministry of housing, engines of washing machines, farming machinery, and heavy trucks. That is in addition to public construction projects to build schools for the ministry of education, large sports facilities, and public roads and bridges, and in addition to land reclamation projects for commercial farming ventures. In fact, the vast majority of published news on the MoMP are about its civilian production and services activities, and most of al-Assar statements are about the ministry's

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[79]   Jenna Le Bras, "France and Egypt: Allies of Convenience," *Mada Masr,* October 28, 2017
[80]   "Egypt Takes Delivery of Second French Mistral Warship," *Reuters*, September 16, 2016.
[81]   "Egypt Reportedly Mulling Optional Rafale and Gowind 2500 Purchases," *Quwa: Defense News & Analysis Group,* October 22, 2017, accessed June 10, 2018, https://quwa.org/2017/10/22/egypt-reportedly-mulling-optional-rafale-gowind-2500-purchases/.
[82]   "Middle East and North Africa," (2016): 316.
[83]   "Middle East and North Africa," (2016): 316.
[84]   "Middle East and North Africa," (2017): 412.

contribution to the national economy rather than arms manufacturing.[85]

In addition, under president Sisi the number of ex-generals appointed to key positions in the government has tremendously increased along with the ever-increasing privileges for military civilian businesses. In 2015, to name only a few instances, ex-generals headed the public authorities of industrial development, agricultural development, import and export control, maritime transport, railways, sea and Nile ports, and the Suez Canal. The crucial positions of the minister of transportation, the chairman of the national Telecommunication Holding Company, and the chairman of the Maritime and Land Transport Holding Company were all occupied by other ex-generals. Meanwhile, military contractors continue to function as gigantic parastatal entities that have taken charge of, among other things, executing public construction projects of bridges, roads, hospitals, schools, affordable housing, and sporting clubs.

5. Conclusion

The Egyptian defense industry witnessed a period of rapid growth in the 1950s and 60s, when Egypt's first military regime received technical and financial support from the Soviet Union during the Cold War. An economic crisis and two large wars with Israel, in 1967 and 1973, deeply affected such growth and placed the industry on hold. In the 1980s, Egyptian arms manufacturing witnessed another period of wide expansion based on primarily Western technology, and enjoyed a lucrative regional market. However, the industry deteriorated again in the 1990s. For the past three decades, Egyptian arms factories have stagnated as a result of shifting domestic, regional, and international conditions. Lack of capital, technology transfer, and potential market pressured the Egyptian military factories to massively convert into producing civilian goods. This was followed by the military institution investing in establishing its own business enterprises in manufacturing strategic and consumer goods while providing services to the civilian domestic market. Military enterprises enjoyed extensive state privileges that allow them a monopolistic status in several sectors, and they function above the supposedly free market in the country. Since Egypt transitioned into neoliberalism in the 1990s, the military lost part of its allocated state budget but compensated for this by creating an extensively profitable and multi-sectoral business empire.

Thus, for the past three decades, Egyptian arms production has declined and the country has been widely dependent on arms imports from the U.S. and other Western suppliers. Egypt faced a serious crisis with the continuity of such imports from the U.S. and Europe in 2013, and had to attempt to diversify and seek new co-production agreements to reduce its dependency—especially on the U.S. These attempts do not seem to have yielded considerable outcomes on the ground. Most of the production of the Egyptian military factories is still dedicated to civilian goods for the domestic market. Meanwhile, Egyptian imports of arms from Western suppliers have increased, and new arms co-production programs are noticeably limited.

If Egypt seeks to join emerging countries in arms manufacturing, its military factories that at present largely produce for the civilian market should divest themselves of civilian business and re-focus on partnership efforts with international firms. With necessary and large-scale divestiture, military factories need to rationalize their management by

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[85] Hasan and Salim, "Intilaqa Jadidia fi Intaj al-Masani' al-Harbiayy," *al-Ahram,* May 20, 2017.

reducing their over-bloated size and re-training their labor force. Moreover, they should re-orient their activities of co-production and redesign their facilities to manufacture non-conventional weapon systems that would match with recent needs of asymmetric warfare of counterterrorism. Egypt already owns the needed infrastructure and cheap labor to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and technology for partnership, but it needs to manage these resources efficiently through reviewing its manufacturing policies and restructuring the facilities of arms production accordingly.

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Professionalization, Local Military Context, and Reconstruction of the Army in Afghanistan

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Abstract

Security sector reconstruction is a long-debated topic in the peacekeeping and state-building literature. The primary goal of any reconstruction program in conflict-ridden countries is to build up security institutions, which are prerequisites for sustainable development and democratization. This study aims to examine how security sector institutions, specifically the army, have been reconstructed by intervening actors in post-conflict countries like Afghanistan. It argues that army reconstruction programs that are developed without any elaboration of the peculiar conditions of the related post-conflict countries, are unlikely to be successful. As such, initiatives aimed at security sector reconstruction need to take account of the idiosyncratic characteristics of the conflict affected country and its institutions, and the program should be devised conforming to the case-specific circumstances. This research aims to identify reliable evidence to support this argument by analyzing data collected from both primary and secondary resources. It also aims to contribute methodologically by building upon the first-hand impressions of practitioners from various countries over their reconstruction activities.

Keywords: Afghanistan, reconstruction, security, army, professionalization

1. Introduction

The principal aim of security sector reform (SSR) is to establish security structures that will be efficient and effective in their use of resources, which are able to function under civilian control, and conspicuously, to provide security to the population.[1] The broad approach to SSR makes it an essential component of state-building efforts, particularly in post-conflict environments. SSR and state-building agendas aim not only to reconstruct security institutions but also to reform social, political and economic structures as complementary parts of the overall program.[2]

The initiative of SSR has political (objective and subjective civilian control), social (provision of physical security for people), economic/development (minimal resource use),

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[1] Heiner Hänggi, "Conceptualizing Security Sector Reform and Reconstruction," in *Reform and Reconstruction of the Security Sector,* ed. Alan Bryden and Heiner Hänggi (Geneva: Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2004), 8; Michael Brzoska and Andreas Heinemann-Grüder, "Security Sector Reform and Post-Conflict Reconstruction under International Auspices," in *Reform and Reconstruction of the Security Sector,* ed. Alan Bryden and Heiner Hänggi (Geneva: Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2004), 123.

[2] Paul Jackson, "Security Sector Reform and State Building," *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 10 (2011): 1812.

and institutional (professionalization of armed forces, police and paramilitary) dimensions.[3] By focusing on SSR's institutional aspects, this study examines how security sector institutions such as military forces have been reconstructed by intervening actors in post-conflict environments. It seeks also to assess the strengths and flaws of the process. It is argued that army reconstruction initiatives that are devised by western countries without consideration of the idiosyncratic characteristics of respective countries and their armies, will not necessarily be successful in providing a resilient peaceful environment.

These efforts have received a surge of attention from practitioners and academicians in order to analyze the effectiveness of the process and utilize the improved program of reconstruction elsewhere. Although there are research studies based on the views and experiences of practitioners in the field over the professionalization of armies in accordance with reconstruction programs, the article strives to contribute to that knowledge by interviewing practitioners from different nations, all of whom have served in Afghanistan.

The following section, aiming to harmonize the studies about military and peace studies, begins with the reconstruction of militaries. The professionalization of armies and understanding of local military context have been brought into the study to reveal a distinctive approach to security sector reconstruction. After methodological discussions, the article delves into the specific security sector reconstruction programs in Afghanistan, as it has been suffering from protracted wide-range disturbances and political turmoil for many decades. For this very reason, Afghanistan has also been the subject of reconstruction programs developed by multinational actors.

2. Security Sector Reform in Post-Conflict Countries

Security Sector Reform as a concept coined by the UK Secretary of State in 1999, has come up against the "train and equip security assistance" model of the Cold War, to draw attention to a people-centered approach over security, and imply the nexus between security and development.[4] There are three models in SSR referred to as "monopoly", "good enough" and "hybrid." The first two share the characteristic of being state-centric, while the last considers the role of non-state authorities in providing security. Liberal notions like participation, ownership, and political empowerment are the building blocks of the "hybrid school."[5]

SSR has four essential common preconditions for effective implementation, namely, a stable security environment, political consensus, a minimum level of human and institutional capacity, and durable resources, none of which can be easily found in conflict-affected countries.[6] Recognizing security as a precursor of long-term peace, the provision of safety, security and justice has been accepted as the ostensible aim of any SSR process in these countries.[7] SSR might also ensure favorable conditions to build or reform other governmental institutions of conflict-ridden states, since it has been mostly treated as a tool of state-building programs.

The circumstances of post-conflict countries, however, are laden with a number of specific challenges such as politicization, ethnicization, corruption of the security services, excessive

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[3] Michael Brzoska, "Introduction: Criteria for Evaluating Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Security Sector Reform in Peace Support Operations," *International Peacekeeping* 13, no. 1 (2006): 3.

[4] Mark Sedra, *Security Sector Reform in Conflict-Affected Countries: The Evolution of a Model* (London: Routledge, 2017), 56.

[5] Sedra, *Security Sector Reform,* 286–92.

[6] Sedra, *Security Sector Reform*, 167.

[7] Nadine Ansorg and Eleanor Gordon, "Co-operation, Contestation and Complexity in Post-Conflict Security Sector Reform," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 13, no. 1 (2019): 3

military spending, lack of professionalism, poor oversight, and inefficient allocation of resources.[8] The execution of SSR in such environments is thus dubbed as "security sector reconstruction".[9] Although both settings are similar, security sector reconstruction activities are seen as being able to be performed under severe armed conflict, and they particularly deal with the legacy of past conflict while developing governmental institutions in post-conflict states lest any further conflict emerges in the future.[10]

Security sector reconstruction reflects the model of the "monopoly school" of SSR, which prioritizes institutionalization and the notion of the Weberian state that keeps power hegemony on its own.[11] Therefore, the creation of military and police forces is acknowledged as the first endeavor to begin any state building program.[12] Once having achieved a minimum security environment, according to this approach, the remaining parts of the program can progress efficiently and harmoniously.[13]

The SSR model relies on the presumption that a powerful state is the best means of delivering security and stability. Nevertheless, it is a demanding and multifaceted problem since the state structures in post-intervention countries have often collapsed, and non-statutory security institutions challenge the existence of new security organizations. This situation inevitably entails a multinational presence, particularly in the initial phase of post-conflict settings. Yet, an enduring security environment cannot be successfully developed solely through the activities of international actors. Their presence needs the consent and support of local actors in order to build up reliable security and governance institutions. Externally sponsored SSR needs to be compatible with particular historical–cultural features of the country rather than being based solely on the experiences of the donors.[14] In order to address critiques of the monopoly school about unawareness of local norms, security sector reconstruction should devise comprehensive planning that considers local demands and synchronized implementation of activities by international and domestic actors.[15]

3. The Reconstruction of Military Institutions

One essential part of security sector reconstruction is to rebuild or to reform and train security institutions and support them by means of material, economic, and human resources.[16] This point could be achieved by professionalizing the security structure to perform its duties well under civilian supervision.

It is contended that security sectors incorporate both statutory (e.g. armed forces, border guards, intelligence services, gendarmerie, penal institutions, and police) and non-statutory (e.g. guerrilla groups, militias, and private military and security companies) security institutions.[17] Alternatively, what the OECD calls a "security system" includes four main components: core security actors (armed forces, police, gendarmeries, paramilitary forces,

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[8] Brzoska, "Introduction," 1.

[9] Hänggi, "Conceptualizing," 1.

[10] Hänggi, "Conceptualizing," 14.

[11] Sedra, *Security Sector Reform,* 288.

[12] Francis Fukuyama, "Building Democracy after Conflict: Stateness First," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 1 (2005): 87.

[13] Sedra, *Security Sector Reform*, 288.

[14] Jackson, "Security Sector Reform," 1813.

[15] Hänggi, "Conceptualizing," 8.

[16] Albrecht Schnabel and Hans Georg Ehrhart, "Post-conflict Societies and the Military: Challenges and Problems of Security Sector Reform," in *Security Sector Reform and Post Conflict Peacebuilding,* ed. Albrecht Schnabel and Hans Georg Ehrhart (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2005), 2; Brzoska and Heinemann-Grüder, "Security Sector Reform," 123; Hänggi, "Conceptualizing," 8.

[17] Sedra, *Security Sector Reform*, 59.

presidential guards, intelligence and security services, coast guards, border guards, customs authorities, reserve or local security units); management and oversight bodies; maintenance of justice and the rule of law; and non-statutory security forces (liberation armies, guerrilla armies, private security companies, political party militias).[18]

The military plays a central role compared to other security structures by defending the state and nation against external adversaries and internal insurgency.[19] Arguably, it is one of the most essential security institutions in a post-conflict peacebuilding environment,[20] and the "professionalism of militaries" is argued to be a key norm of security sector governance.[21] The reform in the military can also positively influence other sectors such as police and intelligence.[22] Even though all sectors in a security reform program are dependent on each other, the reconstruction of military institutions has been elaborated for the purposes of this study.

