Civil-Military Relations And Political Liberalization: A Comparative Study Of The Military's Corporateness And Political Values In Egypt, Syria, Turkey, and Pakistan.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to Mona Sehgal, without whose love and support the work could not have been completed.

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Abstract Of Dissertation

Civil-Military Relations And Political Liberalization: A Comparative Study Of The Military's Corporateness And Political Values In Egypt, Syria, Turkey, And Pakistan

Can militaries in the Muslim world support political liberalization and, if so, under what conditions? This study challenges the conventional wisdom that the military is a conservative, authoritarian force. For instance, the Arab world is typified by military-dominated regimes. Might we then find that the military played a supporting role in the political aspect of 1970s infitah, or opening, in Egypt and Syria? The study posits that military corporateness is a prerequisite for the military to think and act independently, but that the military's political values determine whether and how it will act. The study devises a means to measure military corporateness and finds evidence that corporateness mostly correlates positively with political liberalization in four cases. A survey of Egyptian and Syrian military journals finds that pro-liberalization discourse increased in the period leading up to the initial increases in political liberalization. In each case, the political values were colored by unique local concerns or ideological outlooks, which indicated significant limits to support for liberalization, but also gave credence to the authenticity of the values. The interaction of the two variables was assessed using corporate variants, or models, derived from the literature. These models, e.g. party-army or military business, added analytical dimension to the military's outlook toward political liberalization. The study was brought up to date and made more generalizable by examining Turkey and Pakistan, using the same methodology for military corporateness, but an abbreviated method for assessing political values. The abbreviated cases provide a sharp contrast to the Arab cases with the paradoxical observation that interventionist

militaries may in some cases be more pro-democratization than obedient militaries.

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Chapter 1: The Puzzle of Military-led Liberalization

Introduction

Can Arab and Muslim world militaries play a positive role in political liberalization and, if so, under what conditions? Does the type of military make a difference? Do the military's political values complement the role played by military corporateness in determining the level of military support or opposition to a policy of political liberalization? And how might those who control the regime reshape the armed forces to support such a political outcome?

This study explores the possibility that some militaries may contribute—unexpectedly according to the broad assumptions of democratization theorists—to liberalization and democratization. Reassessing the role of military corporateness and the military's political values in politics should contribute to and perhaps reshape thinking about civil-military relations and democratization in the developing world. It also has direct policy relevance—which the final chapter will highlight—at a time when promoting democracy in the Middle East is a declared US foreign policy objective.

Much attention has been devoted to the "enduring authoritarianism" in the Arab world (cf. Ottoway, 2003; *Comparative Politics*, Vol 36, No. 2, 2004; Noland, 2005; Brownlee, 2007). The absence of democracy in the Arab Middle East was highlighted when the "third wave" (Huntington, 1991) reached much of the rest of the world beginning in the mid-1970s. However, there have been episodes of political liberalization in the Arab world, albeit limited in depth. Studying the role of the military in these periods can provide insight into whether militaries may play a positive role and, if so, whether certain types of military are more likely than others to do so.

Arab world militaries were once the focus of investigation for those seeking to understand political outcomes in the region (cf. Hurewitz, 1969; Be'eri, 1970; Perlmutter, 1974). The civilianization of regimes, though it did not result in democratization, shifted the analytical spotlight away from the military, at least insofar as politics is concerned—with only a few exceptions (cf. Cook, 2007). Given the general recognition that Arab world militaries are a central pillar of regime stability, it makes sense to refocus on the military as a key variable in such political outcomes as liberalization. Such examination includes identifying the characteristics of a pro-liberalization military, as well as those aspects of the military that regime leaders can modify to support their strategies.

In considering whether military-backed authoritarianism can be transformed into democracy in the Arab world, the evolution of Latin America that began two or three decades ago stands out. Both the Middle East and Latin America saw more than their share of military regimes from the end of World War II through the 1960s. Latin America and the Arab world were more prone to military coups than any region in the world (Be'eri, 1970). But in Latin America, most of these regimes had surrendered power to civilians by the end of the Cold War (Loveman, 1999), generally through a process of democratization. Meanwhile in the Arab world, while the overtly military aspect of the regimes faded into the background, military-supported authoritarians remained in power.

This project hypothesizes that military type—whether corporate or non-corporate—and the political values of the military are two key variables in understanding the military's political behavior, and particularly whether a military will support political liberalization. Two detailed case studies of Arab militaries and civil-military relations test

the hypotheses, examining the militaries' role in political liberalization in Egypt and Syria in the 1970s.

The methodology is extended to two republics in the Muslim world, Turkey and Pakistan, to bring the study up to date and attain more generalizable findings. These four cases form a sound foundation of data and judgments about the military's potential role in political liberalization. The cases also indicate specific areas in which those guiding a political regime may focus their efforts to reshape the military as part of a liberalization strategy.

A Puzzle: Military Support for Liberalization

Scholars are unanimous in the view that military subordination to civilians is a prerequisite for democracy (cf. Linz and Stepan, 1996; Kohn, 1997; Feaver, 2003). The idea that the military may initiate democratization, when acknowledged, is generally seen as the inevitable result of a military regime's wish to return to the barracks. Rarely is it recognized as significant that a withdrawing military may prefer civilian democrats to autocrats. Few have examined whether a certain type of military is likely to choose the former over the latter.

There are two, almost diametrically-opposed, views of military-supported liberalization, neither of which gives much credence to military voluntarism or preference for democracy. One view tends to see liberalization as the byproduct of combined regime fissures and civil society pressure. In this model, a split between hardliners and softliners within an authoritarian regime creates an opening for civil society (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986; Przeworski, 1991). In its optimistic versions, liberalization emerges

almost inexorably into the vacuum afforded by the regime split and democratizes the country.

A variant of this first view is similar, but takes a more explicitly top-down view of democratization. In this model, a military regime becomes factionalized, with one element wanting to remain in power but a second group believing that the military institution is degraded by the exigencies of rule. Ultimately the key leaders of the military compel a withdrawal from politics to save the institution (Stepan, 1988; Geddes, 1999). Democratization typically ensues from this withdrawal.

Neither of these regime-faction variants explores in much detail the military's rationale for supporting democracy, rather than authoritarianism—other than as a means to avoid intra-regime or intra-military factionalism, and consequently to prevent regime collapse or degradation of the military institution. These are powerful motives, but there is little explanatory value inherent in any argument that regime change—e.g. democratization—is essentially the product of little more than regime or military factionalization. After all, all regimes in crisis must experience internal disagreements and centrifugal tension. The 'regime split' explanation of democratization does not address why some regimes democratize while others do not. Linz and Stepan (1996, 67) note that, if democracy is "an available ruling formula," the military "often" will choose it as an extrication strategy. But they say little more about the character of the military that makes this choice, other than that it views itself as a "situational elite."[1]

[1] The "situational elite" is described elsewhere by Stepan (1977) in a manner approximating the notion of a corporate military. For instance, Stepan contrasts the situational elite, whose loyalty is solely to the state, with other forms of military such as the class elite, in which military officers are motivated by their class loyalty and interests.

The second view, much more skeptical in terms of the substance or prospects of the liberalization, is grounded in Middle Eastern political realities. In this view, the so-called opening is a dead end. Rather than leading almost inexorably toward democratization, liberalization is a front behind which lurks an unyielding authoritarianism. Among its adherents are many scholars of the Arab world, which has no clear case of successful democratization, and who are therefore understandably less sanguine than scholars of other regions. For instance, Brumberg (2004) distinguishes liberalization from democratization, noting that the former is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the latter. Schlumberger (2000) takes a similar view and adds that, because of the deep roots of authoritarianism, political transition in the Arab world may lead merely to new forms of authoritarianism, rather than democracy. Many skeptics view the apparent liberalization of a polity as merely a democratic "façade" of the state, meant to enhance regime legitimacy while veiling its authoritarian core (Sadiki, 2002; Ottoway, 2003; Cook, 2003 and 2007).

This debate about the intention of those who inaugurate liberalization has the unfortunate consequence of diverting scholars from an objective appraisal of the characteristics of the military in a liberalizing regime. Specifically, the possibility that certain types of militaries may be genuinely supportive of liberalization or democratization is neglected, because liberalization itself is seen to be a farce. This project will identify liberalization—using a credible and universally-applicable set of data—and take it at face value. Rather than examining liberalization, the project will examine the characteristics of the military and civil-military relations in regimes that liberalize to varying degrees. It will follow changes in the military and civil-military

relations over time to assess their correlation with and relevance to liberalization. By focusing on the military, as key regime-supporters, we may gain a better understanding of the circumstances in which it supports liberalization.

There is a justification for taking liberalization seriously—i.e., treating it as a potential step toward democratization. That is that, even if liberalization is employed instrumentally by an authoritarian regime with the intention of re-stabilization rather than democratization, there is an inherent element of uncertainty in the process. Liberalization may be intended merely to shore up legitimacy and test channels of broader participation while offering dissidents a means to vent. Even so, there are tradeoffs inherent in any decision to 'open' a political system. One of them is that it introduces flux into the system, which even the skeptics seem to acknowledge—e.g. Cook (2007, 4) talks of "institutional revision and reengineering" necessitated whenever the military rulers miscalculate.

Insofar as it is a process, rather than a regime type, liberalization is unstable—change is underway but the parameters and outcome are not certain. This begs the question, why would the military support liberalization? It is often said of the military that it has a preference for order and an aversion to instability that outweigh many if not all other considerations (Huntington, 1968; Perlmutter, 1977). Flux is disorderly and risky.

But assuming that the military can back a regime strategy—liberalization—that is inherently risky and requires periodic recalibration, perhaps its support will deepen if its corporate characteristics and its political values evolve. This study is essentially an examination of military corporateness and political values, their evolution over time, and

their relationship to liberalization. A key premise of this approach—with analytical and policy implications—is that military characteristics and preferences, and civil-military relations, are not fixed attributes. And while they may be vulnerable to environmental pressures, they may also be engineered in ways that render the military more supportive of liberalization.

Alternative explanations for liberalization in the Arab world

A number of Arab states engaged in political liberalization from the early 1970s until the mid-1980s. The precise number and identity of Arab states that liberalized may vary depending on the outcome examined, e.g. political or economic liberalization, but it mainly included a handful or so of the republics. For instance, Richards and Waterbury (1990) focus on four states—Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, and Iraq—in listing and analyzing an illustrative set of countries' economic rationale for *infitah* and its outcome. Roger Owen (1992, 254-281), assessing what he saw at the time as "greater democracy" highlighted expanded political participation in 7 Arab republics, including Egypt and Syria.

Unlike Latin America's *abertura*, Arab *infitah* did not result in democratization; this dissertation is conservative in the outcome it is investigating. But given the crucial role played by the military in democratization of many other authoritarian regimes, it seems logical that Arab armies must have had some say in *infitah*. Yet very little of the literature discussing the political reforms of the 1970s and 1980s examines the part Arab militaries may have played, whether favorable or not. A number of theoretical approaches explained liberalization. Explanations included one that saw civil society's hand in liberalization, as well as a 'top-down' perspective, and a political economy approach that

included an international perspective, as well as strategic environment perspectives and variants of a global norms or demonstration effect approach.

Martin Kramer (2001), in his critique of Middle East studies, says Middle East scholars claimed to find evidence of an expanding civil society to validate their claims about democratization at the time. Kramer's aim was to show that scholars were misguided because about the extent of liberalization because they sought to adhere to precepts of the political science discipline rather than approaching the issue strictly from an area studies standpoint steeped in history and culture.

And there are examples of an appreciation for civil society. The editors of the *Middle East Report*, in its 1992 edition devoted to the "democracy agenda," indeed evaluated aspects of civil society and described political reforms in Egypt and Algeria as generated by "mass insurrections." But the same editors described *infitah*, in six states that had held multiparty elections, as mostly "controlled, if not calibrated by the respective regimes," citing contributions by leading scholars such as Gudrun Kramer, Ahmed Abdalla, and Volker Perthes to back this position. And they assessed that "it is not evident that this restructuring-cum-political reform will work" (*Middle East Report*, 1992, pp.3-4). Absent from this analysis of liberalization, whether it saw the hand of civil society or thought it exaggerated, was an appreciation for the military's preferences and an assessment of its structural ability—its autonomy—to act on them.

Another internally-driven view of the liberalization of the 1970s takes a 'top-down' approach, essentially attributing causation to the Arab executive. For instance, in Egypt, Anwar Sadat initiated political liberalization as an adjunct to his economic initiative. In this perspective, political pluralization and competition was integral to

Asad's strategy of seeking foreign investment and the restoration of Egyptian land lost to Israel in 1967 (Burrell and Kelidar, 1978, 22-23; Springborg, 1982, 213-214). President Sadat needed the West and particularly the United States and political liberalization was a way to appeal to them. The outcome of the October 1973 war clarified the opportunity (Beattie, 2000, 141).

Asad's reforms in Syria, including the component described over-optimistically as a "return to democracy" (Picard, 1978) are generally described as an initiative by the president. Maoz (1988) uses the term "nation-building" to describe the aims of the "correctivist movement" launched in 1970, but in any case it is clearly Asad's initiative. Asad relied on a variety of organizations, especially the Ba'th party and the parliament, and the aim was to strengthen "regime legitimacy" by enhancing "civil liberties."

Another approach to explaining the liberalization of the 1970s is grounded in the political economy of the Arab republics. For instance, Ray Hinnebusch says that, for liberalization to occur, an alliance between the state and the bourgeoisie is necessary to assist in the development and accumulation of capital; however, the social basis of democratization is far broader, since mass elements—particularly Islamists—must be incorporated (Hinnebusch, 2000). Richards and Waterbury highlight the role of the state during liberalization as a mediator between domestic class forces and international actors, such as the IMF, in response to economic crises. Arab states used economic liberalization as a strategy for attracting private capital so economic growth might resume. (Richards and Waterbury, 1990)

Roger Owen too links economic and political liberalization in the Arab world. In Algeria and Egypt, the aim was to stimulate and streamline the public sector and energize

the private sector. Political liberalization centered on pluralizing the party system as a means of constraining rivals in the powerful ruling party and channeling political opposition into discrete blocs. In Syria, liberalization aimed to encourage the repatriation of capital and the formation of an alliance between Alawis and Sunni merchants (Owen, 1992).

These economic arguments often had a more explicitly international framework, in which authors saw the Arab states responding to international economic exigency and opportunity. For instance, Niblock (1993 and 1998) says that, since the mid-1980s, international financial organizations have pressed Arab states for economic reforms including government austerity measures. To make them more palatable, reforms were buttressed with political liberalization to broaden popular support for unpopular policies. Liberalization also signaled that foreign investments would be safer than in the past. But liberalization was limited by the dependency of the rising commercial bourgeoisie remains on a strong, bureaucratic state.

Moore (1994) evaluates a handful of international factors and finds them generally limited in their positive effect on Arab liberalization during the 1980s. The strongest force, he holds, is the international economic environment and policies pursued by international financial institutions. His argument, reminiscent of Lipset's (1959) modernization thesis, is that economic privatization and freedom may boost the emergence of a pro-democracy middle class as well as alternative power centers. He finds aspects of reforms in Algeria and Egypt that support his argument.

Other authors look to the region's strategic environment as an external factor contributing to liberalization. For Ibrahim (1998), a combination of domestic and

international factors contributed to liberalization. The international aspect includes numerous armed conflicts that weaken the state, as well as intra-Arab and international patron-client relations and their impact on state elites.

Hinnebusch (2001a) augments his domestic-based approach to liberalization presented above with a strong argument that the regional security environment and associated economic considerations were crucial. For instance, while their defeat in 1967 shaped the security imperative for Egypt and Syria of regaining their lost territory, Egypt was able to choose American diplomacy as its means. This compelled Sadat to initiate economic liberalization. Syria in contrast remained in the Soviet camp, reliant on its arms, and pursued only a weak and delayed liberalization. The one factor shared by Cairo and Damascus was their reliance on conservative Arab states for financial aid—which also was an incentive to liberalize.

And variants of the global norms argument provide insights to Arab liberalization as well. For instance, Eide (2000) argues in the Middle East context that international law has been more vigorous since 1945 in compelling states to allocate nationality and citizenship to their subjects. International human rights law has played the lead role in this regard. The thrust of this law has been its promotion of the concept of citizenship, and specifically "the rights of man" as a citizen (97). Eide notes that the effects of the law on citizenship are still in a formative stage, but are transcending more particularistic religious- and ethnic-based variants. And Ibrahim (1998)—looking mainly at the 1990s—also believes that global democratization has provided a positive demonstration effect for the Arab middle class.

Ibrahim does not specify the linkages of this demonstration effect and Moore (1994) is skeptical, oberving that demonstration effects and cultural diffusion rarely cause a regime opening. Moreover, he says, the norms argument is "nebulous" because it is impossible to determine which attitudes result from what influences. In any case, the roots of Arab infitah in the early 1970s seemed to precede the wave of democracy whose origins Huntington (1991) traces to the 1974 military takeover of Portugal from authoritarian rule, followed by elections in 1976.

Many of these authors explicitly recognize the military's important political status in the Arab world. For instance, Richards and Waterbury note that "military or quasi-military government has been the rule rather than the exception in the region" (1990; 354) and Owen acknowledges that "officers in barracks can be just as influential as officers in government" (1992; 197). And Hinnebusch pays close attention to the military's role in regime politics in works on Egypt (1985) and Syria (1990). But none of these authors looks into the military organization to examine its structure or political preferences before or during *infitah*. The lack of detailed attention to the substantive role that Arab militaries may have played during political liberalization is a gap in the literature that needs to be addressed.

And in other works focused on Arab regime politics, many scholars clearly saw the centrality of the military to the regimes built by Asad and Sadat, (cf. Moaz, 1988; Picard, 1988; Springborg, 1987; Beattie, 2000). Yet none of them explored the military's role in liberalization. And while *infitah* was undoubtedly a political not a military initiative, surely the savvy, former military officers who presided, as presidents, over liberalization in much of the Arab world considered the military's place in it, consulted

with military leadership, and directed policies toward shoring up military support for their political reforms.

The Argument in Brief

Military Corporateness

In attempting to understand military behavior in politics, it makes sense to begin, as do many scholars, with military corporateness.[2] Huntington defines corporateness as a "sense of organic unity and consciousness" which separates "members of a profession…from laymen" (1957, 10). Pion-Berlin casts it as "an institution's decision-making authority" and describes institutional autonomy as "the military's professional independence and exclusivity" (1992, 84).

As a quality, corporateness exists along a continuum; it is necessary to speak of corporate and non-corporate militaries when talking of ideal types, but in reality corporateness is not a dichotomous variable. Examples of ideal-type corporate militaries exist in developed states; they have professional autonomy and are organizationally non-political, but have a legitimate voice in national security issues. Ideal-type non-corporate militaries include party armies and neo-patrimonial armies. In the latter two models, the military is penetrated by civilian leaders and their governing style, whether the representatives and ideology of the party or the kin and ethnic or sectarian group of the patrimonial autocrat.

[2] In terms of explaining military behavior, many scholars, e.g. Stepan (1988) and Geddes (1999), treat corporateness explicitly as an explanatory variable, while others, e.g. Huntington (1957), Finer (1962), and Stepan (1976) say professionalism is more important. In fact, there is a significant amount of overlap between the two concepts, including the definitions of professionalism used by the latter three scholars. The definitions of corporateness used by Huntington (1957) and Pion-Berlin (1992) demonstrate this too.

This highlights another important aspect of the corporate-noncorporate military continuum: we refer to a military type in such arrangements, but we are often speaking of the civil-military relationship as well. A party-army represents a particular civil-military arrangement, as does a patrimonial military. And a corporate military may exist under a variety of political systems, e.g. either democratic or dictatorial regimes, but it always indicates a military granted a relatively large degree of autonomy by civilians.

As a variable for explaining military behavior, one important aspect of corporateness is the military's autonomy from civilians, since this is a prerequisite for independent and self-interested action. But corporateness also means internal cohesion or integrity, since action by a factionalized military begs the question of whose interests are being served. Even Stepan (1988), who makes the preservation of corporateness a central explanatory variable of the Brazilian military's withdrawal from politics and subsequent *abertura*, or liberalization, has little more to say about whether various aspects of corporateness may yield a variety of political outcomes. But his work highlights that corporateness, in reality, exists along a continuum—not in ideal-type dichotomies of corporate and non-corporate—and that a corporate military may still have active factions within it.

The autonomy of corporate militaries endows them with independent interests and decision-making ability, distinct from civilian leaders. As a result it is both logical and empirically-supported to conclude that these militaries are willing and able to act on behalf of their own—and counter to civilian leaders'—interests. But understanding the military's degree of corporateness does not tell us whether it will obey civilian leaders, or its political preferences when it intervenes.

Some argue that military corporateness corresponds inversely to a military's willingness to obey civilians and accept democracy (Zaverucha, 1993), while others see the military as willing to subordinate itself to democratic civilian control to save the institution, i.e. to preserve its corporateness (Stepan, 1988; Geddes, 1999). In the middle are scholars, like Pion-Berlin (1992), who view the type of corporateness—e.g. defensive, or institutional versus offensive, or political—as the crucial variable regarding obedience of civilians and its willingness to support democracy.

Among corporate militaries that have intervened, some have supported political liberalization and democratization, e.g. in Indonesia in 1998-99, while others support authoritarianism, e.g. Chile's military in 1973. And among authoritarian regimes, some militaries may espouse "left authoritarianism," e.g. Peru's in 1968, while others direct a "right authoritarianism," e.g. in Brazil in 1964 (Stepan, 1977). The various political outcomes supported or initiated by corporate militaries indicate that an additional variable is in play.

The Military's Political Values

If military corporateness—its autonomy, institutionalization, integrity, and cohesiveness—is the prerequisite for independent and self-interested political action, the military's political values should logically explain the political direction of military behavior. Political values are an intervening variable affecting the behavior of a corporate military, that is, a military capable of independent action. A non-corporate military will also have political values, but they are likely to reflect that of the civilian group that dominates it, or with which the military is intertwined. The relationship of military

corporateness and the military's political values to political liberalization can be depicted graphically as shown in Figure 1.1.

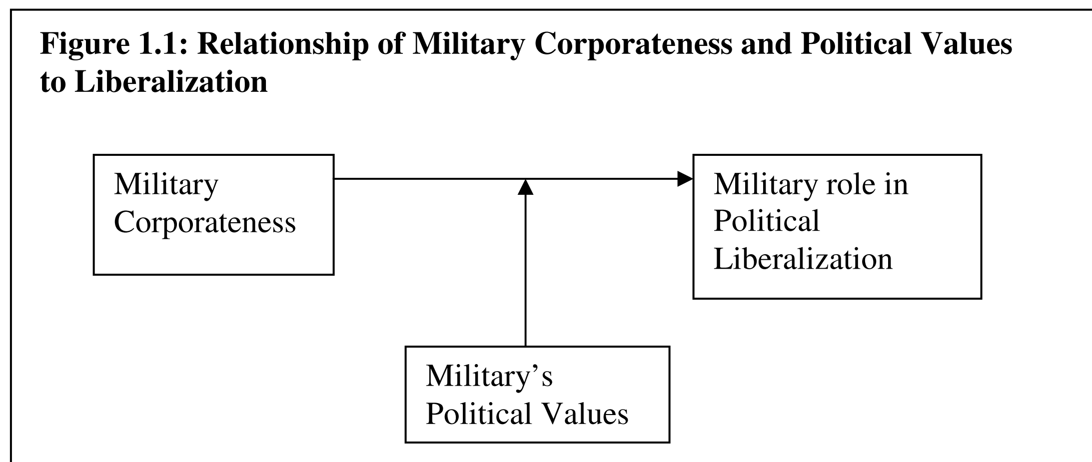

Figure 1.1: Relationship of Military Corporateness and Political Values to Liberalization

The independent variables, military corporateness and political values, are used here to understand and explain a particular outcome of military intervention in politics—the military's role in political liberalization. The same variables should also explain the absence of military intervention. For instance, in modern Western states, it seems likely that political values based on the paramount principle of democratic civilian rule as the only legitimate political system explains the obedience of highly corporate militaries. This is essentially what Peter Feaver (2003) has in mind when he describes the legitimacy of a system in which military subordination hinges on its accepting the normative principle that civilians have "the right to be wrong." In Western democracies, there has been no higher principle than this since the end of World War II, with the possible exception of France in 1958 and 1961. In those years one military rebellion helped launch De Gaulle's presidency and another sought in vain to bring him down (Finer, 1962).

But in the states newly created after World War II, many militaries have intervened in politics; roughly 60 percent of states created between 1945 and 1955 suffered military coups, according to Finer (1962, 2). Even so, the frequency of coups

declined in subsequent decades (Stanley, 1975), despite the fact that military organizations continued to have a monopoly or near-monopoly on the use of force, and thus a greater relative power to intervene than other domestic groups. Perhaps this is a sign that the military ethos about intervening in politics has evolved as new states developed more capable and stable institutions and more legitimate governments.

A word of caution is necessary in distinguishing corporateness from political values. Although it generally is clear when we are discussing the mostly structural and institutional features of corporateness as opposed to the cultural attributes of the military's values, there are areas of ambiguity and overlap. For instance, the extent to which the military controls items like education and doctrine is a measure of corporateness, while the content of those elements (education and doctrine) are ideational features that reflect the military's value system.

Purpose and Importance

This research project will address such analytical questions as the character of military corporateness, the gap in analysis about the Egyptian and Syrian military's possible role in political liberalization in the 1970s, as well as the role played by the Turkish and Pakistani militaries in episodic democratization. The selection of cases from the Arab and Muslim world promises important insights about civil-military relations and the role of the military in politics or political outcomes. The findings will be applicable generally to Muslim and developing world cases, providing a generalizable approach and methodology.

For instance, scholarly thinking about military corporateness and civil-military relations is incomplete. Scholars like Pion-Berlin (1992) and Zaverucha (1993) make a

valuable contribution to our understanding of the relationship between military corporateness and politics because they break corporateness down into discrete, measurable components and examine these in relation to civilian control. But Zaverucha's conclusions about corporateness and military subordination, like those of Hunter (1997), risk being tautological; they look primarily at the civil-military nexus to define corporateness. Thus, a military that retains autonomy in areas such as human rights is both corporate and disobedient (Hunter, 1997). And while Pion-Berlin's distinction between offensive and defensive corporateness indicates whether corporateness corresponds to obedience or disobedience, he does not provide any indication of how to measure corporateness other than in the same tautological manner. Thus for Pion-Berlin, defensive corporateness equals obedience and offensive corporateness equals disobedience.

This study will try to avoid this problem by recognizing corporateness as consisting not only of autonomy from civilians, but also the integrity of the military hierarchy, organizational cohesiveness, and the institutionalization of procedures. Corporateness will be measured on a 5-point scale, with the aim of determining a more objective and transparent evaluation of corporateness and ensuring that any findings regarding corporateness are both generalizable and testable.

Moreover, this study posits and will test a relationship between Arab and Muslim world militaries and political liberalization as other studies have done regarding Latin American militaries and democratization (cf. Farcau, 1996; Fitch, 1998).

Addressing the gap in analysis of Arab political liberalization in the 1970s and 1980s can make a significant contribution to understanding the regime dynamics at play

in that process. A few examples to be addressed in the study include the civil-military relations of the senior defense leadership, e.g. the president, defense minister, and armed forces chief of staff; the military's educational autonomy and institutionalization of its education system; and the military's view of the importance of the rule of law, e.g. in its view of the constitution and its constitutional duties.

Given the key position occupied by the military in such republics as Egypt and Syria, and the consistent elevation to the presidency of senior military officers in many Arab republics, it is puzzling that there has been so little exploration of the military's role in Arab world liberalization. Although any conclusions drawn about Arab liberalization must be mitigated by liberalization's relatively limited depth, if there is a correlation between key characteristics of the military and its role in political liberalization, such findings would have more than just scholarly utility.

Extending the case studies to Pakistan and Turkey has additional benefits. First, it increases the generalizability of the final conclusions since there are four Muslim world cases. Second, it brings the study up to date since the case extensions involve looking at the period from 1995 to the present for the additional cases. And it increases the range of political outcomes in the cases from liberalization in the Arab cases to include democratization as well.

At a time when promoting democracy in the Middle East is a declared US foreign policy objective, there is direct policy relevance to understanding better the links between military characteristics and the military's role in political outcomes. A key premise of this project is that salient characteristics of the military, such as corporateness and political ethos, can be incentivized and modified by civilian leaders. This means that policymakers

can make a difference and that militaries can be led to take a form or style that is more supportive of a desired policy outcome, such as liberalization or democratization.

For this to happen, policymakers have to identify the appropriate tools and use them in ways that shape the structure and culture of the military. This is not an easy proposition to achieve. Assuming that authoritarian leaders will resist democratization, the difficulty increases; US policymakers have to find and use tools that impact on the structure and culture of foreign militaries, either directly or working though foreign civilian leaders.

Primary Case Selection: Egypt and Syria

Rationale

The selection of Arab countries and their militaries for a study of the military's role in liberalization may seem odd given the poverty of democratic institutions in the region. Yet it is precisely the Arab world's apparent authoritarian exceptionalism that makes this a potentially valuable choice of cases for study.

The stagnation of political regimes in the Arab world stands in stark contrast with the evolution of Latin America's political systems in recent years. Both regions had been dominated by military regimes for decades following World War II, but in Latin America the military initiated or permitted liberalization and democratization when it relinquished power. According to Brian Loveman (1999), who cautiously termed this development "protected democracy," eleven Latin American countries made the transition from military to civilian government between 1979 and 1993.

In the Arab world, overt military rule mostly faded into the background in the 1970s, but authoritarianism continued. However, there was a period of measurable liberalization that accompanied the civilianization of regimes in the 1970s. Examining the corporateness and political values of Arab militaries can test the hypothesis that these variables were connected to political liberalization.

Egypt and Syria, and the abbreviated cases, Turkey and Pakistan, offer enough similarities to control for certain variables, and enough differences—on both independent and dependent variables—to generate plausible explanations of the military role in liberalization. For instance, a clearly apparent difference in the dependent variable from the outset is the frequent intervention of the Turkish and Pakistani militaries, and the lack of intervention by the Egyptian and Syrian militaries.

Positive test results could lead to further examination into why democratization did not ultimately ensue and whether changes in the military's corporateness and ethos might help bring it about. For instance, perhaps certain aspects of civil-military relations in the Arab or Muslim world limit the political utility of the military's corporateness and its political values, leaving them supportive of only regime-controlled liberalization but not regime-changing democratization. Perhaps the military's corporateness simply decreased after an initial period of improvement, or its political values evolved, e.g. due to fear of rising Islamism in society. Pending the outcome of this project, those may be questions for future research.

Control and variation of variables

Egypt and Syria, share some important characteristics, which act as control variables. Perhaps most compelling as a reason for direct comparison is the fact that, from 1958 to 1961, the Syrian and Egyptian militaries were one—at least on paper—under the United Arab Republic. The UAR's minister of war, Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer, was also commander-in-chief of the UAR military. In this capacity, and as UAR vice president, he was the highest-ranking Egyptian official in the Northern Province (Syria). General Gamal Feisal, the Egyptian commander of the UAR's First Army, was headquartered in Damascus, along with Amer, until a military coup led by Syrian officers terminated the union in September 1961 (Hofstadter, Vol. II, 1973). The Egyptians later commemorated this union by designating their forces in Sinai the Second and Third Field Armies.

In both states, the military played a key role as the pillar of the republic. The system of government is nominally a mixed presidential-parliamentary one, with the president holding decisive power through the ability to dismiss the prime minister. The president at the time of political liberalization was a civilianized former military general; his ability to control the military was crucial to regime continuity.

The two countries' military history holds another point of similarity in their origins. The armies of post-independence Egypt and Syria were both inherited from colonial states, which Janowitz (1964) holds makes the ex-colonial force less predisposed to politicization than their counterparts among post-independence armies that were formed during wars of national liberation.

Additionally, broad cultural variables, e.g. Arabic language and Islam as the predominant religion, are shared by Syria and Egypt. And the time period of

liberalization's onset, in the mid-1970s, is nearly identical in both states. The broad outlines of the countries' 19th and 20th century histories are roughly similar, as well, since they were successors of the Ottoman Empire, though Egypt broke away earlier than Syria. At the same time, each republic is relatively new, having gained independence from European colonial powers only in the mid-20th century. The form of government—republican—distinguishes these states from many other Arab states, particularly Jordan and the monarchies of the Persian Gulf.

Selection of the time period is influenced by the fact that the period of liberalization chosen here—the 1970s and 1980s—is a closed chapter in the history of Arab politics. This eliminates uncertainty over the outcome and minimizes debate over its meaning, thereby sidestepping the problem faced by studies that try to keep up with ongoing developments.

At the same time, the cases provide enough variance on the independent and dependent variables to yield meaningful lessons from a detailed comparison. In terms of the dependent variable, the military role in political liberalization, there appears to be variation among these countries.

For instance, the degree of political liberalization itself varies between Syria—the least free—and Egypt. Syria's political liberalization, which reached its zenith in 1977, according to Freedom House, reached a high score of only 5 in political rights and 6 in civil liberties, or 5/6. That this comprised political liberalization follows from the fact that Syria's score a few years earlier was 7/7 and that its liberalization moved it from a status of "not free" to "partly free." Egypt on the other hand rose to as high as a 4/4—also "partly free" in 1984 and 1985, during the presidency of Hosni Mubarak.

We can expect variation in the military's role in liberalization too, since each country's military played a somewhat different role in politics, though its status evolved over time. While both the Syrian and Egyptian armies were ex-colonial forces, Syria's colonial master was France, while Egypt's was Great Britain. There is little in the literature to suggest expected differences in the political values among such military forces, but some have posited that political culture in former British colonies is more favorable toward democratization (Lipset, 1996).

The Egyptian army had a variety of secretive political factions during the period of post-colonial monarchy, but the army as a whole was not an ideological one. The Free Officers coup led to its transformation and it gradually became a more thoroughly politicized force. In particular this was manifest in the assignment of senior officers to political posts in Nasser's regime (1952-1970), both on the Revolutionary Command Council and in key ministries, e.g. Defense and Interior (Dekmejian, 1982). The military's corporateness and professionalism seemed to weaken under the leadership of Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer, but it was increasingly autonomous from the president and loyal to Amer (Beattie, 1994).

Sadat (1970-1981) quickly began to demilitarize the government and depoliticize the military during his presidency (Cooper, 1982a). He achieved the subordination of the military by the time of political liberalization. Mubarak's approach (1981-present) differed from Sadat's in that the former reverted in a sense to Nasser's style, relying on loyalists to run the armed forces. Unlike Nasser, however, who disregarded signs that he no longer had complete control of the military, Mubarak managed to replace the

increasingly independent Field Marshal Abu Ghazala before disaster struck (cf. Springborg, 1987).

The Syrian army was also a vessel containing many political factions in the early days after independence. These officer factions frequently intervened in politics, including during the 1960s when the military fell increasingly under Ba'thist influence (Maoz, 1988; Hinnebusch, 1990). By the mid-1960s the military had taken on an explicitly ideological persona in its adherence to Ba'thism. Hafiz Asad commanded the air force and represented a relatively moderate and pragmatic wing of the party; while he sought to professionalize the military, he was a Ba'thist and did little to reverse the military's politicization. This difference in ideological outlook distinguishes the Syrian and Egyptian militaries.

After seizing power in 1970, President Asad (1971-2000) achieved the subordination of the military, but his ruling style made more extensive use of the intelligence and security apparatus, which were organized like spokes with Asad at the hub (Belkin, 1998). Events like the 1984 coup attempt by his brother Rifaat—after Asad experienced heart problems—indicate that Asad's personal vigilance, rather than the institutionalization of civilian control, kept the military in check.

Executive-military relationships varied in other ways as well. For instance, the Syrian military and civil-military relations appear most distinguished from Egypt by the degree to which the former exhibits features of neo-patrimonialism—a noncorporate attribute. The Asad regime, including Hafiz' son President Bashar Asad (2000-present), has stayed in power in large part by entrusting key military and security posts only to fellow Alawis, a sectarian offshoot of Shia Islam.

Abbreviated Case Selection: Turkey and Pakistan

Examining Turkey and Pakistan has a number of benefits for the study. They share with Egypt and Syria the cultural attribute of religion, since all are majority Muslim countries. And all four are developing world republics with a mixed presidential-parliamentary system of government. But Turkey and Pakistan are non-Arab countries, which extends the potential applicability of the findings considerably. They have also enjoyed periods of deeper political freedom than the Arab cases, increasing the variance in the cases. Additionally, the time period examined for Turkey and Pakistan—1995 to the present—gives the overall study current relevance.

In both countries, the military has played a dominant role in politics in the latter half of the 20th century. In fact, the militaries of Turkey and Pakistan both perceive their mission to be one of national guardianship (Rizvi, 2000; Jenkins, 2001; Haqqani, 2005; Cloughley, 2006; Akkoyunlu, 2007; Cook, 2007). Each has intervened overtly in politics, seizing power or bringing down civilian governments, or both, at least four times since the 1950s. This activity has continued through the 1990s, with Turkey's military causing the fall of a civilian government in 1997 and Pakistan's seizing power from a civilian government in 1999. The two militaries are also very similar in size and top-echelon command structure. Each has an active-duty personnel total of over 500,000. Both armies have roughly the same number of corps headquarters: Turkey has 10 and Pakistan has nine. However, they differ in that, while Pakistan's corps HQs command several divisions each, Turkey's force structure is less traditional and more flexible, with 10 or so brigades reporting to each corps HQ.

The militaries in these two countries have not only been more active politically, more recently, than the two Arab cases, but paradoxically, Turkey and Pakistan have been more free relative to them. For instance, Pakistan has received Freedom House scores as high as 3/3 (political rights/civil liberties) as recently as 1989. During the time period examined, it received a high of 3/5 in 1995. Turkey received high scores of 2/3 in the mid- through the late 1970s. In the time period under study its high score was a 3/3, which it received from 2004 through 2007.

The two countries offer some contrasts as well. Pakistan—like the two Arab states—is a newly independent, post-colonial republic. Turkey is also a 20th century republic, but its republican institutions and practices predate those of the other countries in this study by several decades. More significantly, modern Turkey developed essentially from an already sovereign entity, the Ottoman Empire, rather than as a legacy of or in reaction to a colonial power.

This distinction carries further; the modern Turkish military adopted an ideological mindset early in its history, in large measure as a reaction against the Ottoman traditions and the occupation of the country after World War I (Brown, 1987). Its political values are based on Kemalism—in reference to the republic's founding father, who was also its leading military figure. Among the most strongly held principles of Kemalism is secularism—prized due to the military's perception that the Ottoman empire was crippled by religious traditionalism and obscurantism.

The chief formative experience of Pakistan and its military are the state's creation as a separate entity from India (Haqqani, 2005). The justification for this rested entirely on the notion that Pakistan was to be a state for Muslims, distinct from Hindu India. As a

result, Islam and Islamism were important precepts to the new state and its military, but their salience and intensity was tempered in the military by its professionalism, which was grounded in British military training and education. The Pakistani military's mindset is generally conservative and influenced by Islamism, though not in an ideological sense as Kemalism is in Turkey's military.

And of course, apart from their common religion, Islam, Turkey and Pakistan differ in other significant cultural attributes. These include language,[3] as Turkey's official language is Turkish, which the majority of the population speaks, while a substantial minority speaks Kurdish. Pakistan is a polyglot nation. The official national language of Pakistan is Urdu, but English is the official language in use in government; the military journals are generally published in English. Most Pakistanis, however, speak Punjabi, and Sindhi, Pashtu, and Baluchi are also spoken, according to province. And the two countries have distinctly different histories, as noted earlier with respect to the militaries' origins.