3.1. Professionalization of armies

The professionalization of militaries is a widely discussed issue particularly by students and scholars of civil-military relations, though there is hardly any agreement on the common characteristics of military professionalism. One seminal piece argues that it comprises "corporateness", "expertness", and "responsibility";[23] another contends that professionalism consists of "expertise", "group identity", "education/training", "ethics/loyalty", and "self-administration".[24] It has also been contended that "military professionalization" encompasses the introduction of modern military equipment and technology into the armed forces, the upgrading of training facilities and procedures, making recruitment and promotions less arbitrary, and developing professional cadres of specialist officers and military experts at various levels and branches of the armed forces.[25]

The military, as a profession, differs from others in many aspects since its client is the nation. Each military force has peculiar attributes emanating from their own geography, culture, threat perceptions, and history. In this regard, there are two main trends in armed forces: "institutional" and "occupational." These are not intended as a clear-cut separation, rather a spectrum along which the military forces are expected to have some features of both at some level.[26]

Institutional military forces are characterized by mostly normative values and norms. The expected behavior of soldiers in this understanding is to value and prioritize concepts like "duty", "honor", and "country". Soldiers generally enjoy high esteem from the larger society and are compensated by noncash benefits.[27] It is argued that institutionalized security organizations are rule-governed, predictable, and have a distinctive organizational culture

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[18] *The OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform: Supporting Security and Justice* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2007), 22.
[19] *The OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform*, 124.
[20] Schnabel and Ehrhart, "Post-conflict Societies," 2–6.
[21] Brzoska, "Introduction," 2.
[22] *The OECD DAC Handbook on Security System Reform*, 124.
[23] Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 11–8.
[24] Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (New York: Free Press, 1971), 6.
[25] Mehran Kamrava, "Military Professionalization and Civil Military Relations in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly* 115, no. 1 (2000): 69–70.
[26] Charles C. Moskos, "Institutional/Occupational Trends in Armed Forces: An Update," *Armed Forces and Society* 12, no. 3 (1986): 377–82.
[27] Moskos, "Institutional/Occupational Trends," 377–82.

and character. They tend not to be corrupt or abusive of power, rather, adhering to the rule of law.[28]

On the other hand, the occupational approach to military forces mainly stems from the supply and demand relationships of the marketplace. This model suggests a priority of self-interest rather than the demands and culture of the employing organization. The soldiers of occupational military forces give importance to material benefits such as salary and bonuses rather than moral values.[29]

Having been at the opposite side of the institutionalism spectrum, "patrimonial security organizations" are ruled by cronyism and nepotism, with essential qualities like discipline and promotion in the army being maintained through the exploitation of primordial cleavage or personal relations. Individuals who are part of this type of organization are also against political reforms that might threaten their current organizational exploitation, and they fear the loss of their own personal status.[30] Restructuring a military force in relation to ethnic affiliation might create intra-corps jealousy, distorted chains of commands following an ethnic rather than the official order, fragile cohesion, and possibly disobedience.[31] Patrimony leads to corruption and abuse of power, even as it endangers the integrity of the military, which is an essential feature of effective armies.

One could argue that the professionalization of armies has "tangible" and "intangible" aspects. The intangible ones, such as devotion to the nation, sense of duty, coherence and integrity among various levels of army, emanate from their own socio-cultural life and are vital institutional values to facilitate and reinforce through state-building processes in post-conflict countries. Tangible aspects suggest the facilities, equipment, financial benefits, and written works like manuals and doctrines. Both of these aspects serve to understand the professionalization of armies in a complementary manner.

3.2 Understanding the local military context

SSR programs suffer mostly from lack of awareness about local socio-cultural values and historical narrative. Although the concept of SSR is well developed, there often appears a gap between policy and practice in the implementation phase of such programs, a phenomenon known as "conceptual-contextual divide".[32] The context surrounding each institution comprises its own tradition, culture, history, as well as economic and political circumstances. Security sector reconstruction programs implemented in post-conflict countries are more prone to deteriorate without proper research on the particular characteristics of the reform context.

Although military organizations have some freedom to isolate their members from society and develop distinctive internal structures, they inevitably internalize and mirror some characteristics of the community at large. Particularly in a country where sectarian and regional divisions and corruption are widely seen, the military is also going to suffer from similar predicaments, and it's likely its members may attach to their local loyalties instead of rather than those to nation, state and its institutions.

Armies will be more affected by general norms and the social structure of the community

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[28] Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East," *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 2 (2004): 145.

[29] Moskos, "Institutional/Occupational Trends," 377–82.

[30] Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism," 145.

[31] Florence Gaub, *Rebuilding Armed Forces: Learning from Iraq and Lebanon* (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2011), 8.

[32] Jane Chanaa, *Security Sector Reform: Issues, Challenges and Prospects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 61–2.

as compared to the navy and air forces since both of the latter organizations rely mostly on specialized equipment and have fewer members than former. It is also argued that military organizations will be more likely to reflect the structures of the larger society if:

> … the military is a mass, non-professional army with short terms of service, large relative to society; if it fights wars with high casualty rates that force the military rapidly to bring many new soldiers in as replacements, while limiting the amount of time recruits spend in military training that can socialize the recruits to new norms before they are sent into battle; and if goals other than military effectiveness are allowed to govern the norms and structures of the military.[33]

So, it is expected that unprofessional armies will bear the characteristics of their societies more than professional organizations. Unprofessional organizations will not likely be able to manage to develop their own tangible and intangible assets, and neither will be able to impose new formed identity/organizational culture on its members while responding to the challenges which threaten its very existence.

On the other hand, efforts to isolate the military from society by socializing its members with organizational training and culture might create an adverse effect in that it could alienate the military from society, particularly if members of the military are recruited from sub-groups that are not acknowledged as representatives of the respected society. This might impair societal confidence in the military or its leaders, which can, in turn, weaken the military power of the state.[34]

Military professionalism entails and enhances expertise, responsibility, organizational culture and institutionalization of armies. Although the figures on modern equipment, technology, weapon systems, trained soldiers, profile of human resources (ethnic and sectarian composition) and promotion procedures are important to make first assessments on the reconstruction of armies, there are many other factors as well that are important in recognizing the whole picture. Because armies intrinsically contain various segments of a population, their professionalization is also affected by the society within. The culture, tradition and history of the armies and their reflection on the professionalization process could also have a plausible effect on the level of reconstruction effort success.

4. Methodology

Professionalism, awareness of the local military context, and the ultimate achievement of SSR programs are difficult to measure. Although some statistical measures such as quantitative measures on military education, number of soldiers and equipment, the cost of programs, figures about violence across the country, have been interpreted in this study, these are not sufficient instruments to make valid assessments. In order to keep in balance quantitative and qualitative measures, this study has also sought to explore implicit indicators, including public perceptions about security, public credibility of security sector institutions, corruption rates, tenure in military jobs, promotion procedures, and practitioners' comment on the effectiveness of the SSR program.

Therefore, the research seeks to investigate evidence collected through both primary and secondary sources, namely, the field experiences of security providers and reports over reconstruction process, to make valid program assessments. Interviews were carried out from

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[33] Stephen P. Rosen, "Military Effectiveness: Why Society Matters," *International Security* 19, no. 4 (1995): 29.
[34] Rosen, "Military Effectiveness," 30.

June 2014 - January 2015 and July 2017 - March 2018, and field observations as an advisor and staff officer during the time of the reconstruction of Afghanistan's military were made between June 2014 - January 2015. This study is limited in its being informed exclusively by the experiences of coalition personnel involved with security sector initiatives in Afghanistan.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with advisors and staff officers who served in Afghanistan, to explore their field experiences in security sector reconstruction activities. A snowball sampling technique was used to contact participants as it was not possible to pre-identify the full profile and figures of people who were contributing to security sector reconstruction initiatives.[35]

Table 1- Interviewees by country of origin, role, served year and tour duration

No.	Country of Origin	Served Year	Job/Role	Tour Duration
1	Hungary	2013	Advisor	6 months
2	Italy	2013-2014	Staff Officer	10 months
3	Italy	2014-2015	Advisor	7 months
4	Netherland	2012	Advisor	3 months
5	Netherland	2014	Staff Officer	6 months
6	Romania	2012	Advisor, Staff Officer	7 months
7	The United Kingdom	2014-2015	Advisor, Staff Officer	13 months
8	The United Kingdom	2008-2009	Staff Officer	1 year
9	The United Kingdom	2014	Advisor	7 months
10	The United States	2014-2015	Civilian Advisor	13 months
11	The United States	2009-2010 2014-2015	Advisor, Staff Officer	1 year 1 year
12	The United States	2009-2010	Staff Officer	7 months
13	The United States	2014	Civilian Advisor	7 months
14	Turkey	2008-2009	Staff Officer	6 months
15	Turkey	2008	Staff Officer	6 months
16	Turkey	2013	Advisor	6 months
17	Turkey	2015	Advisor	6 months
18	Turkey	2004	Staff Officer	6 months
19	Turkey	2009	Staff Officer	6 months
20	Turkey	2014-2015	Advisor	6 months

Interviews were conducted voluntarily with participants from Hungary (1), Italy (2), Netherland (2), Romania (1), the United Kingdom (3), the United States (4), and Turkey (7) as shown in Table-1. The served years of interviewees in Afghanistan ranged between 2004 and 2016, and length of tours varied from 3 to 13 months. All participants were male, and consisted of two civilians and 18 officers.

Most of the interviews were carried out face-to-face, though some were conducted online or by telephone, and the questionnaires were exchanged via e-mail. The interview process was considered to be complete after reaching the saturation point. Some of the questions asked to participants for the purposes of the study were as follows:

- Which role have/had you undertaken in your duty/duties? (advisor, staff, field, other)

- What have been the most important problems and achievements related to the engagement of the international community in the SSR process? (Please rank them according to their significance.)

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[35] Ranjit Kumar, *Research Methodology* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 162.

- What have been the most important problems and achievements related to host country's security apparatuses and governance in the SSR process? (Please rank them according to their significance.)

- What should have been done differently in this particular SSR process to make it more successful?

- In your opinion, what are the vital issues to undertake in an SSR process in post-conflict settings?

In order to scrutinize the research questions in a complementary manner, along with content analysis on interview texts, several reports were also examined as secondary sources for information. *The Brookings Afghanistan Index, The Asia Foundation: A Survey of the Afghan People and Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR)* reports are among the examined documents examined for this study.

5. Reconstruction of the Afghanistan National Army

Afghanistan's SSR program was developed according to the Bonn Agreement of December 2001, which was a plan aimed at ensuring a sustainable peace in Afghanistan and agreed upon by local leaders and international donors. In April 2002, the Group of Eight (G8) nations met in Geneva, Switzerland, to map out divided responsibilities for the SSR in Afghanistan. The process was divided into five pillars, with each of them being allocated to a donor nation to oversee: military reform (U.S.); police reform (Germany); judicial reform (Italy); the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants (Japan); and counter-narcotics (United Kingdom). The military reform process was designated as having two components: the creation of an Afghan National Army (ANA) and the reform of the Afghan Ministry of Defense.[36]

5.1. The process of reconstruction of the Afghan National Army

Although Afghanistan's SSR process was inaugurated officially in the spring of 2002, the reconstruction process of the ANA can be examined over four phases in which the first two cover the years 2001-2003 and 2004-2006 respectively.[37] The 3rd phase began as of 2007 and extended through 2014, which was the completion year of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The 4th phase of ANA reconstruction can be identified as the period beginning with Resolute Support (RS) in 2015 through 2017.

After the fall of the Taliban in 2001, there was no regular army in Afghanistan, but, rather, armed opposition groups. As a first attempt to provide immediate security, these groups were loosely gathered under the name of the Afghan Military/Militia Force (AMF), and they were financed by the U.S., completely autonomous from the Kabul government.[38] During the 1st phase, the SSR process was not able to progress effectively because of ongoing military operations by the U.S. forces. However, in May 2003, it was proclaimed that major combat operations had ended and "stabilization and reconstruction activities" were commencing. Accordingly, the ISAF mission, which was established in December 2001 and

[36] Mark Sedra, "Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan and Iraq: Exposing a Concept in Crisis," *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 3, no. 2 (2007): 10.
[37] Adam Grissom, "Shoulder-to-Shoulder Fighting Different Wars: NATO Advisors and Military Adaptation in the Afghan National Army 2001-2011," in *Military Adaptation in Afghanistan,* ed. Theo Farrell, Frans Osinga, and James A. Russell (California: Stanford University Press, 2013), 263.
[38] Antonio Giustozzi, "Auxiliary Force or National Army? Afghanistan's 'ANA' and the Counter-Insurgency Effort 2002 – 2006," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 18, no. 1 (2007): 47.

was concentrated in Kabul and its surrounding area, assumed control of the force in August 2003 and reached nationwide coverage in October 2006.[39] The 2ⁿᵈ phase not only confirmed NATO's control across the country but also indicated the beginning of the SSR program. The AMF, sometimes called a transitional army, was demobilized and the reconstruction of the ANA began.

In the third phase, the ANA infrastructure was developed through the restructuring of operational units and the opening of national and multinational training centers and specialist schools across the country. The structure of *kandak* (a unit equal to a battalion) was improved by including new units such as weapons, medical, signal, maintenance and support. Special units such as commandos, special forces, counternarcotics, highway security, support and logistics, quick reaction forces, and Afghan Air Forces were also founded.[40]

After transitioning from ISAF to RS in 2015, the U.S. and NATO forces began to provide training, advisory support, and assistance to the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF) through four regional (North, East, South, West), one capital (Kabul) and one functional (air capabilities) "Train, Advise, and Assist Commands" (TAACs). The objective of the RS mission was stated as being to "develop Afghan leadership, advice on Afghan reforms for fighting corruption, and most importantly, optimize ANDSF capabilities and resources to defend and protect Afghanistan from its enemies." RS thus developed eight Essential Functions that provided the framework and guidelines for fulfilling its tasks.[41]

The size of the Afghan military was increased to higher levels than were foreseen at the beginning. During the 1ˢᵗ phase, the AMF was kept at symbolic numbers and organizational structure due to optimistic expectations about the security environment. The feeling was that security beyond the borders would be carried out by coalition forces while internal security would be provided by local forces. Accordingly, the US advocated the creation of a force no larger than 50,000. The initial US plan was to develop an army corps to deal with internal problems, and then withdraw from Afghanistan by the end of 2004.[42]

However, by 2004, the Taliban had reinvigorated itself and boosted its attacks particularly in the east and southeast of Afghanistan. The worsening security situation in Afghanistan was described as "volatile, having seriously deteriorated in certain parts of the country" by the UN. There were at least three essential causes of an upsurge of insecurity at that time, namely, anti-government spoiler groups, warlordism, and narcotics trade—alias a "shadow economy."[43] Thus, the idea of having respectively small numbers of soldiers in organizations such as the Afghan National Guard and AMF was swiftly replaced by the ANA, since the security threat originating mainly from the Taliban had been continuing and the military capability of the AMF was hardly adequate as a coherent force to counter it. With the deteriorating security situation, the strength of the ANA reached 181,439, including civil

[39] Sedra, *Security Sector Reform,* 168.
[40] Grissom, "Shoulder-to-Shoulder Fighting," 268–71.
[41] Essential Functions (EF): EF-1: plan, program, budget, and execute; EF-2: transparency, accountability, and oversight; EF-3: civilian governance of the Afghan security institutions and adherence to rule of law; EF-4: force generation; EF-5: sustain the force; EF-6: plan, resource, and execute effective security campaigns; EF-7: develop sufficient intelligence capabilities and processes; EF-8: maintain internal and external strategic communications capability. See for detailed information, Resolute Support (RS) Afghanistan, *Mission*, accessed July 27, 2018, https://rs.nato.int/about-us/mission.aspx.
[42] Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) *Reconstructing the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces: Lessons from the US Experience in Afghanistan,* September 23, 2017, accessed July 17, 2019, https://www.sigar.mil/AllReports/, 16.
[43] Mark Sedra, "Consolidating an Elusive Peace: Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan," in *Reform and Reconstruction of the Security Sector*, ed. Alan Bryden and Heiner Hänggi (Geneva: Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2004), 210–11.

personnel, as of May 2014.[44]

There were training efforts from the very beginning of the reconstruction process. First, battalions trained by Britain, and soon after followed by the U.S., created the units of the Afghan National Guard. The process, however, lasted only ten weeks and was comprised of just primary soldiering and basic small unit tactics.[45] It was impossible for these efforts involved in the training of small army units by Special Forces along with regular units to be successful in such a short time.

Beginning by early 2003, the U.S. Army conventional forces had taken over training responsibility,[46] under the supervision of Task Force Phoenix. Task Force Phoenix was itself subordinate to the US Office of Military Cooperation-Afghanistan (OMC-A), which was overseeing overall development of the ANA. The name of this body would change to the Office of Security Cooperation-Afghanistan (OSC-A) in 2005, and to the Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan (CSTC-A) in 2006. Subsequently, as a multinational endeavor to develop unity of effort, NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan (NTM-A), the partner organization of CSTC-A, was established in 2009, with the main mission of overseeing NATO training delivered to the ANDSF. Later, with the ending of the ISAF operation, the functions of the NTM-A were integrated into the RS mission.[47]

The training of Afghan Armed Forces was carried out by three national academic institutions along with local training centers. The oldest local training institution in the country, the Kabul Military Training Centre (KMTS), began its activities on 14 May 2002, with the goal of offering 16-week basic infantry training. The National Military Academy of Afghanistan (NMAA), the Afghan National Army Officer Academy (ANAOA), and the Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) Academy (NCOA) all operated under the umbrella of the Marshal Fahim National Defense University (aka. Afghan National Defense University) which was established in 2013. The NMAA, founded in 2012, delivers a four-year college level bachelor's degree to the officer candidates of the ANA and Afghan Air Force (AAF). Serving as a Junior Officer Academy, the ANAOA accepted its first candidates in 2013 and follows a 42-week education schedule. The trainees of education in the NCOA are sergeant candidates.[48]

5.2. Strengths and weaknesses of the program

Although the reconstruction programs in Afghanistan have been progressing for approximately 18 years, there seems to be little or no definitive progress in the security situation across the country. It is reported that the conflict has reached a stalemate that appears to be recognized by all sides.[49] According to some public research, around 60% of the Afghan people believe that the country is headed in the wrong direction, and that the main reason for this is security

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[44] Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR), *Quarterly Report to the United States Congress,* July 30, 2014, accessed July 31, 2019, https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/quarterlyreports/2014-07-30qr.pdf. The figures on ANA strength have been classified since 2015.

[45] Grissom, "Shoulder-to-Shoulder Fighting," 265.

[46] Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) *Reconstructing the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces: Lessons from the US Experience in Afghanistan,* September 23, 2017, accessed July 17, 2019, https://www.sigar.mil/AllReports/, 19.

[47] Sedra, *Security Sector Reform*, 172–73.

[48] Author's observation.

[49] The Asia Foundation, *A Survey of the Afghan People: Afghanistan in 2018,* accessed September 11, 2019. https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf, 43.

issues.[50] Nearly 70% of Afghan people fear for their own safety.[51] There is, indeed, some evidence for this perception of insecurity. According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, violence over the last decade has been rising in Afghanistan (Figure-1).[52] In fact, the number of conflict-related deaths after 2014 has surpassed previous records.
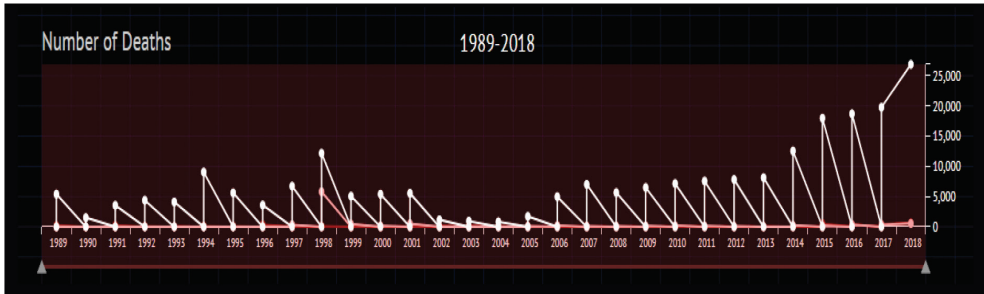

Figure 1: Number of Conflict-Related Deaths in Afghanistan

The data on security have raised questions over the effectiveness of the reconstruction process of the ANA. With this in mind, this study conducted interviews with practitioners, collecting information that was then grouped thematically concerning the flaws and strengths of the various reconstruction initiatives. According to the views of the interviewed participants, there have been achievements with respect to five aspects through the reconstruction process, as seen in Figure-2. The decreasing level of violence, particularly in some parts of country, immediately after the initial intervention, is the first success of operation. Financial support to reconstruct the governmental institutions and military in particular follow close behind.
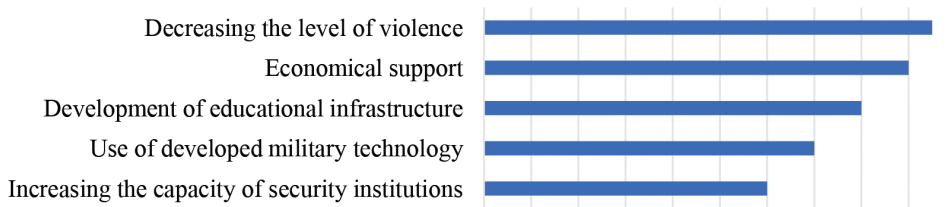

Figure 2: The Achievements of Reconstruction Process

Participants also mentioned development of the educational infrastructure, military technology, and increasing technical capacity of security institutions as being among the main achievements of the reconstruction programs in Afghanistan. As one officer stated: "Although the ANA troops could not use sophisticated weapons effectively and there have been ongoing standardization problems among weapon systems, introducing security technology increased awareness of army personnel".[53]

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[50] "Afghanistan Survey: A Survey of Public Perceptions," United States Institute of Peace, November 23, 2017, accessed July 12, 2019, (video file), https://www.usip.org/events/afghanistan-2017-survey-public-perceptions; The Asia Foundation, *A Survey of the Afghan People*, 16-25.

[51] The Asia Foundation, *A Survey of the Afghan People*, 45.

[52] "Afghanistan," Uppsala Conflict Data Program, accessed September 15, 2019. https://ucdp.uu.se/country/700.

[53] Ref.No.A161017, "interview with advisor and staff officer."

However, the programs have also faced clear problems, as seen in Figure-3. The most important issues raised by the participants are the ongoing insecurity between the warring factions, and corruption among local incumbents. Although the level of violence did decrease immediately after the operation, a fact pointed out as an accomplishment of the coalition forces, the lessening of security problems was not able to maintained over time.
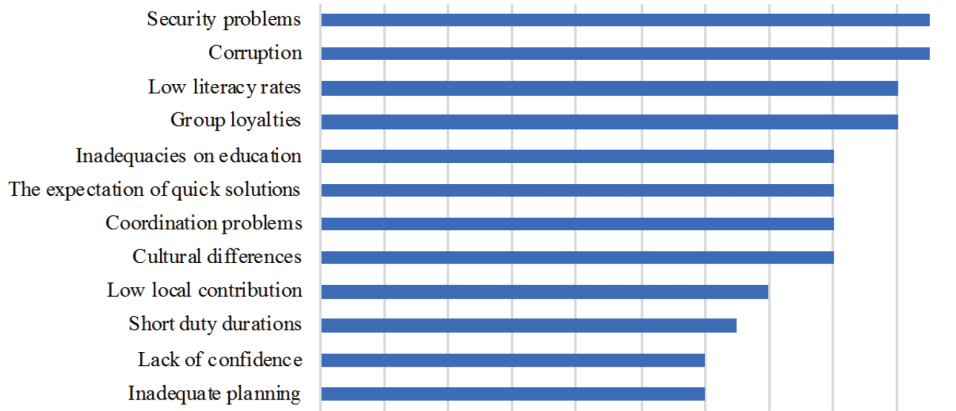

Figure 3: Problems Faced Throughout the Reconstruction Process

The ANA was torn between two opposite conceptualizations of its role, namely, acting as the auxiliary indigenous force of an occupying power, and becoming a "national army" able to secure the monopoly of force for the Afghan government and to serve its internal and foreign policy aims.[54] Early U.S. plans were focused substantially on U.S. military operations and the mitigation of violence with the end purpose of withdrawing American troops out of Afghanistan as quickly as possible. As security began to deteriorate, goals for the reconstruction of the army in Afghanistan were altered dramatically to the purpose of quickly increasing the number of trained militias and soldiers to be ready for combat needs, even if they were not satisfactory in combat proficiency. For example, the first commando battalion, which is generally tasked with counterterrorism operations, was not fully trained by 2007.[55] According to NATO assessments in 2011, nearly two-thirds of the ANA was still unable to function without constant ISAF assistance, even though they were considered autonomous on subjective evaluations.[56] A wide majority of the people in Afghanistan (85%), according to a survey, also believe that the ANA needs foreign support to do its job properly.[57]

Given the lack of modern technical and operational knowledge and equipment amongst the AMF, the trainers necessarily had to introduce and teach about issues that were almost completely unfamiliar to the soldiers, particularly in the first phase of the reconstruction program. High illiteracy rates, a prevalent problem among the Afghan population, impeded the candidates'/students' understanding of the courses content. Beyond issues of low literacy, one of the most important impediments was that the groups under the umbrella of the AMF

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[54]   Giustozzi, "Auxiliary Force or National Army," 48.
[55]   SIGAR, *Reconstructing the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces*, 41.
[56]   Grissom, "Shoulder-to-Shoulder Fighting," 273.
[57]   The Asia Foundation, *A Survey of the Afghan People,* 57.

continued to adhere to their own sectarian (ethnic/religious/family/tribe) group leaders.[58] These parallel loyalties to warlords alongside the official commanders severely lessened the levels of discipline, institutional integrity, and solidarity. These issues were even further exacerbated by the lack of weaponry, technology, and the undeveloped cadre, all of which weakened military effectiveness.

The ethnic composition of the ANA has long been an issue for the reconstruction program and its success. From the outset, Tajiks were represented in the ANA disproportionately compared to their share in the general population. The coalition and Ministry of Defense implemented a quota system in 2003, which brought about improvement by 2010.[59] According to the *Brookings Afghanistan Index*, as of March 2013, four main ethnic groups comprised 87% of overall ANA personnel structure, while two of them, Pashtuns (42.4%) and Tajiks (39.1%), held the upper hand in terms of officer status.[60] It is important to note however, that ethnic, tribal and sectarian differences are still pointed out by most of the interviewees in this study as being an essential impediment to developing a professionalized and effective military force.[61]

One of the most important internal obstacles in the reconstruction programs has been the repudiation of the social and historical heritage of the army in Afghanistan. Although there were early efforts to (re)build the regular army in Afghanistan, the primacy of tribal and local loyalty impeded the process. The Afghan government traditionally relied on three military institutions: the regular army, tribal levies, and community militias. The capability of the regular forces in guerilla warfare was supplemented by the two other armed groups. Since it was always difficult to develop a feeling of nationality over tribal allegiance, these forces were employed in a complementary way.[62] Tribalism and sectarianism remained at the core of personal identity while national consciousness and an overarching sense of loyalty to the state remained weak, particularly among rank and file soldiers.[63]

Nevertheless, the local leaders were employed as leverage for ending the conflict; and local armed groups had been revitalized at the expense of armies by occupying countries such as Britain, the USSR and the US.[64] Local leaders, tribal elders and local *shura* remain still among the most trusted institutions in dispute resolution.[65] So, while the militias have been winning against their enemies and earning respect from the community, being an Afghan soldier does not command much respect among the population. Furthermore, low literacy rates among the society and a rudimentary education system have also aggravated the shrinkage of the recruitment pool and inhibited the recruitment and education of capable and professionalized military officers. Therefore, it has always been difficult to attract young men with sufficient education for training as army officers.[66]

Moreover, attrition is still very common among the ANA troops. The ANA loses almost one-third of its members every year. For example, in 2016, a report found that the rates of

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[58] SIGAR, *Reconstructing the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces*, 16.

[59] Sedra, *Security Sector Reform*, 176.

[60] Ian S. Livingston and Michael O'Hanlon, *Brookings Institution Afghanistan Index,* September 29, 2017, accessed September 19, 2019. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/21csi_20171002_afghanistan_index.pdf.

[61] It is also observed by the author.

[62] Ali A. Jalali, "Rebuilding Afghanistan's National Army," *Parameters* 32, no. 3 (2002): 75.

[63]   Stephanie Cronin, *Armies and State-building in the Modern Middle East: Politics, Nationalism and Military Reform* (London: B. Tauris, 2014), 110.