Organization of dissertation

Including this introduction to the research question and its relevance, there are a total of nine chapters. Chapter 2 lays out the argument, describing the logic that would lead a corporate military with the liberal political values to support liberalization. That chapter also describes the methodology that will be used to measure military corporateness and assess the military's political values.

The six subsequent chapters assess four case studies. The cases of Egypt and Syria are examined in the greatest depth, with one chapter devoted to each of the two

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[3] Language information here comes from the CIA World Factbook (2008 web version).

independent variables. In each case, an overview is provided to introduce the main chapter findings regarding the two independent variables and to provide Freedom House's measurement of political liberalization. Each case closes with an assessment of how the interaction of the two independent variables shaped the military's position on political liberalization. While Egypt and Syria are examined in two chapters each, the abbreviated cases are treated with the same approach condensed into one chapter.

Thus, chapter 3 looks at Egypt's military corporateness, providing an assessment for each of five categories over a period of 25 years. The military corporateness score is compared with Freedom House's evaluation to test the correlation of corporateness and liberalization. The main body of the chapter details the evidence for each of the categories of corporateness, including their evolution in roughly five-year increments. The increments are timed to measure corporateness prior to the peak of political liberalization to help determine the direction of causality, i.e. whether improvements in corporateness preceded increases in liberalization. The chapter concludes with key findings about Egyptian military corporateness and liberalization.

Chapter 4 assesses the Egyptian military's political values to determine any relationship with the unfolding political situation in the country, and with the aim of determining whether there is a correlation with the liberalization measured by Freedom House. Five categories of liberalization are examined, drawing on Freedom House's methodology for political rights and civil liberties. The Egypt case closes with a section that combines the two independent variables to correlate their interaction with the unfolding of liberalization, and then a set of key findings for the chapter.

Chapter 5 examines the Syrian military's corporateness in comparison to political liberalization in the same fashion as chapter 3's study of Egypt's armed forces. And chapter 6 assesses the Syrian military's political values in light of the era's politics. It follows the approach of chapter 4, including an assessment of the combined independent variables.

Chapters 7 and 8 extend this case study methodology in briefer form to Turkey and Pakistan, respectively. Each chapter opens with an overview of how military corporateness and political values evolved, and the Freedom House measurement of liberalization in the country. The independent variables are then evaluated in detail, followed by assessment of the interaction between the independent variables and what this meant for political liberalization. The chapter conclusions draw overall lessons. The primary difference between the abbreviated cases and the detailed cases is that the political values of the Arab militaries are derived almost entirely from a comprehensive examination of their flagship armed forces journal. The political values in the abbreviated cases are based mainly on a combination of secondary source descriptions and the military's behavior.

Finally, chapter 9 summarizes the main findings, describes the extent to which they are generalizable, and discusses the policy implications of the study, particularly regarding the modification of military corporateness and political values to forms more favorable to political liberalization. A final section in the chapter notes some topics for further research.

Chapter 2: Evaluating the Military's Corporateness and Political Values

Introduction and Overview

This chapter describes the project's argument and methodology in more detail. A corporate military, because of its autonomy from civilians, realizes the separate professional purview of civilian and military leaders. On the basis of its corporateness per se, i.e. its recognition of its institutional distinction from civilians in the regime, it is more willing to tolerate constitutional regime change than a non-corporate military. Thus, it is even more likely that a corporate military will tolerate political liberalization, which at its onset at least may be understood as reform within a political regime.

All militaries, however, like any societal organization, also have political values and these values determine the military's preferences for or against a particular type of regime. These two variables—the military's corporateness and its political values—interact but can be measured and assessed separately. Evaluating each variable separately increases our understanding of how each may affect the military's support for or opposition to liberalization. The interaction of the two variables is the final step in assessing the military's role in liberalization.

The methodology for gathering data and assessing each variable is described here as well. For corporateness, this includes the identification of five categories of corporateness and a system for measuring them. Military corporateness can then be rated on a 5-point scale. This system permits a universal comparison of military corporateness. The military's political values can be assessed in 5 categories of political liberalization, based on Freedom House methods. This permits a general comparison of political values,

though this approach is not as operationalizable or generalizable as the military corporateness methodology.

The variable interaction is facilitated by relying on corporate models or variants. These are various types of corporate militaries with certain political preferences whose behavior is driven by the interaction of corporateness and political values, e.g. the party-army, the guardian military, and the military corporation. The models described in this chapter are useful because they elegantly combine the two explanatory variables and thus form the basis for analysis of how they shape the military's position regarding political liberalization.

The chapter concludes with an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the primary source from which the political values of the two in-depth cases, Egypt and Syria, are drawn—their military journals. This highlights the method's comprehensiveness, especially in tracking evolving political values over time. There is a vulnerability to this approach; the journals represent mainstream or even official views, leaving little room for dissenting positions. Although this is a general problem pertaining to militaries, due to their hierarchical organization—it seems particularly true in less liberal regimes. It is possible therefore that in authoritarian cases, the journals under-represent liberal views in the military.

Military Corporateness

Many civil-military scholars (cf. Finer, 1962; Huntington, 1968) see external, or environmental, circumstances—especially the legitimacy of civilian government—playing a key role in whether the military intervenes in politics. Without what Taylor (2003) calls opportunity, military intervention no doubt would occur rarely, if at all. Even

so, it is the military's internal characteristics, specifically corporateness and political values, which explain what the military will do when given the opportunity. Corporateness and political values determine the military's ability to act independently and the values and policy preferences it brings to the political arena if it chooses to act.

Alfred Stepan (1977) says that because a corporate military is autonomous from specific civilian leaders, it is more likely to see its status and power linked to the fortunes of the state, rather than, for instance, individual leaders or class interests. An officer corps with this outlook is a "situational elite," rather than a class elite, for instance. It views the civilian leadership as replaceable, if replacing them—or standing aside while they are replaced—is deemed necessary to enhance the state's strength and legitimacy. Stepan uses this notion to explain variations in political intervention by the military, when challenged by domestic radicalism. Military responses ranged from left authoritarianism in Peru to right authoritarianism in Brazil.

Linz and Stepan (1996, 66-67) extend this notion to an explanation of military support for democratization as a strategy for regime transition in instances of hierarchical military rule. For instance, if the military leadership is concerned about the well-being of the military institution, and it deems elections to be a viable extrication strategy, it is likely to support democratization. The decision of Indonesia's General Wiranto to withdraw military support from an increasingly unpopular Suharto in 1998, and to request a constitutional transition, indicates that the argument may be applied more broadly to authoritarian regimes (Smith, 2003).

Implicit in this argument is not that a corporate military prefers democracy per se, but that a corporate military can conceive of and prefer a viable, or legitimate, regime

change to dysfunctional authoritarianism. In the examples of Linz and Stepan (1996) and Smith (2003), the corporate military distinguished itself from the regime, saw its well-being jeopardized by the regime, and sought democratization as the most legitimate means of changing the regime. The military may under other circumstances—and presumably with anti-democratic values—prefer a regime other than democracy.

Military corporateness and its attendant interests are a necessary, if not sufficient variable, for explaining political outcomes like liberalization. The political significance of this view is inherent in that corporateness enables the military to distinguish itself from civilians and identify with the well-being of institutions, e.g. the status and prestige of the state, or of the military itself. The point here is simply that, values aside, corporateness per se increases the likelihood that a military will tolerate regime change.

And as Avant (1994, 12) argues, an organization's integrity—or corporateness[4]—enables it to articulate its preferences and pursue them as a political actor; corporateness and political preference articulation correlate positively. Thus, a corporate military can identify policies that are beneficial to it and distinguish them from policies that benefit only civilians or—in a military regime—the junta or dictator. It can also recognize policies that harm it or the state in institutional terms.

It follows logically that—all else being equal—a corporate military is more tolerant of regime change than a non-corporate, and typically politicized, military. For the same reasons that a more corporate military is capable of independent action, its autonomy renders it able to see itself and its institutional well-being as un-related to specific civilian leaders. And if the civilians pursue policies that the military deems

[4] Avant describes integrity as professionalism, but some key attributes, e.g. "a unified front," also correspond to corporateness.

counter to its institutional health or that of the state, a corporate military may prefer constitutional regime change. Constitutional regime change typically is conducted by civilians, generally through elections, and thus allows the corporate military to abstain from responsibility for changing the regime or its subsequent performance.

A non-corporate military, by contrast, is politicized and linked to regime civilians in ways that make its tolerance of regime change increasingly less possible. The less corporate the military is, the less able it will be to perceive itself as independent, articulate its own preferences, or act independently. It less able to recognize dysfunction in the political regime, and if it does, it is less likely to see itself holding a responsibility for how these dysfunctions affect various institutions, including the state and the military. Ultimately, it is less able to tolerate regime change because its fate is linked to those of its civilian masters in the regime.

The characteristics of corporateness—the degree to which the military is able to think and act autonomously, informed by its institutions, and as a unified whole—are readily identifiable in all militaries. The attributes of corporateness can be categorized and measured. Numerical values can and the resulting scale should be universally applicable. Corporateness Assessment Charts 2.1 and 2.2 detail the levels of corporateness and the corresponding 5-point numerical scale, and the 5 categories of corporateness that will be measured, along with the measurement criteria.

Attributes of military corporateness pertain at one level to the degree of autonomy and control the military has over decision-making about its internal affairs. For this reason, assessing military corporateness inherently involves examining civil-military relations too. In fact, there is conceptual tension in the notion that a corporate military

may enjoy autonomy from civilians while remaining subordinate to them. Most of this conceptual tension can be resolved by evaluating the military's political values, a separate variable which is the focus of the next section. Briefly, its values may range from respect for legitimacy of a civilian-led regime to a guardianship role that is perceived to require periodic intervention.

Pion-Berlin proposes an interest-based approach to understanding the military's corporate interests, which can also resolve some of the conceptual tension about corporate militaries and obedience. Pion-Berlin (1992), for instance, distinguishes between professional interests, like education and doctrine; professional-political interests, such as the defense budget; and political interests, such as internal security. He uses the dichotomous formulation of defensive and offensive corporateness to distinguish instances of professional corporateness from role expansion. Pion-Berlin's distinction explains the differing interests and behavior of obedient corporate militaries as opposed to the interests of corporate militaries that intervene against civilian leaders. While the former defend only their professional interests, the latter protect interests that are political in nature. Even this interest-based approach is dependent on the military's values about which interests to protect and how to protect them.

While Pion-Berlin's assessment of corporateness is useful—his categories provided the starting point for Corporateness Assessment Chart 2.2—his measurement criteria lacks nuance and is tautological. Essentially, he says that a highly corporate military has decision-making autonomy and therefore civilians do not control it. Some categories, such as defense budget, are simply impossible to operationalize and measure in a meaningful way. For example, what level of defense spending equates to high

military corporateness? On the basis of defense budget, one must conclude that the US military is the most corporate armed force in the world—which, in Pion-Berlin's framework, would also make it the most likely to intervene, since defense budgets straddle the distinction between professional and political concerns.

Pion-Berlin's standard leaves an analyst unable to distinguish a difference between such militaries as those of Turkey under General Evren in 1980 and Mali under LTC Toure in 1991 (Bratton, 1997). Both militaries seized power, thus both—in terms of autonomy from civilians—were highly corporate. On the other hand, militaries that are obedient to civilians lack corporateness in Pion-Berlin's estimation; thus the corporateness of the Chinese and American militaries is low, but otherwise difficult to distinguish. And the degree of corporateness of Arab militaries, such as in Egypt or Syria, depends on whether one views the authoritarian regime as military-dominated—thus highly corporate—or civilian-led—and lacking corporateness.

To overcome this problem and better distinguish among corporate militaries, I will grade the military on a scale of 1-5 in five categories of corporateness. The system essentially uses autonomy, institutionalization and integrity as the primary values of corporateness. Thus corporateness is not simply a reflection of whether the military is subordinate to civilians. In this study, a highly corporate military is able to act independently and to intervene, but is not defined as interventionist. A military low in corporateness may also intervene, but it is unlikely or unable to intervene as a cohesive institution; rather, intervention from within a weakly corporate military is more likely to come from a faction within the military.

Hypothesis, Expectations, and Testing

My expectation is that corporateness, which is not a fixed attribute, will roughly co-vary with liberalization. Moreover, corporateness will improve before liberalization, since a strongly corporate military is more tolerant of constitutional regime change than a weakly corporate military. The converse is also true; less corporate militaries are less likely to support political liberalization. So we can posit that the degree of corporateness correlates to the degree of political liberalization, since more expansive notions of political liberalization push a regime closer to democratization—and regime change.

One counter-argument that some may put forward here is that corporate militaries may just as easily support illiberal, or authoritarian, political outcomes as liberalization or democratization. This is true, but it is most likely the military's political values rather than its corporateness that lead it to support a particular political outcome. Corporateness means only that the military is more tolerant of regime change in a general sense. Also, intervening militaries are often not as corporate as imagined.

For instance, the Argentine military that seized power in 1966 and inaugurated the regime known as bureaucratic-authoritarianism was still recovering from armed clashes within its ranks in 1962-63 between Peronists and anti-Peronist constitutionalists (O'Donnell, 1988, 39-61; Huser, 2002, 37-39). Although military corporateness appeared to improve from 1963 to 1966, the military—which had previously taken power in 1955 and 1962—remained ideologically factionalized. In 1966, the military seized power from what many Argentines viewed as "an ineffectual and unrepresentative government," in the midst of "widespread disorder" (O'Donnell, 1988, 40). The leading military faction of "paternalists" held a corporatist and organicist outlook, admired Generalissimo Franco of Spain, and adhered to traditionalist Catholic views. Subsequently, in 1970 and again in

1971, other military factions—first the "nationalists" and then the "liberals"—maneuvered their way to the presidency.

H1: More fully corporate militaries are likely to support political liberalization. Thus, there is a correlation between improved military corporateness and political liberalization. Conversely, less corporate militaries are unlikely to promote or support political liberalization, so worsening corporateness is likely to correlate with reduced liberties.

There are two categories of positive test results. A weakly positive test result would show a simple correlation between corporateness and liberalization. An increase in corporateness should precede an increase in political liberalization and a decrease in corporateness will precede a decrease in liberalization.

A stronger positive test result would include evidence that the more corporate military sought or supported political liberalization. This result is stronger because it goes beyond correlation to indicate a causal connection: the increasingly corporate military worked to bring about liberalization.

There is an important caveat to talking of corporate militaries and their political behavior. Corporateness is an ideal-type quality describing a characteristic that varies in the "real world." While no military exhibits absolute corporateness, scholars may speak of the corporate interests and actions even of militaries exhibiting only a limited degree of corporateness. For instance, Claude Welch (1974) and Samuel Decalo (1990), writing about the political behavior of African militaries, speak of corporate reasons for intervention or withdrawal from power, while acknowledging the limited corporateness of these same militaries. Thus, while we may talk of corporate and non-corporate

militaries as ideal types, when we refer to specific militaries it should be in a more nuanced manner, e.g. “weakly” or “mostly” corporate as defined in Corporateness Assessment Chart 2.1 below.

The Military’s Political Values

Corporateness and corporate interests serve mainly to explain the military’s ability to see itself institutionally as independent of civilians and as a cohesive and professional entity. It is a necessary but not sufficient variable for explaining political outcomes, since it indicates the ability to think and act independently but not the military’s political preferences. A corporate military is more likely to accept constitutional regime change, but this does not necessarily mean it will prefer democracy to another political outcome if it sees a stable and legitimate alternative more to its liking. A second variable, the military’s political values, provides more specific guidelines to the military’s political stance and behavior. Essentially, the formula for a pro-liberalization military is a corporate military with pro-liberalization values.

Political values are an adjunct to the military’s organizational culture. The latter is most concerned with professional matters such as military doctrine (cf. Avant, 1993; Farrell, 1998; Kier, 1995; Legro, 1996). While all militaries have political values and the culture of each military is unique, the literature tends to ascribe this ethos to militaries as corporate entities. For instance, Huntington (1957, p. 10) describes the military’s shared sense of a “unique social responsibility,” or political values, as a quality deriving from corporateness.

Our definition of political values is close to the definition Taylor (2003, pp. 16-17) gives for military culture: it is the assumptions and values that enable officers to

make sense of the world and frame their choices. We are simply modifying this to emphasize "political choices," noting that this includes whether to intervene or not, as well as worldview and policy preferences. Taylor acknowledges the potential for "divided cultures" but believes it more likely that, in a hierarchical organization like the military, a dominant culture will prevail.[5]

Of course non-corporate militaries also have political values. They may reflect the views of rival factions or be adopted from a civilian patron. For instance, the ideal type party-army is one in which the Communist party and its values penetrate and are used to control the military (Kolkowicz, 1980; Perlmutter and LeoGrande, 1982). The actual autonomy of armies in Communist states has been more complex; militaries vary in corporateness under any political regime and civil-military system. Even so, scholars of civil-military relations in Communist states generally cast military participation in politics as occurring as an extension of party politics, rather than through independent, corporate action (Perlmutter and LeoGrande, 1982). Similarly, armies under personalistic regimes are essentially non-corporate, though the actual degree of corporateness varies. The political values of such militaries will reflect those of the personalistic dictatorship. These values are typically based on patronage and clientilistic relationships and reliance on the use of brute force in domestic society in the African cases examined by Decalo (1990).

What interests us regarding the military's political values is whether they lead it to support or oppose political liberalization. Civil-military and military organizational

[5] This is an internal attribute of corporateness since a corporate military controls the promotion of its officers and there is integrity to the rank and authority structure. Thus, the army is not riven into factions and senior officers cannot be overruled by their juniors simply because the latter report directly to a powerful civilian politician.

culture literature provides many perspectives of the factors constituting a military's ethos; we will focus specifically on the political aspects of these values, particularly those that may indicate support or opposition toward political liberalization.

Sources of political values

Many variables can affect the formation of a military's political values including military origins (Janowitz, 1964); the social components of the military (Janowitz, 1964; Nordlinger, 1977); civil-military structural relationships, particularly the presence of divided or unified government, since the latter compels the military to be more responsive (Avant, 1993 and 1994); domestic political culture, particularly whether it is consensual and commonsensical, or conflictual and thus more ideologically informed (Kier, 1995); formal and informal—including officers' "role beliefs" about national development and security doctrines (Fitch, 1998); "critical events" in the military's history (Taylor, 2003); and the similar notion of political learning about history (Harb, 2003).

We can aggregate these characteristics into several categories to provide context for our direct approach to the military's political values through detailed examination of its military journals. The contextual components include, first, the military's formal and informal security doctrine, which reflect its political values. Fitch (1998, 107) describes doctrine as "a set of teachings, often a set of principles or a creed." A military's security doctrine is the set of teachings and principles pertaining to its security role; it will vary from one nation or military to another.

Military history is a second contextual component. It includes the military's origins (Janowitz, 1964) and evolution and critical events in its organizational life (Taylor, 2003; Harb, 2003). Militaries learn from their history and gain certain precepts about themselves and their environment. Most relevant are how the military's role in history contributed to its view of political liberalization, particularly whether it developed a favorable view and why.

A third aspect of the military's ethos can be gleaned from relevant civilian and military institutions (Avant, 1993 and 1994) in Egypt, Syria, Turkey, and Pakistan. These include the executive center of government, the ruling party or dominant parties, and the army or armed forces. The civil-military institutional balance of power is relevant here, not simply because of the resulting space for the army to develop its own ideas (an aspect of corporateness), but for the resulting norms about legitimate authority that the military internalizes. For instance, does the military perceive itself as a corporate entity, a party army, or an extension of a personalistic dictatorship? Its institutional self-perception will be the starting point for much of the military's behavior.

Finally, social influences inform the military's political values. These consist of two salient factors: the domestic political environment, or domestic politics, and the societal makeup of the military itself. These two factors have independent importance in shaping military values, but they also have an interactive effect. As an independent attribute, domestic politics provides the environment in which military views of society evolve. The social composition of the military, particularly the officer corps, also will affect the military's ethos, since it is likely that the officers will share the social concerns, interests, and values of whatever groups are predominant within it.

Hypothesis, Expectations, and Testing

My expectation regarding political values and liberalization is that the military's political ethos will reflect increasing signs of support for political liberalization before the decision to liberalize is made or implemented.

H2: Corporate militaries are more likely to support and promote political liberalization if their values reflect aspects of liberalization, a quality that should be apparent beforehand. Conversely, if military discourse reflects an anti-liberalization outlook, the military can be expected to support a curtailment of political rights and civil liberties.

Measuring the military's political values is more difficult than measuring corporateness. Most militaries and military officers, even if engaged in politics, are reticent about their political positions and prefer to downplay their role. In authoritarian and semi-authoritarian states, there is the additional problem associated with whether free expression is permitted and whether public discourse is a credible reflection of private beliefs (Kuran, 1991). To gain more thorough understanding and systematic insight of the military's political values, we will examine its professional journals, as detailed below in Methodology.

We expect corporateness and political ethos to be complementary variables in some regards. First, this is because a corporate military has more autonomy over the evolution of its own ethos than does a non-corporate military. The implication of this is that the causal relationship—between corporateness and liberalization—is probably stronger in more corporate militaries. Also, as Bienen (1983) says, each military's unique values structure its corporate interests. Finally, we expect that a military's political ethos

will help tell the story of why a corporate military supported political liberalization, since corporateness alone does not indicate the military's political tendencies.

As with testing corporateness, there are two levels of positive test result for political ethos. A correlation between the independent variable and the dependent variable is the minimal positive standard. An increase in the pro-liberalization attributes of a military's political ethos should correlate to an increase in political liberalization. A decrease in military support for liberalization should correlate to a reduction of the latter. To boost the potential claim of causality, the sequencing should reflect that the military's values changed prior to the onset of liberalization.

A more strongly positive test result would show that a military with a pro-liberalization ethos actively supported or called for political liberalization before its onset, or that it initiated liberalization.

Typology of Military Corporateness and Political Values

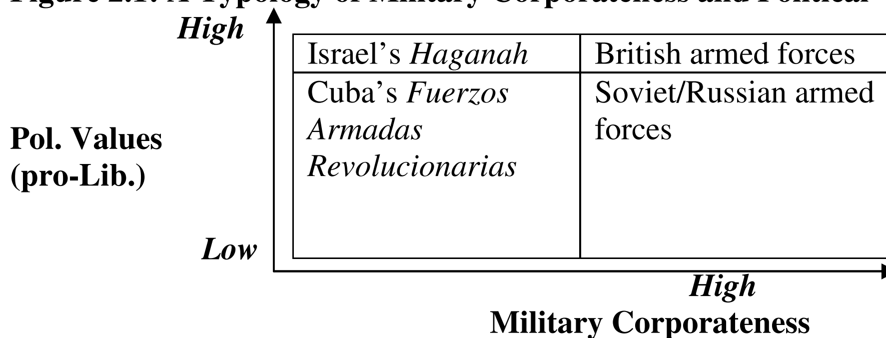
The combination of corporateness and political values in a military may lead to numerous outcomes in terms of military support for liberalization. These can be captured in four ideal types. For illustrative purposes, Figure 2.1 depicts a standard 2x2 quadrant, with historical examples of armed forces that exhibit combinations of the two variables—the military's corporateness and its political values regarding liberalization—at low and high levels. These militaries are described summarily; the main point is to illustrate that militaries of high or low corporateness may have pro- or anti-liberalization outlooks.

Militaries with low corporateness and a low value of political liberalization include Cuba's *Fuerzos Armadas Revolucionarias* (FAR), or Revolutionary Armed Forces, particularly in 1959 (cf. Fernandez, 1989, 2-3). For instance, the FAR was

responsible for multiple missions, including internal and external security, as well as socio-economic development. And the FAR's military leadership was effectively the political leadership of the national liberation movement. The FAR's political values reflected Fidel Castro's ideology of revolutionary violence to achieve socio-political change.

Israel's *Haganah* (Defense), forerunner of the Israel Defense Forces, had a low level of corporateness at the time of independence in 1948, but was pro-democracy. It may also be noted here that a low corporate, pro-liberalization military seems to be a historical exception—perhaps limited to nascent-state democracies, e.g. the US in 1776. In any case, Van Creveld (2002) describes the *Haganah* was one of several armed groups with different political and strategic perspectives, including also the *Irgun* and the Stern gang. The military quadrupled in manpower in 1948, but had no formal military schools and hardly a single experienced battalion commander to train and command its soldiers. David Ben Gurion simultaneously held key political and defense posts, first as chairman of the Jewish Agency and later as prime minister, all the while serving as defense minister. Yet the military has remained unquestionably subordinate to civilians and has never contested the legitimacy of Israel's parliamentary democracy.

Figure 2.1: A Typology of Military Corporateness and Political Values



The former Soviet and Russian military has a long reputation for high corporateness, but little apparent value for liberalization. Zisk (1993) describes the high professionalism and corporateness of the military's leadership and its education system, and consequently its ability to formulate strategic and operational doctrine. Taylor (2003) depicts the Russian army as highly corporate in terms of cohesiveness and autonomy regarding professional concerns. Taylor assessed the military to be apolitical in its focus on defense against external threats and its ethos of obedience to civilian authority. Yet the military's behavior effectively translated into support for communist party rule during most of the 20th century. The view of the military as anti-liberal is further substantiated by the 1991 coup attempt against the democratically-elected president, Boris Yeltsin, and a 1993 military mutiny during his presidency, as well as by renewed military obedience under Vladimir Putin's semi-authoritarian regime.

The British armed forces epitomize a highly corporate military with pro-democracy values. Beaumont (1987) describes a post-World War II force that is meritocratic in recruitment and promotion of personnel, has a high-quality education system, and is widely respected for its combat effectiveness and professional esprit. At the same time, the force is unquestionably obedient to democratically-elected civilian authorities. While the monarchy retains symbolic authority, the prime minister is the de facto commanding executive and the parliament has oversight of defense budget and policy (Wither, 2003). The military remained aloof from politics, even during its deployment in Northern Ireland.

The typology indicates the varieties of military corporateness and political values that exist in different militaries in practice. There are no perfectly corporate or non-

corporate militaries. Instead there is a range of corporateness, which has different dimensions, e.g. the personnel and education systems, or the mission focus. These must be evaluated separately to grasp their implications. It is also apparent that the political values of obedient militaries—those that do not intervene—are difficult to ascertain from behavior alone. This indicates the need for a methodological approach based on examining the military's discourse to understand its political values.

Methodology: Measuring Military Corporateness

Military corporateness is an essential aspect for understanding civil-military relations as well as the performance of the military. As Drysdale (1979) argues, the military is neither a purely corporate entity, aloof from society and able to modernize it, nor is it simply a reflection of society and repository of societal values. Rather, it stands somewhere in between, according to the differing degrees of corporateness of different militaries.

Corporate Assessment Chart 2.1 lists the five levels of corporateness that may be observed by assessing a state's armed forces on a numerical scale of 0-5. The scores will be tabulated in five-year intervals for each category in CAC 2.2, which details the standards for measuring corporateness. Thus, change over time can be monitored.

The numerical levels of corporateness in each category will be aggregated, or averaged to be more precise, in the concluding section for each five-year interval. This average score can be tracked over time to follow the evolution of military corporateness. For instance, with reference to CAC 2.2, the military's Personnel System might be assessed to be partially corporate, which is a score of 2. Its Defense Leadership might be assessed as mostly corporate, which is a score of 3. The aggregate score, i.e. the average,

would be a 2.5. An improvement in corporateness would be reflected in a subsequent score above 2.5, while a decrease would be apparent if the score fell below 2.5. The aggregate corporateness score will be compared to the change in liberalization over time to determine whether there is a correlation.

It should be noted that in quantifying corporateness for each category, certain aspects will be assessed in combination, rather than separately. For instance, Educational Autonomy is a combined assessment of the level of corporateness primarily of the military academies and military journals of the armed forces. These areas are not scored separately.

The numerical scale includes ideal-types at the high and low ends which will be seldom used, i.e. completely corporate (5) and non-corporate (0). The reality is that most military organizations exhibit at least weak corporateness in any given category and that few are completely corporate in any category.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 2.1: Levels of Corporateness

Five Levels of Corporateness and corresponding score (5 is most corporate)
CC=Completely Corporate (5)
VC=Very Corporate (4)
MC=Mostly Corporate (3)
PC=Partially Corporate (2)
WC=Weakly Corporate (1)
NC=Non-Corporate (0)

Corporateness has several important dimensions, which form the criteria for measuring it. Corporateness describes the degree to which the military is autonomous from civilian influence, has control over professional matters and is able to represent itself in professional and political matters. To be corporate, a military will have institutionalized procedures for recruitment and promotion so that these aspects of

personnel procedures are conducted as a meritocracy, not in a personalistic manner. The military command structure must have integrity so that orders are clear and command relationships are direct, i.e. they are not distorted by patronage or politics. The military organization must be cohesive so that its responsibilities and its actions are clear. A corporate military is able to maintain boundaries between professional military prerogatives and responsibilities and those of the government; it is not corrupted by the abuse of power.

Institutionalization is crucial to the longevity and stability of any professional organization (Huntington, 1968). It makes possible the lasting indoctrination and dissemination of the military's values and standard operating procedures and it prevents or inhibits the influence of independent societal factors. In this regard, institutionalization of the military's standards is critical to preventing politicization.

The integrity of the command structure is crucial for a transparent chain-of-command and is a prerequisite for orders to be obeyed and information to be respected (Drysdale, 1979). An integral military chain-of-command is hierarchical and is not penetrated by outside political forces or distorted by personalistic relationships within the military organization. Civilian control of the military does not violate this tenet, so long as civilian command is exercised from above the military chain-of-command, e.g. from the head of government through the defense minister to the chief of armed forces staff.

The cohesiveness of a military organization derives from the integrity of the chain of command and the discipline of the members. Cohesiveness makes it possible for the organization to behave coherently. The responsibilities of the organization and its members are understood by all. A cohesive organization is able to act with care and

precision, and to convey the meaning of its actions clearly. In other words, there are few opportunities for a maverick individual or faction to act in a way that is attributed to the organization as a whole. A cohesive organization is able to follow through on its commitments.

The autonomy of the military is perhaps best specified in the establishment of boundaries between the military's responsibilities and prerogatives and those of the government and other actors. Autonomy is often viewed as the key to whether corporateness exists. A military that is not autonomous cannot, by definition, act in its own professional interests. Nor can it act in the political realm. Thus, some regimes prefer to sacrifice their military's autonomy for the sake of control; however, this almost inevitably has deleterious effects on performance, or professionalism (Brooks, 1998; Rubin, 2002).

Corporateness Assessment Chart 2.2 delineates 5 categories of military corporateness and describes the key criteria for measuring them. The numbers in parentheses correspond to the strength, or level, of corporateness. The latter refers to the 5-point scale—from non-corporate to completely corporate—which is indicated in Chart 2.1. Note that because non-corporate (0) and completely corporate (5) are ideal types, which cannot be found in actual military organizations, measurement criteria are not given for those two levels of corporateness.

Some notes about measuring or scoring corporateness follow:

- The criteria are often presented as a range, e.g. weakly (1) to partially (2) corporate. In such instances, the intensity of a characteristic—e.g. whether patronage in the personnel system mars meritocracy on a system-wide basis, or is

considered more of a random factor—determines whether the military is scored at the upper or lower level of the range.

- In all the categories below there are multiple criteria for measuring corporateness. Multiple low or high scores in one category pull the score in that category down or up, respectively. If one criterion typifies the military—e.g. engagement in the economy is typified by corruption—the military's corporateness level will reflect this criterion, regardless of other criteria.
- The "bias" in the scoring system is that it looks for flaws in corporateness, based on various sources, and works down from 4, rather than up from 1.
- The absence of data on these criteria may also affect the scoring. Scores may be artificially high if negative reports are not available or uncovered, and low if positive reports are not available or discovered during the research phase.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 2.2: Categories and Measurement Criteria[6]

Corporateness Category	Measurement Criteria
1. Personnel System	Military controls personnel decisions, e.g. recruiting new personnel, promotions, discharges and retirement. The integrity of the military chain-of-command is not violated by political or personal relationships or other ad hoc arrangements in a very (4) corporate military. • A military with actively conflicting political factions may be weakly (1) to partially (2) corporate, depending on the intensity and scale of conflict. • A military that is commanded as a personalistic fief, with patronage doled out as a reward for loyalty may be weakly (1) or partially (2) corporate if the patronage extends throughout the ranks. • If patronage is limited, the military may still be mostly (3) corporate. The basic principle of recruitment is the provision of entry to all qualified citizens in a very (4) corporate military. The distinction at this level may be the discriminatory use of security criteria to exclude some citizens based on political belief. Another measurement is whether military personnel are a demographic reflection of society. • Active and large-scale discrimination for or against certain groups, e.g. ethnic or sectarian, leaves the military weakly (1) or partially (2) corporate. • A military that does not discriminate but whose personnel demographics do not reflect society's ethnic or sectarian balance may be mostly (3) or very (4) corporate, depending on the extent of the imbalance. Qualifications for entry and promotion are entirely meritocratic in a very (4) corporate

[6] The categories of corporateness draw much from Pion-Berlin (1992), but the measuring standards are my own.

	military. Meritocratic standards for promotion are in place and enforced. Another means of recognizing a meritocratic versus a patronage or loyalty-based system is whether a standardized and universally-applied system exists for retirements and for discharge on basis of poor performance or misbehavior. • Some laxity of standards is noticeable in a mostly (3) corporate military. • There is a systemic problem with the enforcement of standards in a weakly (1) or partially weakly (2) corporate military.
2. Mission Exclusivity	The state's armed forces have exclusive responsibility for their mission. The armed forces exclusive mission in practice—if not constitutionally—is external defense.[7] If the military's mission is competitive or redundant with that of other domestic organizations, e.g. internal security (police) and national economic development (public- and private-sector civilian organizations), its corporateness is affected, e.g. through political competition for funding and prestige. Depending on the extent of the competition and ensuing politicization of the security mission, corporateness may range from weak (1) to mostly (3) corporate. If the military is actively and openly involved in domestic politics, e.g. through party membership or open support of one political party, its corporateness will probably be weak (1) or partial (2). Other domestic missions, such as involvement in the economy or building of infrastructure also typically erode corporateness. Direct involvement in business by the military results in weak (1) or partial (2) corporateness, depending on its extent and related factors such as graft and kickbacks. • Direct involvement in the economy is measured by whether active duty officers are responsible for profit-oriented enterprises. This has a greater negative impact on corporateness than indirect military involvement, e.g. the assignment of retired officers to oversee economic activities. • Systemic participation by officers in graft and other illicit business activities reflects a further deterioration of military corporateness to weak (1). Infrastructural development, e.g. road or communication networks, is a common function of many militaries. It may result in a range from weak (1) to very (4) corporate, depending on whether profit motives (2-3) and graft and corruption (1-2) come into play and how extensive they are.
3. Educational autonomy	The armed forces control the system of education and training for all personnel, and oversee doctrinal development. In the education system, levels of corporateness can be defined foremost by the abundance and quality of domestically-available schooling. A professional military may receive valuable education opportunities abroad for its officers, but heavy reliance on foreign schooling may reflect a weakness in domestic educational resources. • The minimum standard for partial (2) corporateness is military academies to provide the equivalent of a junior-college education while commissioning officers. The academy would bestow a diploma, akin to an associate degree, after at least 2 years of study. • Mostly (3) corporate requires at least an indigenous command and staff college for field grade officers. Additionally, the academy-level schooling requires completion of a 4-year, university-level educational course for a cadet to become an officer. • Very (4) corporate requires at minimum a war college-equivalent for senior officers. Staff colleges for each service—not just one staff college for all services—are another hallmark of a very (4) corporate military. Military doctrine, professional standards, and military and extra-military values are

[7] For instance, American military officers vow to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic." In practice, however, the mission focus is external, with the exception of temporary emergency situations—usually pertaining to natural disaster.

	promulgated in schools and in professional military journals. The quality and professionalism of the journals also helps determines the degree of corporateness. • The minimum standard for partial (2) corporateness is an armed forces-wide journal for officers and men. • The existence of service-specific (e.g. army, navy, air force) journals is a minimum standard for mostly (3) corporate militaries. • Specialty journals, e.g. branch- or military occupational specialty-specific (e.g. armor, engineers, and infantry), or for senior officers, are a minimal requirement for a very (4) corporate military. For the above criteria, the quality of education and journals is also relevant and was used to move the corporateness score up or down within a given level of corporateness, e.g. poorly-run service staff colleges would result in a score between 3 and 4, rather than a 4.
4. Force structure	Manpower levels and unit structure reflect doctrinal considerations that correlate to national strategy. From the standpoint of corporateness, the main indicator is stability of the force structure. A force structure in flux, e.g. through rapid expansion, risks the cohesiveness and institutional well-being of the organization, including practices, traditions, and values. • More analytical weight is given to changes in unit structure than manpower because a stable unit structure may be able to absorb large increases or decreases in manpower. A complete change in the basic unit structure, e.g. from a brigade-centric to a division-centric structure, would result in weak (1) corporateness; the score would improve by one level annually, e.g. from weak (1) to partial (2) corporateness after one year, barring other changes. • For instance a change in basic unit structure in 1992 would result in weak (1) corporateness. By 1995, aside from other considerations, the force structure would be rated very (4) corporate. Corporateness is also affected by an expansion within the existing force structure if the rate of growth is rapid. The effect on corporateness can be correlated to percentage increase in manpower or in combat units. • The force structure is very (4) corporate when relatively stable, e.g. less than 5 percent change annually. • A mostly (3) corporate force may experience expansion between 5 and 10 percent change in size annually. • Rapid expansion or change in size, e.g. of more than 10 percent annually, equates to partial (2) corporateness. • Flux of greater than 15 percent annually is indicative of weak (1) corporateness. Force structure is less determinative of reduced corporateness per se than it is a reflection that corporateness is vulnerable. Thus it is the weakest of the 5 categories or indicators of corporateness. This category is relevant because major disruptions of the force structure do enable competing values, including political values, to more readily enter the armed forces.
5. Defense Leadership	The civil-military nexus and command structure is among the most important determinants of corporateness. Distortions in the chain of command may give military leaders the leeway to evade civilian instructions or to practice role expansion. A very (4) corporate military has a clear chain of command, typically from a civilian executive, thru a civilian defense minister, to a uniformed military commander. Variations from this that obscure the command relationships, e.g. civilian command and control runs through two executive lines, may result in a mostly (3) corporate military. At the highest level of command, dysfunction in the civil-military relationship is easily detected. • A uniformed defense minister reduces the level of corporateness by one level since a military officer in this post is likely to permit role expansion of the

	military and inhibit civilian control. • Additional significant distortions in the chain of command, e.g. lack of clarity or certainty in the command relationship between civilians and their military subordinates, may reduce the level of corporateness by an additional level. Another obvious distortion results from military governance. When the military rules, military commanders and their subordinate relationships are de facto politicized. • An actively governing military is weakly (1) or partially (2) corporate. • A military that staffs many government agencies while civilians govern is partially (2) to mostly (3) corporate. The integrity of the chain-of-command is institutionalized, nor personalized. At senior levels of defense leadership, this is indicated by regular rotation of the senior defense leaders, including the defense minister, chief of staff, and service chiefs. Stagnant leadership reflects reduced meritocracy and vitality—hallmarks of a corporate, professional institution—in the senior military leadership. • A regular pattern of lengthy—stagnant—leadership, e.g. multiple officers serving more than 6 years in a position, at senior defense levels reduces the level of corporateness by at least one level. In addition to regular rotations of leadership, civilian leaders may replace senior military leaders due to policy disagreements. Thus the reason for replacement of military leaders—other than routine rotation—is indicative of corporateness. • A military that is mostly (3) or very (4) corporate typically has a forum in which to express views on strategy, typically with the defense minister, though leaders may be replaced in the event of policy disagreement. • If military leaders are replaced due to civilian or civil-military political infighting that is systemic, this reflects politicization of the military and the military is weakly (1) or partially (2) corporate, depending on intensity and duration of the conflict. A regular pattern in which senior defense leaders influence civilian policy is primarily a case of role expansion, but also indicates politicization and thus reduced corporateness. • For instance, the regular presence of military leadership in cabinet meetings, or a National Security Council that institutionalizes the military's input to civilian policy-making, are examples of such behavior, which leaves military partially (2) or mostly (3) corporate (assuming it is not governing).