[64] Cronin, *Armies and State-building*, 84.

[65] "Afghanistan Survey".

[66] Cronin, *Armies and State-building*, 100.

attrition were 2.9% in August, 2.3% in September, and 3.1% in October.[67] Poor unit leadership, insufficient vetting of recruits, lack of equipment and support, substandard literacy rates, poor quality of life, and corruption could be stated as some of the reasons.[68] Low salaries, being away from their families over a long time, and war fatigue have also contributed to the mounting attrition.

It can be argued that one other drawback to the reconstruction program arises from the beginning of RS mission, at which time TAACs came to employ routine support to ANDSF units in close proximity and to more remote locations when needed. However, this new job description kept coalition forces out of daily activities and, it is claimed, this posture significantly decreased the "touch-points" of the U.S. on ANDSF units, causing the United States to rely on ANDSF information to understand the forces' needs and struggles.[69]

In addition to local problems, one of the most important hindrances over restructuring the national army in Afghanistan emanated from the approach of the western forces themselves. Not only were the problems and development needs being identified by these foreign forces, but also the possible solutions were also being proposed and put into effect by them. As pointed out by one interviewee:[70]

> Many advisors try to mimic their country modus operandi and doctrine in Afghanistan. The country is very much underdeveloped with tribal culture and in the middle of a brutal, savage civil war. It cannot work. Most of the Afghan Generals want little new doctrine or administrative modern guidance…

In a country where normative aspects of life are appreciated, western approaches to rebuild the military by emphasizing material features could not corroborate this initiative well. According to the comments of participants of this study, this approach created nothing more than a patron-client relationship and made Afghan authorities dependent on material prizes. As one interviewee argues:[71]

> Because of international money pouring in, local reforms were mostly prize related. The bigger the prize, the more cooperation was on the table from local actors. This understanding allowed some of crucial points to be missed by local actors.

It is also pointed out that the U.S. was ill-prepared for the reconstruction process, and lacked proper doctrine, policies, and resources from the beginning of launching efforts for security sector assistance.[72] There was a lack of a comprehensive plan before military intervention among the coalition governments as pointed out interviewees. One participant states:[73]

> There has to be a clear, deliberate plan in place in order to establish a security institution; whether that's an Army or a Police Force. If there's no detailed plan, then all the money from other countries won't help, because it's going to the wrong places, or they are given equipment that they don't need, nor want… Plans need to focus on need, not wants.

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[67] SIGAR, *Reconstructing the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces*, 118.
[68] SIGAR, *Reconstructing the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces*, 157.
[69] SIGAR, *Reconstructing the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces*, xiii.
[70] Ref.No. B41017, "interview with civilian advisor," October 2017.
[71] Ref.No. A251117, "interview with staff officer," November 2017.
[72] SIGAR, *Reconstructing the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces*, x.
[73] Ref.No. B61117, "interview with advisor and staff officer," November 2017.

The plans were to be based upon political considerations and objectives: "our political masters need to set clear military objectives for the SSR mission…"[74] However, a reconstruction plan is not a definite endeavor but rather a living preparation, that needs to be assessed and refined through implementation.

Given the scarce economic development and ongoing security problems, the Afghan government has failed to disrupt the patron-client relationship. The SSR process, particularly the reconstruction of the army, has always been dependent on foreign intervention and international funds. As pointed out by most of the participants in this study, the process in Afghanistan was unsuccessful at gaining "buy-in" from the host country. Therefore, the dependency transformed the institutions to a "prize focused approach" at the expense of satisfying their own needs.

6. Conclusion

Security sector reconstruction is argued to be a complementary program of overall state-building initiatives, particularly in conflict-ridden countries. The complexity and high cost of such programs, alongside the scarcity of capabilities over essential services and infrastructures of local governments, require multinational initiatives. The prominent phase of any SSR process is to provide immediate security and reconstruction of local security institutions, armies in particular.

The reconstruction program of the Afghan army, as an example, has had some drawbacks. The participants of this study believe that multinational intervention suppressed the ongoing armed conflict swiftly and provided an acceptable level of security at the intervention period. However, problems emerged from the deficiencies in delivering a widespread safe and secure environment and sustainable peace across the country. The main reason for this failure has been ethnic and tribal differences among the Afghan population. The lack of awareness among the incumbents of the reconstruction processes related to the country's socio-cultural peculiarities and inefficiencies on planning over the initiatives after military intervention, have exacerbated the security condition as well.

There is a dearth of knowledge among the occupying powers about the intertwined role of the Afghan army and local armed groups in Afghanistan. The actors of security sector reconstruction in Afghanistan have largely tried to imitate their own perceptions of the military, which does not clearly fit the operation ground. Additionally, multinational actors taking part in the reconstruction programs engendered the fragmentation of the efforts, and decreased the effectiveness of the military.

As a result, the security sector reconstruction process of the army reflected the style of the western countries' own militaries. There is also convincing evidence derived from this study's interviews that reveal how western powers primarily valued the tangible aspects of professionalization. The investment in technological equipment and placing high importance on numbers of materiel or the quantity of personnel, could be considered as some examples.

The multinational actors have struggled to keep insecurity within the borders of Afghanistan in order to prevent devastating spill-over effects on the international security environment and threaten themselves in particular. It has been argued that the reconstruction agenda focused on creating a situation of "controlled insecurity".[75] So, the underlying aim of

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[74] Ref.No. B71117, "interview with staff officer," November 2017.

[75] Krastev, cited in Sedra, "Security Sector Reform in Afghanistan and Iraq," 21.

the program was to reduce its possible contagion effect and swiftly withdraw its forces from the country.

Reconstruction of the security sector does not fit all situations, even if it is proven as an effective program in some other country. Planning endeavors should therefore acknowledge the history, socio-cultural life, and attitudes of the people and the institutions of respective countries, rather than having only technical knowledge about the reconstruction process. A nationally suitable model should be developed in accordance with this accumulated knowledge and public interests, since there are various approaches and perspectives on military-style. Hence, a comprehensive program over the reconstruction of armies in post-conflict countries should be tailor-made.

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The Silence of non-Western International Relations Theory as a Camouflage Strategy: The Trauma of Qing China and the Late Ottoman Empire

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Abstract

My main argument in this article is that there have been at least three important barriers to the development of non-Western international relations theory (NWIRT): intellectual barriers (traumatizing effects of the imposition of the "standard of civilization"); ideational barriers (dominance of Western concepts and contexts); and scientific barriers (imposition of the standard of science). I argue that the silence of NWIRT is substantially a side effect of the strategy of mimicking the West, which was developed as an intellectual defense mechanism or as a camouflage strategy for the (re)establishment and the survival of non-Western states after their traumatic encounter with the Western states. Therefore, the surfacing of NWIRT discussions in the last decades can be attributed primarily to the maturation of an internal condition that is the revival of self-confidence in the residuals of former empires due to their regaining of rising power status and, thus, can be seen as a new phase of the 'revolt against the West.' On the other hand, I argue that the rise of NWIRT discussions are also related to the ripening of an external condition: some European schools of IR have been attempting to intellectually balance against the hegemony of American mainstream IRT, therefore, publication of edited books and special issues on NWIRT can also be read as searching for intellectual alliance with NWIRT.

1. Introduction

In the international relations (IR) literature, some scholars have criticized the dominance of the United States[1] in IR theory (IRT) and have, since the 1970s, defined it as "an American social science,"[2] a "not so international discipline"[3] or "a hegemonic discipline".[4] Later the scope of criticism was expanded to include European dominance[5] in IRT, which turned

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[1]   Stanley Hoffman, "An American Social Science: International Relations," *Daedalus* 106, no. 3 (1977): 41–60; Miles Kahler, "International Relations: Still an American Science?," in *Ideas and Ideals: Essays on Politics in Honor of Stanley Hoffmann*, eds. L. Miller and M.H. Smith (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1993), 395–414; Ole Wæver, "The Sociology of not so International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 687–727; Steve Smith, "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations: 'Hegemonic Country, Hegemonic Discipline'," *International Studies Review* 4, no. 2 (2002): 67–85.

[2]   Hoffman, "An American Social Science".

[3]   Wæver, "The Sociology of not so International Discipline".

[4]   Smith, "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations".

[5]   Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, "Why is There No Non–Western International Relations Theory? An Introduction,"

the discussion into Western vs. NWIRT, defining Western-centrism as "epistemological imperialism"[6] and Western IR as "nothing but a sophisticated ideology…that serve[s] to justify Western global hegemony".[7] Nearly all scholars publishing articles on the absence of NWIRT[8] or non-Western *formal* IRT[9] have explained this situation through the structure of systemic relations (the dominance of Western IRT) and local conditions.

In this article after a brief literature review section, I focus on three important barriers to the development of NWIRT: intellectual barriers (traumatizing effects of the imposition of the "standard of civilization"); ideational barriers (dominance of Western concepts and contexts); and scientific barriers (imposition of the standard of science), each of which will be discussed separately. I argue that these barriers have been established, on the one hand, at the intersection of formal and "informal colonization"[10] practices and the power-knowledge strategies of the West and, on the other hand, through cooperation among the West and Westernist elites to construct the basic institutions of modernity including the nation-state, science, secularism, as well as the "ideational structures" of IRT as universally acceptable ideal forms. However, I underline that one of the most important motivations behind the *imitation* of Western models is *institutional camouflage* for the (re)establishment and the survival of non-Western states after traumatic encounters with the Western states. Therefore I diagnose the *silence* of NWIRT as substantially a side effect of the strategy of *mimicking*[11] the West that was developed as *an intellectual defense mechanism* or as a *camouflage strategy* in response to traumatic encounters with the West, and resulting from both a feeling of 'running behind' and an internalization of the linear progressive paradigm in history and thus a fear of engulfment by the great powers.

To show the traumatic effects of encounters with the West, I chose as case studies the experiences of Qing China and the late Ottoman Empire, since these two demonstrate that even the intellectuals of empires not *formally* colonized by the West have been deeply traumatized by this experience of *informal* colonization. One thing, I suppose, that has multiplied the effects of trauma of these Empires was their self-identification of superiority and their perception of imperial exceptionalism, a phenomenon that one could compare today with that of U.S. self-perception. This is very much the case with respect to China, since

International Relations of the Asia Pacific 7, no. 3 (2007): 287–312; Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, *Non–Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Navnita Chadha Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7, no. 3 (2007): 341–68; Arlene Tickner and Ole Wæver, eds., *International Relations Scholarship around the World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009); Ching–Chang Chen, "The Absence of Non–Western IR theory in Asia Reconsidered," *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 11, no. 1 (2011): 1–23.

[6] Deepshikha Shahi and Gennaro Ascione, "Rethinking the Absence of post–Western International Relations Theory in India: 'Advaitic Monism' as an Alternative Epistemological Resource," *European Journal of International Relations* 22, no. 2 (2016): 313–34.

[7] Andrei P. Tsygankov and Pavel A. Tsygankov, "A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory: A Case of Russian Liberal IR," *International Political Sociology* 1, no. 4 (2007): 308.

[8] Qin Yaqing, "Why is there no Chinese International Relations Theory?," *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7, no. 2 (2007): 313–40; Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India"; Tsygankov and Tsygankov, "A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory"; Ersel Aydınlı and Julie Mathews, "Periphery Theorising for a Truly Internationalized Discipline: Spinning IR Theory out of Anatolia," *Review of International Studies* 34 (2008): 693–712.

[9] Muthiah Alagappa, "International Relations Studies in Asia: Distinctive Trajectories," *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 11, no. 2 (2011): 193–230; Takashi Inoguchi, "Are there any Theories of International Relations Theories in Japan," *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7, no. 3 (2007): 369–90.

[10] Jesse Dillon Savage, "The Stability and Breakdown of Empire: European Informal Empire in China, Ottoman Empire and Egypt," *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 2 (2010): 161–85.

[11] Although Homi Bhabha uses mimicry generally to explain the colonized non–white peoples' relations with the Western colonizer (Homi Bahabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 1994)), I argue that *informally colonized* states that are the inheritors of former empires (such as the Peoples Republic of China and the Republic of Turkey as well as the Russian Federation and the Islamic Republic of Iran) should be handled differently from the *formal colonies*, as I discuss below.

they chose for much of their history to resist interaction with Western powers,[12] and thus their eventual encounter with those Western powers has been particularly traumatic. For the Ottoman Empire I assume one of the most important factors that intensified the effects of trauma was their status deprivation from being an empire that was "knocking on the doors of Vienna" to becoming "the sick man of Europe" in relation to Western states.

Of course one can reasonably ask, given the considerable time gap between the development of IR as a discipline and these empires' traumatic encounters with the West, how could one attempt to explain the silence of NWIRT with the effects of this trauma? I want to draw attention to the idea that historical traumas were experienced collectively by the societies and that their effects are long term since they were transferred to "descendants who did not personally experience the rupture of traumatic events" through intergenerational transmission mechanisms.[13] Certain new developments can also contribute to the revival of these collective traumas on a small scale. For instance, after the flux of Turkish labor to the Federal Republic of Germany following the signing of the temporary labor recruitment agreement in October 1961, *historical narratives of barbarism and civilization* as well as those of the so-called Islamic "Orient" and its place in Europe[14] were revived, as were the effects of the trauma. Therefore, despite the considerable time gap, the effects of the traumas of Qing China and the Ottoman Empire have lasted, as evidenced by China's official description of their early encounter with western powers *still* as 'a century of humiliation,' and the definition of those Western powers in the Turkish national anthem as 'a monster with one tooth'.

In fact, I argue, the European great powers experienced a similar status of deprivation in relation to the U.S. due to the power transition from the European states to the U.S. after the two World Wars. In this case however, the cracks of intra-civilizational rivalry and conflict of interest between them were to a large extent papered over during the Cold War due to the Soviet threat, which brought them together under the same security roof. However after the Cold War, especially due to the U.S.' unilateral policies following the September 11 attacks, Christopher Layne argues that West Europeans started to perceive "U.S. hegemony as a greater threat than U.S. preponderance during the Cold War".[15] He defines "leash-slipping" as a new form of counterbalancing, in which states try to maximize their ability to conduct an independent foreign policy in relation to a hegemonic state, rather than fear being attacked by it. He further argues that European great powers have employed three *leash-slipping* counter balancing moves against U.S. hegemony: Britain's attempt to create a "third force," between 1945–48; French counterbalancing under De Gaulle; and the European Union's Security and Defense Policy.[16] Along that same line, I would point out that some critical European schools, such as the English School, Critical theory (German), and Structural theory and Postmodernism (French) were attempts to intellectually balance against the American hegemony over IRT. Similar to external and internal balancing within

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[12] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 27.

[13] Carol A. Kidron, "Surviving a Distant Past: A Case Study of the Cultural Construction of Trauma Descendant Identity," *Ethos* 3, no. 4 (2004): 516.

[14] Leslie A. Adelson, "Touching Tales of Turks, Germans, and Jews: Cultural Alterity, Historical Narrative, and Literary Riddles for the 1990s," *New German Critique* 80, Special Issue on the Holocaust, (2000): 96–8.

[15] Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment," *International Security* 31, no. 2 (2006): 23.

[16] Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited," 9–10, 30–6.

hard balance of power, intellectual balancing, I argue, as a kind of soft balancing can be done either personally (internally) or externally (in an alliance with other countries' intellectuals) against the *intellectual block* of the other side. Therefore, I state that edited books or special issues on the absence of NWIRT not only promote the rise of NWIRT but also reflect the search for intellectual alliances through NWIRT, in particular Asian, and above all Chinese, to intellectually balance against the American hegemony.

In the conclusion section, I attribute the surfacing of NWIRT discussions in recent decades to, on the one hand, the promotion of NWIRT by some European schools of IR as an attempt to *intellectually balance* against the hegemony of American mainstream in an *intellectual alliance* with NWIRT, and on the other hand, to the revival of self confidence in the residuals of former empires.

This self confidence, I maintain, is reflected first in the fifth phase of 'the revolt against the West,'[17] which Hedley Bull called a struggle for "cultural liberation" to "throw off intellectual or cultural ascendancy of the Western world so as to assert their own identity and autonomy in matters of the spirit".[18] Bull went on to say that although "the revolt against Western dominance in relation to the four earlier themes has been conducted, at least ostensibly in the names of ideas or values that are themselves Western" the reassertion by Asian, African, and other non-Western peoples of their traditional and indigenous cultures has changed the nature of the revolt against the West:

> In marking their demands for equal rights on behalf of oppressed states, nations, races, or cultures, the leaders of the Third World spoke as suppliants, in a world in which the Western powers were still in a dominant position. The demands that they made had necessarily to be put forward in terms of charters of rights ...on which Western powers were the principal authors... But as Asian, African, and other non-Western peoples have become stronger relative to the Western powers, they have become freer to adopt a different rhetoric that sets Western values aside, or at all events places different interpretations upon them.[19]

As a conclusion, however, I maintain that in searching for a non-hegemonic or a less hegemonic discipline we do not have to make a choice between universal vs. exceptionalist or systemic vs. subsystemic IRT, instead we can attempt to bring the systemic, the semi-systemic and the sub-systemic elements together.

2. Discussions on the Absence of NWIRT in IR Literature

Qin Yaqing, despite the long intellectual tradition of the discipline of IR in China and its attraction, finds the nonexistence of a major IRT construction in China puzzling, and presents three factors to help explain this puzzle: the dominance of Western IRT at the systemic level; the lack of awareness of "international-ness" at the local level; and the absence of "a theoretical hard core".[20] In addition to local factors such as Indian IR studies' disciplinary location[21]

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[17] For, as it is well known in the long adventure of 'the revolt against the West', *cultural revolt* or protest against all forms of Western cultural imperialism is the last station following *legal revolt* against the West for equal sovereignty, *political revolt* to demand freedom from colonial domination, *racial revolt* to abolish slavery, and *economic revolt* against Western–dominated global commercial and financial systems. Hedley Bull, "The Revolt Against the West," in *The Expansion of International Society*, ed. Hedley Bull and Adam Watson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 217–19. Although the "revolt against the West" was not initially a civilisational one, especially after the fifth phase it turned into one thanks to the returning of self confidence, largely as a result of the new economic strength which the non–Western countries gained.

[18] Bull, "The Revolt Against the West," 223.

[19] Bull, "The Revolt Against the West," 223–24.

[20] Yaqing, "Why is there no Chinese International Relations Theory?," 322.

[21] Referring to IR being the product of conceptual conflation of Area Studies and disciplinary oriented IR, which results in the weakening of IR. Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 342–43.

and pedagogical issues,[22] Navnita Chadha Behera[23] attributes the poor conceptualization of Indian IR mainly to the Gramscian hegemony which Western IRT has acquired over the epistemological foundations of the disciplinary core of Indian IRT. Although Takashi Inoguchi defines Japan as a great power and argues that "great powers often produce theories of IR," he explains the absence of Japanese IR theorization through Japan's embeddedness within the global governance system run by the sole superpower and "the relatively weak tradition of positivistic hypothesis testing in social science and the relatively strong tradition of describing details".[24] Aydınlı and Mathews explain this situation at the structural level through the global division of labor between the core, which creates the theories and controls the agenda, and the periphery, which is on the receiving end of this division and has thus been reduced to the weak and subordinated partner.[25] Arlene B. Tickner also explains the absence of NWIRT at the structural level with center-periphery relations and her pessimism about IR thinking in the periphery is the result of the existence of weak incentives to engage in theory-building at the local level.[26] This is, on the one hand, due to many Latin American IR specialists' engagement with real-world problems *making theory a useless luxury* and, on the other hand, due to a sense of prestige being dependent on one's contribution to the policy world rather than dealing with theory. Pınar Bilgin makes similar observations about the absence of non-Western security studies that are also relevant for NWIRT.[27] She remarks that, occupied with state-building, many non-Western elites have embraced the "standard" notion of security which is state-centric and national security-oriented, and have utilized it in building national security states. She also draws attention to how the Western-centric character of the discipline coincided with the modernization and/or Westernization projects of elites in various parts of the world.[28]

However, Alagappa, Inoguchi and Mallavarapu conclude that theory has not been totally absent from IR in, respectively, Asia, Japan and India, but that only theories with a positivist methodology or formal theorizing have been absent.[29] Mallavarapu, similar to Bilgin and Tickner, explains the absence of *formal* theorizing in India with "the institutional settings that privilege policy work, a formative expectation that the role of social sciences including IR scholarship is to assist in the task of nation-building," and a "lack of familiarity, absence of a professional community of IR scholars, and the belief that theorizing is remote, irrelevant, and complicit with the imperial project".[30] Alagappa, to explain the underdevelopment of *formal* IRT, notes four differences between Western and Asian IR communities. Similar to Aydınlı

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[22] Referring to 1) the late introduction of IR as a separate discipline at the M. Phil and Ph.D. levels only; 2) the lack of funds and infrastructure; 3) the absence of a well–knit community of Indian IR scholars who cumulatively tried to build a coherent edifice of work related to key IR disciplinary concerns and problems; and 4) the limitedness of career opportunities due to heavy workload, leaving little time for research. Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 343–44.

[23] Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 341.

[24] Inoguchi, "Are there any Theories of International Relations in Japan," 370.

[25] Aydınlı and Mathews, "Periphery Theorizing for a Truly Internationalized Discipline: Spinning IR Theory out of Anatolia," 694.

[26] Arlene B. Tickner, "Latin American IR and the Primacy of *lo práctico*," *International Studies Review* 10, no. 4 (2008): 735–48.

[27] Pınar Bilgin, "The 'Western–Centrism' of Security Studies: 'Blind Spot' or Constitutive Practice?," *Security Dialogue* 41, no. 6 (2010): 615–22.

[28] Bilgin, "The 'Western–Centrism'," 618.

[29] Alagappa, "International Relations Studies in Asia," 221; Inoguchi, "Are there any Theories of International Relations in Japan," 383; Siddharth Mallavarapu, "Development of International Relations Theory in India: Traditions, Contemporary Perspectives and Trajectories," *International Studies* 46, no. 1–2 (2009): 165–83, cited in Alagappa, "International Relations Studies in Asia," 221.

[30] Mallavarapu, "Development of International Relations Theory in India," 221.

and Mathews, he, firstly, points to center-periphery relations in the IR discipline, defining IR as "essentially a Western enterprise" in which "Asia matter[s] only on the margins," however he argues that "the rise of Asian countries and the emergence of Asia as a core world region with the potential to become the central world region have altered this situation". Secondly, he draws attention to the distinctive trajectories of Western and NWIR studies: While in the US and Europe the stimulation behind IR studies was to prevent the occurrence of great wars through legal-institutional means, in China, Japan, and India, IR studies were inaugurated to protect their newfound sovereignty and to consolidate their statehood in a world still dominated by Western powers. Thirdly, he refers to the extensiveness of state domination of public spheres in China, India, and Japan to explain these distinctive trajectories.[31] And lastly, he points to the predominantly practical orientation of IRS in Asia to develop suitable policy responses.[32]

Acharya and Buzan attempt to explain the absence of NWIRT through cultural, political and institutional factors.[33] In terms of a *strong cultural explanation* for the absence of NWIRT, they do not argue that "theory is a western way of doing things with others more inclined …….. [to study] local affairs" rather, they accept that being native speaker of English or living in a county where English is almost universally spoken may explain its absence. They further argue that *a weaker version of the cultural explanation* would be that theory, especially universal theory, is a luxury for societies struggling with pressing problems of development and that, by necessity, therefore focus on short-term local problem-solving. As a *political factor,* they argue that, "democracy is more of a necessary condition than a sufficient one" since "in the West, IRT has flourished most successfully in democracies". According to them, the third condition that may hinder the development of IRT is *institutional factors,* which refer to resourcing, workloads, career structures, and the intellectual ethos of those who might be expected to develop IRT. Acharya and Buzan in their later studies on NWIRT discuss five hypotheses for the absence of NWIRT: 1) the success of Western IR theory; 2) the hegemonic standing of Western IRT; 3) the hidden existence of NWIRT; 4) local conditions such as a paucity of institutions, journals, research cultures, career incentives, research resources, and training facilities; and 5) the West's head start.[34]

In contrast to Acharya and Buzan, I argue that, in the modern era, "theory is a Western way of doing things,"[35] yet, it is a matter of a *feeling of superiority* of Western experience and ways over others, more than a matter of culture. When their criteria for a work to be counted as a contribution to IRT (that it be acknowledged by others as being theory, that it be self-identified by its creators as being IRT, that its construction identifies it as a systematic attempt to abstract or generalize about the subject matter of IR[36]) is taken into consideration, it is clear that theory construction requires self-confidence in what you represent. In other words, since one of the most basic functions of a theory is to provide a cognitive map or a mental model

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[31] Similarly, Makarychev and Morozov explain the absence of 'non–core' theory by arguing that ideological pressure on the social sciences in the Soviet Union put the middle–aged generation of Russian IR scholars in a comparative disadvantage vis–a–vis their Western colleagues. They also point out the difficulty of integrating into the international academic community overnight. Andrey Makarychev and Viatcheslav Morozov, "Is 'Non–Western Theory' Possible? The Idea of Multipolarity and the Trap of Epistemological Relativism in Russian IR," *International Studies Review* 15, no. 3 (2013): 332–33.

[32] Alagappa, "International Relations Studies in Asia," 195–97.

[33] Acharya and Buzan, "Why is There No Non–Western International Relations Theory? An Introduction," 297–98.

[34] Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, *Non–Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives On and Beyond Asia* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 222–25.

[35] Acharya and Buzan, "Why is There No Non–Western International Relations Theory? An Introduction," 298.

[36] Acharya and Buzan, *Non–Western International Relations Theory,* 292.

for others that can be acknowledged *by them* as being theory, the absence of self-confidence would mean that let alone trying to construct theory, non-western intellectuals may even avoid seeing the intellectual need for doing so. As demonstrated by the parallelism between China's rise—resulting in regaining self-confidence—and the increasing efforts to construct Chinese perspectives in IRT, the efforts to develop NWIRT are more related to the overlap between intellectual motivations and maturation of political conditions.

Moreover, although I accept English as a linguistic barrier in non-English speaking countries, I claim that being a non-native English speaker can only partially explain why non-Western intellectuals' articles or books have been *generally* circulating less in the IR literature than those of Western intellectuals who are either native speakers of English or live in countries where English is almost universally spoken, yet it cannot *specifically* explain the absence of NWIRT production. Therefore I attribute the positive correlation that Acharya and Buzan observed between speaking English and flourishing of IRT to another factor, which I call *intellectual soft balancing* towards the United States. Given the fact that critical IRT has been articulated by Robert Cox (Canadian), Andrew Linklater (British), Richard Devetak (Australian), and critical security studies by Ken Booth (British), Richard Wyn Jones (British), Barry Buzan (British) and Ole Waever (Danish) who are either native speakers of English or live in countries where English is almost universally spoken, my argument sounds elucidative. In other words, rather than defining the West as a monolithic ideological block, I define it not only as internally fragmented but also composed of ideologically disputing parts that attempt to balance each other intellectually. Moreover, I argue that intellectuals that promote NWIRT, in particular NWIRT out of Asia and above all China, are potential allies against American hegemony over the discipline.

I find the weaker version of the cultural explanation, made by Acharya and Buzan, to be more reasonable; especially when problems related to nation-building are considered, it appears more compatible with explanations made by other scholars.[37] I also acknowledge the importance of the political factor that they underscored, however, for me the political factor, more than democracy, refers to a government's readiness for a theory that is not only compatible with national interests but also constructed from an authentic perspective.

Acharya's and Buzan's assumption that "foreign hegemony could be to induce in the local cultures a kind of radical demoralization and loss of confidence"[38] to explain the absence of NWIRT is quite similar to what I call the *trauma* that intellectuals of once-supreme cultures have experienced, in other words, a sense of status deprivation and loss of self-confidence following their encounter with the West, at a time when they still deemed themselves to be superior in many respects.