An important caveat regarding the scoring system in CAC 2.1 is that the numerical value is only a crude representation of corporateness. As such, it represents corporateness in only a single dimension, from non-corporate to completely corporate. To provide another dimension, in which corporateness is infused with political values, we can draw on corporate variations, or models. These variations on corporateness, e.g. a commercially-enterprising military or a national guardianship role, tell us more about how the military behaves, whether it is partially corporate or very corporate.

Methodology: Assessing Political Values

It is more difficult than measuring corporateness to determine objective standards for assessing a military's political values. For the two primary cases, the approach will be to examine the flagship armed forces military journal for the period studied. The journal will be perused with an eye toward finding published military views expressing a position on political liberalization—whether merely descriptive, or favorable or negative. Although there are shortcomings to basing such an assessment on the military journals—see "The use of military journals" (below)—it has the potential of being among the most comprehensive means of surveying the military's political views.

A comprehensive survey might also be achieved through a questionnaire distributed throughout the officer corps, but the prospects for completing such an approach with the Egyptian and Syrian militaries is dim.[8] Interviewing officers and other officials with first-hand knowledge of the military's political values can also be used to supplement the main technique, though it must be recognized that without a large group of interviews, there is a degree of randomness to this approach.

The shorter cases, Pakistan and Turkey, will be assessed primarily through a survey of secondary sources about the military political values, including perceivable behavior. This raises the somewhat paradoxical preliminary observation that the two non-Arab cases, in which liberalization has reached farther than in the Arab cases, are also characterized by greater political activism by the military, at least in terms of military coups and other visible interventions during the period studied. In other words, there is more visible political behavior by the Turkish and Pakistani militaries to evaluate than

[8] Although I was able to interview two Egyptian officials, a number of interview requests to the Egyptian Defense Attache were not satisfied. Similarly, a number of requests to the Syrian Embassy did not come to fruition.

there is in the cases of Egypt and Syria. So from this standpoint, reliance on the military journals for the latter cases is more necessary because there is little alternative for attaining comprehensive insight into their political values.

Finally, I must note that my understanding of the character and quality of three of the four militaries in this project is not driven solely by research into journals and books in Arabic or English, or by the interviews or e-mail exchanges that complemented my analysis. Prior to undertaking this project, I traveled several times to Egypt and Syria, and once to Turkey, mostly on official duties as a Middle East analyst for the US Department of Defense during the 1990s and early 2000s. In the course of those travels, and on occasion here in Washington, DC, I met with military officers and civilians and discussed various professional and other issues with them—though not with this specific project in mind.

The analytical organization of the different aspects of political values is described in the following section.

Freedom House and Categories of Political Values

Freedom House has conducted an annual evaluation of every country in the world since 1972. Relying on Freedom House for assessments of political liberalization permits several countries to be evaluated over different periods of time with a common and credible set of criteria. Thus it is hoped, this study can steer clear of potential controversy over the extent of actual liberalization.

Freedom House assesses freedom in two broad categories: political rights and civil liberties. These categories it further subdivides into a total of seven sub-categories,

including three for political rights and four for civil liberties. The political rights sub-categories are the electoral process; political pluralism and participation; and the functioning of government. The four sub-categories for civil liberties include freedom of expression and belief; associational and organizational rights; rule of law; and personal autonomy and individual rights. Freedom House operationalizes these sub-categories by finding data to answer three to four questions pertaining to each, for a total of 25 questions.

For the purposes of a study of the military's mindset about political liberalization, the Freedom House methodology can be simplified by dropping two sub-categories. The dropped categories are those that are less relevant to freedom or are redundant to other categories. Thus, "functioning of government" can be dropped since it seems more an indicator of government efficiency than of political rights. And "personal autonomy and individual rights" can be considered as part of "freedom of association."

The resulting set of five sub-categories, based on a minor modification of the Freedom House methodology, can then be used as an analytical framework for understanding the military's thinking on a variety of topics related to political liberalization. The list follows (including the term used in this study):

- Electoral Process (Elections)
- Political pluralism and participation (Multi-party system)
- Associational and organizational rights (Freedom of association)
- Freedom of expression and belief (Freedom of expression)
- Rule of law (Rule of law)

The military's views on these topics can be tracked over time in its military journals to assess its degree of support or opposition to them, as well as to see whether these views evolve over time.

The use of military journals

Relying on military journals as a source for understanding the military's political values has methodological advantages as well as risks. One clear benefit is that a comprehensive survey can be conducted on a variety of issues. Reliance on military journals over a roughly 20 year period permits systematic coverage of the deliberate thoughts of a large body of military officers of different ranks and backgrounds and over a lengthy time period. Additionally, the topics discussed in the journal cover a range of issues. Obviously these include doctrinal and professional matters pertaining to soldiers, but many journals also discuss political, social, and economic issues. The choice of topics and their coverage reflects the military's perspective.

There are also methodological risks, some of which are common to all military journals and some of which are unique to authoritarian regimes. For instance, it may be argued that in an authoritiarian regime it is difficult to distinguish the views of the military from those of the rulers, since military loyalty and support are indispensable tools for regime survival. Therefore, the military's outlook may be presumed to be a mouthpiece for the regime's perspective. This critique does not necessarily hold that the military's stated views are inauthentic, but that they are indistinguishable from the rulers and therefore presumably not of analytical interest.

An alternative critique is that the military's publicly espoused views are not authentic, as they represent an effort to stay publicly in synch with either the authoritarian regime or with perceived public sentiment and are simply an exercise in rhetoric or post facto justification. Of course, one implication of this critique is that the military's views are distinct from the rulers, but must be found by looking at private communications, rather than in the public record. The logic is that private pronouncements are more likely to represent the 'real' thoughts of military officers, since these expressions are not driven by a desire to influence the audience.

In response to these critiques it must be acknowledged first that no single source—whether public or private information—can illuminate every corner of the military's mindset fully. But all the critiques can be addressed through a logical consideration of their merits, as well as by reference to debates about them in the civil-military literature.

First, it can be observed that all recorded information has an audience. Even in their private exchanges officers seek to influence each other. They are subject to an explicitly hierarchical system and it is difficult to imagine that they are free from the expectations of their audience when they engage in private discussion—unless they are dealing only with their equal-rank counterparts.

Another form of private information is the interview, which typically includes assurances of confidentiality. While interviews are certainly a credible supplement to other information, it would be difficult—without formal approval and full access granted by the military authorities—to be confident of systematic entrée into the world of the military officer in this manner. Moreover, in any interview, the interviewee plays a

subjective role and may be as interested in providing ‘spin’ and justification as factual details. The promise of confidentiality may increase this risk.

Some may argue that the purest expression of private beliefs is what one records in a memoir or diary. But of course these media also have an audience. A memoir is a published record of an officer’s thoughts and experiences and the lessons learned from them. And a diary, while unpublished, may be written to convince oneself or a future researcher of the right course of one’s actions. The above discussion highlights the difficulties with the premise that ‘private’ information is uniquely free of distortion and thus more credible than ‘public’ information.

Turning to the line of criticism that views the military and its journals as simply an instrument of a state, in this view it difficult to see that the military holds independent views. This notion may be particularly strong when thinking about an authoritarian regime, but it may equally be said to result from an open political system in which the military’s views simply reflect those of a free society.

This critique can be answered by drawing on a wide range of civil-military literature, which reflects the understanding that the military, while a particularly lethal and vital instrument of state, is a more or less independent actor among the various organizations within the state. Of course, one subject of this dissertation is to better understand the dimensions of military corporateness, including autonomy, and it is clear that absolute autonomy exists only as an ideal type. Even so, it is also clear that civil-military relations are structured to provide autonomy and that some militaries enjoy more autonomy than others. But some degree of autonomy is necessary in any military so that the armed forces can perform its security function at a level satisfactory to those who

control power in the state, whether they are civilians or military officers, dictators or democrats.

A more unique critique—pertaining to the Syrian case study on both theoretical and empirical grounds—might probe the value of unswervingly ideological presentations. When military journals such as Syria's *Jaysh Al Sha'b* are published by the self-styled "ideological army" of an authoritarian regime that glorifies Asad and Ba'thism, what can be gained from them analytically?

This critique is answered in part by Lisa Wedeen (1999), who argues that the Syrian regime's public rhetoric, e.g. in the media and spectacles of cultification, have political relevance, even if the rhetoric seems excessive and unrealistic. The main purpose of such rhetoric is to facilitate regime control, which it achieves by setting guidelines for acceptable speech and action, the punishment for disobedience, and the characteristics for belonging. The rhetoric in the military journals can be seen as a specific piece similar to and with similar aims as that of the regime's party and official media and other public representations of itself. It was intended, Wedeen argues, to establish at minimum official benchmarks for the public and more expansively to assert the regime's dominance of public discourse.

Even so, the discourse in the military journal differed in some key ways from that promulgated by the regime more generally. The professional focus of the military media is an obvious difference, but another distinction is also worth noting, since it highlights that even a weakly corporate military like Syria's is conscious of and acts to retain its corporateness. This distinction emerges from Wedeen's observation that the one of the key features of the "semiotic content" of the regime's rhetoric and icons is "the

metaphorical family" (p. 49). This representation includes a cultish depiction of "Asad's power as *shared* [italics in original] with other family members," suggesting "his periodic reliance on, as well as his dominance over, his kin" (p. 58). She goes on to mention Asad's mother, Naisa, his brother Rifat, and sons Basil and Bashar, as chief among these family members.

The military journal *Jaysh Al Sha'b* by contrast rarely depicted or discussed Asad's family members. In the period I surveyed, Rifat or his Defense Companies were seldom featured—only a handful of article titles (cf. No. 1151, 1228, and 1364) highlighted one or the other. It was in fact Asad's longtime loyalist Sunni friend and chief military henchman, LTG Mustafa Tlas, who was—along with Asad--most often represented in the military journal. In other words, from the military's standpoint—and doubtless with the supervision of Tlas and the approval of Asad—it was LTG Tlas rather than any Asad blood relative with whom Asad shared power. As chief of staff and then minister of defense, Tlas' standing was not surprising, but it does underscore a difference between the military's views of—and portrayal of—the Asad regime and the representation of that cult to the broader, civilian public.

Examination of an ideological military's public representation of its political values—not available outside the military journals—is an opportunity to trace the military's and regime's views over time and to note differences, such as that pointed out above. Tracing the discourse of the military journals can highlight that rhetoric and ideology are not simply exercises in the power of regime-controlled media to repeat the Truth, but may—indeed, must—evolve in certain ways to retain their relevance. For, as the Syrian case will show, the military's discourse about political liberalization—first

supportive and later much more ambiguous—adapted to reflect changing security concerns rather than remaining fixed in its earlier endorsement.

Scholars frequently and without controversy use military journals as a source for understanding military and strategic doctrine and tracking doctrinal shifts, in both democracies and dictatorships. Kimberly Zisk and Beth Kier providing illuminating contrasts, as one (Zisk, 1993) looks at the military in an authoritarian state and the other (Kier, 1997) at democratically-controlled militaries, yet both treat the military as an autonomous organization.

Zisk (1993) shows that the Soviet General Staff was both professional and corporate, as well as "quite powerful" in influencing military policy (31-32). And her source for the General Staff's doctrinal views was a variety of publications issued by the military publishing house, *Voenizdat*. Kier (1997), in a study of French and British military doctrine, takes an even stronger stand on military autonomy. In her view, the military is among the most "complete" and "total" organizations found in society; its organizational culture is internally developed and autonomous, and fully indoctrinates its members (29-31). Her main sources for understanding the military's culture are a broad spectrum of military publications; these include official publications, such as training manuals, academic curriculum, and military journals, and unofficial ones, such as officers' personal histories and various internal communications.

More relevant to research on the military's political values are a number of studies of Latin American militaries and military regimes. For instance, Alfred Stepan, focusing primarily on Brazil (1971) and Peru (1977) used military journals as his primary source, supplementing these with interviews. His studies trace the transition from "old

professionalism” to “new professionalism” in the militaries of developing states, and the doctrinal relevance of this for national policy (*cf*. 1977, 230-231).

Frederick Nunn (1995, 3), examining the military’s place in “(re)democratization,” describes “content analysis of military literature produced for internal consumption” as “the best way to assess changes in military doctrinal emphases and shifts in self-perception.” For Nunn, internal consumption meant “officially sanctioned literature from journals.” His description, of course, highlights the complexity of the issue of ‘public’ and ‘private’ communications. David Pion-Berlin (1995) references Nunn as “one of the few specialists on the Latin American military who have taken the military mind-set seriously” and cites Nunn’s “encyclopedic review of writings in sixty-five defense-related professional journals” as the basis for Nunn’s analytical credibility.

Pion-Berlin (1995) urges a re-prioritization of analysis toward understanding the military’s political values to come to a more balanced understanding of the military’s true motives, which are explained by a combination of material (corporate) interests and moral (political) values. His view is that information about the military mind should come from such public information as is “available in military journals, speeches, and conferences,” as well as from interviews with retired officers. His main advice in determining the credibility of such information is to follow “the time sequence” between the military’s “doctrinal innovations” and changes in its “behavior” in order “to establish some cause and effect.” The military’s stated ideology may be treated as authentic if it can be shown to have “permeated the ranks,” for instance as “consistently elaborated in military writings” for some time before “a coup,” or other relevant action by the military

(p. 154). Pion-Berlin's emphasis on time sequencing is followed in this dissertation project to determine the extent to which the military may have helped shape liberalization or simply responded to it.

Bruce Farcau (1996, 6-13) reviews a number of methodologies prior to explaining his own study of ideological factions within the military. Farcau treats the use of military journals a valid but flawed approach, preferring direct interviews with officers. To Farcau, the main methodological problem with relying on journals is a tendency by scholars to equate the existence of ideas there with their practice by the military's institutions and leaders, as well as the converse—seeing in an absence of certain ideas from the military's literature their absence from the military mindset. In sum, he says, "this reliance on professional publications…implies a direct correlation between the themes studied therein and the actual policies of the armed forces which is not supported by more substantive means such as the actual deployments of military units or a comparison to military activities over time" (1996, 7).

Farcau certainly has a point, but his critique is problematic since it assumes a research question designed to search for military misbehavior, i.e. military deployments or other activities. The reliance on interviews is a valuable supplement to examining military literature for insights into the military mind, but is unlikely to uncover military behavior. In the case of a research question framed by military support for a strategy or policy, which civilians initiated, it makes sense to evaluate military journals to assess military attitudes toward this policy. And this approach is logical in any cases characterized mainly by military obedience. Military behavior in such cases is most noticeable in terms analogous to the concept of "the dog that didn't bark." Thus, for most

Arab world civil-military cases since the 1970s, military behavior is subtle if evident at all.

While the previous authors focused on Latin America, some recent studies in other regions are also relying on military journals, at least in part, to assess the military's values. Hillel Frisch (2003, 212-216) has relied on military journals to identify the views of Arab militaries regarding religion. Although he does not provide a methodological justification for his use of military journals, Frisch does indicate that he considers the journals to reflect "the corporate identity of the armed forces." Noteworthy too are his journal choices: *Jaysh Al Sha'b* for Syria and *Al Nasr* for Egypt. He describes each journal as "the official army organ"[9] for that country.

Brian Taylor (2003) uses a variety of military sources to understand the organizational culture of the Russian military. His study delves into a number of variables to assess the manner in which historical precedents, such as failed intervention in Russia, resulted in a pattern of military obedience toward civilians. In evaluating the military's organizational culture, Taylor treats "military journals, memoirs, interviews, survey data, and internal armed forces communications" as more or less equal sources. Taylor is aware that "it may be hard to distinguish between those officers who have been socialized to hold the official government view and those who do not accept the official culture but consider it unwise to say so" (34-35). He cautions, however, that the problem of "manipulated culture" has sometimes been "overstated." Taylor's advice is that "the careful researcher has to be aware of the potential problem of manipulated culture and look for communications from a range of actors and in a variety of forms and media."

[9] These are actually service-wide journals, not just army journals.

In addition to Frisch (2003), several scholars have made good use of the Syrian military journals, including Van Dusen (1971 and Eisenstadt (1992). My examination of scholarship about the Egyptian military and its professional journals benefited from earlier studies, e.g. Vatikiotis (1961) and Berger (1967), but these mainly provided descriptions of military views excerpted from the military's literature. There does not seem to be a comprehensive study of those journals to gain insight into the military's political values, particularly regarding liberalization. This is a gap my study will attempt to fill.

For the study of the Syrian military's political values, a total of about 450 issues of *Jaysh Al Sha'b* were reviewed, which includes every edition in the Library of Congress collection for the 1970s and 1980s.[10] For the Egyptian military's political values, a total of 170 issues of *Al Nasr* were reviewed, also covering all the available editions for the 1970s and 1980s. In addition, numerous issues of *Al Quwat Al Musallaha* (*The armed forces*), published only in the early 1970s, and *Al Difa'* (*Defense*), published beginning in 1984, were reviewed for the Egypt case study.

I translated all the Arabic-language military journal articles from Arabic into English and am responsible for their accuracy.[11]

Interaction of Corporateness and Political Values: Corporate Variants

The notion of a "corporate military" may be misleading because it implies either an ideal type—complete corporateness—or it describes corporateness insufficiently.

[10] Library of Congress holdings for *Jaysh Al Sha'b* span 1970 to 1982, and 1990-1993. The journal was published weekly until the end of March, 1979 and bimonthly thereafter. Some editions are not available, e.g. the bound volume for 1981 does not include No. 1449 or 1450 of November 1981 (the month of Syria's 3rd parliamentary elections under Asad).

[11] I received valuable assistance from the staff at the Library of Congress, particularly Mr. Fawzi Tadros, and several others native or fluent in Arabic and am grateful for their help. I used commonly accepted transliteration standards to render Arabic words and names readable to non-Arabic readers.

Quantifying or measuring corporateness records the relative strength of corporateness, as described in CAC 2.1 and CAC 2.2, addresses this problem. Even so, it measures corporateness in only one dimension along a scale from non-corporate to corporate. But aside from strength, there are many variations of corporateness among militaries. These typically introduce elements of a second variable—the military's political values.

For instance, some countries establish a professional conventional military force that is mostly corporate, but the force is charged with additional non-military missions in the civilian economy. Another force may not be assigned economic missions, but its corporateness may reflect notions of community and communal tensions that are also present in society. A third military may be strongly corporate, but it perceives its mission as not only defense of the country from external threats, but guardianship of a certain idea of the nation or republic.

In each of these examples, the level of corporateness might in theory be the same, but the specific characteristics, political values, and potential dysfunctions of the military would differ. In literature about civil-military relations, these nuanced differences are described in various models of civil-military relations that essentially are variations of corporateness.

There are probably as many corporate variations as there are countries and militaries, but they can be aggregated into some ideal-type variations. The most promising variations for this study are found in literature about civil-military relations in the developing world. These include:

- Repository of societal pathologies. The military may be among the most corporate of entities in the nation, but it is suffused with societal as well as

bureaucratic and professional values that have praetorian implications. Nordlinger (1977).

- Party-army. The army is linked to a political party, often in a single-party regime, e.g. communism. The relative autonomy of the party and the military, and their relative power, may vary across space and time, as well as from issue to issue. Perlmutter and LeoGrande (1982)
- Institutionally-factionalized military. Military is factionalized into conventional forces versus military security apparatus; military institution withdraws from politics to save itself. Stepan (1986 and 1988)
- Civil-military ideological alliances. Military has political and ideological ties to civilian party, which have implications for regime transition. Farcau (1996)
- Mission-focused military. While a country may face internal or external threats, the military is most focused on its professional mission when facing an external threat. Desch (1999)
- Military corporation or military business. Military may perform non-military activities in the economy if historical precedent exists or substantial payoffs are available. Mora (2004); Siddiqa (2007)
- Guardian of state or nation. Official "dual function" of armed forces leads it into other non-military roles, particularly as guardian of state or nation. Often weak professional and corporate standards result in dysfunctional guardianship, e.g. unprofessional and unaccountable behavior by the military. (Bradford, 2005)

Societal pathologies. Officers in the military approximate a corporate entity permeable to societal influences, according to Nordlinger (1977). The military is a

bureaucracy, characterized by patterned relationships among individuals and units, as well as such characteristics as merit-based advancement, rationality in decision-making, and a hierarchical command structure. Like all professionals, military officers value their autonomy, exclusiveness, and expertise highly; meddling with these attributes is among the likeliest causes of military intervention. Additional corporate values with political relevance include a desire for order and revulsion for the inherent give and take of political activity (by other groups). But the military, though more corporate than almost any civilian organization, is not hermetic and some aspects of society, such as communalism, are inextinguishable. In any communally-mixed military, certain regional, ethnic, and sectarian groups are likely to predominate and even such mundane actions as promotions and assignments can take on communal and thus political overtones. Class plays less important a role. The predominant class background of Arab officers is lower-middle, but their perception of the distribution of political power could lead either to modernizing and progressive economic goals or to defense of the status quo.

Dynamic party-army relations. The relations between the party and the military vary from country to country; the supposition of outright party supremacy is not always accurate. Additional the relative autonomy of the military and party, and their relative power, varies over time and from issue to issue, according to Perlmutter and LeoGrande (1982). Three general models of party-army relations can be identified, progressing from greater to less autonomy: coalitional, symbiotic, or fused. In a coalitional relationship, the autonomy of each institution is strong. The coalition persists because both organizations benefit and perceive the benefits as mutual. Symbiosis describes a co-dependent

partnership between the party and military, where a mutually dependent structure replaces a mutually beneficial one. The institutions have different functional roles, but the elites may be difficult to categorize as members of one or the other institution. In a fused relationship, there is virtually no distinction between the two institutions or their roles.

Institutionally-factionalized military. In the 1980s, Alfred Stepan's (cf. 1986 and 1988) view of the military in politics became simpler and essentially structural. He looked at the competing interests of the military as institution and the military as government as the motivator for a withdrawal from politics. In this view, the military as institution initiated a return to barracks out of concern that its professionalism—in terms of both abilities and ethos—was being eroded by the necessities of government or, more specifically, by the repressive tactics required of an authoritarian regime. Essentially, the military institution was concerned that the security apparatus was ascendant and its values and practices were taking root. This can lead to a coup by the military to restore power to civilians, as in Greece, Peru, and Portugal (Stepan, 1986), or to a strategic course of liberalization with the same aim (Stepan, 1988). In the latter case, which describes the Brazilian path to democratization, the military withdrawal from power was enabled by an alliance between its own softliners and allies in civil society.

Civil-military ideological alliances. To Farcau (1996), factionalization is inherent to all militaries, even corporate ones. Officers align themselves according common experiences, generational issues, regional commonalities, and other factors. Officers typically rally behind charismatic leadership; ideology—the worldview of the leading officer—typically becomes an instrument with which the military faction allies itself to civilian factions. For the military officers, the ideology and the civil-military alliance—is

a means to an end, and the aims are typically personal-corporate in nature, e.g. competing for promotions, assignments, and resources. These goals became political in that affiliation with a political party enhanced the military faction's prospects for achieving them. In the cases Farcau examines, especially in Brazil, the ideology of the prevailing military faction and its civilian allies is pro-Western and favors free markets and democratization. This affects the political choices made by the military and ultimately leads to democratization.

Mission-focused military. The nature of the threat that a country faces affects the military, the civilian government, and society, according to Desch (1999). From the military's perspective, internal threats may emanate against it, from the government and society, with different effects. An external threat typically leads the military to maintain a professional mission focus, thereby allowing civilians to strengthen their control over the military. In the case of internal threats, a threat from society against government and military can result in military-backed dictatorship. A threat from the government against the military likely will result in military intervention to change the government. And if the government and society both pose a threat to the military, the military will seize power to govern.

Military corporation or business. Many developing world states engage their militaries in non-military, e.g. commercial and economic, enterprises. Mora (2004) studies 3 cases with disparate contexts, except that all are communist regimes—China, Cuba, and Vietnam. More relevant than ideology per se here, however, is the closeness and relative autonomy of civilian (party) and military leadership, as well as the legitimizing role gained by the military in the revolutionary birth-struggle of the regime.

Citing Perlmutter and LeoGrande (1982), he describes civil-military relations as fused, symbiotic, or coalitional, with consequential degrees of autonomy. The more autonomous the military, the more likely it is to protect its traditional military role and perks—unless there is historic precedent and substantial payoffs to compensate it for sacrificing these. Thus, in a fused civil-military relationship, the fact of precedent alone is probably enough to convince the military to change roles. But in a coalitional relationship, a military elite required to lead a transition into economic-commercial or political-bureaucratic operations will seek offsets. These include individual financial reward, alternate employment for soldiers, budgetary offsets for the military, and greater political recognition.

Guardian of state or nation. James Bradford (2005) evaluates the Indonesian military as a professional organization in Huntingtonian terms, which includes corporateness, social responsibility, and expertise. He also assesses its mission, both as it evolved historically and as espoused and enshrined in doctrine. The Indonesian military is highly corporate in terms of both independence and institutionalism, and holds a unified self-perception. Even so, it has suffered from factionalism, particularly with regard to links to elements in society, e.g. to the family of Suharto and to political Islam. Additionally, its professional standards have been undermined by patronage and corruption, which are in some ways corporately endorsed and thus intrinsic. This combination of high autonomy and distorted standards has resulted in abuses of power and weak accountability. In terms of its mission, the Indonesian military sees itself as separate from the state, having been created directly from the people in the liberation struggle against the Dutch. This perspective endows it with a dual function, i.e. a political role parallel to and as important

as its combat mission, and the military has felt compelled to play the role of guardian when it sees the governing entities as inept.

These variations of corporateness depict different behaviors that are manifested by militaries, largely as a result of the interaction of the nature of their corporateness and their political values. The peculiarities in their corporateness result from strengths and deficits of corporateness in certain categories. The military's ethos, and particularly its political values, shapes its approach to political liberalization. More generally, the corporate variations also make possible a better understanding of civil-military relations and how it may change over time, e.g. what sort of interactions to expect with respect to particular social, political, or economic issues.

Chapter 3: Egypt's Military Corporateness and Political Liberalization

Introduction and Overview

Did the military play a role in Egypt's political liberalization? A comparison of military corporateness and political liberalization highlights a clear correlation in the 1970s. Military corporateness began increasing in the late 1960s and this accelerated in the early 1970s, ahead of an upswing in political liberalization, which peaked in 1976-77. The military institution was not the driving force behind the political reforms; they generally came from the top down. In fact, the main author was President Anwar Sadat, a former military officer, who was primarily responsible for both the military and political reforms that occurred.

The Egypt case study is presented in this chapter and the next. This chapter measures Egyptian military corporateness from 1965 to 1990, measuring 5 categories to examine the components of corporateness and how they changed over three successive presidencies. In Figures 3.1 and 3.2, Egypt's military corporateness and its political liberalization, as measured by Freedom House, are depicted graphically.

The improvement in corporateness, graphed in Figure 3.1, between 1965 and 1976 was over 70 percent, from a measurement of 1.5 to a score of 2.6 in 1976, prior to the peak in liberalization. Egypt's score in liberalization also improved significantly, from "not free" to "partially free," according to Freedom House. This supports the H1 hypothesis that improvements in corporateness correlate to improvements in liberalization. The improvement of corporateness prior to liberalization may be interpreted as an indicator of military support for liberalization.

Subsequently under President Sadat, corporateness continued to rise modestly through the remainder of the decade to 2.75 by 1980, a gain of less than 6 percent since 1976. Meanwhile liberalization turned downward slightly—but Egypt remained partially free—in 1978, as depicted in Figure 3.2. The results here, given the very small changes in corporateness and liberalization, may be interpreted as indeterminate rather than counter to the hypothesis.

During Husni Mubarak's presidency, military corporateness dropped slightly to 2.65 in 1985, even as political liberalization improved slightly in 1984. Over the remainder of the decade, corporateness improved again to just above its level at the beginning of the decade. Meanwhile, liberalization fell slightly in 1986 and remained unchanged through 1990. Thus, during the 1980s the H1 hypothesis was not supported. But there was actually very little movement in either corporateness or liberalization, so we may find the results here, as in the late 1970s, to be indeterminate.

Aside from hypothesis-testing, the main insight of this chapter on Egyptian military corporateness—particularly during President Sadat's decade in power—is the crucial role civilian leadership played by shaping corporateness or, prior to 1967 under Nasser, neglecting the military institution. President Nasser appointed his close friend, Abdul Hakim Amer, to be commander-in-chief of the armed forces in 1953 and left most aspects of managing the corporate military to Amer. Although Nasser realized in the early 1960s that his control over the military had passed into Amer's hands, he was unable to change this until after Egypt's 1967 debacle in the war with Israel.

Anwar Sadat succeeded Gamal Abdul Nasser to the presidency of Egypt in October 1970, after the latter's death. Sadat sought a change in direction from Nasserist

socialism. The new president held more right-of-center economic and political views than were prevalent in the Nasser regime (Sadowski, 1991, 100). For Sadat, political pluralization was one piece, integral but not dominant, of an overall strategy that sought foreign investment and the restoration of Egyptian land lost to Israel in 1967 (Burrell and Kelidar, 1978, 22-23; Springborg, 1982, 213-214). To the new Egyptian president, the West and particularly the United States were needed to support *infitah*, as well as to pressure Israel to return the Sinai. These views lend credence to the international-based explanations of liberalization offered by Niblock (1993) and Hinnebusch (2001a), which emphasized the economic advantages sought by President Sadat and viewed political liberalization as a piece of that initiative. The place of military corporateness remains mostly un-examined, however.

Although Nasser had taken some measures to restore military corporateness and capability after 1967, Sadat pursued the task with greater vigor, given that he had committed his regime to limited war with Israel as a necessary step toward his long-term goals. Sadat was able to bring significant improvements, from weak to partial corporateness, in the first few years of his presidency by pursuing a more vigilant and active relationship with the military than his predecessor.

Sadat relied initially on significant support from within the armed forces, especially from the chief of staff, General Mohamed Sadiq, and Presidential Guard commander, General Mohamed Leithi Nassif (Heikal, 1975, 134-136; Waterbury, 1978, 238). Crucial to the armed forces' support of Sadat was the constitutional and legal authority of the office of president (Hinnebusch, 1991, 231). General Nassif was reportedly a friend of Sami Sharif, of the Sabri group—rivals to Sadat—but put his

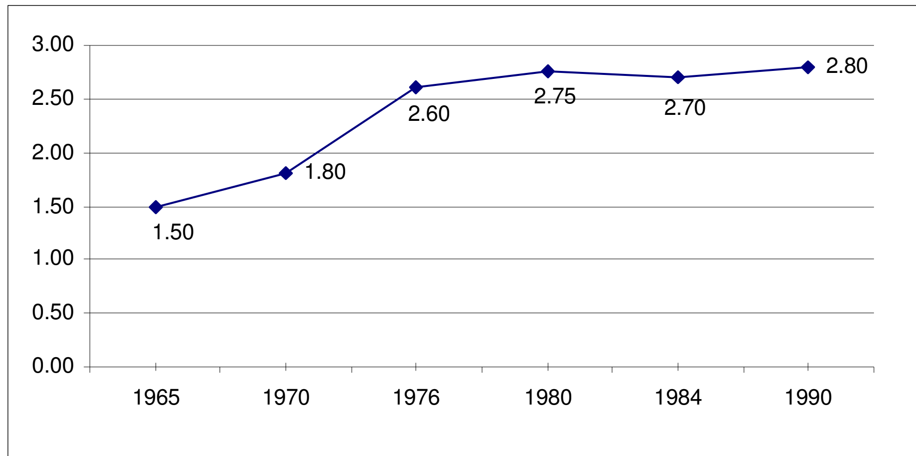
professional and constitutional responsibilities to the president ahead of his personal ties to Sharif (Hinnebusch, 1985, 44). This obedience to constitutional authority was tenuous in the 1960s when Amer's "power centers" dominated the armed forces, but it withstood the test of May 1971, when Sadat ousted his rivals. The events of the May corrective movement can be seen as a "critical juncture," affecting civil-military relations in a manner that Taylor (2003, 49) argues can direct "the organizational culture of the armed forces along a particular path" for decades.

Subsequently, Sadat appointed General Sadiq to be defense minister and carefully monitored the senior defense leadership thereafter, firing and promoting general officers to ensure compliance with his policy preferences. Perhaps paradoxically, but understandably given the politicized civil-military relations of the Nasser era, Sadat's active management of upper military hierarchy had multiple benefits for corporateness. By bringing the military firmly and quickly under his control, he de-politicized the senior officer corps and re-established the integrity of the chain of command. Sadat's leadership approach also reinvigorated the professional ambitions of his top officers, who saw opportunities for promotion to the highest ranks—including all the service chief positions, as well as defense minister—which had been foreclosed for most of the Nasserist era.

Aside from Defense Leadership, significant improvements were made to military corporateness in other categories. The Personnel System was strengthened by bringing it back under the institutional control of the armed forces. Mission Exclusivity was improved as Sadat de-militarized the government. And after the 1973 war, he stabilized the Force Structure of the armed forces. Figure 3.1 depicts changes in military

corporateness during from the end of the Nasser era through the first decade of Mubarak's presidency.

Figure 3.1 Average Military Corporateness Score, 1965-1990



Soon after the 1973 war, Sadat launched a series of political reforms. In February 1974, freedom of the press was announced, though it mainly seemed a means to deepen de-Nasserization, as Mohamed Heikal was replaced as editor of the newspaper *Al Ahram* with the right-leaning Ali Amin (Beattie, 2000, 181-184). In April, the October Paper—so-named to capitalize on the "glorious October war," which the armed forces and most Egyptians celebrated as a victory (cf. *Al Nasr*, No. 417, March 1974 and *Al Quwat Al Musallaha* (hereafter: *QM*, No.s 128 and 129, November 1973)—was published. It laid out the ideological justification for *infitah iqtisadi*, or economic opening (Cooper, 1982b, 88-90; Beattie, 2000, 140-146). In August, the "Paper on the Evolution of the Arab Socialist Union" (Waterbury, 1978, 252-253) asserted that the ASU had made numerous mistakes. These included the typical dysfunctions of a one-party system, e.g. compulsory party membership and lack of independence from government.

In 1975, the right to association became freer. Egypt scrapped a law that required membership in the ASU as a precondition to joining a professional syndicate or trade

union (Kienle, 2001, 38). By October the formation of political platforms, (*manabir*, literally pulpits) within the ASU was announced, representing the left, center, and right ends of the political spectrum (Springborg, 1982, 214; Beattie, 2000, 189-190). And in November 1976, following relatively free elections (Beattie, 2000, 199-200 and 235; Burrell and Kelidar, 1977, 43), the manabir were recognized as political parties.

A revealing sign of Sadat's thinking about Egypt's liberalization was his choice of the party leaders. Mamduh Salim, a former police officer and Prime Minister, was the initial head of the center party, the Arab Egyptian Socialist Party (Burrel and Kelidar, 1977, 30-44; Beattie, 2000, 193). The platforms cum parties of the left and right were both headed by former free officers (Burrell and Kelidar, 1977, 36-38; Beattie, 2000, 193-196).

Khalid Mohieddin, the free officer ousted from the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) in 1954, had supported parliamentary democracy (cf. Mohieddin, 1995) and headed the leftist platform, the National Progressive Union Party, also known as *Tagammu'* (The Collective). And Mustafa Kamil Murad[12], was brought on to head the right-wing platform, which became the Liberal Socialist Party, or *Hizb Ahrar*—the Liberals (Burrell and Kelidar, 1977, 36-38; Beattie, 2000, 193-196; *QM*, 66, 7). Murad had less prestige than Mohieddin, as he had not been with the RCC, but he was an army friend of Sadat and had spoken publicly in support of the correctivist movement and the *manabir* system.

Clearly Sadat had in mind a political liberalization whose parameters, at least in its infancy, he would retain some control over. And just as he worked with his military

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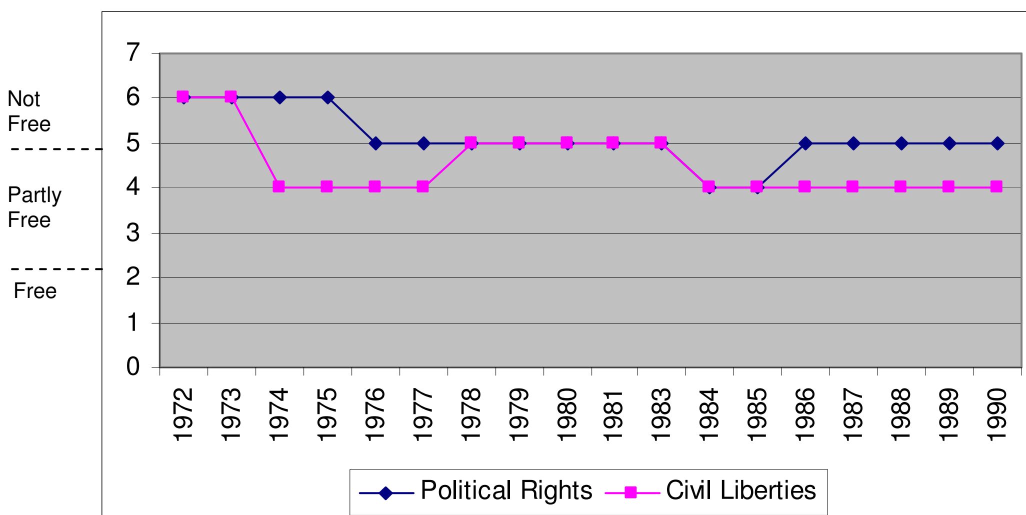
[12] According to Beattie (2000, 65-66), it was Murad who tipped Sadat off on May 10, 1971 regarding the potential extent of a plot against the president led by Sharawi Goumah and backed by General Mohamed Fawzi. This was a key event in the correctivist movement.

commanders to improve military corporateness and war-fighting readiness, Sadat subsequently worked with trusted colleagues, many of them from the military or security apparatus, to increase political liberalization in Egypt. While there is a correlation between military corporateness and political liberalization, it is not clear that Sadat saw corporateness as one of the important prerequisites of liberalization. It is plausible however, that he saw both factors as important aspects, if perhaps not directly related, of his overall vision for Egypt. Figure 3.2 depicts the evolution of political liberalization from 1972 through the early 1990s.

Figure 3.2 Freedom House Measurement of Political Liberalization, 1972-1990[13]



After Sadat was assassinated in October 1981, Vice President Husni Mubarak succeeded him as president. Political liberalization resumed under the Mubarak regime, but it was not marked by the system-shifting, regime-structuring milestones of Sadat's era, such as the 1971 constitution and the 1976 pluralization of the political party system. Instead, Egyptian politics during Mubarak's era have moved forward mostly within the system bequeathed by Sadat.

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[13] This is Freedom House data for 1972-1990.

The upturn in liberalization in the early 1980s was in some ways easy for Mubarak to achieve. Sadat had tightened the political system in the late 1970s when unrest over his strategy of peace with Israel and the belt-tightening required by some economic infitah measures boiled over. As a result, Mubarak's immediate relaxation of restrictions on civil liberties had a visible soothing impact (Kassem, 1999, 48-50). And the general elections held in May 1984 were deemed the freest in Egypt since 1952 (McDermott, 1988, 115-116).

Mubarak represented continuity in the line of ex-military officers holding executive office, but he was the first president not to be a free officer. This completed the transition begun by his predecessor. Sadat had ousted the last free officer other than himself from the inner circle when he dismissed Hussein Shafei as vice president in 1975, replacing him with Mubarak (Fay, 1991, 86).

Mubarak's leadership style was different from Sadat's as well, as he often identified lieutenants, civilian and military, with whom he was comfortable and retained them as long-time allies or cronies. His senior political adviser, Osama Al Baz, was with Mubarak for over 30 years, since the latter was elevated to the vice presidency in 1975 (Springborg, 1989, 31). Al Baz is a civilian, but worked closely with military officers while on the staff of Sami Sharaf, when the latter directed Nasser's personal intelligence team.

Mubarak's tendency to retain loyal ministers for lengthy periods extended also to Prime Minster Atef Sidqi, who served from 1986 to 1996, making him the longest-tenured prime minister since 1914 (Kassem, 2004, 28-29). Two others—Minister of Information Safwat Al Sharif and Minister of Agriculture Yusif Wali—each held office

for over 20 years, beginning in 1982 (Jawadi, 1997, 120). One foreign minister, Amr Musa, served for 10 years, from 1991 to 2001.

This aspect of Mubarak's leadership style is visible in Defense Leadership as well, and at least partially explains the flattening out of military corporateness after the significant improvements managed by Sadat. The tenure of the defense minister is most noticeable, and Mubarak has had only three during 27 years in power. Field Marshal Abdul Halim Abu Ghazala held the defense post from 1981 to 1989 and Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi Suleiman has served from 1991 to the present. Another notable long-tenured officer is Lieutenant General Omar Suleiman head of the General Intelligence Directorate, a state intelligence organization directly responsible to the president. LTG Suleiman, sometimes rumored as a potential successor, has been in his post since 1993 (Weaver, 2003, 87).

Even sharper than the decline in Defense Leadership, was a downtrend in Mission Exclusivity during Mubarak's first decade as president. This was due to the military's shift from an almost exclusive focus on preparations for war with Israel in the early 1970s to its growing involvement in the national economy.

Two other areas, Educational Autonomy and Force Structure, witnessed modest improvements in military corporateness. Mostly these improvements were military-led. For instance, FM Abu Ghazala inaugurated publication of a professional military journal for officers. And in Force Structure, Mubarak had carried on the stability of the manpower and unit structure introduced by Sadat.

In Mubarak's presidency, the correlation between corporateness and liberalization is not apparent, or perhaps the order is reversed. As Figure 3.1 indicates, there is a very

slight downturn in corporateness between 1980 and 1984. Meanwhile, political liberalization improved slightly in 1983-1984, as can be seen in Figure 3.2. By the end of Mubarak's first decade, in 1990, military corporateness returned to the overall score recorded earlier in 1980. There was very little movement in corporateness throughout the decade, and certainly none of the dramatic improvements that Sadat had engineered. In this respect, one might say that political liberalization under Mubarak followed a similar course.

The Evolution of Military Corporateness

Egyptian military corporateness improved in each of the five measured categories between 1965 and 1990. To some degree, this may be because there was almost nowhere to go but up for a military whose corporateness and professionalism had been badly damaged in the Nasser era. But the measures taken by President Sadat to improve corporateness were deliberate and indicate the positive role that civilian leadership can play.

In the Nasser era, Field Marshal Amer politicized the military to ensure he retained the primary loyalty of many key officers. By 1965, levels of corporateness were weak—a score between 1 and 2 on a 5-point scale—in areas such as the Personnel System, as well as those areas such as Defense Leadership and Mission Exclusivity that President Nasser had neglected. The corporateness of the Force Structure was also weak, due mainly to constant and fairly rapid expansion of the armed forces, attributable both to an arms race and three wars with Israel by 1967, as well as the 1962-1967 war in Yemen. Only in Educational Autonomy, which was partially corporate, did the military exhibit more than weak corporateness.

Sadat took a proactive approach to civil-military relations, taking deliberate steps to improve corporateness and professionalism. This was most apparent in the area of Defense Leadership, where Sadat began his correctivist movement in May 1971 by eliminating a rival faction within the security structure. Sadat arrested or deposed of a number of senior Nasserist officials—all of whom were officers or former officers (Heikal, 1975, 122-125; Hinnebusch, 1985, 40-45; Beattie, 2000, 10). These Nasserists had control or oversight of key elements of the armed forces and security apparatus, as they included the Minister of Defense, General Mohamed Fawzi; the Minister of State for Presidential Affairs, Sami Sharaf, who oversaw the Presidential Guard; and the Minister of Interior, Sharawi Goumah, who controlled the police and domestic intelligence. Sharaf and Goumah, like Ali Sabri—the central figure in the anti-Sadat group and Vice President—came from an intelligence background.

Significant improvements were made to military corporateness in other categories as well. The Personnel System was strengthened as the Directorate of Administration and Organization regained control over officer promotions, previously the personal purview of Amer and his cronies. Mission Exclusivity was improved as Sadat de-militarized the government, most noticeably through dramatic reductions in the number of officers in cabinet-level positions. And in 1977, once he had initiated a peace process following the 1973 war, Sadat stabilized the Force Structure of the armed forces by curtailing defense spending (Gotowicki, 1999).

Under Mubarak, Defense Leadership declined as a result of the president's apparent preference for loyalists and willingness to allow cronyism to replace ambition. The noticeable indicators for this are the lengthy tenures of many senior officers. The

military also experienced a downtrend in Mission Exclusivity during Mubarak's first decade as president. This was due to the military's shift from an almost exclusive focus on preparations for war with Israel in the early 1970s to its growing involvement in the national economy.

Two other areas, Educational Autonomy and Force Structure, witnessed modest improvements in military corporateness, mostly offsetting the decline elsewhere. For the most part the improvements here were military-led. For instance, soon after FM Abu Ghazala took over as defense minister, the military began publication of an exclusively professional military journal. And in Force Structure, Mubarak had carried on the stability of the manpower and unit structure introduced by Sadat.

Personnel System

Corporateness in this category is evaluated primarily in terms of recruitment to the military and promotions within the military. Most relevant to assessing corporateness are procedures in place for the officer corps.[14]

Most of the key regulations that affect the modern Egyptian military's control over personnel recruitment were implemented in the 20-year period between the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 and the first few years after the Free Officers seized power. This is not surprising since the Egyptian government in 1936 gained more substantial control over the military than it had enjoyed since the 1882 British occupation, which rendered the army "little more than a constabulary" (Gordon, 1992, 40-41).

[14] While this section includes some discussion of senior officers, the highest-level brass is evaluated as a separate category below, termed Defense Leadership.

Recruitment of officers was achieved primarily through the military colleges that produced lieutenants. Prior to 1936, the Military Academy was primarily the preserve of the upper class due to property requirements, eased in part to expand the armed forces (Vatikiotis, 1961; Halpern, 1963, Beattie, 2000). Consequently, accession to the officer corps was—more so than previously—by merit. For instance, admission to the Military Academy after 1936 was based in part on a written examination. Even so, cadets still had to report their father's property and income, and be recommended by a dignitary.

The military command took major steps after 1967 to broaden its recruiting of officers and improve the quality of junior officer leadership. The exemption of university students and graduates from military service was eliminated. Between 1967 and 1973, the proportion of officers with university degrees rose from less than 2 percent to over 60 percent (Pollack, 2002, 104; Copley, 1989, 11).

In matters of officer promotions, the Egyptian military adheres generally to objective criteria, such as seniority. According to Be'eri (1978), a close and astute observer of the Egyptian military, the army was "very strict" about sticking to procedures for promotion—with the exception of Abdul Hakim Amer, promoted from Major to Major General in 1953. In Egypt, the president of the republic is legally empowered to approve all officer promotions and demotions and to appoint the Minister of Defense and Commander-in-Chief (Dyer, 1979, 193). As supreme commander of the armed forces, and an executive whose professional provenance is the military, the president has detailed knowledge, connections, and control of the military.

The president delegates his powers for routine matters and the defense ministry handles routine administrative and personnel issues (Tartter, 1991, 306). For promotions,

this occurs through the Department of Organization and Administration. The *liwa*, or major general, who heads this office, controls promotions, transfers and appointments (Dyer, 1979, 204).

Although Be'eri's assessment is generally credible, closer examination reveals that Egyptian cultural norms dilute some of the meritocratic properties of the promotion process. For instance, a former US defense attaché to Egypt, acknowledged the professionalism of the Egyptian officers corps, but said that it "goes one deep" at many positions[15]. His experience was that his primary point of contact for an issue was knowledgeable and skilled, but if the Egyptian POC was unavailable, little work could be achieved. He attributed this to officers being promoted to often due to their connections, and lacking professional initiative.

Additionally, the general officer ranks drifted from standards of seniority and merit during certain periods. For instance, in Nasser's era, especially from late 1962 to mid-1967, Field Marshal Amer's control over the military enabled him to render the force increasingly loyal to him personally (Farid, 1994, 71-72; Beattie, 1994, 159-161). Thus in 1962, Nasser made Amer the deputy supreme commander of the armed forces and left him with sole authority for promotions and "appointments at all levels within the military command structure," according to Nasser's presidential secretary, Abdul Magid Farid (Farid, 1994, 72 and 79). Amer's crony, Shams Badran, became Minister of War, and kept many professional, but Soviet-trained, officers from commanding troops. Instead he appointed loyalists who were willing to trade favors for their commands (Abdel-Malek, 1968, xxxii).

[15] Interview on February 28, 2007.

Nasser acknowledged after the 1967 war "that I made a mistake" and "lost contact with what was happening" in the armed forces (Farid, 1994, 79). The degree to which the military's promotion standards had been politicized by Amer and Badran is exemplified in Nasser's subsequent corrective measures. He decreed that the president must confirm promotions to the rank of colonel and above (Gawrych, 1987, 547). This illustrates that at times civilian intervention is necessary to restore corporateness and professionalism, since Nasser had to infringe on the military's autonomy over promotions in order to re-professionalize and depoliticize it.

Inflation in the general officer ranks during Nasser's presidency was noticeable. For instance, one may compare the respective rank of brigade and division commanders in the 1956 and 1967 wars. Whereas in 1956 an *'ameeq* (colonel) typically commanded a brigade and an *'ameed* (brigadier) commanded a division, in 1967 units at these echelons were commanded by a brigadier and a *liwa* (major general), respectively (Dupuy, 1992, 213 and 339).

Sadat took a closer personal interest in the armed forces leadership from the outset of his presidency (Gawrych, 1987, 552-554). In the 1973 war, the commanders of Egypt's primary combat units—the brigade and division—were restored to their traditional ranks. Thus, a colonel commanded a brigade and a brigadier general commanded a division (Dupuy, 1992, 614-615).

Sadat took measures to shield control of officer promotions from outside powers. For instance, he assigned a Coptic Christian, MG Fuad Aziz Ghali, to the post of Director of Administration and Organization in June 1978 because Sadat feared Saudi inroads into

the military. It was rare for a Copt to be promoted to *liwa*[16] and this post, responsible for personnel promotions and appointments, was sensitive political turf within the armed forces. The rationale was that a Coptic officer would be less susceptible to the attempts of Saudi Arabia—a major contributor of financial aid and a primary funder of the Arab Industrial Organization—to influence Egypt's senior officer ranks (Dyer, 1978, 201-204). The onset of US aid after the Camp David peace treaty may have alleviated Sadat's wariness about Saudi inroads; in any case, MG Ghali did not hold his position beyond 1981. *Al Nasr* (No. 507, 3) mentioned a different incumbent—MG Mohamed Farhat—in September of that year.

According to a high-ranking Egyptian officer,[17] the promotion procedure in place during the Mubarak presidency was similar to the Sadat era, and modified from the late Nasser era. Under Mubarak, promotion through the rank of *muqadim*, or lieutenant colonel, was fairly routine. Beginning with the rank of *'aqeed*, or colonel, however, promotion was by selection only. But it was the ministry of defense who selected officers for promotion. In other words, the promotion process was an institutional responsibility of the ministry of defense, not the president's office. And the rank structure at the brigade and division command level remained the same under Mubarak that it was for Sadat. Colonels and brigadier generals, respectively, commanded Egypt's ground force brigades and divisions.

Retirement standards are institutionalized, with established ages of mandatory retirement, except at the senior-most levels of *fareeq* (lieutenant general) and above (Cover, 1976). Field grade officers must retire at age 56, and general officers retire at 60

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[16] Interview on Feb 28, 2007 with former US Defense Attache to Egypt.
[17] Interview with this active duty officer, who had served for over 30 years, took place on March 3, 2007.

for brigadier and 63 for major general. Only lieutenant generals and higher ranks may obtain special dispensation from mandatory retirement. These standards seem to be enforced by the armed forces; eight senior officer biographies that appeared in *Al Nasr* between 1980 and 1990 indicate that the officer reached the rank of liwa or fareeq well before the retirement age. Adherence to such regulations is another sign of corporateness. It ensures that officers and men do not hold onto their positions indefinitely. It also guarantees that these positions periodically come open for competition among more junior officers, providing an avenue for upward mobility and a reward for professionalism.

The role of the Egyptian president after 1967—particularly President Sadat—presents a paradox in civil-military relations. Close civilian involvement may go beyond oversight into the realm of meddling with the makeup of the officer corps, thus hindering attainment of ideal corporateness. But conscientious civilian involvement may also restore an eroded corporateness. This is a particularly relevant insight for developing countries where other obstacles to corporateness often exist, e.g. patronage and patrimonialism. In other words, civilian leaders can reform military organizations, strengthening or re-establishing its corporateness so that it can perform more effectively and with greater accountability. As with Sadat, this requires a sound understanding of the organization. Of course, civilian executives need not be former military officers, but must be able to delegate authority to a minister and staff with professional insight and constitutional authority.

Overall, the personnel system seems to have progressed from weak corporateness in 1965 to partially corporate in 1970. Amer's and Badran's manipulation of the

promotion and appointment system were the primary reason for weak corporateness. Neither Amer nor Badran were qualified, via training or experience, for the authority they wielded (Gawrych, 1987; Beattie, 1994). Moreover, their promotion agenda was personal and political rather than meritocratic.

Corporateness remained between partial and mostly corporate during Sadat's presidency, but dipped in the 1978 to 1981 period. The appointment of MG Ghali to head the Department of Administration and Organization is the only evidence we have that corporateness receded. Because it is significant evidence that foreign tampering was a concern, we will view it as warranting this reduction. Subsequently, under President Mubarak, personnel decisions returned to previous levels.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 3.1: Personnel Decisions

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1965	WC: 1.5
1970	PC: 2.75
Prior to November 1976	PC: 2.75
1980	PC: 2.25
Prior to May 1984	PC: 2.75
1990	PC: 2.75

Mission Exclusivity

This category addresses the extent to which the armed forces have exclusive responsibility for their mission. The product of such exclusivity is the corporate integrity of the armed forces. Corporate integrity is impaired if another force encroaches on the military's security role, or if the military encroaches on the missions of other legitimate arms or sectors of the state.

In Egypt's 1971 constitution, Article 58 describes "defense of the motherland" as a "sacred duty." The constitution, in Article 55, forbids the "establishment of societies whose activities…have a military character." Thus, private militias are outlawed.

The military's role in government after 1952 affected its mission focus. Some observers think it still does; a former US ambassador to Egypt holds that, "the Egyptian military still largely perceive their role as guardians of the revolution, and they jealously watch over the prerogatives that are associated with that praetorian role."[18] But in terms of formal and overt involvement in government, the military's role has decreased. This demilitarization began with the government Nasser formed on March 20, 1968; successive cabinets had fewer officer ministers and more civilian ministers (Be'eri, 1978, 133; Cooper, 1982b, 145).

The trend of demilitarizing the cabinet continued into the Sadat era. By 1971, only two of 14 original members of the RCC—President Sadat and VP Hussein Al-Shafei—remained in the government. But the trend was not limited to easing out the original Free Officers, who were aging in any case. Cooper (1982a, 206-207) shows that the portion of the cabinet who were officers, while spiking up to 65 percent in the first post-1967 war cabinet on June 19, declined to 39 percent in Nasser's March 20, 1968 government.

Sadat's first government on October 28, 1970 was 39 percent military (Cooper, 1982a, 207). And though the military's portion increased to 42 percent during Sadat's consolidation of power with the September 20, 1971 government, the downward trend soon resumed. The government of January 1972 held 23 percent officers. Governments between 1974 and 1977 had officer percentages of 20 percent (1974), 17 percent (1975),

[18] E-mail on February 8, 2007 with former ambassador to Egypt (USA2).

12 percent (1976), and 9 percent (1977). This de-militarization of government is among the single most important factors strengthening the military's corporateness in the 1970s.

With respect to the existence of rival armed forces, Egypt's military enjoys great, if not complete, exclusivity. There are, however, two militarily-capable forces that exist as potential rivals to the armed forces and have been relied on as potential counterweights to it. One is the Republican Guard, which is a multi-brigade force (Shazli, 1980, 99). The RG's primary mission is regime protection and it is barracked in Dahshur, about 35 km south of Cairo (Heikal, 1983, 40-41; Beattie, 2000, 40 and 68-70). The Republican Guard's location provides it an immediate strategic advantage in the (unlikely) event that it or rival elements of the military were to make an open bid for power. In 1971, Sadat used the RG—through its commander, Leithi Nassif—to arrest his rivals and deter the intervention of military units controlled by Minister of War Mohamed Fawzi.

The other organized domestic force that could theoretically pose a challenge to the armed forces is the Central Security Force, subordinate to the Minister of Interior (Springborg, 1989, 101). The CSF was created after the 1967 war as a domestic security force, which fit Nasser's aim to reprofessionalize the conventional military. Under Sadat, the Ministry of Interior was headed by career police officers (of major general rank). The armed forces and CSF have distinct missions and chains of command, but some analysts saw Sadat using the CSF as a potential counterweight to the conventional military (Cordesman, 1993, 348; Beattie, 2000, 222-223). Sadat had reason to be concerned about the armed forces, given the long tenure of Abdul Hakim Amer, who had turned the force into his personal fiefdom, and the Sadat's subsequent showdown with Fawzi, the Nasserist Minister of War. But since the ground forces under Mubarak's armed forces

chief, FM Abu Ghazala, crushed riotous CSF conscripts in 1986, there has been little talk of it as a potentially rival force.

Probably the greatest encroachment on mission exclusivity occurred late in Sadat's presidency, a trend that was accentuated during the Mubarak era. The armed forces began to involve itself in economic and infrastructural development. Field Marshal Abdul Halim Abu Ghazala is often credited as the driving force behind this new mission (Springborg, 1987; Satloff, 1988), though references to a military role in "construction" appeared as early as May 1974 in the monthly journal *Al Nasr* (No. 419, 5). Frequent and detailed discussion began in June 1980 (cf. *Al Nasr*, No. 492 and 497). Notably, General Abu Ghazala had just become the armed forces chief of staff the previous month, in May. Its new role, though non-military, appears to have been adopted in a civil-military quid pro quo that keeps the military profitably engaged outside of politics (Harb, 2003).

According to an Egyptian general officer,[19] this new role for the military addressed two issues simultaneously. It provided employment to unskilled and uneducated conscripts—who became part of a separate branch, the National Service Projects Organization—who were increasingly ill-equipped to operate and maintain advanced-technology military equipment. While these conscripts worked at farms, bakeries, factories, and the like, their better educated counterparts served in "the real army." And the NSPO produced needed goods, like food and medicines, to the civilian sector, as well as "solving the communications problem" by installing telephone lines. Various aspects of the military's contribution to the economy may be seen as positive or negative—they have generated controversy (Abdalla, 1988; Springborg, 1987)—but regarding military corporateness its impact is clear. The NSPO and its role undermine the

[19] Interview on March 3, 2007.

military's corporateness, both by blurring its clarity of mission and by producing a separate branch in the army.

The overall impact of a potential rival force on the integrity of the armed forces' mission and its structure is small, but not negligible. The absence of a party militia, and the presence of only a multi-brigade-sized regime protection force sets Egypt apart from other large republican regimes in the Arab world, e.g. Iraq and Syria, and from large monarchies, e.g. Saudi Arabia. For the most part, Egypt's force is unitary.

The primary challenges to mission exclusivity have come from non-military roles held by the armed forces. Through much of Nasser's presidency, until after the 1967 war, the military was formally involved in governance. This merits a rating of weak corporateness. The subsequent goals of demilitarizing the government and reprofessionalizing the military, to a nearly-exclusive focus on the external foe, Israel, contributed to a progressive achievement of partially and then mostly corporate by the mid-1970s.

Subsequently, however, beginning around 1980, the military's increasingly important role in national development detracted from its corporateness. Now, rather than being directly engaged in politics, the military is directly engaged in the economy, resulting in a less dramatic overall reduction—to partial corporateness.

The economic development mission has had paradoxical effects. National development missions have eased the military's withdrawal from politics and into the era of peace with Israel, while allowing it to contribute positively to Egypt's strong needs both for continuous national development investment and for employment opportunities

for its youth. Even so, it jeopardizes military corporateness. The guardians of the military's well-being may eventually wish to seek alternate means to address those needs.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 3.2: Mission Exclusivity

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1965	WC: 1
1970	PC: 2
Prior to November 1976	MC: 3
1980	PC: 2.75
Prior to May 1984	PC: 2.25
1990	PC: 2.25

Educational autonomy

Education is an important aspect of military corporateness and refers to the military's ability to instill a professional ethos and specific doctrine and tactics in its officer corps, affecting its professional beliefs and operational practices. Two instruments the military uses to teach values and practices to its officers and soldiers are schools and journals.

Egypt's long history of rule by foreigners, and the command of local forces by foreign officers, stunted the development of an indigenous military tradition, including an education system, for much of the 20th century (Vatikiotis, 1961, 3-44). Under the British mandate, a Military Academy, established in 1922, was the only post-secondary degree military school in Egypt. Much of the instruction was provided by British officers initially, however, and many Egyptian officers attended British military academies (Gordon, 1992, 41).

Egypt's armed forces gradually took control of military education for its officers as more formal and substantive degrees of independence were attained. For instance, after the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 bestowed a more formal degree of independence (Al

Sayyid-Marsot, 1977), the admissions policy of the Military Academy was relaxed to permit a broader spectrum of Egyptian society to attend. In fact, the core of the Free Officers matriculated at the Military Academy between 1936 and 1939 (Vatikiotis, 1961; Perlmutter, 1974).

In 1939, in the shadow of World War II, an Army Staff College, now the Egyptian Command and Staff College, was organized[20]. This was the first venue for training field grade officers, e.g. majors and lieutenant colonels, inside Egypt and its staff included British military instructors who taught, among other things, a political history of the Middle East (Vatikiotis, 1961, 47). Within a few years after World War II, a Naval Academy and Air Academy were also created (Egyptian Armed Forces website, hereafter EAF, 2002).

Thus, by the time of the Free Officers' "revolution" in 1952, Egypt could educate and produce junior officers in each of the three military services. Most of this educational capability had been added only in the dozen years before the revolution. The establishment of new military schools—and significant curriculum upgrades to existing programs—continued after the July 23, 1952 "revolution." For instance, a Military Technical College was added in 1958 (EAF website, 2002) to train future lieutenants in five major engineering fields, e.g. civil, mechanical, and electrical. In the same year, the Reserve Officers College was established (*Al Nasr*, No. 584, 39). In 1960, the Air Academy tripled the number of branch specializations it offered, comprising Military Science, Air Navigation, and Administration (EAF website, 2002). The Navy Academy,

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[20] The discussion below of Egyptian military schools, particularly dates of establishment and curriculum, is largely from the Egyptian armed forces academies' website: http://www.mmc.gov.eg/. This info is listed as EAF, 2002 (the year the website was established).

which could only offer a two-year program to its midshipmen at its inception, expanded its curriculum to a four-year program of study in 1965.

Each new military college, and the expansion of programs at an existing college, increased the military's self-sufficiency and autonomy in educating its officers. A platform for educating senior officers was created in 1965, with the establishment of the Nasser Higher Military Academy (EAF, 2002). It consisted of a High War College and a National Defense College, the latter added in 1966. A former US defense attaché in Egypt was "unimpressed" with the content and the level of instruction at the War College.[21]

Although the armed forces reorganized its Air Defense into a new service after the 1967 War, it was not until 1974 that Egypt established an indigenous college for officer training in this specialty (EAF, 2002). This educational gap at home, and the near-total reliance on the USSR for air defense equipment and training, signals a weakness in educational autonomy. The Air Defense Academy, founded in 1974, began to offer a four-year bachelor's degree program (Military Science and Air Defense) in 1978. One additional year was required to earn a second bachelor's degree in Communications and Electronics. Also in 1978, graduate studies were added to the Military Technical College, so that officers could earn an MA or PhD.

Table 3.1 summarizes the college-equivalent education available internally to Egyptian officers.

Table 3.1 Military Academies[22]

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[21] Interview on February 28, 2007.

[22] Table includes only college-equivalent academies, not branch training institutions. Sources for this information include: *Al Nasr* (No. 584, 39); the Egyptian armed forces academies' website: http://www.mmc.gov.eg/, listed hereafter as EAF, 2002 (the year the website was established); Vatikiotis (1961, 3-44);

Academy type	Academy title	Year Established
Senior Officer		
	Nasser Higher Military Academy[23]	1965
Field Grade Officers		
	Command and Staff College[24]	1939
Service Academies		
	Military Academy[25]	1922
	Naval Academy	1946
	Air Academy	1951
	Air Defense Academy	1974
Reserve Officers		
	Reserve Officers College	1958

Tracing the trajectory of establishment of new journals is an additional way to evaluate the military's educational autonomy. The armed forces had a number of military journals for its services, as well as several service-wide journals. In fact, each service has both a military college and a professional journal to impart military values and war-fighting doctrine. The onset of publication of the service's professional journal typically tracks a few years behind the establishment or reorganization of the service's corresponding military school.

The earliest of the service-wide journals was *Al Quwat Al Musallaha* (*The Armed Forces)*, with a reported initial publication date 1955, though it ceased for a time and then resumed in 1969. Another was *Al Nasr*, which started in 1960. Additional such journals came on line in the 1970s and 1980s, *Al Amn wa Al Difa'* (*Defense and Security)*, *Al Mujahid* (*Warrior* or *Holy Warrior*), and *Al Difa'* (*Defense)*.

Many of the service-wide journals are published by the armed forces' Department of Moral Affairs. As service-wide journals, their reach is broader than the journals for a

[23] This consisted of two colleges: the High War College and the National Defense College; the latter was added in 1966.
[24] Founded as the Army Staff College, but it is no longer service-specific.
[25] The Military Academy was not service-specific at its founding. For instance, several of the core group of Free Officers, e.g. Abdul Latif Boghdadi, graduated from it as air force officers.

specific service and thus can be seen as more influential and important in shaping doctrine and other values. The content of many of these journals, e.g. *Al Quwat Al Musallaha*, *Al Nasr*, and *Al Mujahid* contained large proportions of sociopolitical and cultural material, as well as the expected professional articles. But few articles from these journals delved deeply into military doctrine, reflecting a weakness in corporateness that was addressed only later, e.g. with *Al Difa'* (see Table 3.2).

Among the armed forces' four services (army, navy, air force, and air defense force), *Army Magazine* (*Majalla Al Jaysh*) began publication in 1938, two years after the expansion of admissions at the Military Academy in 1936 (Aman, 1979; WorldCat). The *Air Force* magazine (*Al Quwat Al Jawiyah*) went into print in 1954, three years after the establishment of the Air Force Academy. And the Navy's journal—*The Fleet* (*Al Ustul*)—was first published in 1953, seven years after the opening of the Navy Academy in 1946. The Air Defense College was established relatively late, in 1974; there is no record in WorldCat of an air defense service journal.

A number of branches within the army had branch-specific journals as well. For instance, in the combat arms branches, journals for the Infantry, Artillery, and Military Engineers were created by the 1950s. Even the combat service support branches had developed a degree of educational self-sufficiency by the end of the 1950s. For instance, the Medical Services Corps published a journal, as did the Military Medical Academy—which published beginning in 1960. The Supply and Transportation Corps also published a journal. At least two additional service support journals were published; however, their start date is not clear. One was *Technology and Armament* (*Al Teknolojiyah wa Al*

Tasleeh) and the other was *The Journal of Administrative Affairs* (*Majallat al Shuun Al Idarah*), according to WorldCat (online).

Table 3.2 Military Journals[26]

Service/Branch	**Journal**	**Years in publication**
Service-wide		
	The Armed Forces (*Al Quwat Al Musallahah*)	1955-? and 1969-1975[27]
	Victory (Al Nasr)	1960-[28]
	Defense and Security (*Al Difa' wa Al Amn*)	1974[29]
	Holy Warrior (Al Mujahid)	1980[30]
	Defense (Al Difa')	1984
Senior Officer		
	Journal of the Nasser Higher Military Academy	1972[31]
Service-specific		
Army	*Army Magazine* (*Majallat Al Jaysh*)	1938-
Navy	*The Fleet* (*Al Ustul*)	1953-
Air Force	*Air Force* (*Al Quwat Al Jawiyah*	1954-
Navy	*Journal of Naval Forces* (*Majallat Al Quwat Al Bahriyah*)	1957 [32]-
Combat Arms		
Infantry	*Infantry Journal* (*Majallat Al Mushah*)	1948-
Artillery	*Artillery Magazine* (*Majallat Al Madfa'iyah*)	1954[33]-
Military Engineers	*Military Engineers* (*Al Muhandisun Al Askariyun*);	1956[34]
Armor[35]		
Combat Support and Service Support		
Medical	*Medical Journal of the Armed Forces* (*Majallat Al-Tibbiya l'il Quwat Al Musallaha*)	1955-
Supply and Transportation	*Military Technical-Cultural Journal of the Supply and Transportation Corps (Majallat Fanniyah Thaqafiyah 'Askariyah 'an Silah Al Tamwin wa Al Naql)*	1958[36]-

[26] Sources include Vatikiotis (1961), Al Hadi (1965); Berger (1967), Aman (1979), WorldCat, *Al Nasr*, *Al Mujahid. Some dates are estimates* (see footnotes below).
[27] Vatikiotis (1961) and Berger (1967) mention the 1955 start date. WorldCat carries the 1969 start date. *Al Nasr* (No. 429) reported in 1975 that *Al Quwat Al Musallahah* was being taken out of publication. The last edition available at the Library of Congress is December 24, 1973.
[28] *Al Nasr* (No. 371) provided this date.
[29] Numbers 15-17 of the monthly journal appeared in January through April, 1976 (Aman, 1979, 192)
[30] Issue number 42 of this monthly journal appeared in 1984
[31] Issue number 10 appeared in 1982, so 1972 is the earliest likely publication date (assuming it was an annual publication).
[32] WorldCat says issue No. 105 of this quarterly publication came out in 1982, thus the first issue would have been published circa 1957.
[33] Issue number 44 appeared in 1958, according to Berger (1967, 215). Assuming the journal is a monthly, it would have begun publication in @ 1954.
[34] Berger (1967) says only that one edition appeared in 1956.
[35] Egypt likely has an Armor journal; however, as with Air Defense, I have seen no record of it.
[36] This journal apparently followed from the *Journal of the Army Service Corps* (*Majallat Silah Khidmat Al Jaysh*), publication date unknown, according to WorldCat.

Medical	*Journal of the Military Medical Academy*[37]	1960-
	Technology and Armament (*Al Teknolojiyah wa Al Tasleeh*) [38]	
	Journal of Administrative Affairs (*Majallat al Shuun Al Idarah*)	post-1986[39]

In addition to domestic sources of education and doctrine—the military journals and academies—training abroad is an important source of military education in developing countries like Egypt. A large number of officers are sent abroad to enhance or specialize their education. From 1955 to 1979, the total of Egyptian military personnel who trained in the Soviet bloc reached 6,250, including 5,665 in the Soviet Union (Dawisha and Dawisha, 1982, 66). Even assuming that all the training took place in the 1956-1972 years, the annual average was about 330. It appears that most Egyptians—thousands—who trained in the USSR apparently went in the 1967-72 period (Pollack, 2002, 105).

It was commonplace for senior officers to train at Moscow's Frunze Academy after the 1956 war, when training in the Soviet bloc began in earnest. And, until Egypt's relationship with the US changed this, most senior officers were Soviet-trained (Tartter, 1991, 319; Bruce, 1995, 51). Frunze—equivalent to the US Army Command and General Staff College—offered courses in Marxism-Leninism and Communist party history and political activity, as well as the history of war, military art, and operations and tactics (Scott and Scott, 1981, 356-357).

Perhaps most significantly, Soviet officers "directed" Egypt's military academy and its main training facilities, according to Pollack (2002, 105). In terms of Egypt's

[37] Published in English, according to WorldCat. Apparently became Egyptian Military Medical Journal in 1991.
[38] WorldCat lists this journal, but not its publication date.
[39] This journal is carried by WorldCat without a publication date; however, it seems likely to be a recent publication since the military school that likely would publish it—The Military Academy of Administrative Sciences—was proposed in 1986 (Tartter, 1991)

educational autonomy, this was reminiscent of the era of British occupation. In practical, military terms, the impact was mainly to push the Egyptians to follow Soviet doctrine and tactics in such areas as armor and anti-armor deployment in offensive and defensive scenarios.

The provision by foreign military advisors of training and education illustrate the potentially contradictory outcomes for corporateness and professionalism. This is because a quality education, regardless of its source, would contribute to military professionalism, but heavy reliance on foreign training reduces the military's educational autonomy.

Many leading Egyptians, including military officers, were pro-Soviet," i.e. they advocated the "special relationship" with the Soviets, as well as "state ownership and control of the economy" (Beattie, 2000, 9-10). Beattie terms this group Centrists; they were the most prominent bloc in the Nasser regime in the 1960s. Among them were Ali Sabri, Sharawi Goumah, Sami Sharaf, Mohamed Faiq, Amin Huweidi, and Abdul Muhsin Abul Nur, all military or ex-military officers in powerful government positions, and all men who Sadat would oust in his May 1971 "Corrective Movement."

The pervasive Soviet military presence after 1967 caused resentment within the active duty military, all the way to the top, and among key surviving members of the Free Officers. Minister of War (1971-72) General Mohamed Sadiq was a known anti-Soviet, whose dissatisfaction predated the late-1960s and their large military footprint in Egypt (Waterbury, 1973, 10; Beattie, 2000, 46). LTG Saad al Din Shazli, who became Chief of Staff in May, 1971, forced the recall of at least two senior Soviet advisors (Badolato, 1981). Moreover, several former Free Officers of the original RCC—Abdul Latif

Boghdadi, Kamal al-Din Hussein, and Hassan Ibrahim—petitioned Sadat in April 1972 to reduce the number of Soviet advisors (Beattie, 2000, 47), which he did in May.

Thus, there were clearly pro- and anti-Soviet factions in the Egyptian leadership, including the military, particularly in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This schism may have existed independent of the foreign training influence, but it was surely exacerbated by it.

The American training relationship with Egypt that followed Sadat's strategic realignment in the 1970s paralleled the Soviet relationship in some ways, though it is significantly less intrusive. For instance, US advisors were not involved in Egypt's military academies.[40] The US military presence never approached the numbers of the Soviet presence, as many as 20,000 personnel at its peak between 1967 and 1972. Nor were American advisers embedded in Egyptian units at the battalion (ground forces) and squadron (air force) level as the Soviets had been (Perlmutter, 1974, 202; Luttwak & Horowitz, 1975, 300; Pollack, 2002, 105).

The US military training presence after Camp David began in 1979, when the Office of Military Cooperation was established in Cairo to provide assistance with modernization and training (Davison, 1994, 1). Egyptian officers resumed training in the West, with a large emphasis on training in the US, a donor of $1.3 billion annually in military aid and thus the source of the bulk of Egypt's military training and equipment[41] abroad. (Tartter, 1991, 319 and 331). The numbers of Egyptian officers training in the US under the foreign military funding (FMF) and international military education and

[40] According to the Chief of Training at the US Office of Military Cooperation in Cairo, US personnel teach only at Egypt's Defense Language Institute (e-mail on March 22, 2007).
[41] US FMF represents 80 percent of Egypt's total military procurement budget, according to the US GAO (GAO-06-437, p. 2).

training (IMET) programs quickly reached between 400 to 500 per year between 1979 and 1983 (OMC-Cairo, 1983, 6). By the late 1980s, however, the number fell to something over 200 officers annually (Springborg, 1989, 261).

The combined assessment of military colleges and journals indicates that Egypt generally made steady progress in increasing its doctrinal autonomy. While a surprising number of military journals were started in the 1950s, important additions were made into the 1980s. Only with the advent of *Al Difa'* in 1984 did the services publish a journal fully capable of carrying doctrine to the entire officer corps.

The first major steps in establishing military academies occurred before the Free Officers coup, but important additions to the system were made in the 1960s and 1970s. The most significant addition was the Nasser Higher Military Academy in 1965, which raised the level of corporateness to partial. Corporateness was weakened in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It improved with the elimination of Soviet instructors and advisers in the military academies and units, as well as the creation of an Air Defense Academy. By the end of Mubarak's first decade as president, with the creation of *Al Difa'*, educational autonomy improved to mostly corporate. Key remaining weaknesses are at the higher-level colleges, including the training of all staff officers in a single staff college, as the mediocre quality of instruction in the senior officer colleges, e.g. the War College.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 3.3: Educational Autonomy

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1965	PC: 2
1970	WC: 1.5
Prior to November 1976	PC: 2.5
1980	PC: 2.75
Prior to May 1984	MC: 3
1990	MC: 3.25

Force structure

The evolution of an armed force's structure can be examined from two chief perspectives, manpower size and unit composition, particularly of the primary combat units. Many systems theorists believe that rapid change is detrimental to organizations (cf. Simsek and Louis, 1994, 670). In the military, introducing large numbers of new personnel into the force in a short period of time is likely to undermine corporate values and practices, at least until professional training and unit practices are absorbed by new personnel. Also, dramatic growth or reduction in the force composition, measured in the number and type of primary units—the division and brigade are Egypt's organizational base (Dyer, 1979, 197)—may also affect corporateness.

In manpower, Egypt's armed forces experienced a lengthy period of relatively rapid growth, i.e. cumulative growth of more than 10 percent annually. As Table 3.3 shows, the manpower of the Egyptian military grew most rapidly in the 1960s and through the 1973 war. The primary reasons for this seem to be Nasser's decision to project power into Yemen from 1962 to 1967, which caused the armed forces to prepare for combat on two major fronts (Israel was the primary foe), and the necessity after 1967 to rebuild the armed forces with the aim of adopting an offensive strategy to regain the Sinai, lost in 1967 to Israel.