Hence, I attribute the surfacing of NWIRT discussions in the last decades primarily to the maturation of *an internal condition,* that is, the revival of self-confidence in the residuals of former empires due to their regaining of rising power status, resulting in a new phase of the "revolt against the West." On the other hand, I believe that the rise of NWIRT discussions are also related to the ripening of *an external condition*. In this case, due to the disturbance created by the American hegemony within the IR discipline, some European schools of IR (the

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[37] Mohammed Ayoob, "Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism," *International Studies Review* 4, no. 3 (2002): 27–48; Mohammed Ayoob, "Challenging Hegemony: Political Islam and the North–South Divide," *International Studies Review* 9, no. 4 (2007) 629–43; Tickner, and Tsygankov, "A Sociology of Dependence," 665; Bilgin, "The 'Western–Centrism' of Security Studies," 618; Alagappa, "International Relations Studies in Asia," 195.

[38] Acharya and Buzan, *Non–Western International Relations Theory*, 297.

English school, critical perspectives) have been trying to *intellectually balance* against the United States, and this balancing has reached its zenith with the publication of edited books and special issues on NWIRT as a potential ally. In short, the main argument of this article is that there have been at least three barriers blocking NWIR theorization: an intellectual one (the traumatizing effects of imposing the standard of civilization); an ideational/conceptual one (the dominance of Western concepts and contexts); and a scientific one (the standard of knowledge). These barriers have been established at the intersection of formal and informal colonization practices and the power-knowledge strategies of the West, which resulted in a recessive self-perception and what I call *institutional camouflage* strategies.

To show the traumatic effects of the encounter with the West, the next section turns to the cases of Qing China and the Ottoman Empire in order to explore the trauma of intellectuals in countries even only informally colonized.

3. Intellectual Barriers: Traumatization of Non-Western Intellectuals with the Imposition of 'The Standard of Civilization'

According to Acharya and Buzan, the *historical trauma* of World War I and World War II filled Western civilization with fear of the end of their own civilization and this fright eventually resulted in the growing need for a better understanding of peace and war around which the field of IR was institutionalized. They write that "if historical trauma is a necessary midwife for the birth of IR theory, then the experience of Western domination and decolonization should have been more than adequate to serve".[39] I, however, argue that the nature of the historical trauma that Western societies had gone through and that non-Western societies have experienced is quite dissimilar and they each responded differently to their respective traumas. Firstly, the former's trauma was caused by intra-civilizational war whereas the latter's was introduced by another civilization which brought about not only military defeat but also psychological breakdown. Nora Fisher Onar also held that while the capitals, national identities and nation-states of Western European Empires were consolidated before or during the imperial enterprise, meaning that the loss of empire was not deeply disruptive to their core identity and institutions, for (Eur)Asian empires such as Turkey, China, Iran, and Russia, the process of imperial collapse was deeply traumatic as they declined over the course of extended encounters with Western nation-state empires whose military primacy, social and political organization, and capitalist mode of production compelled the pre-national (Eur) Asian empires to reconfigure their *identity and institutions*.[40]

I argue that both the discourses of modern vs. pre-modern, developed vs. undeveloped, civilized vs. barbarian, liberal vs. non-liberal, and the practices of imposing international law, capitulations, unequal treaty regimes and extraterritorial implementations as the standard of civilization (SOC) served to construct Western civilization as the superior one and to justify its direct or indirect imperial activities in non-Western countries, turning the encounter with Western civilization into a traumatic one. I also contend that this traumatic encounter not only divided these societies into three *ideal typical* categories of traditionalists, Westernists and synthesists[41] that contradict one another regarding the method to be applied to ride out

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[39] Acharya and Buzan, "Why is there no non–Western International Relations Theory?," 297.

[40] Nora Fisher Onar, "Historical Legacies in Rising Powers: Toward a (Eur)Asian Approach," *Critical Asian Studies* 45, no. 3 (2013): 413–15.

[41] Similar to Martin Wight (*International Theory: The Three Traditions*, ed. Gabriele Wight and Brien Porter (Leicester and London: Leicester University Press, 1991)) who rejected the idea that three traditions are "like pigeon holes," I accept that there

the Western storm, but also led to identity reconstruction and state transformation in these societies following 1) technological, 2) institutional, and 3) cultural reforms. According to my ideal typical classification, traditionalists were anti-Westernist and, to a large extent, anti-modernist since they explained the deprivation of status in relation to the Western powers or defeat by them substantially with the estrangement from authentic values, and therefore they offered to rediscover authentic values as a solution. Westernists, on the other hand, attributed the traumatic encounter with the West to being out of touch with developments or inability of keeping up with the pace of change, so they were both pro-Westernist and pro-modernist. They supported technological, institutional and cultural reforms and especially emphasized the need for a cultural revolution to realize the first two. Synthesists adopted an in-between strategy to cope with the trauma and that is why they were anti-Westernist but not generally anti-modernist. They endorsed technological/military reforms and to some extent institutional reforms, yet, they were certainly against extensive cultural reforms.

As Westernists and traditionalists expended considerable amounts of energy on fighting each other over different solutions they created to cope with the Western challenge, some scholars have defined these countries as 'torn' between traditionalists and Westernists.[42] I infer that while Western countries learned to benefit from their civilization's various sources, non-Western countries ended up with a "broken genealogy of intellectual culture,"[43] and lost their self-confidence significantly, therefore imitation of the powerful was embraced by them as a survival strategy.

The analysis of Klebleyev, inspired by DiMagio and Powell, is helpful in comprehending the rationality behind the imitation of the powerful: [44]

> Isomorphic mimicry is a biological term that signifies a process in which one organism imitates the other in order to gain evolutionary advantage. Similarly, organizations or even whole countries could choose to imitate the *outer appearance* of mainstream PA [Public Administration] systems driven by the desire to secure legitimacy, pressured to conform to institutional structures of the more powerful countries and giving-in to the normative influences of professional associations.[45] (emphasis added)

He also argues that while the drive for *competitive isomorphism* to a large extent has been a *voluntary act* to be able to compete with the technological superiority of the West, *institutional isomorphism* is the result of three *necessities*: "the desire to gain legitimacy (coercive isomorphism), dealing with uncertainty (mimetic processes), and responding to the normative pressures exerted through formal education and professional networks".[46] I reconceptualize "institutional isomorphisms" as *institutional camouflage* resembling Acharya and Buzan's statement that "East Asia may be dressed up in Westphalian costume, but not

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exists variability within traditions and I use three traditions just for analytical simplification. Tsygankov and Tsygankov also define three ideologies of 19th century Russia as Westernists, Statists, and Civilizationists which have been reincarnated in the post–Soviet context as, respectively, Liberals, Realists and Cultural Essentialists or Constructivists. Andrei Tsygankov and P. Tsygankov, "National Ideology and IR Theory: Three Incarnations of the 'Russian Idea'," 678. Onar similarly defines three responses that were developed from Istanbul to Beijing for "the challenge posed by European–cum–Western modernity":"Eurocentrism (e.g., will to (Western) civilization; negation of Asiatic "backwardness"); Occidentalism (e.g., condemnation of Western decadence; lauding of Asian virtue); and multiple modernities of (e.g., hybrid—and commodified—"Western" and "Asian" motifs)". Onar, "Historical Legacies in Rising Powers," 419–21.

[42] Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Scuster, 1996.)

[43] Yaqing, "Why is there no Chinese International Relations Theory?" 324.

[44] P.J. DiMagio and W.W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48, no. 2 (1983): 147–60.

[45] Klebleyev, "Islamic Legacy beyond Islam," 144.

[46] Klebleyev, "Islamic Legacy beyond Islam," 148.

performing a Westphalian play".[47]

Although Homi Bhabha's chapter on "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse" is well known in the colonial literature, he uses *mimicry* generally to explain the colonized non-white peoples' relations with the Western colonizer. Instead of Fanon's 'turn white or disappear', he draws attention to "the more ambivalent, third choice: camouflage, mimicry, *black skins/white masks,*"[48] and to explain the relation between camouflage and mimicry he refers to Lacan:

> The effect of *mimicry is camouflage*, in the strictly technical sense. It is not a question of harmonizing with the background but, against a mottled background, of being mottled - exactly like the technique of camouflage practised in human warfare. (emphasis is mine)[49]

However, as I note, *informally colonized* states that are the inheritors of former empires (such as the Peoples Republic of China, the Republic of Turkey, as well as the Russian Federation and the Islamic Republic of Iran) should be handled differently from *formal colonies*, because although these countries' encounters with the West were also traumatic since they experienced a status deprivation in relation to Western great powers and their self-esteem got wounded, they have resorted to mimicry as a camouflage strategy only to gain time to close the technological and economic development gap for the (re)establishment and survival of their states. Their official aims, however, in their relations with the West can be summarized as "surpassing the level of contemporary civilization" rather than only catching up with it. Actually, both China's and Turkey's development objectives for the 100th anniversary of the establishment of their Republics respectively in 2049 and in 2023 can be read as the reflection of this *strategy of mimicry as a camouflage,* that aims at surpassing the standards of Western civilisation that were imposed upon them.

If I turn back to analyses of Klebleyev, the first drive for institutional isomorphism is *to gain legitimacy* in the eyes of Western powers which impose formal and informal pressures on non-Western countries to ensure their conformity. It can be argued that since the challenges posed by Western civilization had military, socio-political and cultural aspects, the reforms made by Qing China and the late Ottoman Empire also follow this sequence:

> [Q]ing China, Siam, and the Ottoman Empire…each underwent a process of state transformation: a mixture of deliberate reforms and ad hoc responses to necessities created by foreign threats and internal administrative, economic, and military problems. Each restructured its military and imported modern European weaponry, … Each gradually instituted reforms to make its central government more nearly fit European categories and expectations: the Ottomans in the 1860s and 1870s, Siam in the 1880s and 1890s, and Qing China during the post-Boxer reforms.[50]

In other words, 'the loose pattern of the progression' of the reforms made by Qing China and the late Ottoman Empire, beginning with self-strengthening military reforms, followed by much more systematic efforts of legal reforms and adaptation to European patterns of government reaching their zenith with cultural reforms,[51] reflects their preoccupation with gaining legitimacy in the eyes of Western states, given the SOC imposed by them.

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[47] Acharya and Buzan, "Why is There No Non–Western International Relations Theory?," 291.
[48] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 120.
[49] Cited in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 120–21.
[50] Richard H. Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation in China, Siam, and the Ottoman Empire during the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 4 (2005): 445–86.
[51] Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation," 458–59.

The SOC requires that non-Western countries treat Western citizens according to Western legal standards and that non-Western countries become 'civilized' in order to join the international society of states. To be a member of the 'Westphalian civilization,' non-Western countries had to:

> (1) guarantee basic rights, as understood in the West, for foreign nationals; (2) have an organized political bureaucracy with the capacity to run governmental functions and organize the country for self-defense; (3) have a Western-style domestic system of law, with courts and written codes of law…; (4) have diplomatic resources and institutions to allow the state to engage in international relations; (5) abide by international law; (6) conform to the customs, norms, and mores accepted in Western societies.[52]

In other words, the SOC was assuming a new hierarchy of states among the civilized, the barbarous, and the savage ones and it was supposed that international law applied fully only to the first in the list.[53] Surely, the hierarchy in international relations was not invented by Western civilization. Qing China and the Ottoman Empire also maintained their own hierarchical relations based on their own values, and as far as they remained strong enough in the face of European states, they resisted accepting a new hierarchy other than their own.

As Andrew Phillips argues, Mughal India and Manchu China, along with the Europeans, resorted to civilizing missions to legitimize their military superiority, however while Mughal and Manchu civilizing missions were "processes of cultural synthesis and hybridization," European civilizing missions were "a mere exercise in one-way cultural imperialism".[54] He further defines six characteristics that are truly distinctive about the classical Western civilizational standard that prevailed in the 19th and early 20th centuries:

> 1) Unstable pairing of sovereign equality alongside imperial hierarchy…, 2) the contradictory coexistence of rights-based moral universalism with ideas of racial supremacy…, 3) anchoring of civilizing missions within positive international law…, 4) the obsession with standardization and proselytisation over customization and cultural bricolage…, 5) the West's pervasive stress on technology as a marker of civilisational supremacy…, 6) unusual exclusivis(m) compared to its historical predecessors.[55]

These are reflections of the all-pervasive character of Western dominance that Hedley Bull in his famous chapter on "Revolt against the West" also similarly defines in terms of their economic and military superiority, their commanding intellectual and cultural authority as well as establishing the rules and institutions of international society that were in substantial measure made *for* them. He further argues that although, around the year 1900, Western impact on the world was in many respects less far-reaching than it has since become, the dominance of the European and Western powers expressed a sense of self-assurance, both about the durability of their position in international society and about its moral purpose. He states that even in non- Western societies the ascendancy of the West was widely regarded as something which couldn't or shouldn't be changed.[56]

Barry Buzan also remarks on "the emergence of a new colonial regime" in the middle of the 19th century that led "the European states [to begin remaking] the colonies in their

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[52] David P. Fidler, "The Return of the Standard of Civilization," *Chicago Journal of International Law* 2, no. 1 (2001): 141.

[53] Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation," 453–54.

[54] Andrew Phillips, "Civilizing Missions and the Rise of International Hierarchies in Early Modern Asia," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 42, no. 3 (2014): 714.

[55] Phillips, "Civilizing Missions and the Rise of International Hierarchies," 715–16.