Egypt's military manpower more than doubled between 1960 and 1967, increasing by 2.2 times after 1960. This comes to an annual average of just over 17 percent. In actuality, however, much of the increase occurred on the eve of the 1967 war, when many of Egypt's 100,000 troops in the Sinai were reservists, while 8 regular army brigades were deployed in Yemen (Witty, 2001, 428).

Between the military disaster of 1967 and the strategic gains won in 1973, the armed forces' manpower nearly doubled again, increasing by nearly 1.8 times after 1967. This averages to an annual rate of increase of nearly 13 percent. While many of the new troops were again reservists called up in advance of the war, the build-up was spread more evenly over the entire 6-year period since Egypt was rebuilding a shattered military.

The significance of the post-1967 manpower gains was deepened by the fact that the Egyptian military had to replace a large number of officers, due both to war losses and to a political purge. The political purge affected all ranks, not just the senior officers. According to Be'eri (1978, 132), Nasser used the high command as a public "scapegoat," requiring the resignation of Field Marshal Amer and of Shams al-Din Badran, the Minister of War, as well as the Air Force Commander, Sidqi Mahmud (Oren, 2002, 57). Twelve additional generals resigned or retired. In addition, between 300 and 1,000 lower-ranking officers were dismissed or retired. In addition, some 1,500 officers were lost in the Sinai. Thus, the total number of officers replaced after 1967 was somewhere between 1,800 to 2,500—and this was just to rebuild the leadership structure to its pre-war levels.

After 1973 the rate of increase in manpower slowed, and it did so dramatically. The total percentage increase in manpower from 1973 to 1982 was about 15 percent, an annual rate of less than 2 percent. After 1982, growth was limited and manpower levels stabilized, increasing almost immeasurably in percentage terms until 1988. After, through 1990, manpower decreased, but almost negligibly.

Judging by the annual percentage of manpower growth, the Egyptian force was weakly corporate prior to 1967 and even afterward until 1973. But after 1973, manpower

growth stabilized and can be assessed as very corporate, with the strength of corporateness increasing after 1982 in this aspect of force structure.

Table 3.3: Expansion of the Armed Forces in Manpower[42]

	1956	1960	1967	1973	1982	1988	1990
Manpower	90,000	100,000	220,000	390,000	447,000	452,000	450,000

Examination of changes in primary unit structure—divisions and brigades in the Egyptian army—reveals a different picture of force structure. The change in numbers of divisions is slow and steady, but there is significant fluctuation in the numbers of brigades. Some of the brigade-level change seems unexplained,[43] thus the picture at division level seems more reliable and will be used exclusively here to measure corporateness. The data in Table 3.4 is most consistent for 1973 and subsequent years, since the same source is used for all these entries.

The gradual but steady growth in the number of Egyptian ground combat divisions between 1956 and 1973, is clear, but not surprising. Between 1948 and 1973, the country fought 4 wars with Israel—and in 1956 it also fought France and Britain—and projected significant military power into Yemen for a 5-year period, beginning in 1962. The steady mechanization of the ground forces is also noticeable; surprising, perhaps, is only Egypt's relative tardiness in mechanizing and armoring its ground units. For several decades, through all its wars between the 1940s and the 1970s, 50 percent or more of the ground forces were composed of regular light infantry. Not until 1982—the

[42] Manpower data for 1952, 1960, and 1967 is from Cover (1976, 386); for 1956, data is from Pollack (2002, 31); for 1967, 1973, 1982 and 1988, data is from Cordesman (1993, 322); for 1990, data is from IISS, Military Balance. The data provided by Cover and Cordesman for 1967 are the same.

[43] The number of brigades dips in both 1973 and 1986 and then increases dramatically in the next year measured. Some of the difference between 1973 and 1979 is accounted for in the organization of the commando battalions into brigades after the 1973 war. As for the difference between 1986 and 1990, much of it is accounted for in the recorded numbers of artillery brigades (from 2 to 14, respectively); however, it is not clear whether this is an error or a real change in numbers.

year the Sinai was restored to Egyptian sovereignty—did its armored and mechanized divisions outnumber its light infantry.

The growth of Egypt's division structure was most rapid between 1967 and 1973,[44] when it increased from 7 to 10 divisions, or by nearly 43 percent. Broken down to an annual average, however, this comes to about 7 percent annually. There was little change in the armored and infantry branches; no new armored divisions were added in this time and only one new infantry division was created. The big change was in the mechanized infantry, which grew from one to three divisions. Thus the mechanized branch was most likely to feel the effects of rapid growth.

One indicator that rapid expansion affected performance negatively is the post-1973 careers of that war's division commanders. In the two ground-combat branches where incremental change occurred, infantry and armor, three division commanders went on to become armed forces chief of staff. This includes two of the five infantry division commanders (BG Nabi Hafiz of the 16th and BG Badawy of the 7th) and one of the two armored division commanders (BG Urabi of the 21st). In the mechanized infantry, where change was greatest, none of the three division commanders achieved that distinction.

Table 3.4: Evolution of Force Structure—Brigades and Divisions[45]

	1956	1967	1973	1979	1983	1984	1986	1990
Brigades	--	16	12[46]	32	45	45	22[47]	37

[44] The premise being that Egypt had no more than the 7 divisions it deployed in Sinai, according to Dupuy (1992, 339) and Pollack (2002, 58-59).
[45] The count from 1973 and afterward is most consistent since all data comes from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, The Military Balance. For 1956 and 1967, the division totals come from Pollack (2002); Dupuy's (1992) division totals for 1967 agree. The brigade totals for 1967 come from Pollack (2002) and Witty (2001); the latter looks solely at Egyptian forces in Yemen. Although IISS provides unit data for 1967, its totals of 3 infantry divisions and 3 brigades (2 armored and 1 parachute) are well below the figures provided by such reputable scholars of the 1967 war as Dupuy (1992) and Pollack (2002), thus I used the latter's information for that war.
[46] Although Egypt had 12 brigade headquarters in 1973, some of the increase in brigades noted by 1979 is accounted for in that Egypt had 26 CDO battalions in 1973. Thus, while new brigade headquarters were formed, the bulk of the CDO units already existed, e.g. their personnel, equipment, and unit structure up to

(independent)								
Divisions	5 (Sinai theater)[48] -4 Inf -1 AR	7 (Sinai) -4 Inf -2 AR -1 Mech	10 -2 AR -3 Mech -5 Inf	10 -2 AR -3 Mech -5 Inf	11 -3 AR -5 Mech -3 Inf	12 -3 AR -5 Mech -4 Inf	12 -4 AR -5 Mech -3 Inf	12 -4 AR -8 Mech

The 7 percent annual change in the size of the division structure leaves the force within the levels of mostly corporate unit growth. Not until 1983 and 1984 would the division structure again increase. The increase of one division each year translates into a percentage increase of 10 percent in 1983 and 9 percent in 1984. We can assess the force was mostly corporate in 1983 and 1984, when the division structure changed, and strongly corporate for the other years, in which division totals remained unchanged.

The overall corporateness due to force structure changes begins with weak corporateness in 1965, due primarily to significant manpower growth combined with the relative lack of stability of the division structure, which was significantly smaller then than it would be in 1973. Egyptian corporateness worsened briefly due to tremendous manpower growth and the need to add thousands of officers in the short period of time between 1967 and 1973. By 1976, however, the force structure was partially corporate due to the relative stability of the division force structure—the number of divisions did not change between 1973 and 1979. Corporateness improved to strong by 1980 and changed little afterward, except with the addition of new divisions in 1983 and 1984.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 3.4: Force Structure

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)

battalion level. This mitigates the effect on force structure of the increase in brigades between 1973 and 1979.

[47] Here the decrease in brigades appears to be partially accounted for by the organization of 2 new divisions. Each Egyptian ground division in 1986 had 3 combat brigades, according to the IISS; the formation of 2 new divisions may account for a decrease of 6 armor and infantry brigades.

[48] According to Pollack's (2002, 31) count of units and military personnel, two-thirds or more of the Egyptian army was in the Sinai or available for use there. Assuming the 5 divisions in and around Sinai represented a little over 2/3 of the division structure, there would have been about 7 divisions total in 1956.

1965	WC: 1.5
1970	WC: 1
Prior to November 1976	PC: 2.5
1980	SC: 3.5
Prior to May 1984	SC: 3.25
1990	SC: 3.5

Defense Leadership

In civilian-ruled governments, the defense ministry is typically the salient institution for civil-military interaction. This is because the defense minister is usually a civilian and acts for the executive branch in managing the affairs of the military. As a measurement of military corporateness, the presence of a civilian defense minister is both a mark of civilian control and a check against role expansion and politicization, which frequently occur when the minister is a military officer.

In Egypt, every defense minister[49] since December 1952 has been a uniformed officer, with the exception of Amin Huwaidi, Nasser's trouble-shooting cabinet minister. Huwaidi, who had military experience, was particularly useful in the aftermath of the 1967 debacle with its atmosphere of conspiracy because of his intelligence background.

The president, who has since 1952 always been a former career military officer, exercises supreme command over the military in Egypt. Directly subordinate in the chain-of-command is the minister of defense who, except for the 1962-1967 period, is also the commander-in-chief (*qaid 'am*). Subordinate to the defense minister is the armed forces chief of staff, who is also commander of the ground forces, or army.

[49] The position was titled Minister of War until 1978. For consistency, I use the term defense minister unless referring specifically to a person who was minister of war.

Each of Egypt's presidents since 1952 has pursued a different style of relations with his highest-ranking defense leaders. At times, as for many years during Nasser's presidency, civil-military relations were characterized by the president's view that the personal and political loyalty of the commander in chief were of paramount importance. At other times, particularly under Sadat, the president elevated a strategic policy to paramount importance and insisted on the fealty of the defense minister and chief of staff to this policy.

President Nasser put general command (*qa'id 'am*) of the armed forces—elevated to deputy supreme command (*na'ib qa'id 'aly*) in 1962—into the hands one man, Abdul Hakim Amer, the armed forces commander-in-chief from 1953 to 1967. This was unusual in several ways, but primarily because Nasser's presidency became so marked by the politicization of military power in the person of Amer. Amer was among Nasser's closest confidantes when first appointed and soon became entrenched to the extent that Nasser could not remove him (Dekmejian, 1971, 239).

The elevation of Amer was unusual because his promotion from major to major general was a prominent transgression against the integrity of the Egyptian military's chain-of-command and the promotion process. Moreover, whereas the Egyptian minister of war typically was simultaneously the armed forces commander-in-chief, beginning in 1962 when Nasser sought to reduce or fragment some of Amer's control of the military, the two posts were separated until after the 1967 war and the resignation of Amer. An additional measure Nasser took was keeping the war ministry separate from the newly-created—in 1966—post for a minister of military production, which was first held by an officer technocrat, Abdul Wahab Al Bishri.

Sadat's style was very different from Nasser's, judging from the short tenure of his defense ministers. Sadat also had no need to separate the powers of minister of defense from those of commander-in-chief because he was decisive in terminating the command of those who disagreed with him. Egypt averaged nearly one defense minister about every 18 months—seven in eleven years (see Table 3.5)—during Sadat's presidency. Although the first change of war minister—Mohamed Fawzi—in May 1971 was part of a larger shakeup driven primarily by the requisites of political survival, subsequent changes appeared to be mostly policy-driven.

By some accounts (Baker, 1978, 160-161; Beattie, 2000, 126-127), Sadat purged his second war minister, General Mohamed Sadeq, in October 1972 because he feared the latter's power and popularity. But other credible accounts see important policy disagreements behind the ouster, ranging from Sadiq's overly defense-minded doctrinal orientation (Rubinstein, 1977, 216; Beattie, 2000, 126), which did not fit with Sadat's strategic plans, to a combination of Sadeq's extreme fixation on gaining more arms and his excessively anti-Soviet sentiments (Heikal, 1975, 180-181).

Subsequent changes in defense minister were either necessitated by the incumbents' death or for policy reasons. Those who died in office were Ahmed Ismail Ali (cancer) in 1974 and Ahmed Badawi (helicopter accident) in 1981, Sadat's third and sixth defense ministers, respectively. The ouster of Mohamed Abdul Ghani Gamasy, the fourth defense minister, in October 1978 resulted from disagreements over Sadat's peace strategy, which relied heavily on American diplomacy to deliver Israel (Dekmejian, 1983, 203). Peace policy aside, however, Sadat found in Gamasy an officer he could trust. The latter's nearly 4 years as defense minister, longer than any other during Sadat's

presidency, testifies to this. So too does the unification in 1976 of the defense ministry's powers with those of the minister for military production. Held separate by Nasser, the two posts have been conjoined ever since. Even so, when General Gamasy disagreed with President Sadat over an important strategic policy Sadat removed him.

By the end of his presidency, Sadat seems to have better discerned how to select defense ministers whose thinking was in tune with his own and that of his eventual successor, Vice President Mubarak. Kamal Hassan Ali, the fifth defense minister (October 1978 to May 1980) was next tapped to be deputy prime minister and foreign minister. In June 1984 under President Mubarak, Hassan Ali became prime minister of Egypt. Beattie (2000, 238) sees Kamal Hassan Ali's promotion into civilian government positions facilitated by his affiliation with Sadat's new National Democratic Party, but mainly due to Ali's backing of Sadat's peace policy (see also Hirst, 1981, 329-220). Sadat's final defense minister was LTG Mohamed Abdul Haleem Abu Ghazala, who Mubarak inherited when Sadat was assassinated.

Sadat's depoliticization of the defense leadership is apparent in his gradual decision to stop appointing his defense ministers to civilian cabinet posts. Each of his first three appointments as defense minister—Sadeq, Ismail Ali, and Gamasy—were also designated as deputy prime ministers, increasing their public stature and their strength within the cabinet. Typically Sadat added the deputy PM post less than a year after selecting his defense minister; apparently he intended the additional position as both a reward and an incentive for continued loyalty and compliance. After replacing Gamasy in October 1978, however, Sadat discontinued the practice; neither Hassan Ali, nor Badawi,

nor Abu Ghazala was appointed as deputy prime ministers or any other civilian post by Sadat.

Mubarak's relationship with his defense ministers in some ways resembled Nasser's era more than Sadat's. This was especially apparent in the longevity accorded his defense ministers, a characteristic that may contribute both to politicization and stagnation of the military command. In almost three decades as president, Mubarak has had only three ministers of defense, inheriting the first from Sadat. Mubarak and LTG Abdul Haleem Abu Ghazala had been comfortable partners since helping establish the new US military aid to Egypt program in 1977; Abu Ghazala had been Egypt's defense attaché to the US (McDermott, 1988, 72).

After Sadat's assassination in October 1981 Mubarak promoted Abu Ghazala from *fareeq* (lieutenant general) to *musheer* (field marshal) in April 1982 (*Al Nasr*, No.s 513 and 515), skipping the rank of *fareeq awal* (the equivalent of a four-star general). After only 13 months as defense minister, FM Abu Ghazala had the distinction of being only the second active-duty Egyptian military officer since Abdul Hakim Amer to hold the rank of field marshal.[50]

Gradually, however, Abu Ghazala's power increased and he came to be seen by some as a political rival to President Mubarak (Springborg, 1987). According to a former US ambassador to Egypt, Mubarak "feared" Abu Ghazala's power by 1984[51] but, as Nasser had discovered earlier, an entrenched field marshal is not easy to remove. Mubarak offered Abu Ghazala a vice presidential role on condition he resign from the defense ministry, but Abu Ghazala refused. Mubarak removed the defense minister in

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[50] The first was Ahmed Ismail Ali, who was promoted to FM in April 1974 and died of cancer in December 1974. It is not clear whether his cancer had been diagnosed prior to his promotion.
[51] Interview with USA1 on March 26, 2007.

April 1989 only after the latter had become a potentially "serious political threat" (Cassandra, 1995, 23) and Mubarak was able to oust Abu Ghazala only after the latter was reportedly entangled in an extra-marital relationship.

Whatever lessons Mubarak learned from this episode did not affect the tenure or rank of his subsequent defense minister. Although Abu Ghazala's immediate successor, Yusef Sabri Abu Talib, served for only two years, the current defense minister is well into his second decade as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Field Marshal Tantawi has served as defense minister since 1991. FM Tantawi is in poor health and while he is the fourth active duty officer promoted to field marshal, he is not considered very distinguished for a military officer of his rank and position (Cassandra, 1995, 23; Alterman, 2000, 114; Springborg, 2003).

Mubarak followed Sadat's earlier example, bolstering his defense minister, FM Abu Ghazala, with the post of deputy prime minister. Abu Ghazala also served on economically significant committees in the government because of his interest in expanding the military's reach into the economy. After replacing Abu Ghazala, however, Mubarak ceased awarding the deputy PM slot to the defense minister or permitting him to hold a post in the ruling National Democratic Party, as he had for a time (Abdalla, 1988, 1457). According to an Egyptian diplomat,[52] it is not lawful for military officers to hold political party positions.

Table 3.5: Post-1952 Ministers of War/Defense[53]

Minister of War/Defense **The authority of commander-in-chief was separate from the authority of minister of war during this period; FM Amer was C-in-C.	**Term in office**	**Civilian positions**

[52] Interview on April 3, 2007.
[53] The primary sources for this information are Mohamed Jawadi (1997) and *Al Nasr*. The title was changed from Minister of War to Minister of Defense in 1978.

Ali Maher Basha (civilian)	July 1952-Dec 1952	Leader of Wafd (political party) and Prime Minister, Minister of Interior, of Foreign Affairs, and of Marine (July-Dec 1952)
Major General Mohamed Naguib	Dec 1952-June 1953	Prime Minister (Sept 1952-April 1954)
Wing Commander Abdul Latif Boghdadi**	June 1953-April 1954	Minister of Marine (June 1953-February 1954) *Held several important civilian posts in government after the war ministry.
Lieutenant Colonel Hussein Al Shafei**	April 1954-August 1954	*Held several important civilian posts in government after the war ministry.
MG (later Field Marshal) Abdul Hakim Amer	August 1954-September 1962	Vice President (Oct 1958-March 1964) Deputy Supreme Commander, 1962-1967 Amer held many posts while commander-in-chief (Table 3.6)
MG Abdul Wahhab Al Bishri**	September 1962-September 1966	
Colonel Shams Al Din Badran** (Bishri became Minister of Military Production, a new post, in this cabinet)	September 1966-June 11, 1967	
MG Abdul Wahhab Al Bishri	June 19, 1967-July 22, 1967	
Amin Hamid Huweidi (a civilian with a military background) (Bishri remained as Minister of Military Production)	July 22, 1967-January 24, 1968	*Held several important civilian posts in government before and after the war ministry.
General (Fareeq Awal) Mohamed Fawzi (Bishri remained Minister of Military Production until April 1969. In May 1969, the ministry was abolished and in January 1972 it was resurrected.)	January 1968-May 1971	
General Mohamed Ahmed Sadeq (In January 1972, General Sadeq assumed control of the restored ministry of military production. A separate minister of state for military production, initiated in 1971, continued to function.)	May 1971-October 1972	Deputy PM, January-October 1972
Lieutenant General (promoted to General in March 1973 and Field Marshal in April 1974) Ahmed Ismail Ali (LTG Ahmed Kamil Al Badri was Minister of Military Production, October 1972-March 1976)	October 1972-December 1974 (died in office)	Deputy PM, March-December 1974 *Ismail Ali had retired from the military and was serving as Chief of General Intelligence when Sadat appointed him War Minister
General (Field Marshal upon retirement) Mohamed Abdul Ghani Al Gamasy (General Gamasy also took on the role of Minister of Military Production from March 1976-October 1978)	December 1974-October 1978	Deputy PM, April 1975-October 1978
Lieutenant General (promoted to General in June 1979) Kamal Hassan Ali	October 1978-May 1980	*Hassan Ali moved from Defense Minister directly to Deputy PM and

(LTG Hassan Ali was Minister of Defense and Military Production)		Foreign Minister in May 1980 as a civilian. Became Prime Minister in June 1984.
Lieutenant General Ahmed Badawi Sayed Ahmed (LTG Badawi was Minister of Defense and Military Production)	May 1980-March 1981 (died in helicopter crash)	
LTG (promoted to Field Marshal in April 1982) Mohamed Abdul Halim Abu Ghazala (FM Abu Ghazala was Minister of Defense and Military Production)	March 1981-April 1989	Politburo of National Democratic Party, 1981-1984. Deputy PM, August 1982-April 1989. Chairman of Higher Strategic Committee [for economic development]. Chairman of the Higher Committee for the Egyptian Passenger Car.
General Yusef Sabri Abu Talib (Abu Talib was Minister of Defense and Military Production and retained the latter post until October 1993)	April 1989-May 1991	*MG Abu Talib held a cabinet post—Minister for People's Development (Aug 1982-Mar 1983)—and was the Governor of Cairo (Mar 1983-Apr 1989), while still on active service. He was in the latter post when Mubarak appointed him Defense Minister.
General (promoted to Field Marshal in October 1993) Mohamed Hussein Tantawi Sulayman (Tantawi took on the Minister of Military Production position in October 1993)	May 1991-present	*Chairman of Ministerial Policy Committee (Higher Strategic Committee), 1986-1989

The position of armed forces chief of staff was relatively unimportant for most of Nasser's presidency, mainly because of the powers held by FM Amer. The locus of authority in the Egyptian military for most of Nasser's presidency was in the person of Field Marshal Abdul Hakim Amer and in the position of commander in chief that he held. While the minister of war supervised budgetary, economic, and policy issues, the commander in chief had operational control of all units and other components of the armed forces (Smith, et al, 1970, 453). He also was responsible for organization and administration, and for training and arming the military. The armed forces chief of staff was also the deputy commander in chief at this time, but FM Amer bypassed General Fawzi, a Nasser loyalist appointed in 1964 (Kaplan, 1964, 429; Gawrych, 1987, 545).

Nasser's choice of Fawzi was one of several attempts the president made to curtail or counterbalance Amer's power.

Amer's patronage extended the careers of several service commanders, e.g. the air force commander, General Mohamed Sidqi Mahmud, and the navy commander, Admiral Suleyman 'Izzat. Both had held their position since before the 1956 war (Gawrych, 1987, 549). As a result, Mahmud twice oversaw the destruction of the Egyptian air force on the ground, first by the British and French in 1956 and then by the Israelis in 1967. Only the euphemistically-termed "setback," or *naksa*, of the 1967 war seemed to produce the circumstances necessary for Nasser to rid himself of Field Marshal Amer and General Mahmud and to reprofessionalize the military.

Under Sadat, the chief-of-staff position rotated frequently, and more often than not the incumbent was promoted into a vacated war minister's slot. Of Sadat's seven chiefs of staff, four went on to serve as defense minister. The promotions of Sadat's chiefs of staff also had a policy component. Of those who were not elevated to defense minister, two were ousted over policy disagreements, just as several defense ministers had been. LTG Shazli was fired (Aboul-Einein, 2005) over a disagreement about how to respond to Israel's counteroffensive on October 16, 1973. LTG Mohamed Fahmi was relieved in 1978 (Hinnebusch, 1985, 130) because he opposed the strategic redirection of the armed forces against Libya. Sadat's remaining chief of staff who did not become a defense minister was LTG Abd Rab Abu Nabi Hafiz, who was inherited by Mubarak after Sadat's death.

The tenure of Sadat's service commanders seemed to reflect his style with top-most positions. For instance, army commanders—the armed forces chief—averaged 18

months during Sadat's presidency. The other service commanders lasted longer, in part because the armed forces chief was so often called upon to replace the defense minister. The typical tenure of other service commanders ranged from 3 to 5 years.[54] Among the longest tenured service commander in the 1970s was Vice Admiral Fuad Abu Zakri, who commanded the navy from 1972 until being replaced by Mohamed Ali Mohamed between 1976 and 1979. LTG Husni Mubarak served as air force commander from 1972 to 1975, and then was appointed vice president. His successor, MG Shakir Abdul Mun'im, served until 1980. The air defense was commanded by LTG Mohamed Ali Fahmi from 1971 until 1976; Fahmi's replacement, MG Hilmi Afifi, served until at least 1979.

Table 3.6 Post-1952 Chief of Staff of Armed Forces[55]

Armed Forces Chief of Staff (and Army Commander)	Term in Office	Civilian positions while serving
Major General Mohamed Naguib	July 1952-June 1953	Prime Minister (Naguib relinquished command of the armed forces upon becoming President in June 1953)
MG (Field Marshall in 1958) Abdul Hakim Amer (Note: Amer was commander-in-chief, an authority usually held by the minister of defense)	June 1953-September 1967	Vice President (Oct 1958-March 1964) and First Vice President (March 1964-October 1965) Director of the Committee to Liquidate Feudalism (May 1966-1967) President of the Higher Economic Committee (until 1967) President of the High Dam (until 1967)
General Mohamed Fawzi	March 1964-September 1967	
LTG Abdul Mun'im Riyad	September 1967-March 1969 (killed in action)	
MG Ahmed Ismail Ali	March 1969-September 1969	
LTG Mohamed Sadiq	September 1969- May	

[54] The primary source for this information is *Al Nasr*. There are gaps, both because the Library of Congress collection is incomplete and because *Al Nasr* did not always announce changes of command.

[55] The information in this table is assembled from a variety of sources, including *Al Nasr*; Beattie, 1994; Gawrych, 1987; *The Middle East Military Balance*; and *Military Technology*. I list Abdul Hakim Amer's time as C-in-C with this C/S table since there was a separate Minister of War during much of his service. Additionally, I found no C/S position prior to the appointment of General Mohamed Fawzi in 1964. It was not until January 1968, after the death of Amer, that President Nasser combined the C-in-C position with the Min. of War.

	1971	
LTG Saad Al Din Shazli	May 1971-October 1973	*Sent to ambassadorial posts abroad after being relieved as chief of staff
LTG Abdul Ghani Al Gamasy	October 1973-December 1974	
LTG Mohamed Ali Fahmi	December 1974-October 1978	
LTG Ahmed Badawi	October 1978-May 1980	
LTG Abdul Haleem Abu Ghazala	May 1980-March 1981	
LTG Abd Rab Al Nabi Hafiz	March 1981-February 1982-	
LTG Ibrahim Abdul Ghaffur al Urabi	March 1983-October 1987	
LTG Safi al-Din Abu Shanaf	October 1987-1990	
LTG Salah Halabi	1990-Oct 1995	
LTG Magdi Hatata	October 1995-August 2002	
LTG Hamdi Mustafa Weheba	August 2002-October 2005	
LTG Sami Hafez Enan	October 2005-2007	

Mubarak's approach to the chief of staff position differed from Sadat, as Table 3.6 shows. For one thing, Mubarak rotated his armed forces chiefs of staff less frequently than Sadat. Whereas Sadat's seven chiefs of staff spent an average of less than two years in office, Mubarak's seven chiefs to date have held tenure for an average of almost 4 years. More significantly, Mubarak's chiefs of staff almost never achieved promotion to the defense ministry. Field Marshals Abu Ghazala and Tantawi held that position for a combined 25 years, making the ceiling for officer promotions one rung lower than in Sadat's era. Only Abu Ghazala, who was inherited from Sadat, was promoted to defense minister by Mubarak.

The reason lies in Mubarak's preference—since dismissing Abu Ghazala—for retaining a relatively un-ambitious defense minister—Tantawi—as commander in chief. To reward the chiefs of staff, whose upward mobility is blocked, they are often moved into lucrative but less powerful positions upon retirement. For instance, LTG Urabi in

1986 (Copley, 1989), LTG Halabi in 1995 (Gotowicki, 1999), LTG Hatata in 2002 (US Commerce, 2004) and LTG Weheba in 2005 (Carrington, 2005) went on to head the Arab Organization for Industrialization when Mubarak decided they had served long enough as chief of staff.

Heading the AOI, a consortium of defense manufacturing firms not subject to Egyptian taxes, would provide the incumbent an opportunity to broker multi-million dollar business transactions. This practice also sent the message that, while the chief of staff post was the end of active service, good and loyal performance might be rewarded after active duty service ended. Not coincidentally, Urabi, Halabi, and Hatata each served longer tenures than the average Mubarak-era chief of staff.

President Mubarak's service commanders had tours of duty of varying lengths in the 1980s. A few served only one to two years, while others served for five to six years.[56] MG Lutfi Shabanah commanded the air force from 1980 to 1982, followed by LTG Mohamed Abdul Hameed Hilmi until 1987, and LTG Alaa Al Din Barakat until 1989. In the air defense, LTG Sayyid Hamdi commanded from 1980 through 1986. The next two air defense commanders had short tenures: LTG 'Adil Khalil served for much of 1987 and LTG Mustafa Ahmed Shazli from late 1987 through 1990. Mubarak's first navy commander was Vice Admiral Mohamed Ali Mohamed; he was the incumbent until about 1985, when he was replaced by Vice Admiral Ali Tawfiq Jad. Subsequently, Vice Admiral Mohamed Al Sharif Sadiq served from 1987 through 1990.

A final consideration about Defense Leadership is the rank structure from the 1960s through the 1980s. During Amer's era as commander-in-chief, the rank structure

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[56] The picture is clearer for the 1980s because *Al Nasr* can be augmented by the Jaffee Center's annual report, *The Middle East Military Balance*.

was inflated (Gawrych, 1987, 553). Field Marshal Amer had created the rank of *fariq awal* (equivalent to a 4-star general) in 1964 to dole out promotions to his allies as a form of patronage. As a result the brass was top-heavy but personally loyal to Amer. The *fareeq awal* position was heavily used; there were 7 four-star generals in 1967.

Only after the 1967 war was the rank structure reformed at the general officer levels. By 1973, when Egypt went to war in Sadat's era, there was only one *fareeq awal*—the Minister of War, General Ahmed Ismail Ali—and two *fareeqs*, LTG Saad Shazli, the chief of staff, and Vice Admiral Fuad Abu Zakri (Gawrych, 1987, 553). The other service commanders were *liwas*, including MG Husni Mubarak, commander of the air force, and MG Mohamed Fahmi, the air defense commander; both were promoted to LTG after the 1973 war.

Under President Mubarak, some of the bloating that had been evident during Nasser's era crept back into the military. For instance, Mubarak promoted two of his defense ministers to field marshal (5-star equivalent) rank while they were still on active duty. Aside from Ismail Ali, who died of cancer within 8 months of his promotion, only Abdul Hakim Amer previously had been promoted to field marshal while on active duty. At the levels just below defense minister, the profligacy of rank was greater than in 1973, though still less than in Nasser's day. As early as May 1982 (*Al Nasr*, No. 515, 17-23), for instance, the armed forces had not only a defense minister with field marshal-rank but three *fareeq* commanders. These were LTG Abdul Rab Al Nabi Hafiz, the chief of staff (and commander of the army), Vice Admiral Mohamed Ali Mohamed, commander of naval forces, and LTG Al Sayyid Hamdi, commander of air defense forces.

Assessments of Egyptian Defense Leadership can be made with a focus on corporate integrity of the command structure. Integrity here means an integrated hierarchical structure that is not distorted by favoritism or divided loyalty, as evident from such criteria as rank structure, tenure, or appointment to civilian positions.
For most of the 1960s, military corporateness was weak because the war minister, Badran, was a political ally and crony of his nominal subordinate, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Moreover the latter, Amer, was entrenched in his position and ultimately plotted against the president and supreme commander, Nasser. The situation improved with Nasser's shakeup of the leadership after 1967 and the resignation of Amer.

Although Sadat justifiably earned a reputation for interfering in the senior military hierarchy, his actions appear to have done much to restore military corporateness and professionalism. To assess Sadat's actions in proper context, they must be contrasted with the earlier politicization of the military tolerated by Nasser and perpetrated by Amer. Thus, while Sadat's management of the defense leadership was interventionist, put in context, his promotions and retirements of various defense leaders restored civilian control over the military and demonstrated clearly the civilian executive's intolerance for military politicking. The continuing elements of weakness in the Defense Leadership's corporateness were the defense minister—a military officer—holding at least one important civilian position in the cabinet until 1978.

During Mubarak's presidency, some aspects of the Abu Ghazala era at the defense ministry reflect a set-back to Egypt's military corporateness. This was manifested in the longevity of the defense minister—a leadership trait confirmed by Mubarak's

subsequent defense minister, Tantawi. Aside from reflecting a preference for loyalty over merit, such longevity stifles competition at the top ranks and leads to professional stagnation. Moreover, the defense minister was double-hatted with civilian posts. In addition, there are signs that a bloated general officer corps re-emerged under Mubarak.

There is some irony here that the effect on corporateness of the defense leadership of Field Marshals Abu Ghazala and Tantawi are so similar, despite the disparity in personal and professional qualities they exhibit. Tantawi's relative mediocrity, for a defense minister, was noted earlier. In contrast, Abu Ghazala's professional leadership skills—such as his courage, charismatic presence, and decision-making acuity—are widely praised by analysts (cf. Springborg, 1987), American military interlocutors,[57] and subordinate officers who have since risen to general officer rank.[58]

Corporateness Assessment Chart 3.5: Defense Leadership

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1965	WC: 1.5
1970	WC: 1.75
Prior to November 1976	PC: 2.25
1980	MC: 2.5
Prior to May 1984	MC: 2.25
1990	MC: 2.25

Conclusions

A comparison of Figures 3.1 and 3.2 illustrates graphically and quantitatively the extent to which Egyptian military corporateness correlates to the political liberalization that peaked in 1976 and in 1984, according to Freedom House data. Correlation is not causation and, in fact, the author of both military corporateness and political liberalization was President Sadat. It seems clear that his aim in improving corporateness

[57] Interview on February 26, 2007.
[58] Interview on March 3, 2007.

was to ready the armed forces for war with Israel. But Sadat's *infitah*, including political liberalization, which might have had a similar aim with respect to achieving the support of the civilian population, came after the 1973 war. It is unclear whether Sadat conceived of any link or relationship between military and political reforms, but it is a worthy topic for future research.

The military corporateness data in Figure 3.1 shows that corporateness improved dramatically between 1970 and 1980, rising most sharply between 1970 and 1976, i.e. preceding the initial 1976 peak in liberalization. This conforms to H1, the hypothesis that a more corporate military will support liberalization. The military corporateness data is more ambiguous, however, regarding the second—1984—peak in liberalization. Military corporateness actually dipped slightly between its peak in 1980 and 1984, when liberalization peaked. Then corporateness rose slightly over the remainder of the decade, resting in 1990 at a level just below its peak in 1980.

Several explanations for the discrepancy between expected increases of corporateness and liberalization together in the 1980s are possible. One is that corporateness alone has insufficient explanatory power. For that we need to consider the effect of a second variable, the military's political values, as the next Egypt chapter will do. The discrepancy also points to potential flaws in the corporateness data. For instance, the downturn in corporateness attributed to the Defense Leadership category relies on some developments that were underway throughout Mubarak's presidency but were much clearer in later decades. For instance, FM Abu Ghazala enjoyed an eight-year tenure at the defense ministry, and reportedly became a political rival of the president—until Mubarak gained enough leverage to remove him in 1989. But it was not until the

much longer tenure of FM Tantawi, still the minister of defense after 17 years in office, that the extent of Mubarak-era cronyism became apparent. Tantawi's term as defense minister only began in 1991, so its effects were essentially read back into the data for the 1980s.

Additionally, while each category of corporateness was weighted equally, in actuality the different categories vary in importance. For instance, a stable Force Structure does not actually contribute positively to corporateness, nor does a Force Structure in flux necessarily lead to the entry of alternative professional standards and practices. But a fluid Force Structure does present opportunities for corporateness to be disrupted. Unless the military leadership works actively to instill new personnel and new units with the professional values of the armed forces, these new units are prone to being influenced by alternative values. At the least, they are unlikely to share the traditional values of the military unless and until those values are instilled by the military leadership.

Another explanation is that the smaller changes in corporateness and liberalization recorded during the late 1970s, and during the 1980s, are essentially insignificant. In other words, the changes were too minor—the equivalent of being statistically insignificant—to be considered as a real test of the hypothesis. It is difficult to define the level of change that may be deemed significant. But it makes sense to assess that, following the large-scale change in corporateness and liberalization of the early and mid-1970s, the magnitude of change subsequently was relatively insignificant.

As noted earlier, among the chief findings of this chapter is the important role that civilian leadership can play in restoring—or disrupting—military corporateness. In several instances in which Egypt's president, first Nasser, and later Mubarak, entrusted a

loyalist officer with unchecked powers, civilian control over the military was lost. The vacuum was filled by the military commander in chief, and in the case of FM Amer, disaster for Egypt ensued.

Civil-military relations during Sadat's presidency on the other hand were marked most noticeably by the president's active management—as Supreme Commander—of the military. President Sadat was particularly attentive to the military's compliance, as an instrument of the state, with his strategic vision and policy choices. Sadat's management of the upper military hierarchy had multiple benefits for corporateness. By frequently hiring and firing top leaders—seven defense ministers and seven chiefs of staff in 11 years—he re-established clear civilian control over the military. As a result, the senior military leadership was de-politicized and integrity restored to the chain of command. No longer was defense leadership a den of cronyism and patronage as it had been under FM Amer and Shams Badran, Amer's former office manager turned defense minister.

The positive role of institutionalization in establishing military corporateness also emerges, e.g. in the categories of Personnel System and Educational Autonomy. The increase of corporateness experienced in both categories, the former between 1965 and 1970 and the latter over much of the period between 1970 and 1990, is attributable to a curtailment of personalistic management or an increase in institutionalization or both. The importance of institutionalization in increasing military corporateness is most clearly apparent in Educational Autonomy. A steady installment of schools and journals resulted in steady increases in corporateness throughout the two decades examined here. Also, personnel practices benefited from the removal of Amer and Badran, although anecdotal reporting indicates that the Personnel System is not yet as meritocratic as desired.

The relationship of institutionalization to corporateness raises the question whether such improvements are essentially a matter of budget allocations or part of a broader process. The answer seems to be that while budget plays a role, the choices of military leadership are crucial. Decisions over what to fund are the purview of the defense leadership and result in driving forward or holding back the institutionalization of various aspects of military corporateness. For instance, FM Abu Ghazala determined to publish a new, exclusively professional military journal and appointed his protégé, MG (Ret) Ahmed Fakher as the first editor-in-chief of *Al Difa'*. When the journal began publication in 1984, its availability to the officer corps represented a significant improvement in the military's ability to educate officers about the values and doctrine of the organization.

The examination of corporateness in the Personnel System highlights the degree to which the steady process of institutionalization can be undermined by a deep-rooted factor, such as culture. For instance, while certain procedures for accession to the officer corps and promotion within it can be meritocratic, e.g. entrance exams and officer evaluations, a culture of patronage, or *wasta*, be difficult to circumvent entirely. As a result, qualified officers have not always filled the positions for which they are qualified. Problems such as this are likely to persist stubbornly unless carefully designed measures are implemented to overcome them. Such measures either would have to change the *wasta* culture, or be impervious to it.

FM Abu Ghazala was also credited most with the initiation and growth of the military's large role in the economy—a key factor in its reduced corporateness in the area of Mission Exclusivity. The military's economic mission may be beneficial in some

ways—preoccupying it in lieu of the decades-long hostility with Israel or a more active role in politics—but it does detract from corporateness.

The mission of the Egyptian armed forces most closely resembles the military corporation variant discussed by Mora (2004) and Siddiqa (2007). In a military business role, the military is engaged in various aspects of the economy. Egypt's military took on such a role in the late 1970s. Some of this military business was arguably a needed component of national development, e.g. in building communications and transporation infrastructure. Engaged in such activity, engineer and signals units often perfomed a facsimile of their professional mission, e.g. construction and coordination and laying communications line. But eventually an entirely new branch of the military, the National Service Projects Organization, became responsible for producing consumer goods in a sector of the economy that spanned public and private enterprise. This indicates an internal bifurcation of the military and a blurring of its mission focus.