[56] Bull, "The Revolt Against the West," 217–19.

own image". And he associates this new colonial regime, on the one hand, with "the contemporaneous move from universal natural law to the adoption of positivist law," and on the other hand, with "the general take-off of modernity" that "opened up a huge power gap between a mainly European core and a mainly non-Western periphery and transformed the *raison de système"*.[57]

Hence, as Europeans became stronger, both the Ottoman Empire and Qing China felt more obliged to accede to European standards. At the implementation of the SOC, capitulations[58] were one of the primary tools employed by Western countries.[59] Although, initially, the capitulations were voluntarily bestowed by the Ottoman Sultans familiar with plural legal systems, after they began being supplemented by a treaty system in the 1830s and 1840s, these voluntarily bestowed capitulations turned into an obligation. By 1860, similar *unequal treaty arrangements* were also concluded with the Qing Dynasty, with the treaties signed between 1842 and 1860 that established extraterritoriality and related arrangements until the mid-twentieth century.[60] Therefore, one can infer that Qing China and the late Ottoman Empire were coerced by European countries to promote international trade with themselves through *unequal treaty relations*.[61] With the Anglo-Ottoman commercial treaty of Balta Limanı signed in 1838, the Ottomans conceded what amounted to free trade. The Ottomans also agreed to the abolition of all monopolies.[62] There were other developments –the law regarding foreigners' right to purchase properties in Ottoman lands (1858), the sea trade agreement (1864), and the regulations about trade courts and jurisdictions (1862) – in the period between the Islahat Fermanı and the first constitution of 1876, which opened the Ottoman political, economic, and social space even further to European influence.[63] After the Opium Wars (1839-42), a trade agreement similar to Balta Limanı was forcibly signed between China and Britain, which reopened opium imports, abolished the monopoly of the foreign trade guild known as the Cohong, and sought to bring customs rates under control.[64] The Second Opium War strengthened the enforcement of a free trade regime in the late 1850s and, subsequently, the Imperial Maritime Customs Service institutionalized the free-trade element of the treaty system within the Qing state itself.[65]

However, the most direct impact on both the Ottoman and Qing states came from *foreign debts*.[66] In 1881, an agreement between the Sublime Porte and foreign creditors created the Public Debts Administration (Duyun-u Umumiye). It was foreign controlled and foreign run, controlled the major portions, arguably "27 percent of Ottoman revenue,"[67] and constituted

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[57] Barry Buzan, *An Introduction to the English School of IR* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), 64.

[58] The capitulations were agreements between various states and the Ottoman Empire that codified the conditions and arrangements that allowed foreign merchants to live and operate in the Ottoman Empire. Savage, "The Stability and Breakdown of Empire," 173.

[59] Fidler, "The Return of the Standard of Civilization," 142.

[60] Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation," 459, 461.

[61] Although treaties were technically agreements between equal and consenting states, as they travelled eastward they became unequal in several aspects: "They were forced at gunpoint; they expressed the economic and political interests of Britain and other powers; and key provisions, including extraterritoriality and restrictions on tariffs on foreign trade, were not reciprocal," Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation," 455.

[62] Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation," 470.

[63] Ersel Aydınlı, "The Turkish Pendulum between Globalization and Security: From the Late Ottoman Era to the 1930s," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 3 (2004): 107.

[64] Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation," 470; Ahmet Emre Biber, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun dünya sistemine eklemlenme süreci ve azgelişmişliğin evrimi," *Uluslararası* İnsan *Bilimleri Dergisi* 6, no. 1 (2009): 32.

[65] Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation," 470.

[66] Between 1854 and 1875 during the heyday of the reforms the Ottomans had take 16 times foreign dept. Biber, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Dünya Sistemine Eklemlenme Süreci," 37.

[67] M. S. Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), cited in

an enormous incursion on Ottoman sovereignty.[68] Similarly in China, foreign debt became a serious problem after 1895, due to the enormous indemnity from the war with Japan. After the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1912, Yuan Shikai's government contracted the infamous Reorganization Loan, similar to Duyun-u Umumiye, which conceded the salt monopoly to a foreign administration.[69]

The second motivation behind institutional isomorphism, according to Klebleyev, has been 'mimicry', which is described as "when dealing with ambiguous goals or an uncertain environment, organizations often choose to model other successful organizations instead of creating their own solutions".[70] In other words, under uncertain conditions (especially when self-confidence is lost), intellectuals may also prefer to imitate successful models instead of creating new ones by taking a risk. I contend that imitation as a survival strategy has locked non-Western intellectuals into 'the theory-learning phase'[71] for a long time (certainly not forever as one can observe from the growing discussions in the literature) in which intellectuals focus on introducing, testing and critically analyzing major Western theories rather than developing non-Western theories or studying from pre-theoretical local resources.

The third motivation behind institutional isomorphism, asserted by Klebleyev, is the normative influence of formal education and professional networks, which refer to the employment of civil servants and government officials who are socialized solely with Western-centric education in government positions in numerous non-Western countries. Certainly, even behind this Western-centrism lies the survival reflex in a world where Western values are dominant.[72] On the other hand, Savage explains the *accommodative elite attitude* towards informal empire through *benefits* the elites receive and *necessities* imposed by a decentralized political system. Savage indicates that, despite the existence of certain compelling disincentives such as loss of autonomy and potential exploitation, Empire allows for beneficial economic flows from the core through international trade, which enables well-situated peripheral actors to capture rents or gain financing and technology transfer that can also be used in conflicts with other domestic actors.[73] His analyses about the effects of elite preferences on the continuation of informal empire are compatible with Bilgin, who attempts to explain "the dynamics behind the persistence of mainstream security studies outside the 'West'". She remarks that many non-Western elites have embraced the Western 'standard' notion of security to utilize it in building national security states which is a part of their Westernization projects.[74]

I infer that the imposition of the SOC by Western powers as an instrument of coercive isomorphism resulted in *learned exhaustion* to not create something new which can be disruptive to the harmony with the West and, therefore, cause the delegitimization of the development processes. The efforts of developing nations to copy Western administrative practices and the level of mimicking everything European, including looking 'modern,' showcases the energy expended on securing the legitimacy and recognition of European powers, as well as, the access to funds by non-Western countries.[75]

Savage, "The Stability and Breakdown of Empire," 162.

[68] Biber, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Dünya Sistemine Eklemlenme Süreci," 36–8, Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation," 473.

[69] Horowitz, "International Law and State Transformation," 473–74.

[70] Klebleyev, "Islamic Legacy beyond Islam," 148.

[71] Yaqing, "Why is there no Chinese International Relations Theory?," 318.

[72] Klebleyev, "Islamic Legacy beyond Islam," 148.

[73] Savage, "The Stability and Breakdown of Empire," 168.

[74] Bilgin, "The 'Western–Centrism' of Security Studies," 618.

[75] Klebleyev, "Islamic Legacy beyond Islam," 148.

4. Conceptual/Ideational Barriers: The West's Power to Define Concepts and the Context of IR

Thomas Szasz declares that "In the animal kingdom, the rule is, eat or be eaten; in the human kingdom, define or be defined".[76] Similarly, Karl Deutsch defines power as "the priority of input over intake, the ability to talk instead of listen … the ability to afford not to learn".[77] Inspired by both Szasz and Deutsch, I reformulate the most quoted sentence of the Melian Dialogue as "the strong *define* what they can and the weak *consent* to what they must" and I suggest that who defines the concepts, also decides the context and the agenda of the literature.[78]

Therefore, mainstream IR perspectives have been blind to gender and economic inequalities, as well as to the questions of migration, the environment, human rights and cultural clashes, as the main focus stays on political and military inequalities.[79] Similarly, the traditional conceptualization of national security ties security to military strength and limits it with physical protection of the nation state from external threats. This partial definition of security is also blind to numerous real security threats, such as the satisfaction of basic material needs and lower life expectancy by virtue of one's place of birth.[80]

Another common defect of mainstream conceptualizations is overlooking the differences, either due to reducing 'the other' to threat or due to perceiving it as surmountable in a culturally homogenous global society, which led Tsygankov to complain:

> Much like modernization theory that historically assisted the state in justifying its colonial practices, theory of international relations offers no reciprocal engagement with the Other and merely expects the Other to follow the West's lead. Western IR theory allows little conceptual space for 'non-Western' theorists treating them as dependent subjects ('subalterns') and consumers of the already developed knowledge.[81]

In other words, at the roots of psychological restlessness of Non-Western intellectuals lies, in the words of Nandy, the West's "power to define,"[82] which gives even the privilege of defining the key problems of the Third World to Western scholars. Thus, Behera finds a significant correlation between the absence of NWIRT and the dependence of the Third World on the master narrative written by the West:

> The fact that nearly six decades later, many still characterize themselves as 'developing' countries shows how deeply the western definition of the third world has penetrated their collective psyche…[W]hy traditional IR in India has not, indeed, could not produce a non-western IR theory is because it has fought that intellectual battle on a turf chosen by the west, with tools designed and provided by the west and rules-of-game set by the west enforced, as they were, by not just its political and military might but more importantly, its all-pervasive discursive power.[83]

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[76] Cited in Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 360.

[77] K.W. Deutsch, *The Nerves of Government* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 111, cited in Klebleyev, "Islamic Legacy beyond Islam," 146.

[78] "The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."

[79] Smith, "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations," 82.

[80] J. Ann Tickner, "A Critique of Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism," in *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*, eds. Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis (New York: Longman, 2005), 21.

[81] Andrei P. Tsygankov, "Self and Other in International Relations Theory: Learning from Russian Civilizational Debates," *International Studies Review*10, no. 4 (2008): 763–64.

[82] Ashis Nandy, *The Savage Freud,* reprinted in *Nandy: Return From Exile* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), cited in Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 354.

[83] Nandy, *The Savage Freud,* 354.

That is why I stress that the *silence*[84] of NWIRT results primarily from 'mimicking the West' due to both the traumatic encounter with it and the "harmony of interest"[85] between the West as the center and Westernist elites as the periphery's centers. This harmony of interest is reflected in Westernist elites' enthusiasms for cultural accommodation with the West. For, during this *cultural imitation phase of modernization process*, European powers and Westernists in periphery nations agree upon disdain for people's values, cultures and beliefs supposing that these are significant obstacles to modernization. This results in viewing cultural heritages of non-Western countries as an impediment to modernization, while Western countries construct officially their history in a coherent and complementary progressive line from Ancient Greece to the Hellenic world, from Roman tradition to Christianity to modern times.

Ziauddin Sardar thus argues that non-Western cultures need to "define their own future in terms of their own categories and concepts and to articulate their visions in a language that is true to their own Self, even if not comprehensible 'on the other side of the global fence of academic respectability'".[86] Siddharth Mallavarapu also associates the question of post-Western IR theorization with the challenge of introducing new concepts and categories. He emphasizes the need to amalgamate various local approaches to overcome ethnocentrism in IR and to avoid a monolithic conception of IR emerging from one country only.[87] Likewise, Madina Tlostanova claims, "In order to overcome the persistent Orientalism –both coming from the West and the internal self-Orientalizing stance– it is necessary to de-colonize the thinking itself, to get rid of the absolute Western scholarly paradigms and myths…"[88]

5. Scientific Barriers: Power of Defining the Standard of Science

Smith states that mainstream IR defines the appropriate methods of how to study international relations in such a narrow way, "insisting on positivist assumptions," that it restricts understanding of other cultures and rationalities.[89] Alagappa, too, underlines that, despite challenges from contending theoretical perspectives, rationalism and positivism continue to dominate IR theory both in the United States and in Europe.[90] Tickner and Wæver also argue that the roots of American IR's hegemony lie in the "authority over decisions concerning what qualifies as theory".[91] Meshari Alruwaih, in a contribution to the discussion on methodology, further stresses that empirical epistemology and instrumentalism shield the 'pre-theory' and "tell us what to look at and what to look for, thus they organize and order our experience when observing IR. Equally important, they tell us what to ignore: human agency, belief systems, normative structure…"[92] Hence, according to the hegemonic *standard of*

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[84] Similarly Behera, in her analysis of Indian IR's silence towards Indian history, supports the idea that silence is an "adaptive response to domination" and attributes this silence to "Following the footsteps – metaphorically and substantively – of its "Master Creator" (read western IR)." "Re–imagining IR in India," 352.

[85] Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," *Journal of Peace Research* 8, no. 2 (1971): 81 –117.

[86] Ziauddin Sardar, "Introduction: The A, B, C, D (and E) of Ashis Nandy," in *Return from Exile:* Ashis Nandy (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998): 23 cited in Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 360.

[87] Siddharth Mallavarapu Theory Talks, 2014, http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital–Library/Articles/Detail?id=180583, cited in Shahi and Ascione, "Rethinking the Absence of post–Western International Relations Theory in India," 316.

[88] Madina Tlostanova, "The Janus–Faced Empire Distorting Orientalist Discourses: Gender, Race and Religion in the Russian/ (post)Soviet Constructions of the 'Orient'," cited in Makarychev and Morozov, "Is 'Non–Western Theory' Possible?," 334.

[89] Smith, "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations," 67.

[90] Alagappa, "International Relations Studies in Asia," 201.

[91] Arlene Tickner and Ole Wæver, "Conclusion: Worlding where the West once was," in Tickner and Wæver, *International Relations Scholarship*, 335.