Overall, Mission Exclusivity remained improved since the 1960s, despite the military business mission, but it holds the potential to lead to a worsening of corporateness. For instance, it could draw the military into a role in the black market, which would probably result in extra-legal behavior, corruption, and abuse of power by officers.

The Egyptian military by some accounts holds an additional, probably more significant mission. This is the national guardian role that militaries often adopt then they perceive themselves as the creator of a regime (Bradford, 2005). As noted earlier, a former US ambassador to Egypt describes the military as still seeing itself as guardian of the revolution. Cook (2007) describes the military as protecting several core concerns,

including the economic interests just noted, but also its security, state, and nationalist priorities.

The evidence of this role is difficult to see, however, as the military appears to obey the executive and the instances in which it has rolled out of the barracks into the streets of Egypt are limited to occasions such as 1977 and 1986 when it was ordered to do so. There is no denying that the military has a stake in the regime, but it not clear that it sees itself, rather than civilians, as the sole guardian. For instance, civilians in the National Democratic Party and the state apparatus take the lead role in determining the course of the state and its policies.

This highlights a further point, which is that Egypt's military has shown remarkable adaptability in performing a succession of different missions in the 20th century. The army—in the era of British occupation—had a significant internal-threat mission focus (Safran, 1969, 207). After the Free Officer revolution, it adapted to warfighting in the 1950s and 1960s, in addition to the role played by senior officers in governance. Then the military focused almost exclusively—and relatively successfully—on war with Israel in the 1970s, and subsequently in the 1980s and beyond it has increasingly played an economic role. This may indicate that the military's mission focus is an area susceptible to reform in an effort to improve military corporateness.

Overall the trend in corporateness over two decades was one of improvement, though its pace slowed between 1980 and 1990. The advances in corporateness seem deep and lasting in such areas as Educational Autonomy, largely due to a strong foundation of military academies and journals, and in Force Structure, due mainly to the 1979 peace agreement Israel. The latter area highlights the role that threat perception can

play in military corporateness. It also serves as a reminder that, for all the seeming depth of corporateness, the process is not irreversible.

Bringing the assessment forward to the present, there is reason to think that further improvements in corporateness may occur, but there is also some cause for concern. The Egyptian diplomat who said recently that "we have legally and institutionally corporatized the military,"[59] overstated the case, both in terms of progress and permanence, though there clearly has been improvement and some of it seems well-established institutionally.

It is almost certain, however, that there will be a change in civil-military relations in the near term, i.e. within 5 years. President Mubarak's advancing age—he was born in 1928—and the ensuing talk of succession point increasingly to the likelihood of his son, Gamal, as the next president—and the first not to emerge from the military. This would create the opportunity for further improvements in corporateness, e.g. a civilian defense minister or, at least, a clearer line between civilian leaders and the military. On the other hand, it is possible that a civilian president in Egypt's present system would feel more beholden to the military for support and allow it greater autonomy—as an enclave rather than a corporate body. Greater autonomy as an enclave would spell increased politicization and reduced corporateness. And this would probably further decrease the future prospects for political liberalization.

[59] Interview on April 3, 2007.

Chapter 4: The Egyptian Military's Political Values

Introduction and Overview

This chapter evaluates the Egyptian military's political values. It points to a correlation between a relative increase in the number of pro-liberalization articles and the onset of increased liberalization in the mid-1970s, as measured by Freedom House. Military discussion of liberalization was less than expected during the early 1980s, when liberalization again spiked after declining in the late 1970s. And in the mid-1980s, the military resumed the discussion with more vigor than ever before, though at a time when liberalization was declining. Thus, while the regime's experiment with liberalization seemed to ebb and flow, the military seemed to gradually adopt the language of liberalization.

Moreover in the early 1970s, the interaction between the military's corporateness and its political values yielded a corporate variant—with a relatively high external mission focus—that President Sadat presumably saw would be suited to increased political liberalization. The key lesson here may be the relevance of strong civilian leadership, since it was the state executive, not the military leadership, who most shaped the corporate model.

The discussion here is informed by the view, explained in chapter 2, that a survey of the military media is among the most effective means of gaining insight into the military mindset on a specific issue set, e.g. liberalization. A thorough review of the military media promises to yield a comprehensive picture of the military's views. It is a picture that reflects mainstream, if not official, perspectives of the military, since the sources are published articles that have been reviewed by the military organization. This

gives the articles a representative quality, but also means that radically dissenting or controversial voices are less likely to be heard, particularly on political matters.

The chapter opens with a description of the Directorate of Moral Affairs (DMA) and the three military journals. The DMA was the central military authority responsible for Egyptian military media produced in the 1970s and much of the 1980s. The DMA was significantly less political than its Syrian military counterpart, the Political Department. For instance, the PD chief in Syria inevitably held a seat in the Ba'th party and coverage in the Syrian military journals reflected the pre-eminent status of the Ba'th. The Egyptian journals by contrast did not highlight Egypt's ruling National Democratic Party.

The heart of the chapter is an assessment of the military's political values. The assessment is divided into four time periods, from 1970 to 1990, corresponding to the Sadat presidency and the first decade of President Mubarak's era. The dominant political themes of each period, as they appeared in the military journals, are highlighted in a general discussion. Each period is further subdivided into the 5 different liberalization categories.

These include Elections; Multi-party system; Freedom of Association; Freedom of Expression; and Rule of Law. The miltiary's view of each of these liberalization categories will be elaborated on the basis of discourse in the military journals. The lone exception is the latter half of the 1970s, which was characterized by very limited discussion of liberalization compared to the other periods. The discussion of during that period remains general, rather than category-specific.

Among the four time periods assessed for the armed forces journal *Al Nasr*, all had a fairly rich amount of political material. Three had enough liberalization-related material to provide some key insights into most or all of the five liberalization categories. And even the period with the weakest discussion of liberalization—the late 1970s, when President Sadat tightened the system—revealed the military's political concerns with issues that overshadowed *infitah*, e.g. internal unrest and growing opposition to the peace process.

The first period examined was from October 1970 to October 1976, which preceded the peak of liberalization as measured by Freedom House (see Figure 3.2). There were a number of pro-liberalization articles prior to its onset, which supports H2. This is the hypothesis that a military with pro-liberalization values is more likely to support liberalization—and the evidence of military support for liberalization should surface prior to the deepening of liberalization. The bulk of these pro-liberalization articles appeared between 1974 and 1976 in the period when President Sadat laid the groundwork for the declaration of a multi-party system, which he did in November, 1976.

In a general sense, the military appeared to follow Sadat's lead on policy fairly closely, at a time in which it was also becoming increasingly corporate. For instance, the military adopted the language and concepts of the political leadership. With the Sadat presidency this was noticeable soon after the corrective revolution of May 1971, e.g. with the military use of such Sadatist concepts as building a "modern state" and a "new" and "free" society, all founded in a "state of institutions," resting on a "lasting constitution" and the "rule of law."

The military's discussion of liberalization was driven by a small number of officers and former officers, including one of the earliest DMA chiefs, MG Rushdi Hassan, and *Al Nasr* editor-in-chief Mohamed Abdul Hameed. But while the policy unquestionably was driven from the top-down, there were differing views among the main military contributors to the discussion. Some reflected a Nasserist emphasis on "social" as opposed to "political democracy," i.e. better wages and living standards should be prioritized over elections and civil liberties. The pro-Sadatist liberalization advocates were cautious initially, perhaps because the infitah policy did not get fully underway until after the 1973 war, and called mainly for building institutions and using the rule of law to "perpetuate the revolution." In addition, the supporters of *infitah* in the military typically cited as precedent a string of documents dating to the Nasser era, particularly the March 30 declaration of 1968, which had called for reforms to and elections within the Arab Socialist Union, the only legal party at the time.

The second period examined in this chapter, from late 1976 through 1980, was marked by a downturn in liberalization, in 1978, according to Freedom House. The discussion of liberalization in *Al Nasr* at this time often had a defensive tone. Regime apologists in the military wrote as though Egypt's experiment with liberalization had culminated in democracy under Sadat. Two of the political topics taken up by the military—food riots and the peace process—reflected public dissent from the regime and thus hinted at key reasons that liberalization lost its way in the late 1970s. Another key theme that emerged in this period was the military's role in the economy.

The Sadat era was cut short by his assassination in October 1980 and Sadat was succeeded by Vice President Mubarak, formerly the air force chief of staff. Mubarak

promised to continue down the road of peace and democracy and indeed liberalization peaked again in 1984, according to Freedom House. But after a few early *Al Nasr* articles on liberalization, some of which were mainly a reaction to Sadat's assassination—a pledge of continuity—the focus on political liberalization had faded. In its place, the theme of military-supported development of the national economy deepened.

One of the suprising aspects of the early 1980s is that, while liberalization peaked, the military discussion of it lagged behind. This is counter to the expectations of H2, but does reflect military obedience of civilian authority. In fact, it was not until the mid- and late-1980s that the military media took up the discussion of liberalization in a meaningful way. And a new group of military political pundits emerged at this time, articulating views that were no longer Nasserist. Instead, these military writers made arguments that were more focused on political democracy, albeit a distinctly Egyptian variety.

Many of the key military discussants were influential figures in the military, as had been some of the advocates of Sadat's initial phase of infitah in the early 1970s. The late 1980s discussants included Shawqi Hamid, editor of *Al Nasr*, MG Muhieddin Hilmi, chief of the DMA, and MG Nabil Bassiouni. As in the previous decade, perhaps more so as there were more commentators, the views expressed by these officers varied. For instance, while Hamid was a frequent commentator and a knowledgeable and articulate supporter of democratization, he was also an apologist for the constraints on freedom placed by the regime. MG Hilmi wrote critically of dictatorship, but seemed oblivious to the political processes distinguishing authoritarianism from representative consultation. And MG Bassiouni advocated freedom of expression as an important component of national security, specifically for combating rumors.

The trends of military media discussion of liberalization in the 1970s and 1980s are illuminating. For instance, they reveal that support for liberalization widened, i.e. more officers and other commentators in the military journals discussed liberalization in the late 1980s than when Sadat inaugurated the infitah policy in the 1970s. Also, the substance of the discussion changed. Military pundits in the early 1970 were clearly still influenced by Nasserist views of "social democracy." By the late 1980s, however, there was little discussion that might be attributed to holdover of Nasser-era views. Instead, the terms were more exclusively within the framework of "political democracy."

The changing discourse on freedom of expression is illustrative. Military commentators in the 1970s expressed concerns that free speech would become a tool of "the enemy" to destroy national unity. By the late 1980s differing viewpoints, as expressed by opposition parties, for instance, were seen to strengthen the regime by providing a range of policy options to choose from. Even so, criticism of the regime was still frowned upon.

The Military's Political Values

The Directorate of Moral Affairs and Egypt's military journals

The military journals reviewed for this chapter are an integral part of Egypt's military history. According to MG Yusri Kamil, *Al Nasr* is part of a lineage dating back to *Al Waqai' Al Misriya* (*The Egyptian Gazette*), published in 1828 and circulated among senior administrators to provide news about the army and other matters (*Al Nasr*, No. 562, 82-83). The first exclusively military publication was *Al Jarida Al Askariya* (*The Military Newspaper*), which also appeared in the era of Mohamed Ali, in 1833. *Al Nasr*

was published monthly, beginning in 1960. After some early changes in format, the journal was offered for sale to the general public, in addition to the military, in January 1970.

The office responsible for publishing *Al Nasr*, the Directorate of Moral Affairs (*Idara al Shuun al Ma'nawiya*), or DMA, of the Egyptian Armed Forces, was originally known as the Directorate of Moral Guidance. Moral Guidance was created in 1966 (*Al Nasr*, No. 562, 83), an initiative attributed to "the great leader," Gamal Abdul Nasser, as part of his effort "to rebuild the armed forces," according to Ashraf 'Amir (No. 382, 8).

The head of Egypt's DMA did not have the political stature of his counterpart who headed the Political Department in Syria, but President Sadat likely took an interest in the Chief of DMA. The *liwa* or major general who headed DMA was responsible for all military print, as well as television and film media. In the early 1970s, President Sadat hand-picked the editors of a number of government-owned media outlets, including *Al Ahram*, *Al Akhbar*, and *Al Jumhurriya*—firing Nasserists like Mohamed Heikal and replacing them with journalists more likely to support political and economic liberalization and a strategic shift in Egypt's foreign relations (Beattie, 2000, 181-187).

In December 1970, early in Sadat's presidency, *Al Nasr* announced that moral guidance would be a combat specialization in the armed forces akin to field artillery, air defense, armor, and other specializations (No. 382). This reflected a professionalization of the branch commensurate with its importance to shaping and maintaining the military's ethos. According to General Mohamed Fawzi, the Minister of War, the mission of moral guidance officers is "to relate fighting doctrine to the political and spiritual"

environment and "transform this doctrine" into the basis for "the spirit of offensive combat" (No. 386).

The armed forces oversaw the entry of new officers into the moral guidance specialization through a multi-step process, according to *Al Nasr* (No. 382, 8). First, conscripts joined the military carrying "high qualifications, particularly having a theoretical (*nadthari*) character."[60] Next, they volunteered for duty as a moral guidance specialist, and were selected by the DMA. Those selected would then attend the Reserve Officers College, graduating with a lieutenant's commission, and be sent to a military unit with the moral guidance specialty. By 1975, the specialty was known as moral affairs and conscripts could select it as their military specialization upon mobilization, apparently without some of the earlier pre-requisites, e.g. attending the Reserve Officers College (No. 433). Moral affairs included 3 sub-specialties: assistant officers[61] of moral guidance, assistant preachers, and military correspondents.

Several events in 1975 seem to indicate a decision was made in the armed forces command to raise the profile of the DMA. For instance, in March 1975 *Al Nasr*'s editor, while remaining publicly anonymous, began to contribute a short column introducing key topics in each edition, or sometimes touching on a matter of political importance, e.g. the January 1977 riots, or the course of the Arab-Israeli peace process.

Also, the chief of the DMA, to which *Al Nasr* was subordinate, was identified by name in April 1975. MG Abdul Mun'im Khaleel was the first DMA chief to be publicly identified (No. 430), at an event that he hosted in his official capacity. The aim of the event was, according to a caption accompanying MG Khaleel's picture, to "shed light on

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[60] This probably meant that they were university graduates.
[61] The assistant officer designation appears to equate to a warrant officer.

the mission of Moral Affairs." MG Khaleel had additional clout in that he was also an assistant minister of war, which was atypical for the DMA chief.

The bulk of the articles in *Al Nasr* were written by its staff, regular contributors who typically wrote on a particular topic, e.g. Ashraf 'Amir on "Religion and Life" or Mohamed Al Menshawi on "Military Culture." The men—and a few women—on the staff appeared to be moral officers or "military correspondents" (No. 433). Additionally, civilian guests wrote articles on occasion, e.g. in January 1975 (No. 427) when senior editorial staff of *Al Ahram*, *Al Jumhurriya*, *Al Musawwar*, and *Ruz Al Yusef* contributed columns to a discussion on the likely political developments of the upcoming year[62].

General officers also periodically contributed articles to *Al Nasr*, sometimes as part of a regular column, e.g. MG Ahmed Fakher's "The Truth" or MG Kamal Abul Azayim's "Pages from Military History." At other times, the entire senior chain-of-command would contribute articles to a special section, e.g. "October and eruption of peace in the thought of the armed forces command" (*Al Nasr*, No. 484), which included contributions from the minister of defense, the chief of staff, each service chief, the two field army commanders, and the commanders of the paratroops and commando forces, aiming to demonstrate support for Sadat's decision to follow the peace process.

The significance of such coordinated articles may be deduced from their rarity—no more than once every few years. It is perhaps telling that no coordinated efforts were made by the armed forces leadership to publish articles in favor—or opposed—to *infitah* and political liberalization; however, with the exception of the peace process, the military command spoke out in unison only on non-controversial issues of professional military

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[62] Predictions ranged from "No escape from war," to "Year of Palestine," to "Liberation…by war or peace."

interest, e.g. to welcome the restoration of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sinai in 1982 (no. 515).

As a reflection of the military's political values, *Al Nasr* must be judged a fairly conservative media outlet; for the most part it was not the place to float trial balloons, or a venue for sharp debate on controversial topics.[63] Even so, the views published in *Al Nasr*, written mostly by a professional military staff within the DMA, or by general officers, were not homogenous. For instance, Nasserist perspectives continued to be heard during the Sadat era, including on liberalization issues. They simply were not framed as debates.

Most *Al Nasr* articles fall into one of three categories: professional military topics; socio-political and economic discussion; or entertainment and culture. The professional military content ranged widely, including discussion of military equipment and tactics; tips on gaining entrance to military school; a variety of "news of interest to you" that touched on housing, travel, retirement, clubs, education, conscription and other military news; discussions of maneuvers and other field training; and the activities, receptions, and promotions of officers at senior command levels.

The magazine also devoted many pages to various social and cultural issues with entertainment value. These included literary selections, such as short stories and poems; articles on pop stars and actors; interviews with celebrities; sports; horoscopes; cartoons; and crossword puzzles.

The third category—columns dealing with politics, the economy, or social issues—included a wide variety of topics also, some as part of a serial or column that

[63] Rare instances of debate within *Al Nasr* included such topics as whether and to what extent to popularize and publicize the military achievements of the 1973 war (No.s 433 and 435, 1975).

appeared in every issue and others appearing more sporadically. The primary topics of this category included religion, i.e. articles about Islam and its role in society; articles about women and their role in the military or as spouses; international politics, particularly stories about Israel or updates on conflicts with geostrategic relevance; articles about economic developments, either domestic or international in focus; articles about the military's activities in (or contributions to) Egyptian society, politics, or the economy; and legal issues, usually from the standpoint of military discipline. It is among these articles that the military's views on liberalization are found.

The DMA also published *Al Quwat Al Musallaha* (*The Armed Forces;* hereafter *QM*), originally as a bimonthly in broadsheet, or newspaper format. *QM* was fairly short, often 8 or as many as 12 pages. During the October 1973 war it was for a time printed daily, and in a shortened version of about 4 pages. After the war it became a weekly and remained 4 pages long. *QM*'s tenure in print was not lengthy either; it began publication around early September 1969[64] and its demise was announced in March 1975 by *Al Nasr* (No. 429, p. 2).

The content of *QM*, like that of *Al Nasr*, was a mix of professional military and socio-cultural articles and the newspaper clearly had its own stable of military correspondents. Several correspondents contributed to both *Al Nasr* and *QM*, including Rida Imam, Mukhtar Abdul Haleem, Rushdi Hassan, and Sabri Al Sharbeeni. Imam and Sharbeeni both went on to serve on the editorial board at *Al Nasr*. Senior officers,

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[64] WorldCat gives only 1969 as a start date, but the 12th edition of the bimonthly appeared in late February, 1970. The latest edition available at the Library of Congress is from December 24, 1973.

including MG Ahmed Fakher and MG Hassan Al Badri, who contributed to *Al Nasr*, also contributed regularly to *QM*.[65]

The front page of *QM* was characterized by current events reporting. The headline reports typically featured the military or Egypt's regional dealings, often personified by referring to the activities of the president or minister of war. The second page, at least in the Nasser era, seemed given over to political-military analysis of a fairly ideological nature, such as "Lenin and the formation of the Red Army" (No. 12). The Director of Moral Guidance had a column called "Shrapnel" that headed page 3 in Nasser's days. In the Sadat era the focus of this page shifted to analysis of Arab and other international events.

Subsequent pages offered mostly military fare, e.g. articles about a variety of ground, air, and naval weapons, historical military campaigns, and Islamic warfare, as well as motivational articles. The latter included "records of honor," which documents contemporary Egyptian heroism, and pictures and articles about the results of Israeli cross-border military strikes, in which Egyptian civilian casualties were highlighted.

Articles describing Israeli politics, the military, and society were common and usually critical, e.g. "From inside Israel—so-called democracy," by Sa'eed Kafafi (No. 17). Kafafi was an Israelogist who contributed regular assessments, such as the series titled "Know your enemy—the Israeli military." This was part of a clear effort to educate readers about Egypt's primary adversary. Another series was "Know the language of

[65] Fakher's rank did not appear when his column, "The Truth," appeared in *QM,* and he may not have been a general officer at that time. Badri's rank appeared only once in *QM*, and only occasionally in Al Nasr. It is not clear why Badri did not use his rank. The regular staff of Al Nasr and QM almost never included their rank on their byline, but the general officers usually did.

your enemy," which provided a handful of Hebrew phrases and translated and transliterated them into Arabic.

A third military periodical, *Al Difa'* (*Defense*), which began publication in late 1984, immediately established itself as the armed forces' most professional military journal. Its focus is on national security issues in a variety of strategic dimensions, including political, military, economic, and social, as well as technological developments and issues pertaining to military materiel, according to *Al Difa'* (No. 2, 2). *Al Difa'* bills itself as an "independent journal" (*majalla mustaqilla*), and the editor-in-chief is typically a retired major general.[66]

Al Difa' seems to be a hybrid that reflects some of the paradox that may arise between corporateness and professionalism. The monthly publication has offices in the Al Ahram Foundation building, on Evacuation Street, which also hosts Egypt's foremost think tank, the Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. Its first editor-in-chief was MG (Ret) Ahmed Fakher, a close ally of then-Defense Minister Abu Ghazala.[67] His immediate successors were also retired major generals.

It is not clear how close *Al Difa'*s relationship is with the Al Ahram Center, though the choice of office space is probably deliberate. The Al Ahram Center was a foundation established by Nasser's close advisor, Mohamed Heikal, in 1968 to institutionalize critical thinking. According to Heikal, the ideas of such intellectuals as he sought for Al Ahram, with their "breadth of vision," would "enlarge the circle of available alternatives" for Egyptian policymakers (Baker, 1990, 179-180).

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[66] The Library of Congress lists the journal as a publication of the Egyptian armed forces, but this does not jibe with its claim of "independent" status.
[67] Interview with a former US ambassador to Egypt (USA1) on March 26, 2007.

The defense journal appears to draw on the scholarship of the military's Center for Strategic Studies, an armed forces think tank first noted in *Al Nasr* in 1986, when it was headed by MG Hussam Al Din Suwailam (*Al Nasr*, No. 569). The fact that many contributors to *Al Difa'*, including MG Suwailam, appear regularly in its pages indicates the possibility of an organic link between the journal and the Center for Strategic Studies. In any case, the contributors to *Al Difa'* in the late 1980s were typically general officers, often retired, though some junior officers were published. Some of the contributors to *Al Difa'*, including its earliest editors, MG Fakher and MG Mutawali, had contributed frequently to *Al Nasr*, as did MG Kamal Al Din Abu Al Azayim. Other *Al Difa'* regulars wrote at least one article for *Al Nasr*, including MG Mahmoud Khalil and MG Suwailam.

Civilians also contributed periodically, e.g. such as Salama Ahmed Salama—editor of Al Ahram in 1986 and still a senior editor and one of Egypt's foremost contemporary journalists over 20 years later. Salama was published in *Al Difa'* several times in the late 1980s, on a range of issues from the superpowers, to Israel's weapons technology, to the Egyptian media in wartime. The views of Israelis were heard *Al Difa'* also. For instance, Meron Benvinisti, a liberal, co-authored with Hazim Abdul Rahman an article on Israel's policy in Gaza (*Al Difa'*, No. 2). And *Al Difa'* published the first review of an Israeli-authored book, *Israel's Invasion of Lebanon*, by Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, noted in any of the Egyptian military journals (No. 3).

In summary, the Directorate of Moral Affairs was the responsible branch for overseeing the development of the military's ethos. It professionalized in the early 1970s, improving the quality and training of its personnel, and appeared to take on a higher, or at least a more public, profile by 1975. This conformed to the increasing corporateness of

the military as a whole during this period. But while DMA had been responsible for all military media since its founding in 1966, the establishment of *Al Difa'* in late 1984 indicated reduced oversight for the Directorate, at least over professional officer education. Responsibility for the military's values and outlook thus was no longer solely the responsibility of the DMA.

The military's political values: October 1970 to October 1976[68]

Al Nasr discussion of topics related to liberalization was limited initially in this period, but several themes are worth noting, beginning with one un-related to politics from the military's perspective. This is that the military viewed Islam as relevant to its personnel, since roughly one article per month addressed the subject. The armed forces, like the state, sought to control the way in which Islam was used and recognized it as an important societal feature, but not as a political one. For instance, a June 1971 article in *Al Nasr* incorporated the phrase "science and faith" in its title, a slogan of the Sadat administration (Beattie, 2000, 163).[69] A recurring series called "Religion and Life" focused on Islam's relevance to personal conduct, commemorated the holy days, and highlighted Islamic military battles—but did not recognize a role for political Islam.

Liberalization became a more important theme in the military journal beginning in 1974, though the discourse reflected its apparently top-driven nature as the discussion seemed to follow fairly closely behind Sadat's broaching of similar topics to the public. Articles on liberalization often came on the inside cover page—"In the Spotlight"—or soon after, indicating its relative importance.

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[68] October was chosen as the end date because Sadat announced a multi-party political system on November 11, 1976.

[69] "And we build Egypt in science and faith," by Abdul Rahman Mustafa and Mohamed Jamee'i, appeared in *Al Nasr*, No. 388, June 1971.

On the other hand, most of the articles that addressed liberalization in the early 1970s were written by a small, if influential, number of military figures. The implication is that the discussion of liberalization was driven from the top. One discussant was MG Rushdi Hassan, who had been among the first DMA chiefs under Nasser.[70] President Sadat may have brought Hassan back from semi-retirement, as he had done with the Minister of War, General Ismail Ali, and the Navy chief, Vice Admiral Abu Zakri. Hassan, perhaps not suprisingly for an officer who straddled the two regimes, expressed a mix of Nasserist and Sadatist views. Another advocate of liberalization was Mustafa Kamil Murad, a former Free Officer, who Sadat tapped to head the Liberal Party in 1976. Others were important staff of the military journals, e.g. Mohamed Abdul Hameed, identified in a later edition of *Al Nasr* as editor-in-chief (No. 516).

Contrasting articles in March and June 1971 seemed to reflect the military's ability to shift positions subtly and to absorb and support Sadat's message. The two articles reflect some of the differences between Nasserist and Sadatist views, particularly in the emphasis placed by the latter on the role of laws and institutions in the state. Nasserist views, e.g. emphasis on "social democracy" and the "mobilization of popular forces," did not disappear with Sadat's May 1971 consolidation of power in the "corrective revolution." But the views of the Sadatists gradually seemed to predominate. According to Beattie (2000, 44-62), Sadat did not assert his leadership until January 1971, and then mostly in foreign policy issues—until May 1971, when he broached the topic of domestic political reform.

[70] The identity of the DMA chief did not become public until 1975. *Al Nasr* identified MG Rushdi Hassan in October 1976 (No. 562) as the DMA chief in 1967; it is not clear whether he founded the DMA in 1966.

In Mukhtar Taha's March 1971 *Al Nasr* article, "The 30 March Declaration: charter of free will" (*wathiqa al irada al hurra*), the Nasserist author largely ignored—not withstanding the article's title—the reform-minded content of the 1968 Nasser declaration (No. 385). While Sadat and the military media would often cite the March 30 declaration as a foundation document for a state of laws and institutions (cf. *Al Nasr*, Nos. 385, 419, 431, 450; and *QM*, No. 66), Taha portrayed the most important aspects of the document as being "to build the Egyptian state" by "mobilizing military, economic, and intellectual forces." The aim was not a state of institutions, but to "liberate the land" and "mobilize the people," both to achieve victory and "for what comes after." But what came "after" remained unspecified by Taha—perhaps not surprising since Nasser himself had show limited follow through on the 1968 declaration.

In June 1971, however, a month after the corrective revolution, *Al Nasr* contained an article by Rushdi Hassan that played up Sadat's theme of building a state of laws and institutions, a notion Sadat unveiled as he was castigating the state of "power centers" he had inherited. Hassan's article was "Freedom: Basic necessity for the battle" (*Al Nasr*, No. 388, 2-3). He said that Egypt needed to build a "modern state and a new society" and that the key was a "lasting constitution," which only "destiny" had prevented Nasser from achieving. But Hassan also cautioned, as a Nasserist might, that "political democracy" and "social democracy" were not to be separated. Free elections would not be offered until social guarantees, such as "freedom from exploitation," were achieved.

A year later, the military media had incorporated into its discourse the principles of the correctivist movement, even if it still debated their meaning. *Al Quwat Al Musallaha*'s May 15, 1972 edition fell on the first anniversary of the correctivist

revolution. The front page was dominated by coverage of Sadat's address to the parliament and his assertion that the previous year was spent "rebuilding our political and constitutional organizations, an endeavor behind creating a state of institutions." Sadat linked his political outlook to his predecessor's, tracing the origins of his correctivist revolution to Nasser's "basic documents," from the [1962 national] "charter to the 30 March declaration."

Two other articles appeared in *QM* as book-end pieces to Sadat's parliamentary address. Mustafa Kamil Murad's article, "Centers of power…how they appear and when they disappear" (*QM*, 66, 7), stands out as one of the earliest and most detailed arguments in the military media in favor of democracy, which he favored as a source of healthy "competition and oversight." And, pursuant to Sadat's emphasis on building a state of institutions, Murad noted that the way to perpetuate "sovereignty of the revolution" was through "sovereignty of the law" (*QM*, 66, 7).

Ali Hamdi Al Jamal—unlike Murad, a regular bimonthly military correspondent in 1972 and 1973—wrote "A view of the first year of the correctivist movement" *QM* (66, 2) as a critique of some of the practices of the Nasser era. But Jamal's argument about democracy lacked the conviction of Murad's. The former viewed the rationale for the corrective movement as instrumental. "It reckoned" to build the modern state, he said, "so as to serve its basic national mission, which is to liberate the land."

Only after Egypt's successful crossing of the Suez in the October 1973 war did Sadat begin more far-reaching measures of political liberalization. Key milestones were his "October paper" of April 1974, the announcement of political platforms (*manabir*)

that ensued from debate in mid-1975 about ASU reforms, and the announcement of political parties in November 1976.

In May 1974, Mohamed Abdul Hameed addressed "the role of the armed forces in the October paper" (*Al Nasr*, No. 419, 5). He pointed to a "new stage" of "struggle" after the "victory of October 1973," focused on building a "modern state and modern society." As "the elite of this people," the military should embrace a new role. In keeping with the largely socioeconomic focus of the October paper (Cooper, 1982b, 88-90), it was to be "protector of construction,"[71] a role in which it would provide "production and services." In subsequent years, military leaders cited Sadat's commissioning of the armed forces with a national development mission at this time as justification for its role in the economy (cf. *Al Nasr*, Nos. 480 and 493)

Another piece by Mohamed Abdul Hameed in May 1976 (*Al Nasr*, 443, 3-5) was a lengthy defense, from several angles, of Sadat's *infitah*. Abdul Hameed's article "Despite all pressures" depicted the Egyptian president as a recipient of international acclaim. And Sadat's critics—who alleged that Egypt was becoming "partisan to the imperialist military camp"—were wrong. Egypt's "history and origin" would not allow it to "submit to foreign influence that does not agree with its fundamental principles."

The "opening" (*infitah*), said Hameed, was to "the whole world," without distinction by "ideology" (No. 443, 3-5). Its traits were based in "human relations of equal-to-equal in a framework of joint interests and personal incentives." *Infitah* was not a top-down, "idea of its leaders," but flowed directly "from the will of the people," enabling the "exchange of goods" within the framework of natural endowments, or

[71] The Arabic phrasing in *Al Nasr* (May, 1974), "instrument of liberation (*adat al tahrir*)…protector of construction" (*humat al ta'meer*), rhymes.

“human and technological abilities.” Abdul Hameed also framed the infitah as beneficial to Egypt’s military capacity, noting the travels of President Sadat, his deputy Husni Mubarak, and General Gamasy to “countries in the East and West” for this purpose. According to Barnett (1992, 142) and Rubinstein (1977, 297), Sadat first introduced the idea of arms diversification when he unveiled the October paper in April 1974. Because of the *infitah* policy, and the diversification of its weaponry sources, Egypt would meet its needs for “arms, replacement parts, and materiel.” Thus equipped, Egypt would have the “military capability to recover its lawful rights and protect its achievements.”

Al Nasr, summarizing Sadat’s accomplishments in September 1976, highlighted the building of a “state of institutions,” particularly institutions that contributed to expanding civil liberties. These included, it said, ensuring “the independence of the judiciary,” shutting down detention camps “as a guarantee of freedom of the citizen,” and establishing “freedom of the press” and “freedom of speech” (No. 447, 2). This editorial provided little further elaboration on the political freedoms delivered, e.g. their importance, but did portray them in a positive light.

Discussion of the liberalization categories follows to indicate the military’s views on specific topics, as reflected in the military journals.

Elections

Articles by Rushdi Hassan, Kamil Murad, and Hamdi Al Jamal discussed the value of elections in the 1970s, or contrasted them favorably with the conduct of elections in the Nasser-era. Murad, the former Free Officer, was clearly the most supportive.

In June 1971, a month after the corrective revolution, Rushdi Hassan displayed some of his Nasserist leanings in his discussion “Freedom: Basic necessity for the battle” (*Al Nasr*, No. 388, 2-3). Hassan warned that “political democracy” and “social democracy” were not to be separated. As a result, “freedom to vote in elections” would not be offered until certain guarantees could be made. These included “freedom from exploitation” and “equal opportunity” for all.

Mustafa Kamil Murad’s “Centers of power…” (*QM*, 66, 7), argued that the “entry way” to a “better world,” with “dignity for the people,” is “always democracy.” This is because the competition implied in free elections would allow “all people…to participate in national action” freely. It would thus help eliminate “centers of power.” And through elections, their “natural leaders” would rise “from their [the people’s] ranks.”

Ali Hamdi Al Jamal’s main contribution to the military’s view of elections was his critique of the “previous political system”—Nasser’s—for practices such as distributing election “lists…to election officials so the names included in these lists [would] succeed” (*QM*, 66, 2). By contrast, Sadat’s “new order was built on the desire of the masses for free elections, not what happened before in elections.” Al Jamal revealed his own socialist leanings in asserting that the “authority” of the state was allied “with the strength of the working people.”

In September 1976, the month before parliamentary and presidential elections, an *Al Nasr* editorial (No. 447, 2) saluted Sadat for answering “the call of the people” when he accepted the parliament’s nomination to be president for 6 more years. Sadat’s aim, during this “delicate stage” of Egypt’s history, was to fulfill the “will of the people”

(*iradat al sha'b*), raising "constitutional legitimacy" and "the law" above all. This was the way to bring "freedom and democracy and social justice" to "the land of Egypt."

Multi-party System

The limited discussion in *Al Nasr* about political parties during this period was related to Sadat's decision to legalize a multi-party system. The progressive pluralization of the political party system began with the ASU's National Conference in July 1975. The purpose of the conference was to discuss reforms within the ASU (Cooper, 1982b, 181). Mohamed Abdul Hameed's *Al Nasr* article in August (No. 434) about the conference focused primarily on the speeches of President Sadat and General Gamasy, who was by this time both Minister of War and a Deputy Prime Minister. Hameed noted Sadat's 10 recommendations to the conference delegates included efforts to improve both "political democracy" and "national security and the armed forces," but Hameed did not elaborate on the details. He closed with a summary of the conference report, which expressed the wish to "deepen the practice of democracy," but again there was no further detail.

As the concept of pluralization unfolded and took shape, for instance with the formal announcement of *manabir* within the ASU in October, and then of three officially-sanctioned political parties in November 1976, the military media did not report or comment on the details of party pluralization. It was apparently the civilians' role to debate such issues.

Freedom of Association

Prior to the 1973 war, most of the articles in *Al Nasr* that might be considered related to association focused on different aspects of the "internal front" (No. 384), including the responsibilities of youth (No. 386), or students (No.s 383 and 384), or workers (No. 387) in this context. Other similar articles noted the contributions to be made by various popular committees (No. 394) and the machinery of state, e.g. at the local and governorate level (No. 394), to "the battle" in "the coming stage." The overarching theme was of the need for solidarity, rather than pressing for the particular interests of a sector or group to be met.

The other important theme in this category, and underpinning the move to liberalize more generally, e.g. having a free society, was the 'rule of law,' as manifested by the goal of a modern state with a meaningful constitution. In June 1971, a story by Mukhtar Abdul Haleem highlighted *Al Nasr*'s adherence to the president's line (*Al Nasr*, No. 388, 15). The story, entitled "The state honors martyrs of battle," included a bolded block of text in which President Sadat was quoted as saying that, in "building the state" the past must be accounted for, but "a new society," a "free society," is possible. The proper entranceway to this society would be the "eternal constitution."

Haleem's use of the term "free society" as interchangeable with "new society" had something to it, for the focus was really on building what was thought to be a "modern society," which presumably required a "modern state." Talk of a "free society" might thus be more meaningfully rendered as "modern state" in the thinking of the military. Mohamed Jamal Al Din Mahfouz in his series about a legendary character, Shahm Al Aseel, wrote a piece called "Building the modern Egyptian state: essence of the struggle to relegate backwardness." Mahfouz cited Sadat's May 1971 Labor Day

speech to argue that "the battle is not only a military one but one that demands building a new state on the basis of science and faith in all aspects." Failure to do this would doom Egypt to "repeat what happened in 1967." A new and modern state was the prerequisite for the upcoming 1973 war.

Freedom of Expression

The issue of freedom of opinion or expression was among the most discussed liberalization-related topics in the military media, with various discussion threads laid out even before the 1973 war. At one level there was an implicit debate over how seriously to take freedom of expression, with some commentators essentially taking the position that the state would forumulate the necessary position on any given issue and the citizens' role was to support that position publicly. Others saw free public debate as a way to invigorate society, but still seemed to fear that it would simply become an entryway for "the enemy" to introduce divisive ideas.

In February 1973, Musa Sabri wrote an article in *QM* (No. 86, 2) called "Protecting Democracy...the responsibility of each citizen." Sabri was a well-known journalist whose columns appeared frequently in *QM* after the May 1971 corrective movement. He praised the success of "social democracy" during Nasser's era, acknowledging that "we fell into many errors." And, unlike the Nasserists, who held—as did Rushdi Hassan—that political democracy would have to wait until social democracy was established, Sabri seemed to argue for political democracy first. "Political democracy…protects the internal front and…creates beneficial measures for developing social democracy and protects [it] from backsliding. But Sabri was concerned about a

series of university political demonstrations. "An organized group" of students, "representing the foolhardy left," had cynically "raised the slogans of democracy." Sabri worried that its "beneficiaries" might be "the outsider enemy and… all enemies of peaceful social democracy inside. And all who exploit political democracy to fulfill their own goals." In conclusion, he asserted that "our great responsibility in these fateful days is to protect the social course." Political democracy should proceed, but he framed it as "the sovereignty of the law" and "the state of institutions."

In September 1973, *Al Quwat Al Musallaha* carried a front-page story about the parliament's Listening Committee (*Lajna Al Istima'*) for National Dialogue on September 17, 1973. Sadat had initiated an examination of the Arab Socialist Union in 1972 through his ally Sayyid Marei, but became increasingly focused after late 1972 on preparation for the Sinai campaign. The Listening Committee was an apparent attempt to retain the credibility of promised political reforms while avoiding the internal rifts that might result from a full-blown investigation or reform of the ruling party. Thus, the committee's hearings were supervised not by Marei, a veteran insider, but by an unheralded law professor, Hafiz Ghanim (Waterbury, 1983, 356).

But Abdul Hameed Hamroush's "Intellectual Mobilization" in September 1973 (*QM*, 101, 2) revealed that Nasserist perspectives remained strong; the view in this case was that freedom of opinion was legitimate insofar as it represented public support for the regime. Hamroush framed the purpose of the Listening Committee as achieving "comprehensive participation by the Arab public to take its role in protecting the Arab revolution from vicious colonial conspiracies." In keeping with his Nasserist views, Hamroush's understanding of the role of citizens in a democracy could be summed up in

his description of the committee's achievements: "intellectual dialogue and public participation [in the Listening Committee]...is a healthy phenomenon adding much to the roots of democracy."

Egypt's information minister discussed a new press policy in August 1974 in an interview with *Al Nasr* (No. 422). Dr. Kamal Abul Majid asserted that "openness" or, giving people "the complete facts," and "freedom of the press"—meaning "freedom of expression or opinion" were two key principles of the policy. But he also articulated some expectations of the Egyptian media that conferred on it a role and responsibilities more reminiscent of subordination to the state's leadership. The media was expected to participate "in political and social education" of the public to strengthen "new values," such as "community spirit and moral cohesion." Also, it would play a role in "mobilizing citizens behind goals of economic development."

Other articles by military personnel conveyed similar ambiguities about the content and depth of political *infitah*. Mohamed Abdul Hameed's "Self-correction" (*Al Nasr*, No. 431), which appeared in May 1975 on the fourth anniversary of Sadat's consolidation of power, sounded notes similar to those of Musa Sabri two years earlier. According to Hameed, "the people" had to take more "responsibility" for the "country's fate." This meant, "first, reversing a belief" that "its leader alone" was responsible for outcomes. The corrective movement aimed "that each citizen would feel responsible for his country's fate." For the individual to "practice this responsibility, free from fear and coercion," the necessary "basis" is "the sovereignty of law and a state of institutions," as well as "guidelines" so "the citizen" would know "his rights and duties."

Abdul Hameed seemed to be arguing that liberalization should be deepened to increase public participation in governance, and he credited “the people” and their “participation” as “a necessary factor” in the 1973 war “victory” (*Al Nasr*, No. 431). But, he foreclosed this view abruptly by saying that “this same logic” of “participation…does not mean” using “a lens to look for the mistakes of others to criticize or disparage.” Such behavior would “make us fall prey to attempts at dissension…directed from outside” and could “break the bond of national unity.” He reinforced his assertion with the Quranic verse: “Do you command people to good and forget [to do good] yourselves?” Hameed concluded that the “responsibility of each of us to preserve his rights and achievements makes of each individual a supervisor over himself,” giving clearer meaning to his title, “self-correction.” This apparent self-censorship, says Abdul Hameed, is “comprehensive correction.”

Rule of Law

The other category that received a great deal of attention in the military media was the rule of law. This theme came up early in the Sadat presidency, e.g. with the publicly-reported trial of General Fawzi and others arrested during the correctivist movement. The subsequent military tribunal was termed by *Al Nasr* a “revolutionary court” (*mahkama al thawra*) (No. 393). One aspect of Fawzi’s trial highlighted in the article was the military’s responsibility to defend the constitution. The impropriety of Fawzi’s behavior was that he had tried “to overturn and change the constitution of the state and its republican order.” By submitting Fawzi to a three-member tribunal of general officers, headed by MG Abdul Qadir Hassan, the deputy minister of war, Sadat

and his allies drove home the point that defending the constitution was the military's proper course of action.

In June 1971, *Al Nasr* published Rushdi Hassan's lead story entitled, "Freedom: Basic necessity for the battle" (*Al Nasr*, No. 388, 2-3). Hassan said Egypt needed to build a "modern state and a new society" and that the key was a "lasting constitution," which only "destiny" had prevented Nasser from achieving. He noted that Sadat had charged the People's Assembly on May 20 with formulating such a constitution, which would both "codify the revolution" and "exalt the rule of law." The constitution was the means to achieve a "sound democracy, political and social freedom, an independent judiciary, sovereignty of law, and justice."

Al Quwat Al Musallaha on May 15, 1972 reported on Sadat's address to the parliament, in which he highlighted efforts to rebuild "our political and constitutional organizations, an endeavor behind creating a state of institutions." This institution-building included legitimization of the enterprise through citing of precedents, by reference to previous public documents or speeches. Sadat traced the origins of his correctivist revolution to Nasser's "basic documents," from the [1962 national] "charter to the 30 March declaration."

In the same issue of *QM* (66, 7), Mustafa Kamil Murad sought to persuade Nasserists to support Sadat. The "sovereignty of the revolution," he asserted, "is not achieved except with sovereignty of the law" (*QM*, 66, 7). The revolution, when incorporated "in authority, is the state." Thus institutionalized, "the revolution doesn't implement its powers from behind curtains but…by way of its different institutions that the constitution and the law organize. Its characteristics are its interaction with citizens."

Anticipating potential critics of democratization, who feared disorder would ensue, Murad asserted that "democracy is not antithetical to the authority of the state. Rather, it is the basis of this authority and the source of its respect and obedience to it. For the source of authority in the state is the people."

Ali Hamdi Al Jamal wrote that Sadat's May 1972 address to parliament gave "important instructions to build the modern state in its political and constitutional and scientific and intellectual institutions." Like others, Jamal noted that Sadat cited such precedents as "the charter of 1962, the declaration of March 30, and the national action program."[72]

The armed forces offered disciplinary warnings and legal advice to its members in a short-lived series in *Al Nasr* called "Lessons of the Courts and the Law," in 1973. For instance, a column in May that year dealt with a soldier returned from service in Yemen, who had obtained blank travel documents from a military office there (No. 411). Through his clerical position in Egypt, he was able to forge signatures and use an authorization stamp to travel, until he was caught and confessed to forgery. A later version of the series, called "Your Legal Advisor," appeared in 1975. One of the few columns that ran that year responded to a question from a man whose sweetheart's marriage had ended in divorce; he wanted to know whether he could now pursue her (No. 432). The birth of this series may have sprung from a desire to improve discipline in advance of the 1973 war—the first legal article appeared in April—or have been an expression of conformity with President Sadat's emphasis on Egypt as a state of laws and institutions.

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[72] Promulgated by the ASU on June 10, 1971, i.e. within weeks of the corrective movement, the national action plan emphasized the importance of government institutions and the sovereignty of the rule of law (Beattie, 2000, 78).

In April 1976, *Al Nasr* carried an article by Rushdi Hassan that emphasized in more detail than anything previously the key status of the constitution in Sadat's regime and the military's role with respect to it (No. 442). The article, "The armed forces and protection of the constitutional legitimacy" (*humayat al shara'iya al dusturiya*) noted a speech by President Sadat to the parliament and his meetings with military units to discuss upcoming national milestones—probably a reference to ongoing changes within the ASU and the political system, as well as parliamentary elections scheduled for October. Sadat cited "two basic missions" for the military. One was its "far-reaching, important role" to "combat to liberate the land that is still occupied." The other was "protection of the constitutional legitimacy." The term "then" (*thuma*), separating the second mission from the first, conveyed the notion that defending the constitutional legitimacy followed after the liberation mission.

Hassan provided some historical background and further discussion of the constitution to drive home his point. While the army had played a "vanguard role" in the 1952 revolution, it had given way to political "factions" or "tendencies" (*ittijahat*) under Amer's command;[73] the result was "the easiest and most contemptible victory of the Israeli aggressors." But Egypt had passed through many "trials and lessons" since the revolution, and now stood at a "new stage" of "constitutional legitimacy." This formed the core of a "state of institutions" and the military's role was to protect "the eternal constitution." The military's "combat doctrine" flows from the central fact that the constitution was simultaneously "the will of the people" and the "father of covenants and laws." Thus, the military's duty was to defend the "nation's sovereignty," extending to

[73] Neither Abdul Hakim Amer nor Nasser was actually identified. It was typical in the military media during Sadat's era that, while criticism of Nasser's regime was permissible, it was not done by name.

both territory and people, from "aggression," whether "foreign or internal." Because the military now represented "all the people," not any "class" or "faction," its "national ideational unity" was crucial and made possible the undertaking of "its basic mission;" thus, any threats to it were "treachery."

The military's political values: November 1976 to December 1980[74]

The next multi-year period, which ended in 1980, featured some changes in content. Clearly apparent was the reduced frequency of articles published about the role of women. There was also less concern with developments in Israel, compared to coverage prior to the 1973 war. And the discussion of liberalization was limited compared to the previous period.

The reduced coverage of women may be explained by the post-war resurgence of political Islam, which Sadat and the state encouraged in the mid-1970s due to concern about the political clout of the left (cf. Hinnebusch, 1985, 206-208; Baker, 1990, 244). In fact, the series "She in Military Society" was discontinued in the late 1970s; the last article available was published in March 1977.

On the other hand, coverage of some topics increased noticeably. For instance, articles about the economy roughly doubled in frequency between the early and late 1970s. This development may be explained by Sadat's economic policy shift, *infitah*, and the business opportunities it represented to entrepreneurial capital partnered with bureaucratic insiders. *Al Nasr*'s interest in economic issues and opportunities presumably reflected the interests of the senior military leadership. An often related group of articles

[74] The Library of Congress collection has a gap in coverage from April 1977 to February 1979, inclusive (no issues for this period).

were those describing the military's demonstrated ability or expressed desire to address Egypt's economic troubles; articles on this topic increased dramatically in 1980.

The number of articles describing a societal role for the military also increased. The subject and context of these articles ranged widely, from recommendations for handling social crises to prideful accounts of the recent mastery by military personnel of the latest technology. After food riots in January 1977, for instance, one *Al Nasr* headline recommended "Securing the internal front: need for support of the armed forces" (No. 452). The same edition offered an article recommending that the military perform at its own hospitals bone surgery operations that previously had required transfer to hospitals abroad. The argument was that the military's medical expertise—acquired and demonstrated in 1973—enabled the military to save the state the expense of thousands of Egyptian pounds per operation (No. 452).

Compared with the early- and mid-1970s, very few articles addressed issues of liberalization. The main focus in domestic politics by *Al Nasr* was on one of two issues that dominated discussion between 1977 and 1980. First, Egypt suffered nationwide food riots in January 1977, sparked by talk in parliament of ending subsidies (Waterbury, 1978, 314-315). The army was deployed as an internal security force for the first time since the July revolution.

Second, President Sadat—after addressing the Israeli Knesset in November 1977—embarked on negotiations in 1978 that resulted in the Camp David peace treaty with Israel, signed in March 1979. The peace process and its climactic treaty was a divisive domestic issue and Sadat replaced his longest-serving Minister of Defense, General Gamasy, due to the latter's opposition to the policy (Dekmejian, 1983, 203). This

led to a number of articles in *Al Nasr* by the senior military commanders discussing the Egyptian-Israeli peace and its consequences. For instance, a special section in October 1979 (No. 484) displayed unanimous command-level support of peace and its benefits for Egypt.

By September 1980, however, the military turned against the peace process in the pages of *Al Nasr*, specifically after Israel's extension of its Basic Law—perceived by many as annexation—to Jerusalem in July 1980 (cf. No. 495, 497, 498). But even in this change of tack, the officers appeared to be in line with Sadat's views—on August 2, for instance, the Egyptian president wrote a well-publicized letter to Prime Minister Begin protesting Israel's actions subsequent to the 1979 peace treaty (*Time*, August 25, 1980).

The beginning of this period, from an analytical standpoint, was Sadat's formal announcement on November 11, 1976 that the ASU's *manabir* would compete in the future as independent political parties. *Al Nasr* (No. 450, 2) in December sounded a defensive and indignant tone at the "mistaken" notion of "those who think the people of Egypt are moving these days" for the first time on the "road to democracy." The editor reminded readers of the existence of a "consultative council" in 1879 and a political-party history that spanned 50 years, ending with "the publication of the law of January 18, 1953 dissolving parties." This not-so-subtle reminder of a shortcoming of Nasserism was highlighted by the claim that Sadat had "waited 20 years" to announce the party system.

Al Nasr (No. 450, 2) termed the multi-party system "the last step for anchoring (*irsa'*) democracy and freedom," an oddly premature statement, as would soon be clear. But after the October 1976 elections, *Al Nasr* opined triumphantly that this was "nothing but the completion (*lam takun ila istikmalan*) of a series of political measures" that had

brought “freedom of opinion and speech,” the “law of freedom of press” and “the abolishment of emergency measures.” Egypt was now a “state of institutions” with a “constitutional framework protecting its steps.” This triumphalist tone was short-lived.

The beginning of the end of political liberalization—at least in hindsight—came in January 1977, with rioting and violence in Cairo, Alexandria, and Suez. In February, *Al Nasr* (No. 452, 2) carried a column by the Minister of War, General Gamasy, who justified the intervention of the military as necessary to secure “the internal front,” which was itself a “pillar” for the military’s “principal mission.” Ultimately, he argued, “the nation will remember with gratitude…that the armed forces, by right, are the strong armor against all dangers.” And Yusri Kamal Abdullah reassured readers that “the armed forces will not insert itself in any [further] political action. What action it undertook is considered exceptional and unexpected, for the good of the internal front, the security of the people and their interests and property.”

General Gamasy’s view of the military’s role in politics and liberalization were particularly significant, since his 1974-1978 tenure as minister of war largely overlapped the highpoints of political infitah. His memoirs (1989) reveal little about domestic politics, but in an interview with Beattie (2000, 213), General Gamasy depicted Sadat as shocked and “depressed” after the riots, which Gamasy viewed as changing the course of Egypt’s domestic policy. Sadat “became aggressive,” he said, and used “referenda to keep power in his hands.” Consequently, “we didn’t have any democracy…”

In June 1980 *Al Nasr* again discussed liberalization during Sadat’s presidency (No. 492). Sadat was credited with the “implementation of democracy” in Egypt, in addition to “the rule of law, abolishment of prison camps, [and] loosing of freedoms.” All

of these, *Al Nasr*'s editor said, were "achieved by the revolution of May 15, 1971." Aside from the tone of completion or fulfillment used with respect to democratization, the column notably pointed out that the meaning of the corrective revolution had changed. The corrective movement, formerly termed "a political revolution" because it was launched to "deal with the centers of power," was now understood as a "social and economic and cultural and humanistic revolution." The distinction was reminiscent of one the Nasserists had made to justify the absence of progress on political democracy. Although here it did not signal a resurgence of Nasserist views, it did underscore the constraints on political democracy in Egypt.

Also in 1980, *Al Nasr* took up a topic that had previously gotten little coverage—the role of the army in the economy. The articles came with titles such as "The battle of building and construction" (No. 492) and "The armed forces in battles of development" (No. 497). They gave the military an opportunity to promote its contribution to needed infrastructure, like telephone lines, bridges, and housing. The economic mission of the Egyptian military would deepen during the first decade of the Mubarak presidency and Defense Minister Abu Ghazala (1981 to 1989) is generally considered responsible for this (Springborg, 1987; Satloff, 1988; Harb, 2003). The trend began earlier, however, when President Sadat commissioned the armed forces to help the civilian sector implement vital civil projects. Such projects were inaugurated by LTG Ahmed Badawi, as chief of staff (1978 to 1980) and chairman of the newly-formed National Service Projects Organization in the ministry of defense, according to *Al Nasr* (No. 480). Subsequently, under Chief of Staff Ghazala (1980 to 1981), the military's economic role expanded from building infrastructure to ensuring "food security" (No. 493).

This national development role and the military's reporting on it is relevant because it supports the view that the Egyptian military withdrew or refrained from politics willingly because in exchange it won support for its active role in the economy (Harb, 2003). During the late 1970s, it seems likely that Sadat—having embarked on peace with Israel—had to find a new mission focus for the military. And during a time of increased domestic discontent, assigning the military a domestic political or security mission might risk military activism. Freeing the military to perform an economic mission seemed much safer in comparison.

The military's political values: January 1981 to April 1984

This period[75] was characterized in the pages of *Al Nasr* by an initial expression of commitment to continue on Sadat's road of peace and democracy, but subsequently there were few liberalization-related articles—despite a second peak in Egyptian liberalization, according to Freedom House. There was increased discussion of some other topics, including professionally-oriented articles, as well as religion and the role of the army in the economy. For instance, in 1981, the military held a symposium on Egyptian military history, which spun off articles in a number of editions (cf. Nos. 501 and 503-505), and a new monthly series in 1982 called "Pages of military history" (cf. Nos. 516-526), written by MG Kamal Abul Azayim.

In addition, there was a new series about women, though its title and tone were not professionally-oriented. "For you and your family" was launched in January 1982 and was written "for your sake, madam, and for the sake of your child" (No. 513). Stories

[75] April 1984 was chosen as the end of this period because it is the month prior to parliamentary elections, the peak of political liberalization in Egypt, as measured by Freedom House. See Figure 3.2 in Chapter 3.

featured under this series included “For your children,” “So that your family isn’t struck by nutritional anemia,” and “Plastic accessories in style, 1982” (No. 512).

The period immediately after Sadat’s assassination on October 6, 1981 was notable, in the pages of *Al Nasr*, for such topics as “Youth and Extremism” (No. 510) and “How we build the new generation” (No. 512). This period also afforded the new president an opportunity to signal the policies he would pursue and test the support for them. Mubarak quickly indicated in *Al Nasr* his intention of following Sadat’s path in pursuit of democracy and deepening the *infitah* and the military media took up the refrain.

Among Mubarak’s first public statements after Sadat’s death, was his pledge to parliament in October 1981 to follow in the late president’s footsteps in important domestic and international policy initiatives (*Al Nasr*, No. 508, 12-13). These included “the path of peace,” as well as “the path of democracy and prosperity.”

Al Nasr’s chief editor in December 1981, probably Sabri Sharbeeni,[76] announced “the new birth of democracy” (No. 510, 7) at that time. Egypt was pointing toward “a new dawn,” in which the values of “justice, love, and freedom” would prevail. In justification of its optimism, *Al Nasr* pointed to the new president’s release of a number of detainees, evidently the politicians and intellectuals imprisoned by Sadat in September 1980 (cf. Kassem, 1999, 50), and Mubarak’s meeting with them at the ‘Aruba palace.

Meanwhile, the military felt obligated by Sadat’s assassination—the assassins had come from its ranks—to reassert its internal soundness and its commitment to the constitution and to abstain from politics, all while reminding readers that it still held “an important far-reaching role” in Egypt. MG Yusri Kamil, in a November 1981 article,

[76] The January 1982 issue of *Al Nasr* was the first to disclose the editor’s name, Sabri Sharbeeni.

explained that the importance of “unity of thought between the people and the army” was learned as a reaction to “British occupation” and its divide-and-rule strategy. Consequently, a “combat doctrine” was formulated that “emanated from the constitution, the father of covenants and laws” (*Al Nasr*, No. 509, 6). Kamil credited Sadat with ensuring for the armed forces “a special role and mission” as “an institution” within “the state of institutions.” MG Kamil did not did not define the “special mission,” but noted that “it is not appropriate” for the military “to practice political action.” He added that, as the military’s doctrine called for it “to defend the people from any aggression, whether external or internal,” its “principal mission is protecting the national territory.”

In January 1982, Sabri Sharbeeni advocated the “rebuilding” of Egypt, focusing on the military’s potential role in economic rather than political reform (*Al Nasr*, No. 511, 7). Sharbeeni recommended reforms to avert “accusations…that the generation of the fathers lived on the account of the future of the sons,” and advocated repeatedly the army lead by “example and purity.” The references seemed to indicate that the extensive public borrowing and excessive personal lifestyles that characterized the worst aspects of Sadat-era infitah (MERIP, No. 54, 19-20; Tucker, 1982, 21-22; Heikal, 1983, 183; Beattie, 2000, 277) were causing public resentment of the establishment. Sharbeeni contrasted this with the good conduct of the “military society” in “the harshest circumstances” after 1967 (*Al Nasr*, No. 511, 7). Even “after October, the men” continued their “sincere effort” and “the battles of development” (*ma’arik al tanmiya*), established “supremacy” in a number of sectors, including construction and wireless services.

The fact that articles related to political liberalization and the military's role in the Egyptian system surfaced in *Al Nasr* so early in Mubarak's presidency seemed to indicate that the enterprise was genuine. But the apparent momentum or interest slackened and little of substance was said about political liberalization again for over a year.

In the meantime, in December 1982, *Al Nasr* (No. 522, 16-19) reported on a "strategic symposium" held by the armed forces to discuss "Security and Prosperity," as this article addressing the army's role in the economy was titled. Abdul Aziz Mahmoud wrote that these were the "two aspects" of "the future strategy of Egypt" (*istratejiya misr al mustaqbal*). The symposium featured a number of senior military officers, generally in doctrinally-important positions, as well as similarly placed civilians.[77] In his keynote address, Minister of Defense Abu Ghazala, said that, while the armed forces "primary duty" is "readiness to defend the nation from any trend" (*ittijah*), it will continue "to alleviate the suffering" (*ma'anah*) "of Egypt's people by entering into many sectors of civilian production."

The symposium's theme was telling. While they certainly did not rule it out, the speakers did not highlight democracy as an integral part of the way to "a bright future" for Egypt, or toward its greater security, or its prosperity (*Al Nasr*, No. 522, 16-19). Rather, it seemed, Egypt's strategic goals would be achieved through the "reciprocal relationship" (*al 'alaqat al mutabadilah*) between the armed forces and other sectors of the state. As Mahmoud portrayed it, the symposium "established understanding" of this relationship, a necessary one, since "the nation is an integrated being." Thus, "the sectors

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[77] Military officers included MG Ahmed Fakher, then-director of the National Defense College and later founding editor of *Al Difa'*, and MG Ibrahim 'Urabi, the Chief of Operations, later to become the Chief of Staff. Civilians included Dr. Butros Ghali, then Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and a close Mubarak aide, and Professor Sayyid Yasin, director of the Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies.

of state and its armed forces" must coordinate and cooperate "to achieve the strategy of future Egypt" in its two aspects, "security and prosperity."

In April 1983, the army's role in society and politics, as well as some discussion of Egypt's liberalization and the progress of its "democratic experiment," re-surfaced in *Al Nasr* (No. 526, 26-31), as part of a "conversation of the month." This was Assam Al Ghazi's interview of Ahmed Baha Al Din, formerly both a critic and supporter of President Sadat. Baha Al Din had lost his journalist job in February 1973, after being stripped of his membership in Egypt's lone official party, the ASU, but later became editor-in-chief of the establishment *Al Ahram* newspaper in 1974-75 (Beattie, 2000, 121-122; Goldschmidt, 2000, 32). The relevant aspects of the interview are included among the categories of liberalization discussed below.

Multi-party system

MG Yusri Kamil, in a November 1981 *Al Nasr* (No. 509, 6) article that aimed mainly to reaffirm the goodness of the armed forces in light of the direct involvement of some soldiers in Sadat's assassination, also credited Sadat with building democracy in Egypt. Kamil described Sadat's proclamation of a system "of political parties" as the "completion" and "the last step in anchoring democracy and freedom." And as part of this system, the armed forces became "an institution" within "the state of institutions." This did not make the military equal to the political parties, for "it is not appropriate" said Kamil for the military "to practice political action."

In a 1983 interview with Ahmed Baha Al Din, Assam Al Ghazi, a literary critic for *Al Nasr*, expressed his implied belief in the relatively new multi-party system. For

instance, Ghazi alleged that "You don't believe in the parties system…how is it possible to have true democracy (*al demuqratiya al haqeeqiya*) in the absence of parties?" (*Al Nasr*, No. 526, 29-30). Baha Al Din denied holding such a position.

Freedom of Expression

The *Al Nasr* editor in December 1981—probably Sharbeeni, as noted earlier—wrote "The new birth of democracy" (No. 510, 7) in large part as a rationale for dialogue in the wake of Sadat's assassination. The main importance of this article is its endorsement and justification of "freedom of thought" (*hurriyat al fikr*). *Al Nasr* described it with apparent sincerity as "the one guarantee of continual progress and…the only guarantee for developing democracy." In the wake of Sadat's assassination, the freedom to "express oneself" (*al ta'beer 'an nafsihi*) held additional value as "the only means to correct mistakes without resort to terrorism." Thus, "no one will be prevented from practicing political activity in the framework of the constitutional legitimacy, so long as this activity doesn't resort to terrorism."

Rule of law

In the Ghazi interview of Baha Al Din, the latter described Sadat's constitutionalism—with respect to the 1952 Free Officer revolution—as politically and historically analogous to what the 1923 constitution did for the 1919 revolution against the British (*Al Nasr*, No. 526, 29-30). Revolutions are "not stable," he said, and the evolution from revolution to constitution rests on the latter's "mission," which is "not to make political life, but to legislate" (*taqneen*) it.

In sum, this period began with a strong military show of support for liberalization. This served the dual purpose of highlighting the military's allegiance to the new president, Husni Mubarak, and signaling the continuation of Sadat-era policies, which Mubarak had determined to follow. But over the course of the period, though it was one in which Freedom House assessed Egyptian political rights and civil liberties improved noticeably, the military had little more to say about liberalization. It is not clear why, especially since the military was more vocal about various categories of liberalization in the second half of the decade.

The military's political values: May 1984 to Dec 1990

In the late 1980s, the military media was replete with articles that addressed each of the 5 categories of liberalization. In this regard, it was most similar to the early 1970s—the period when Sadat initiated infitah. More generally, there was an increase over the previous period in articles on social, political and economic issues. There were fewer articles about the military's role in society, but this decline coincided with another increase of articles about a role for the military in the economy. The latter two trends support Imad Harb's (2003, 289) contention that the Egyptian military under Mubarak have withdrawn from politics, while being permitted "economic independence."

Discussion of the economy increased and featured discussion of the difficulties Egypt faced, offering a facile pretext for arguments that the army was uniquely positioned to address Egypt's economic ills. Such discussions came at a time that civilians were increasingly critical of the military's budget and its role in non-military affairs. For instance, Satloff (1988, 19-22) noted criticism by the opposition Wafd party of the military's large peacetime budget in 1986, the year before parliamentary elections

in 1987, and Springborg (1989, 109) reported complaints in the civilian media—particularly among left-leaning, opposition newspapers—of misappropriation of funds and inefficiency or waste in military spending.

The increased number of *Al Nasr* articles that addressed liberalization in this period featured only weak advocacy of liberalization, seemingly reflecting the stature of democracy. In the late 1980s, this could be seen in one of two perspectives. The glass-half-empty view is that democracy in Egypt is but a veneer and the military is part of the problem (Cook, 2003 and 2007). The half-full version is that the establishment, including the military, increasingly in the late 1980s viewed democracy—albeit Egyptian-style—as an established part of the political system.

Only one article seemed to argue openly against democracy. This was an allegorical tale in 1988—"In the zoo, freedom falls" (*Al Nasr*, No. 593), by 'Adil Salam.[78] In the story, the zoo animals discuss a plan to free themselves from their cages, but choose not to out of fear that "the law of the jungle" will resume. The story might be interpreted to mean that Egypt was akin to a jungle in which the animals needed the protection of their cages, or it might mean that, if Egyptians behaved as though they were in a jungle, then their freedoms would have to be curtailed.

The earliest of the articles addressing aspects of liberalization appeared in late 1985. In October, Dr. Jihad Auda, a prominent civilian political scientist, wrote "A theoretical entrée to making security policy for order in a developing state" in *Al Difa'* (No. 5, 79-82). Premising a goal for the state of "modernization and development" in the socio-political arena, Auda described "civilian control of the military" and "democratization," or "diversifying the structure of the state" (*tawsee' bunyan al*

[78] Salam was a military correspondent who wrote numerous articles on military, social or cultural issues.

dawla),[79] as two prerequisites. In a developing state, civilian control requires transforming the military from an "interest group" (*jama'a masalih*) with control of decision-making to an interest group with fixed, or limited, influence (*nufudth ma'lum*) over its own professional concerns. Diversifying the state entails "building legitimacy for agreements and differences between different political and social powers," the purpose of which is to contain the rising politicization (*al tasyees al mutasa'id*) of different social forces" to bring them into the system. Dr. Auda did not describe the mechanism by which legitimacy might be enhanced, or social forces embraced.

One catalyst for renewed emphasis on liberalization issues, according to *Al Nasr*, was student-led protests over perceived military weakness and inaction on nationally-important matters of sovereignty and pride. Shawqi Hamid, editor-in-chief, in November (No. 557) attributed the unrest to the military's inability to respond after the October 1985 Achille Lauro incident, when US fighter aircraft forced down an Egyptian civilian airliner in an effort to arrest suspected Palestinian terrorists. Hamid also said Egyptians were angry that the military stood by in the face of Israeli military attacks throughout the region, such as that against the PLO headquarters in Tunis in October 1985. These incidents, and Israel's destruction of Iraq's nuclear reactor in June 1981 and invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, raised the question, "where is Egyptian power in all this?"

In his November 1985 column, "Let our youth be reassured, our armed forces are still strong," Shawqi Hamid fretted about demonstrations by "the aware youth" of Egypt's universities (*Al Nasr*, No. 557, 4-5, 13). Hamid said that Mubarak was "with the youth and…their freedom in expressing themselves." But he noted that slogans

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[79] The term "democratization" is used in a brief English précis of the article, but "diversifying the state's structure" is the term used in the Arabic-language original.

"accompanying these marches…sometimes exceeded the acceptable limits" and criticized "acts of violence…not related to expression of opinion." His remarks reflected a somewhat patronizing view of democracy, e.g. when he noted that free expression was in keeping with "the democratic way that *he* [Mubarak] *chose* (*ikhtarahu*) for his government."[80]

Other events that seemed to play a role in the increased discussion of liberalization issues in the late 1980s included the 5th anniversary of Mubarak's presidency in October 1986, as well as parliamentary elections in April 1987 and again in November 1990.

The most comprehensive discussion of democracy in *Al Nasr* in this period was Shawqi Hamid's "Mubarak and Democracy," in June 1986 (No. 564, 4-5, 69). Hamid pointed out that democratic theory and practice are often discordant. While this is more obvious in examining "democracies of the eastern states," western democracy also has its shortcomings. For instance, its "national project" has long been colonialism, followed by "new forms of modern colonialism," which is characterized by "exploiting other people and imposing control over them."

Egypt had its own checkered experience with democracy, Hamid noted. After the 1919 revolt against the British, "liberal democracy" was established "with…the 1923 constitution." But "majority party governments" ruled for only "a combined seven years during the life of the democratic experiment that extended 30 years." The "national project" at this time was "evacuation of British occupation forces," thus Egypt's "social circumstances" went unaddressed (*Al Nasr*, No. 564, 5). The legacy of liberal democracy was a society characterized by "feudal estates…capitalists and a slice of middle class"

[80] The italics are mine.

representing only a “deceptive crust,” while “the great majority of workers and peasants…lived at the edge.” The 1952 revolution aimed to rectify this, but faced threats from abroad not unlike those faced earlier by the “American and French and Russian revolutions.” Like them, Egypt “resorted” to “exceptional measures to protect itself.”

In November 1986, *Al Nasr* featured Mubarak’s 5th presidential anniversary with a cover caption touting, “Mubarak and 5 years of freedom and democracy” (*Al Nasr*, No. 569, 1 and 6-13). *Al Nasr* noted that the army protected “the people and legitimacy of the regime (*shari’iyat al hukm*) during the February riots of the Central Security Forces and argued that the “Egyptian army never went out of its barracks (*thiknatihi*) except to protect the people, their civilization and their right to secure and stable life.”

The importance of economic development as a national goal, perhaps more important than democracy, continued in the late 1980s. In July 1989, on the anniversary of the July 23 revolution, Izz Al Din Al ‘Umari, editor-in-chief of *Al Nasr* since October 1988, argued that “the Egyptian people” had actually undertaken “two extraordinary revolutions” in 1952 (No. 601, 2). One was “a political revolution reclaiming their right to self-government,” while the other was a “revolution to achieve social justice.” The “constitutional legitimacy” of the July revolution provided a framework, with “the leadership of President Mubarak” for “building a comprehensive Egyptian renaissance whose basis is development (*al tanmiyah*). And democracy, and its framework of peace and stability.” These, he continued, apparently emphasizing economic well-being and political stability over political rights and civil liberties, “are the goals of the true revolution for Egypt’s prosperity and flourishing.”

Another aspect of the military's view of democracy is an apparent tendency to rationalize Egyptian failings by pointing to the excesses of others and to personalize democracy in the prestige of the leader. For instance, Al 'Umari, in an article comparing the French revolution of 1789 with the Egyptian revolution of 1952 (*Al Nasr*, No. 601, 6-7, 48) seemed to justify Egypt's behavior by sketching the excesses of the French revolution, e.g. his claim that some 40,000 Frenchmen went to the guillotine. French "emergency measures"—including "revolutionary courts," a "committee of public surveillance", and "curtailment of freedom of the press"—enabled the revolutionaries to prevail over their foreign and domestic enemies. Egypt's revolution also experienced excesses, but it was a "white revolution" with a "humanitarian" character. And today, President Mubarak is "the living symbol" of Egypt's striving for "goals of freedom, peace, development, and flourishing." To 'Umari, Mubarak was the embodiment of Egypt much as President Mitterand was the representative of the "interests of France and French well-being."

MG Muhieddin Abbas Hilmi, chief of the DMA, revealed empathy for "great" leadership that was result-oriented—defined only by "great achievements." Hilmi focused on charisma and decision-making style in drawing a contrast between "successful" leaders" and "dictatorial" leadership" (No. 601). The main apparent distinction was that a successful leader brings out "latent power in subordinates" and consults "with his aides," who may "see or think" of something he overlooked. By contrast, "the dictatorial leader" does not listen to others or consider an "opinion differing from his." And while "people and history" will forgive the mistakes of the leader who is "the living conscience" and "sincere interpreter of the decision of his community," they

“do not forgive the mistakes of the dictator leader.” MG Hilmi saw it important that leadership reflect “the decision of [the] community,” but did not seem to see an advantage inherent to democracy in decision-making.

Elections

In November 1985, Shawqi Hamid’s sometimes cynical view of democracy came through. In “Mubarak, the people and the coming years of government” (*Al Nasr*, No. 557, 3), Hamid trotted quickly through a rationale for democracy, again framing it as though it were Mubarak’s personal choice; the president believed “in the ability of the people to build and give in the framework of freedom and democracy, for a people subjugated don’t build our nation strong.” And, “there’s no permanence to governing without the will of the governed, for the (governing) positions (*manasib*) are transitory,” while “the people are lasting.” The proper “question,” therefore, was not about Mubarak’s views, but “what is required now of the people?” The answer: they must “rally firmly around their leader and conquer selfishness…and negativism…” Hamid concluded by advising realism about the regime and what it could deliver. Egyptians expect too much, he said; they should “see their reality in the mirror of the age, for dreams don’t make progress or prosperity.”

In March 1987, *Al Nasr* appeared excited about the prospect of new elections (No. 573, 1-2). In an apparent first for party representation in the military journal, the cover depicted the five main political parties, including the ruling National [Democratic Party], Labor, *Tagamu’* (Collective), The Wafd, and the Liberals, as fingers on a hand. The caption hailed “Mubarak…and the golden age of democracy.” Inside, the editorial page

noted that President Mubarak issued a "historical decision" in decreeing the dissolution of the parliament (*majlis al sha'b*), and early elections.[81]

Al Nasr's support for new elections was further elaborated in Abdul Baqi Bakheet's article "A cry in the party corridors" (*Al Nasr*, No. 573, 26-27). Bakheet praised the decision to dissolve the parliament and hold new elections [in April 1987] as a "proper turn" within "the democratic trajectory." Indeed, the parliament's "new elections law" of 1986 made "dissolving this majlis…an urgent matter."

Multi-party system

An appreciation for the vigor and various policy options brought to the system by multiple parties—as long as "national unity" was maintained—characterized many of the assessments made by military pundits. In December 1985, Shawqi Hamid wrote about Mubarak's inaugural speech to a new parliament (*Al Nasr*, No. 558, 4). In it Hamid highlighted the "different party affiliations" that were part of Egypt's democracy. In this system, "there is no life without democracy and no democracy without opposition (*mu'arada*) and no opposition without a national obligation to goals and objectives." The implication was that the opposition played a valuable role, but all political parties shared an obligation to the same goals. Inevitably, these would be set by the ruling party, the NDP. Under the conditions described by Hamid, "democracy is not a struggle (*sira'a*) in which one group wins over the other, but rather with democracy we all win and without it we all lose."

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[81] This was the result of successful challenges in court of the constitutionality of the 1984 elections, with the Constitutional Court (Court of Cassation) ruling that independents could participate (Mikawy, 1999, 84).

In June 1986, Hamid indicated again and more clearly that the establishment—at least the military establishment—saw value in the participation of the opposition, but also felt vulnerable to opposition criticism (*Al Nasr*, No. 564, 69). The establishment does not object "to the presence of a strong vital opposition," which increases the "fertility and vitality" of the "democratic experiment." A healthy opposition can "multiply the solutions to building" the nation and the options available are increased by "relevant proposals and purposeful projects" submitted for "legislation and planning and implementation." Rather than playing this role, however, the "opposition parties focus all their energy" on "pillorying and defamation and destruction of whoever is successful and positive." Hamid asked in frustration for "evidence that indicates the democratic experiment that Mubarak leads did not fulfill its basis" (*lam taktamal arkanaha*).

The other key discussion of political parties was Abdul Baqi Bakheet's article "A cry in the party corridors" (*Al Nasr*, No. 573, 26-27). Significantly, neither Bakheet, nor *Al Nasr* more generally, used the pages of the journal to tout the ruling party NDP.[82] Mubarak's picture appeared in the article with those of two other party leaders—Fuad Serag Al Din, head of the New Wafd and Ibrahim Shukri, head of the Socialist Labor Party (*Al Nasr*, No. 573, 26-27). No political party was identified by name, nor was any reference made to "opposition parties," as happened on occasion when criticism of the government was rebuked by the military media (cf. *Al Nasr*, No. 564). Bakheet framed the article as "a necessary…contemplation (*ta'mul*)…on our parties…and we mean all parties and not one specific party."

[82] Al Nasr frequently featured favorable articles about the president, who was also the supreme commander of the armed forces, and interviews with cabinet ministers, but almost exclusively in their capacity as government officials.

Bakheet was critical of Egypt's political parties, mainly from the standpoint of a lack of effort and effectiveness, as he saw it (*Al Nasr*, No. 573, 26). Political parties should have a "social program" based on the "identity" (*dthatiya*) of the Egyptian people. The problem, he said, is that the "Egyptian parties…do not build on societal study and understanding!" As a result, Egypt's "reality is completely devoid of social development" (*yakhlu tamaman min al tatawur al ijtima'i*). Moreover, "our contemporary history gives us the clearest sign of superficial party practices that are stingy toward the…masses." Thus, the parties "no longer had clear influence and no sign of life!"

The problem in part, said Bakheet, was that "the political current won't stop for a day," and parties must make "adjustments to changes" in "the identity of the people" (*Al Nasr*, No. 573, 26-27). While Egyptian parties were lacking in this regard, Britain, "mother of tradition and a modern democratic country," offered a positive example through its parliamentary experience. The Tories—"the previous aristocrat party"—had been led by Margaret Thatcher, "daughter of a simple grocer," since 1975. Despite frequent votes of confidence (*al iqtira' bil-thiqa*), the "conservative party" had governed since 1979. The key seemed to be an ability to "reorganize internally," which required knowledge "about party organization and internal structure." It was difficult to read such a critique of Egypt's parties and party system without sensing that the NDP was the main target.