[92] Meshari Alruwaih, "The Agency of the Muslim IR Researcher in Developing a Theory of Islamic Agency in International Relations," *Asia Politics and Policy* 7, no. 1 (2015): 47.

science, reflectivist theories, including the non-Western ones, either seem irrelevant to the concerns of the 'real' world, or even worse, are accused of not being part of the social science enterprise.[93] Behera, therefore, insists that the "West's assumed right to impart legitimacy on all knowledge systems, that is, determining which 'ways of creating knowledge; are legitimate and which are not…" needs to be questioned.[94] She names this standard of science as an 'epistemic violence' in reference to Spivak and complains about the silencing of Indian conceptualization of nationalism due to this standard.[95]

Alruwaih, to eliminate the scientific barrier, suggests that Muslim IR researchers "free [their] own agency and social activity of seeking knowledge from the foundational commitments that underline knowledge production in the western discipline of IR".[96] Shahi and Ascione, defining the aim of post-Western IR theory as "breaking epistemological imperialism in IR," note that "the transformation of the Eurocentric epistemological base of IR, without inadvertently generating a 'derivative discourse' of Western IR, requires an intellectual flight over rigid boundaries of Western scientism…"[97] Tsygankov also argues that in contrast to ethnocentric, or excessively pro-Western theories, to establish an IR discipline taking the Other seriously necessitates "committing to assumptions of the Other's equality to the Self in terms of defining parameters and boundaries of knowledge".[98] Therefore, since "there are lots of alien ways of producing knowledge," we should give ear to the "the wisdoms of other civilizations which are wonderfully and creatively 'unscientific'".[99]

6. Conclusion

Western centric mainstream IRT's perception of their theoretical constructions as standard models that can be applied in different contexts, and the considerable internalization of this perception especially by the Westernists in various countries as a strategy of isomorphism, can be reasonably defined as the main obstacle to the construction of NWIRT. In other words "the twin working of civilizational projects of colonialism and modernity …[which] reproduced and sustained each other"[100] indicates the cooperation between the West and the Westernist elites to construct the basic institutions of modernity, including the nation-state, science, and secularism, as well as the ideational structures of IRT, as universally acceptable ideal forms. But one of the most important motivations behind the imitation is, as I argued before, *institutional camouflage* for the (re)establishment and the survival of non-Western states after their traumatic encounter with the Western states. Therefore, discourses of "coming in tune with the 'spirit of the age'"[101] or "catching up with the level of contemporary civilization," significantly reflect the psychological restlessness stemming from, on the one hand, the perception of 'running behind' as a result of the internalization of the linear progressive paradigm in history, and on the other hand, the fear of engulfment by the great powers.

I also acknowledge the difficulty of constructing NWIRT arising from the fact that "Western IRT …. contain[s] a very wide range of approaches, which makes it quite difficult

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[93] Smith, "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations" 72.
[94] Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 360.
[95] Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 351.
[96] Alruwaih, "The Agency of the Muslim IR Researcher," 54.
[97] Shahi and Ascione, "Rethinking the Absence of Post–Western International Relations Theory in India," 314.
[98] Tsygankov, "Self and Other in International Relations Theory," 764.
[99] Amitav Acharya, "Dialogue and Discovery: In Search of International Relations Theories beyond the West," *Millennium: Journal of International Studie* 39, no. 3 (2011): 636.
[100] Nandy cited in Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 357.
[101] Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2004), cited in Behera, "Re–imagining IR in India," 352.

to outflank with something wholly new, especially so long as the brute fact of the Western style of international political economy continues to dominate real existing international relations".[102] However, since I explain the absence of NWIRT substantially with the loss of self-confidence due to the traumatic encounter with Western civilization and with isomorphic mimicking as a strategic response to the Western challenge, as self-confidence was regained and more courageous strategies were developed with the aid of restored power, one can reasonably expect that the efforts for non-Western theorizing may increase. Indeed, the rise of theory with Chinese characteristics[103] that I assume to be reflecting the rise of China and corresponding gain of self-confidence support this expectation. Therefore accelerating NWIRT discussions in the last decades, on the one hand, can be attributed to the revival of self confidence in the residuals of former empires thanks to the recovery of rising power status that resulted in a new *intellectual* "revolt against the West", on the other hand, can be attributed to some European schools of IR's attempts to *intellectually balance* against the hegemony of American mainstream via an *intellectual alliance* with NWIRT.

Nevertheless, similar to Tsygankov, who emphasizes the necessity of "recognizing the existence of the delicate dialectical balance between cultural pluralism and diversity, on the one hand, and the increased commonness of humanity, on the other" [104], I maintain that we do not have to make a choice between universal vs exceptionalist or systemic vs subsystemic IRT. Inspired by Drechsler's formulation for good public administration, I also assert that a non-hegemonic discipline may well bring together the systemic, the semi-systemic and the sub-systemic elements. His formulation joins three elements across three levels: 1) a tiny, well-working common nucleus (systemic/universal); 2) a larger one composed from generally valid principles (semi-systemic/*unilocal*); and 3) solutions or explanations specific to a given paradigm or a sub-system (subsytemic/local).[105]

To translate IRT from almost a hegemonic structure to a good balanced one that brings together a tiny common nucleus with the semi-systemic and the sub-systemic elements, I suggest that we should attempt to construct universal models inspired by different ideas, thoughts, beliefs, interests and sometimes feelings of different localities as well as diverse cultural, regional, religious experiences. Chen argues that "simply calling for greater incorporation of ideas from the non-West and contributions by non-Western scholars from local 'vantage points' does not make IR more global or democratic, for that would do little to transform the discipline's Eurocentric epistemological foundations."[106] Nevertheless, I believe that discovering or producing indigenous perspectives of IR may help to establish a balance of trade between systemic/universal level and subsytemic/local level and even may help to transform the discipline into a less hegemonic one.

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[102] Acharya and Buzan, *Non–Western International Relations Theory,* 236.

[103] There are hundreds of articles and tens of books on this issue but I can refer only to some of the most well known of them: Zhao Tingyang, "Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept 'All–under–Heaven' (Tian–xia)," *Social Identities* 12, no. 1 (2006): 29–41; David C. Kang, "Hierarchy and Legitimacy in International Systems: The Tribute System in Early Modern East Asia," *Security Studies* 19, no. 4 (2010): 591–622; Yaqing Qin, "Relationality and Processual Construction: Bringing Chinese Ideas into International Relations Theory," *Social Sciences in China* 30, no. 3 (2009): 5–20; Yongjin Zhang and Barry Buzan, "The Tributary System as International Society in Theory and Practice," *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 5, no. 1 (2012): 3–36; Feng Zhang, "Rethinking the 'Tribute System': Broadening the Conceptual Horizon of Historical East Asian Politics," *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2, no. 4 (2009): 545–74.

[104] Andrei Tsygankov, "The Irony of Western Ideas in a Multicultural World: Russians' Intellectual Engagement with the 'End of History' and 'Clash of Civilizations'," *International Studies Review* 5, no. 1 (2003): 70.

[105] Wolfgang Drechsler, "What is Islamic Public Administration and Why Should We Study it in the 'Second World'?," *Administrative Culture* 15, no. 2 (2014): 130

[106] Chen, "The Absence of Non–Western IR theory in Asia Reconsidered," 1.

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Abstracts in Turkish

Kadın ve Barış Hipotezinin Ampirik Bir Analizi

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Öz

On yıllardır sosyal bilimciler, kadınların politik olarak daha hoşgörülü, daha barışçıl ve uluslararası çatışmaların çözümünde erkeklere kıyasla savaşı tercih etme olasılıklarının daha düşük olup olmadığını sorguladılar. Yapılan ampirik analizler Kuzey Amerika (Birleşik Devletler), Orta Doğu (İsrail ve merkez Arap Dünyası) ve Afrika (Ruanda) gibi birkaç coğrafi bölgeyle sınırlı kalmıştır. Ayrıca, bağımlı değişken olan savaş ve barış algılarının ölçümü, ya tek bir maddeyle ya da savaş ve barışın çeşitli boyutlarına değinilerek birkaç maddeyle değerlendirilmiştir. Bu makale, Kuzey Amerika, Latin Amerika, Batı Avrupa, Doğu Avrupa, Afrika, Asya ve Pasifik ülkelerini içeren çapraz ulusal bir analizi içerecek şekilde literatürdeki coğrafi kapsamı genişletmekte ve savaş algısı, çatışma çözümü, dış politika tutumları, uluslararası kuruluşların çağrısı, siyasi hoşgörü ve uluslararası işbirliğine yönelik tutumlarda cinsiyet farklılıklarını on üç değişik maddede irdelemektedir. Analiz, temsili ulusal anketler, Dünya Değerler Anketi ve Arap Barometresi'nin en güncel verilerine dayanmakta ve okuyuculara küresel düzeyde cinsiyet ile savaş ve barış algıları arasındaki ilişkiyi basit sonuçlarla aktarmak için ortalama karşılaştırma yöntemlerini kullanmaktadır. Veriler, ülkelerdeki uluslararası çatışma algıları bağlamında erkekler ve kadınlar arasındaki algılarda hiçbir fark olmadığını ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın ve barış hipotezi, uluslararası çatışma, barış inşası, Orta Doğu, toplumsal cinsiyet ve politika

Kıbrıs'ta Uzlaşmaya Doğru Bir Adım: Kayıp Kişilerin Ailelerine Yönelik 'Öteki' Algısı

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Öz

1974'te etnik çatışmanın sona ermesiyle, Kıbrıs'ta 2000'den fazla kişi kayıp olarak bildirilmiştir. 2005 yılından bu yana Kayıp Kişiler Komitesi'nin (CMP) çabalarıyla 870 kayıp şahsın cenazeleri bulunup gömüldükleri yerlerden çıkarılarak ailelerine teslim edilmiştir. Şiddetli çatışmalar sırasında kaybolanlara odaklanan birkaç çalışma olmasına rağmen, uzlaşmayı taban düzeyinde, özellikle de kayıp kişilerin ailelerini esas alan akademik

Mısır'ın Savunma Sanayii: Bağımlılık, Sivil Üretim ve Özerklik Girişimleri

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Öz

Mısır'ın savunma sanayii, Arap dünyasının en eski ve en büyüğü olmakla birlikte, askeri fabrikalarının çoğu, kâr amacıyla sivil pazar için tüketim malları üretmeye yönelmiştir. Aynı zamanda, asimetrik savaşta acil terörizmle mücadelede ihtiyaçlarına çoğunlukla cevap veremeyen geleneksel silah sistemleri üretmeye devam etmektedirler. Mısır, tedarik ve ortak üretim için büyük ölçüde ABD firmalarına bağımlıdır. 2013'te yaşanan siyasi bir krizin ardından, Askeri Üretim Bakanlığı (MoMP), uluslararası silah firmalarıyla yeni ortak üretim girişimleri yoluyla savunma üretimini canlandırmaya çalışmıştır. Ülke ayrıca Fransa, Rusya ve Almanya gibi diğer ülkelerden tedarik arayarak ABD'ye olan bağımlılığını azaltmaya çalışmaktadır. Mısır ordusu, halen sivil ticari girişimlere odaklandığı için bu tür çabalar gözle görülür derecede sınırlı kalmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mısır, savunma sanayi, askeri işletmeler

Afganistan'da Profesyonelleşme, Yerel Askeri Bağlam ve Ordunun Yeniden İnşası

Cenker Korhan Demir
Jandarma ve Sahil Güvenlik Akademisi

Öz

Güvenlik sektörünün yeniden yapılandırılması, barışı koruma ve devlet kurma literatüründe uzun süredir tartışılan bir konudur. Çatışmalı ülkelerdeki herhangi bir yeniden yapılanma programının birincil amacı, sürdürülebilir kalkınma ve demokratikleşme için ön koşul olan güvenlik kurumlarını oluşturmaktır. Bu çalışma, Afganistan gibi çatışma sonrası ülkelerde güvenlik sektörü kurumlarının, özellikle de ordunun müdahale aktörleri tarafından nasıl yeniden yapılandırıldığını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, çatışma sonrası ilgili ülkelerin kendine özgü koşulları değerlendirilmeden geliştirilen ordu yeniden yapılandırma programlarının başarılı olma ihtimalinin düşük olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu nedenle, güvenlik sektörünün yeniden yapılandırılmasını amaçlayan girişimlerin, çatışmadan etkilenen ülkenin ve kurumlarının kendine özgü özelliklerini dikkate alması ve programın durumun özel koşullara uygun olarak tasarlanması gerekir. Bu araştırma, hem birincil hem de ikincil kaynaklardan toplanan verileri analiz ederek bu argümanı desteklemek için güvenilir kanıtları belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, çeşitli ülkelerden uygulayıcıların yeniden yapılanma faaliyetlerine ilişkin ilk elden izlenimlerine dayanarak metodolojik olarak katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afganistan, yeniden yapılanma, güvenlik, ordu, profesyonelleşme

Bir Kamuflaj Stratejisi Olarak Batı-Dışı Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorisinin Sessizliği: Qing Çin Travması ve Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu

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Öz

Bu makaledeki ana argüman, Batı dışı uluslararası ilişkiler teorisinin (NWIRT) gelişiminin önünde en az üç önemli engel olduğu yönündedir: entelektüel engeller ("medeniyet standardı"nın dayatılmasının travmatik etkileri); düşünsel engeller (Batı kavramlarının ve bağlamlarının hakimiyeti); ve bilimsel engeller (bilim standardının dayatılması). NWIRT'in sessizliğinin esasen, bir entelektüel savunma mekanizması olarak veya Batı dışı devletlerin Batı devletleriyle travmatik karşılaşmaları sonucu (yeniden) kurulması ve hayatta kalması için bir kamuflaj stratejisi olarak geliştirilen Batı'yı taklit etme stratejisinin bir yan etkisi olduğunu savunuyorum. Bu nedenle, NWIRT tartışmalarının son on yıllarda ortaya çıkması, öncelikle, yükselen güç statüsünü yeniden kazanmaları nedeniyle eski imparatorlukların kalıntılarında kendine güvenin canlanması olan bir iç koşulun olgunlaşmasına bağlanabilir. Bu nedenle, "Batı'ya karşı isyan"ın yeni bir aşaması olarak görülebilir. Öte yandan, NWIRT tartışmalarının yükselişinin bir dış koşulun olgunlaşmasıyla da ilişkili olduğunu savunuyorum: Bu, bazı Avrupa Uluslararası İlişkiler okullarının entelektüel olarak Amerikan ana akım uluslararası ilişkiler teorileri hegemonyasına karşı denge sağlamaya çalışmasıdır. Bu nedenle, NWIRT hakkında düzenlenmiş kitapların ve özel sayıların yayınlanması, onların NWIRT ile entelektüel ittifak arayışı olarak da okunabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Batı dışı Uluslararası İlişkiler teorisi, uygarlık standardı, travmaya yanıt olarak taklit etme, geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Qing Çin

Aims and Scope

All Azimuth, journal of the Center for Foreign Policy and Peace Research, is an English-language, international peer-reviewed journal, published biannually. It aims:
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