Freedom of Association

The most notable aspect of this category was the increasing discussion of the emergency law—the state of emergency—in the military media. It was clear from the

tone taken and arguments deployed by various officers that the emergency laws were not only unpopular, but even embarrassing to the regime. Even so, the law was not going away, so the military took the position that it was a necessary infringement on individual liberties. 'Adil Salam's "In the zoo, freedom falls" (*Al Nasr*, No. 593), did not specify that he was addressing the state of emergency, but this seemed to be the subject of his parable. As mentioned earlier, the animal-protagonists—led by the lion—decided not to free themselves, fearing that "the law of the jungle" would resume if they did. "Freedom," said the lion is "divine principles," specifically it is "sound planning" built on "sound thinking."

Although Salam discussed the issue circuitously, later pundits took it on directly. In January 1986, Captain Abdul Baqi Mohamed Bakheet[83] published "Emergencies: between sovereignty of law and dictatorial authority" in *Al Difa'* (No. 6, 66-68). Bakheet's topic was the inherent tension between an individual's rights and a state's responsibility for public welfare. He termed these "dictatorial" (*diktatori*) and "liberal" (*taharuri*) tendencies, respectively, and argued that they could be bridged by "the democrats who call for social solidarity (*al tadamun al ijtima'i*)—meaning accomodation of both the state's and the individual's duties and rights. In Bakheet's treatment, this essentially privileged the state. A "state of emergency" was at times necessary for security purposes, but it would be "unjust" (*al ijhaf*) to impose it in perpetuity.

In Egypt's case, he said, the state of emergency imposed after 1967 had been lifted "after the glorious victories of October in 1973" (*Al Difa'*, No. 6, 66-68). This was playing loose with the facts, since it was not until 1980 that the emergency was actually

[83] This seems to be the same Bakheet who wrote regularly for Al Nasr, though without listing his rank. This *Al Difa'* article and one in *Al Nasr* use a similar phrase in referring to Britain as a traditional country and a modern democracy, and make multiple references to foreign political systems.

lifted. And it was re-imposed in 1981 for the "public interest and to safeguard the nation's independence and unity." The "Cairo authorities" had maintained the state of emergency with the president's personal (*shakhsiyan*) agreement "to not resort to use of that law." Bakheet argued that, like India, which he held up as a successful model, Egypt was "a modern democracy of the third world."

Shawqi Hamid also addressed the freedoms of Egypt's citizens in "Mubarak and Democracy" (*Al Nasr*, No. 564, 5 and 69). Hamid praised Mubarak for releasing "the political detainees" and for "opening the door of dialogue" between the government "and all political forces." He found it commendable that Mubarak "resorted to the constitutional institutions and respected their view and their will and their decisions." Hamid also addressed the state of emergency and its exceptional laws in a manner reflecting no doubt as to their unpopularity. "As for the exceptional laws," Hamid apologized, "they were not [Mubarak's] decision and not a product of his era." Rather, "they were present originally before he was entrusted with authority" and "he hasn't resorted to them except in the narrowest of limits." When Mubarak does turn to the exceptional laws, it is only to "remedy the problem that he faces" (*yu'alij al mushkila alati yuwajihuha*). Afterwards, the law is returned "promptly to natural circumstances and as quickly as possible."

Freedom of Expression

Discussions about freedom of opinion tended to reveal both a genuine respect for the importance of this aspect of liberalization and an overestimation of Egypt's own status, or an unintended acknowledgement of its weakness. In December 1985, Shawqi

Hamid wrote about President Mubarak's call, in his inaugural speech to the new session of parliament, for a "great awakening" (*Al Nasr*, No. 558, 4-5). Hamid reported that, in light of challenges Egypt faced, including a weak economy, democracy was "a pillar of the system." According to Hamid, democracy was "a positive conversation (*hiwar iyjabi*), free for the sake of arriving at the best policies (*afdal al siyasat*) and taking the best decisions" (*afdal al qararat*), thereby addressing "the interests of the people."

In a March 1986 "talk with *Al Nasr*" section, Hamid interviewed Dr. Mamdouh Al Beltaji, chief of the state-run Public Information Corporation (*Al Nasr*, No. 561, 10-12). The article was titled boldly "Because there is democracy in Egypt, Cairo became a world media capital." Dr. Beltaji told Hamid, without irony, that "because there is democracy and…freedom…and no censorship (*riqaba*) of the *foreign correspondents*,"[84] Egypt had become "a media capital." He also took a stab at explaining the benefits of democracy, saying that "when decision-makers recognized the pulse of the people, their views will be clearer and more comprehensive."

In April, MG Nabil Bassiouni wrote a column in *Al Nasr* about rumors and the danger they posed in times of crises and warfare. Writing with the February revolt by "a deviant faction of Central Security soldiers" in mind, Bassiouni noted the "far-reaching" impact on society's morale of unchecked rumors (No. 562, 48-49). The risk was greater in closed societies, where rumors were passed on with great credulity and traveled with the "speed of lightning." But in "societies that embrace freedom" and competing opinions and are "governed by democracy and sovereignty of law," rumors are dealt with "by way of discussion and analysis" as represented in the "evaluative apparatus" (*ajhiza qiyas*) of "public opinion and the media." Bassiouni's assessment was that Cairo handled the

[84] Italics added for emphasis.

February crisis well, "confronting the rumors" through the "aware masses." The irony here was that Bassiouni believed Egypt a free society, and credited the "Ministry of Media" with publishing the facts needed to finish the rumors "in their cradle."

In February 1989, *Al Nasr*'s Lutfi Shurbaji interviewed Mustafa Amin, a "media giant" and longtime advocate of "complete freedom of the press," who was then editor of *Al Akhbar Al Yawm* (No. 596, 22-33), a pro-government newspaper.[85] Amin said that in Egypt's climate of violence and extremism, the key mission of the press is "to tell the ruler (*al hakim*) what the people want," which was more important than telling the people what the ruler wants. Amin portrayed this is significant progress since the "difficult period after nationalization of the press." Now, he said, "newspapers write what they want, deal with all issues and have the right to criticize" (*laha haq al naqd*). The press challenges cabinet "ministers and Egypt now is the only Islamic and Arab country in which the press criticizes everything without being hung, or shot, or imprisoned."

Rule of law

In December 1986, MG Hussam Al Din Suwailam, head of the military think tank, Center for Strategic Studies, wrote "Sadat and the October War: Decision in the Balance" in *Al Difa'* (No. 9, 22-29) assessing the factors that led to success in 1973. Prominent among these were political changes initiated by Sadat, both in the domestic political arena and in decision-making policy. Domestically, the "gradual advance toward freedom," as well as releasing detainees and abolishing coercion of the people were important to restoring the "dignity of citizens." Also significant was Sadat's decision to

[85] Amin was imprisoned by Nasser in 1965 and released by Sadat as part of his de-Nasserization project in 1974. He was reinstated at *Al Akhbar*, but dismissed in 1976, presumably because he pushed too hard for liberal democracy (Waterbury, 1978, 239-241; Goldschmidt, 2000, 21-22).

"free the hand of the law" and eliminate the "centers of power," which had "operated on the understanding of personal loyalty" (*'amalat bimafhum al wila' al fardi*). Sadat changed the decision-making process, said MG Suwailam, by allocating a role to the "state's institutions." As a result, although the decision to go to war was ultimately the president's, "ministers and counselors in various specializations" with a stake in war preparation were involved in shaping the domestic, regional, and international climate for it. MG Suwailam's judgment agreed with what others in the military, e.g. General Gamasy, said about the Nasser regime's insular decision-making prior to the 1967 war—that "such a grave and dangerous decision…cannot be left to one individual" (Gamasy, 1989, 38).

In November 1986, *Al Nasr* featured "Mubarak: the Egyptian eagle who leapt with us into the sky of the future" (*Al Nasr*, No. 569, 1 and 6-13). The article noted that the army protected "the people and legitimacy of the regime (*shari'iyat al hukm*) during the February riots of the Central Security Forces. The armed forces had always shouldered "their responsibilities in emergency crises that threatened national security and the citizen" (No. 569, 11). Meanwhile it demonstrated that the "Egyptian army never went out of its barracks (*thiknatihi*) except to protect the people, their civilization and their right to secure and stable life." The military is Egypt's "impregnable fortress against foreign dangers" and defends it against "anything that threatens its constitutional legitimacy and democratic rule."

In sum, the military's discussion of liberalization themes in the late 1980s was characterized by renewed vigor. The number of articles and variety of liberalization categories covered exceeded any previous period since at least the early 1970s. The

content of the discussion seemed to reflect a genuine advocacy of a bracketed liberalization, with caveats that too much freedom could be destabilizing.

While the deepening of discussion may have reflected a modest deepening of liberalization values since Sadat's initiative to promote them, both within Egypt and in the military, this development came after the ebb of Egyptian freedoms in the late 1980s, as measured by Freedom House. Further study of the military's views, into the 1990s and to date, would be necessary to determine whether it has indeed internalized pro-liberalization views since the 1970s and 1980s, and to what extent.

Corporate Variants and Political Liberalization

Nasser era: Weak corporateness and guardianship role

Under Nasser, the military was weakly corporate and its political values were socialist. It was not a party army, however, but was characterized by elements of corporate professionalism—forged by a war with Israel every decade and the years in Yemen—distorted by the political personalism of Field Marshal Amer. In 1967, only 15 years had passed since the Free Officers revolution, so the military's self-perception as guardian of that revolution likely was still intact.[86] Many of Nasser's key supporters in the regime were still free officers, including Amer and Sadat, or former military officers, such as the Sabri group, including Sabri, Goumah, and Sharaf (Beattie, 2000, 10-11).

The original tenets of the free officers—the "six principles" of the revolution—included an end to feudalism, imperialism, and capitalist influence on government, and

[86] A former ambassador to Egypt (USA2) says this is still the case (E-mail on February 8, 2007).

the establishment of social justice, democracy, and a strong army.[87] Mukhtar Taha, in a March 1970 edition of the military journal *Al Nasr* (No. 385), called "the declaration of the six principles" one of the three most important charters of the Egyptian revolution. Most of these were achieved in some form, so there is reason to take the list seriously.

For instance, the 1952 coup brought an end to the monarchy and ended the British occupation. Land reforms curtailed the power of the landed upper class. Most relevant to this study, the majority of the core group of 90 or so free officers was pro-democratic in outlook, according to Beattie (1994, 44, 68 and 85). But their views were ideologically diverse, with connections to the left and the conservative Muslim Brotherhood (Gordon, 2006, 26-27). And their executive committee—the Revolutionary Command Council—was dominated by Nasser and others with authoritarian tendencies (Beattie, 1994).

Nasser consolidated power by 1954 and the possibility of a turn toward democracy was virtually eliminated as a political option. But defeat in war is often the occasion for reform Avant (2000, 42) or even regime transition (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986, 18). Egypt in 1967 appeared to follow this pattern; the regime was accountable for two lost wars, in Yemen (1962-1967) and in the Sinai (June, 1967).

Nasser raised the issue of reform in high-level internal meetings while consolidating his control over the military after the June 1967 War. As early as August 3, 1967, in a session of the Supreme Executive Committee, which was the highest arm of the ASU and, in effect, a governing council (Dekmejian, 1971, 148-149), Nasser spoke of the need to "seek a new system," since the present system "was not sound" (Farid, 1994, 69-72, 75-76). The SEC of August 1967 was comprised of Nasser and other remaining

[87] 1956 Constitution (Europa, 1957, 106)

RCC members, as well as the prime minister[88]—all of whom were former military officers.

Foreshadowing Sadat's initiative to create a multi-party system in the mid-1970s, Nasser reportedly was ready to consider something akin to guided democracy, with a two-party system and "real opposition" led by former RCC members such as Abdul Latif Boghdadi and Kamal Al Din Husain (Farid, 1994, 83-90), both of whom had broken with the regime over its political direction. But most of the ex-military officers who comprised the SEC opposed Nasser's proposal in their private deliberations.

Ultimately, the chief reforms were within the ASU, though Nasser's March 30, 1968 public announcement promised to reinvigorate the ASU and the government and to allow greater political freedoms (Dekmejian, 1971, 258-261; Haddad, 1973, 128; Gordon, 2006, 105). Elections were held at all levels of ASU leadership and Nasser began to civilianize the cabinet, transforming it from 65 percent military on June 19, 1967 (the first post-war cabinet) to 39 percent on March 20, 1968 (Cooper, 1982a, 205-208).

During the Nasser era, the weakly corporate military held pro-socialist ideological values, but its leadership was engaged in politics and viewed itself as indespensible to the state and regime. Its tendencies were authoritarian and so was the political system. The top-most leadership and the former officers who sat on the RCC and SEC were not interested in handing over power to elected civilians (cf. Farid, 1994).

[88] The RCC members, in addition to Nasser, were Abdul Hakim Amer, Zakariya Mohieddin, Anwar Sadat, Hussein Shafei, and Ali Sabri. Amer was alone was absent—under house arrest and later to commit suicide—with help from the regime, according to some. The prime minister was Sidqi Sulaiman, an officer-technocrat who was a former Minister of the High Dam and considered a tacit leftist (Dekmejian, 1971, 239-240).

Sadat era: Increasing corporateness and external defense focus

Among President Sadat's first initiatives after succeeding Nasser as president was to consolidate control over the state and the military. Sadat achieved this through the May 1971 corrective movement. He ousted the pro-Nasserist Sabri group and replaced Defense Minister Mohamed Fawzi—a Nasserist—with the armed forces chief of staff, Mohamed Sadiq. General Sadiq shared much of Sadat's strategic and political outlook, including a pro-Western inclination and belief in private enterprise. Sadiq, who was staunchly anti-Soviet due to their reach within the armed forces, came from a landowning family and had spent several years in West Germany as military attaché (Beattie, 2000, 10-11, 46).

Latent support for Sadat suffused the military, due to his presidential authority and because officers were fed up with being scapegoated for the 1967 rout and saw Sadat as an advocate (Beattie, 2000, 10-11, 46). Ali Sabri on the other hand—among those who blamed the military for defeat—was connected to the increasingly unpopular Soviets. But Nasserism was still prevalent throughout the regime and to launch his own strategic initiatives, Sadat had to tilt political perceptions in his own direction.

While Sadat was beginning to build corporateness in the military in the early 1970s, the articles published in the military media reflected a range of Nasserist and Sadatist points of view. These did not exactly amount to a debate, but did reflect that the military's political values were changing. Nasserist exhortations for "mobilizing social forces" and creating "social" as opposed to "political democracy" mixed in *Al Nasr* and other military journals with pro-Sadatist calls for building institutions and using the rule of law to "perpetuate the revolution." In addition, the supporters of infitah in the military

typically cited as precedent a string of documents dating to the Nasser era, particularly the March 30 declaration of 1968, with its call for political reforms.

The military journals also began to speak of respect for and obedience to the constitution, or "constitutional legitimacy." References to constitutional legitimacy appeared as early as June 1971 in *Al Nasr* and signified the obedience of the corporate military to civilian-led state institutions and to the hierarchical primacy of the executive. It was the lawful duty of the armed forces to obey President Sadat and behave as an instrument of state.

This citing of precedent, e.g. the legitimation of Sadat through Nasserism, including the latter's policy speeches, and the constitution as a building block for a state built on institutions, not "power centers," was coupled with the increased corporateness of the military. The armed forces had become partially corporate before the 1973 war, according to Figure 3.1, and among its key attributes were a more exclusively external-defense mission focus and a de-politicized defense leadership.

The military was transformed from the national guardian role it had played under the leadership of the free officers. One measurable aspect of this was Sadat's extraction of the military from governance. Whereas the percentage of military officers holding cabinet posts typically ranged from 40 to 60 percent during most of Nasser's presidency, by the end of 1976 less than 10 percent of cabinet ministers were military officers (Cooper, 1982a, 206-207).

A different corporate variant began to emerge. Certainly there were holdover perceptions of guardianship. But these had morphed from the interventionist instincts associated in ideal type with guardian militaries. The guardianship instinct was replaced

with deference to "constitutional legitimacy." In large measure this was due to President Sadat, who insisted on a clear and strictly hierarchical chain of command, making clear that the military was an instrument of the state. In part it was due to the the military's professional focus on restoration of the Sinai to Egyptian sovereignty.

The military's corporate variant was suited for the top-down version of political liberalization that Sadat first experimented with, then implemented, and finally, closed down. The combination of its increased corporateness and a view of itself as an arm of the constitutional authorities, with a focus on warfighting against Israel, transformed and preoccupied the military. It was no longer the personal fief of Amer or a repository of Nasserism. It was depoliticized and had professional concerns to absorb its time and energy. While the military was not the author of political liberalization, it did nothing to oppose it, nor was there a logical reason that it would do so.

In this aspect of the military's adaption of a new corporate variant, and the impact of this on political liberalization, the military's mission focus appears to play a key role. It is from its mission focus more than anywhere else that the new corporate variant—the combination of corporateness and political values—emerged.

The relevance of the mission focus appeared again near the end of Sadat's presidency, when a clear new corporate variant began to emerge. It seemed that Sadat recognized that his peace initiative required a new mission for the armed forces, because if the military were to concentrate resources and energy against Israel, his overall strategy would be undermined. By 1980, the notion of the "army of construction"—a description of the military's infrastructure-building mission, differentiated from the "army of liberation" of the early 1970s—was typologized in *Al Nasr*.

Mubarak era: partial corporateness and military business variant

During the Mubarak era, the military was partially corporate—close to mostly corporate—for the entire 1980s, as Figure 3.1 indicates. Corporateness was stable and changed little throughout the decade. Meanwhile, under the leadership of Field Marshal Abdul Halim Abu Ghazala, that the military corporation model flourished as the mission focus shifted from external defense to supporting the national economy. President Mubarak's relationship with FM Abu Ghazala became increasingly one of two near-equals over the course of the decade as Abu Ghazala's prestige rose; the clear subordination of the defense leadership achieved by Sadat was eroded (cf. Satloff, 1987). Mubarak finally was able to transfer Abu Ghazala out of the defense ministry in 1989, after 8 years, with the leverage of a scandal in which the latter was entangled.[89]

This military business corporate variant had pros and cons. It gave Egypt's peacetime army a constructive alternative mission. Rather than preparing for war with Israel or seeking opportunities for political involvement, the armed forces could build up the national infrastructure and develop the national infrastructure. On the down side, the military corporation model diminished the military's corporateness. This was a development that carried its own longterm risks, since a less corporate military is more receptive to non-professional influences, whether political, social, or economic. From the civilian executive's standpoint, these might affect not only the military's professional effectiveness, but its responsiveness to orders.

Meanwhile the military's values about liberalization only gradually became more pro-liberalization. In the early 1980s, when Freedom House assessed that liberalization in

[89] Interview with former Ambassador to Egypt (USA1) on March 26, 2007

Egypt peaked, the military had little to say on the subject. It was not until the mid-1980s and later—after the peak of liberalization—that the military media began a deeper discussion of liberalization. But the military's views were only ambiguously pro-liberalization. For instance, military commentators seemed to recognize that the state of emergency represented an infringement on civil liberties even as they took an apologistic stance toward it, e.g. as a barrier against the "law of the jungle." And they advocated free speech, but only within certain parameters.

By the mid-1980s, the military was fully invested in the military corporation model. Perhaps this explains in part the slowness with which the military journals picked up discussion of political liberalization. As we have seen, the military had a good deal to say about the economy and the military's role in it. And a number of articles revealed a fundamental understanding of Egypt's future that was based in a hoped-for prosperity, rather than in democratization.

In sum, during the Mubarak era, the corporate variant—a military business model—may have suppressed pro-liberalization discussion. Just as important, however, the content of talk about political liberalization reflected a hesitation that was inherent in the regime's own attitudes. Military commentators often cited Mubarak—not the political system—as a reference point when discussing democracy in Egypt and referred to democratization as an "experiment," not a process.

The process of liberalization gradually ran aground as Egypt faced first a downturn in the economy in the late 1980s (Kienle, 2001, 16) and subsequently an increasingly militant challenge from Islamists (Goodson and Radwan, 1997; Ivanier, 2003). Although some aspects of this deliberalization were not manifest until the 1990s,

for instance in 1992 Mubarak began referring terror suspects to military court, Freedom House noted a decline in political rights as early as 1986, as noted in Figure 3.2.

Conclusions

The corporate variant adopted by the military seems to have evolved from the guardianship role of Nasser's era, to a model in the Sadat decade that approximated civilian control of an externally-focused military, and then a military corporation model during the time of Mubarak's lengthy presidency. The genesis of this corporate variant changed over time.

The guardian role held by the free officers in the Nasser era emanated from within the military organization. It was formed largely in reaction to Egypt's political instability and the 1948 Palestine War, but it was organic and not imposed (Gordon, 2006, 20-27). It is doubtful that the military under Amer could have pushed for political liberalization, even if it held such values, since it was weakly corporate. The regime was strong, not least because of the popularity and charisma of Nasser, and it is difficult to imagine the military affecting Egypt's political trajectory.

The Sadat decade demonstrated the impact a civilian executive could have on the military's corporate model, i.e. its corporateness and political values. Sadat, a free officer, had served in the military less than 15 years at the time of the 1952 coup (Beattie, 2000, 17-26). He resigned from the RCC in 1953 and founded *Al Jumhurriya*, a pro-regime newspaper. Subsequently, he served in a variety of "regime handyman" roles (Beattie, 2000, 26-31). Among other posts, he was the secretary general of Egypt's Islamic Congress, the speaker of parliament, and an envoy to Muslim world countries and the

USA. In other words, he had a military background, but became president as a civilian with broad horizons, both about the state and about civil-military relations. Thus, a key lesson about civil-military relations in the Sadat era is that the military's mission and the corporate model it assumes are not necessarily determined solely by the military; knowledge of the military and decisiveness in controlling it were hallmarks of Sadat's approach.

Corporateness is often understood to mean that the military—as its corporateness increases—is increasingly responsible for its own values. Yet Egypt's military history shows paradoxically that strong civilian leadership can influence and even shape the corporate variant that the military assumes. For, it was an apparently weakly corporate Egyptian military—riven among other things by secret factions, corruption, and political appointments (cf. Beattie, 2000, 21-23; Gordon, 2006, 19-29)—that took on for itself the guardian role held by the free officers.

The more corporate military of Sadat's era ultimately adopted the military corporation model, but it was pursuing an opportunity provided for it by President Sadat. President Mubarak seemed to give the military more leeway, entrusting FM Abu Ghazala with stewardship of the military and development of its mission over most of the 1980s, during which civilian control reportedly eroded.

The Sadat-era corporate variant, a partially corporate military—but dramatically improved relative to the previous decade—with a more exclusively external defense mission, was able to adopt the language of political liberalization. The content of its discussions reflected a genuine, Egypt-centric version of the discourse. This included the

debate between Nasserists and Sadatists and, more generally, the parameters that officers wanted to impose for security reasons.

At the same time, a relatively small group of officers were the key discussants of this topic. Although their tone typically indicated sincere support, they were unlikely—given the subordination of the military to civilians—to push the boundaries of liberalization further than desired by the regime. And due to the military corporation model the military increasingly resembled in the Mubarak era, officers had little incentive or motive to explore the theoretical framework of liberalization, neither to 'push the envelope' nor to examine how the tenets of democratization might affect Egyptian civil-military relations or the military.

Conclusions

The military's political values

Two general points about the DMA and the military's perception of religion are relevant here before examining the military's political values in detail. The Directorate of Moral Affairs was the central military authority for Egyptian military media produced in the 1970s and much of the 1980s. While the DMA remained paramount, its centrality was diminished with the founding in 1984 of *Al Difa'*, which draws on the military's Center for Strategic Studies for much of its scholarship. The Egyptian DMA is significantly less political than its Syrian counterpart, Political Department.

For instance, the PD chief in Syria inevitably held not only a seat in the Ba'th party, but often sat on the Regional Command, the highest decision-making body in the Ba'th. While coverage in the Syrian military journals reflected the pre-eminent status of

the Ba'th and particularly its ideology, the Egyptian journals typically did not highlight Egypt's ruling National Democratic Party. And whereas the board of the Syrian professional journal for officers, *Al Fikr Al Askari*, included the Defense Minister and the chief of Military Intelligence, reflecting a journal that was closely monitored by senior military officials, Egypt's military media had more autonomy. The highest-ranking officer on the board of the professional officer journal, *Al Difa'*, was its editor-in-chief, a retired major general.

A second relevant background note is that the proportion of religious content in the military journal rose gradually over the 20-year period, but the military rarely if ever acknowledged a political role for Islam. The military's treatment of the subject probably reflects a synthesis of regime and military cooptation of mainstream Islam (Yohannes, 2000, 208-212) and a creeping Islamization of society. The armed forces' decision to begin publication of *Al Mujahid* (*Holy Warrior*), a journal devoted to religious narratives, in 1980 is as much as anything an indication that the military wants to shape the Islamist message received by its members. For similar reasons, the military has also built mosques in the military "cities," or bases, and on occasion pays for soldiers to make the Hajj or Umrah pilgrimage (Satloff, 1988, 32).

Among the four time periods assessed for the Egyptian armed forces journal *Al Nasr*, all had a fairly rich amount of political material. Three had enough liberalization-related material to provide some key insights into most or all of the five liberalization categories. And even the period with the weakest discussion of liberalization—the late 1970s—revealed the military's political concerns with issues that overshadowed *infitah*, e.g. internal unrest and growing opposition to the peace process.

The first period examined was from October 1970 to October 1976, which preceded the peak of liberalization as measured by Freedom House (see Figure 3.2). The bulk of these essentially pro-liberalization articles appeared between 1974 and 1976 in the period when President Sadat laid the groundwork for the declaration of a multi-party system, which he announced in November 1976. The military appeared to follow Sadat's lead on policy fairly closely, at a time in which it was also becoming increasingly corporate, particularly in comparison to the politicization it suffered during the Nasser era.

The military's discussion of liberalization was driven by a small number of officers and former officers, including one of the earliest DMA chiefs, MG Rushdi Hassan, and one of the original Free Officers, Mustafa Kamil Murad. These men and others, such as Al Nasr editor-in-chief Mohamed Abdul Hameed, shared a pro-liberalization position, but each had a unique perspective.

The articles they wrote reflect a range of points of view, from a Nasserist emphasis on "mobilizing social forces" and "social" as opposed to "political democracy," i.e. elections. The pro-Sadatist supporters of infitah also called for building institutions and using the rule of law to "perpetuate the revolution." In addition, the supporters of infitah in the military typically cited as precedent a string of documents dating to the Nasser era, particularly the March 30 declaration of 1968, which had called for reforms to and elections within the longstanding Arab Socialist Union, the only legal party at the time.

This citing of precedent, e.g. the mention of policy speeches, the correctivist movement, and the constitution as building blocks for a state built on institutions, not

"power centers," and the promise that the Sadatist aim was essentially to institutionalize the Nasserist revolution was a shrewd political maneuver. It supported the Sadatists' stated goals of building a "state of institutions" while simultaneously appealing for the support of the Nasserists, thereby driving a wedge between those who supported Nasser and were willing to support Sadat insofar as they saw him as pro-Nasserist and those who were opposed to Sadat completely.

Another theme to emerge in the armed forces was respect for and obedience to the constitution, or "constitutional legitimacy." This theme falls in the rule of law category and it was tested and validated early in Sadat's presidency, when Sadat retained the obedience of the military during his correctivist movement in May 1971. References to constitutional legitimacy appeared as early as June 1971 and signified military adherence to the legitimacy of the constitutional order, particularly the hierarchical primacy of the executive and the lawful duty of the armed forces to carry out his orders. MG Rushdi Hassan's article, "The armed forces and protection of the constitutional legitimacy," in *Al Nasr* (No. 442) concludes with a section noting the importance of the military's chain-of-command, extending from the president and supreme commander, to the minister of war and commander-in-chief, to the armed forces chief of staff who also commands the army.

The second period examined, from 1976 to 1980, was marked by a downturn in liberalization in 1978, according to Freedom House. The discussion of liberalization in *Al Nasr* was limited, and when it occurred, it often had a defensive tone. Regime apologists in the military wrote as though Egypt had a long history with liberalization that had culminated in democracy under Sadat's nurturing. While the experiment with parliamentary democracy was long-standing—it spanned the British occupation and the

British-backed monarchy and was tainted by this association and the inequalities of that era—it could not accurately be described as "complete," as articles in this period claimed.

Two of the political topics taken up by the military in the late 1970s reflected public dissent from the regime and thus hinted at key reasons that liberalization lost its way. These were the food riots in January 1977 that seemed to shock Sadat, and the straying of the Egyptian-Israeli peace process from parameters—regarding Palestinian autonomy and the status of Jerusalem—that most Egyptians could support.

Another other key theme that emerged in this period was the notion of the "army of construction" as differentiated from the "army of liberation" of the early 1970s. The army's involvement in the development of national infrastructure and the economy had pros and cons with respect to professionalism and politics. For a peacetime army, it provided a constructive alternative to either war preparation or political involvement. On the other hand, it diminished the military's corporateness, a development that carried its own longterm risks.

After succeeding Sadat as president following the latter's assassination in 1980, Mubarak promised to continue down the road of peace and democracy that Sadat had embarked on. Liberalization in the 1980s peaked in 1984, according to Freedom House. Democratization in the early 1980s had a strong advocate in Sabri Sharbeeni, the editor-in-chief of *Al Nasr* at that time, who wrote that freedom of expression provided the best alternative to violence as a means of airing and resolving disagreements.

But after a few early articles on liberalization, some of which were mainly a reaction to Sadat's assassination—an attempt to signal continuity of *infitah*, but an end to the repression of the late 1970s—the military's focus on political liberalization faded.

Instead, the theme of military-supported development of the national economy deepened in the 1980s. This was typified by a civil-military symposium in 1982 devoted to the notion that "security and prosperity" were the key aspects of Egypt's future (No. 522). And the presidential referendum in October 1987 was greeted on *Al Nasr*'s cover with the caption: "Yes to Mubarak for prosperity and stability and peace" (No. 580).

The involvement in "national development" projects in some infrastructural sectors, e.g. building roads and bridges and laying communications lines, seems a natural response, given the skills of the military. As the 1980s progressed, however, the armed forces began to branch out into "food security," industrial "combines," renting storage space at port facilities, and manufacturing of such diverse items as shoes and furniture, often with an eye toward providing the "surplus" to civilian markets. Such enterprises became not only an opportunity for officers to increase their income, but for politicization and corruption to eat into the military and its combat abilities. Allegations by the civilian media—generally restricted to the affect of the military's economic role on its military performance—were sharp enough that senior officers, e.g. Field Marshal Abu Ghazala and MG Fakher, were obliged to defend the military's reputation frequently in *Al Nasr* (cf. Nos. 516, 522, 526, 539, 568).

The evolution of military discussion about liberalization indicates that the military's values can change, if slowly. One of the suprising aspects of the early 1980s is that, while liberalization peaked, the military dialogue about it lagged behind. It was not until the mid- and late-1980s that the military media took up the discussion of liberalization in a more meaningful way. And a new group of military political pundits emerged at this time, articulating views that were no longer Nasserist, e.g. the privileging

of social democracy or equating it to political democracy was no longer argued. Instead, these military writers made arguments that were more focused on elements of political democracy, albeit a constrained version that took into account concerns perceived to be unique to Egypt's regional and internal environment, particularly its security concerns.

Many of the key military discussants were influential figures in the military, as had been some of the advocates of Sadat's initial phase of infitah in the early 1970s. The figures in the late 1980s included Shawqi Hamid, editor of *Al Nasr*, MG Muhieddin Hilmi, chief of the DMA, and MG Nabil Bassiouni, an infrequent contributor. As in the previous decade, the views expressed by these officers and others varied. While Hamid was a frequent commentator and a knowledgeable and articulate supporter of democratization, he was also an apologist for the constraints on freedom placed by the regime. In fact, he and Captain Abdul Bakhi Bakheet, a contributor to *Al Nasr* and *Al Difa'*, both portrayed the "state of emergency" as unpopular and undemocratic even as they rationalized the necessity for it.

In fact, the generally positive views of free speech expressed in the 1980s contrasted with views in the early 1970s. Positive views were expressed by Sharbeeni, who saw free speech as an outlet that might prevent violence; MG Bassiouni, who advocated it as a component of national security in combating rumors; and Hamid, who viewed it as crucial to a national conversation that could put different policy options on the table. The early 1970s, in contrast, had a number of military commentators, such as Musa Sabri and Mohamed Abdul Hameed, and *Al Quwat Al Musallaha*'s reporting on the Listening Committee, that spoke about free speech more as a possible danger to the nation—a Trojan horse for the entry of enemy influence—than as a potential good.

This trend illustrated that perspectives on a given issue could and did evolve. In addition, the shift seemed to demonstrate the effect that a change in the political environment, in this case, security situation, might have. The main rationale for restrictions on free speech in the early 1970s was the state of war with Israel. In the 1980s, subsequent to the 1979 peace treaty, this justification—the state of war—lost its power. And while other security challenges presented themselves, it seems clear from arguments like that of MG Bassiouni that thinking about freedom of expression in the context of national security had grown more nuanced. Rather than calling for the suppression of free speech, or "self correction," Bassiouni and others argued that harnessing it could strengthen the regime.

There was a troubling dichotomy about the late Mubarak era discussion of democracy, however. At one level this is manifested in a stylistic choice of describing democratization as though it is either fully complete, on one hand, or merely an experiment, on the other. In the first category was coverage, even bolder than that its Sadat-era parallels, that use terms such as the front cover of *Al Nasr* in March 1987, which bore the caption "The golden age of democracy" (No. 573). Meanwhile, however, there were also a number of references to Egypt's "democratic experiment" (cf. No. 526, 564). These references had not appeared prior to the Mubarak presidency. They cast an appropriate degree of contingency on the progress made and the path ahead, but also connoted that Egypt's commitment to democracy was instrumental and could be modified.

Overall, *Al Nasr* published many more articles about liberalization and democratization in the 1980s than previously. At worst, this seems to indicate that the

military has become accustomed to what may be merely the establishment's rhetoric regarding Egypt's political system. And there is good reason to suspect that this may be the case, given the lack of substantive progress toward democratization since the mid-1970s and early 1980s.

But on the other hand, just as the institutionalization of democratic practices takes time, so too does the habit of thinking about and valuing liberalization and democracy. The increased discussion in military journals of such concepts as the legitimizing function of the constitution, the policy benefits of multi-party discussion and competition, and the strengthening of the regime that can result from open, public dialogue are all signs that the military has internalized some values important to the future functioning of a democratic system. Study of more recent military views would be necessary to determine whether it has indeed internalized pro-liberalization views and to what extent.

The military's corporate variants

The interaction of the military's corporateness and its political values in the 1970s yielded a corporate variant that Sadat presumably saw as suited to increased political liberalization, but which was also clearly subject to his influence. The key lesson here may be the relevance of strong civilian leadership to the military's corporate model. Perhaps nowhere in these case studies is this truer than during the decade in which President Sadat led Egypt.

Sadat shaped a military that was more corporate and more focused than before on an external defense mission during an era in which Egypt experimented with political liberalization. Sadat worked to improve military corporateness—to partially corporate, a

dramatic improvement relative to the previous decade. The military adopted a more exclusively external defense mission, which reduced any inclination toward intervention it may have held. The factoring in of the military's external defense mission highlights in a certain fashion the argument of Hinnebusch (2001a) that the international strategic environment played a role in liberalization. The argument here is not Hinnebusch's, however, but one that sees the domestic perspective—Sadat's and the military's—of the military's proper role in both the domestic and international environments as decisive. In other words, Sadat determined the nature of military corporateness and compelled the military to obey. And by the mid-1970s, the military had adopted the language of political liberalization, though there were remnant elements of Nasserism. Discussion in *Al Nasr* in the mid-1970s reflected a generally positive view of liberalization, as did General Gamasy's lament about the loss of "democracy" after the 1977 riots (Beattie, 2000, 213).

Subsequently the military adopted the military business model, but in doing so it was proceeding down an avenue paved by Sadat. There were also a growing number of articles about the military's role in the economy, increasing from the late 1970s to 1990. The increase is not at all surprising, given reporting from outside sources (cf. Springborg, 1989) on the growing involvement of Egypt's military in the economy in the early 1980s.

This aspect of military behavior closely resembles the military business corporate type (Mora, 2004). As Mora describes it, a more autonomous military is increasingly more likely to protect its traditional role and perks. In Egypt's case, this has increasingly meant defending its status as an economic enterprise. Changing this role would require an offsetting set of incentives, according to Mora, such as individual financial benefit,

budget increases, or greater political recognition. Although Mora does not posit an alternative, there is one available. That would be to increase military corporateness, including not only autonomy over professional concerns, but the institutionalization of professionally-related procedures and increased integrity in the command structure. And in terms of its values, the military would have to be reindoctrinated to perceive its mission differently.

The military's adoption of the language of political liberalization reflected a genuine, e.g. Egypt-centric version, led by a relatively small group of officers during both the Sadat and Mubarak presidencies. But because of the pattern of civil-military relations, i.e. restored civilian control, imposed by Sadat, the military was not going to expand the frontiers of liberalization established by the regime. And the military corporation model of the 1980s reduced the incentives or rationale the military may have had to explore the tenets of democratization and how they might affect the military. In other words, the military was engaged in its economic interests as a civilian strategy to ensure its cooperation with the political concerns of the regime. The 'bottom line' is that Egypt's political liberalization was initiated and controlled by the civilian executive.

Chapter 5: Syria's Military Corporateness and Political Liberalization

Introduction and Overview

This chapter assesses military corporateness in Syria and its evolution from the mid-1960s until 1990. It notes an observable correlation between corporateness and liberalization, supporting the H1 hypothesis. H1 posited that increases in military corporateness would correlate to improved liberalization. It also makes sense that improvements in corporateness precede liberalization since a less politicized military is likely to take a hands-off approach to civilian policy initiatives.

The overall improvement in corporateness from 1965 to 1976, from 1.4 to 2.05, was nearly a 50 percent increase. Corporateness improved one level, from weak to partial corporateness. Meanwhile, political liberalization in Syria improved sufficiently for an assessment of partially free in 1977, up from not free in 1972, the first year measured by Freedom House.

This introductory section presents a brief summary of the liberalization-related measures taken by President Hafiz Asad in the early 1970s. Figure 5.1 presents the evolution of political rights and civil liberties in Syria, according to Freedom House's evaluation. The purpose here is not to examine the intent of Asad's liberalization, e.g. whether it was a genuine democratization initiative that failed or was mere window-dressing for a new regime. Rather, it is simply to show that a measurable amount of liberalization occurred and provide an overview of key events.

When LTG Asad, the Syrian minister of defense, seized power on November 16, 1970, the timing of his coup was prompted by the fact that he and his key lieutenant, the military chief of staff, MG Mustafa Tlas, had been formally dismissed from their

positions by the Ba'th party. Most of the armed forces, as well as the upper class, reportedly welcomed Asad's takeover as an escape from the doctrinaire socialism practiced by the Ba'th under Salah Jadid's leadership since 1966 (Perthes, 1994, 50). Asad wasted little time in using the political momentum he had generated to restructure the political system and to attempt to build good will between the regime and the public.

In reshaping the system, Asad's aim was to construct a presidential system and make it the patron of the party and the military, thereby elevating himself over the various factions (Dawisha, 1978, 348-349; Hinnebusch, 1990, 145; Leverett, 2005, 26). According to Rabinovich (1982, 222-223), the most outstanding feature of Asad's new domestic policy was his attempt to win over the urban middle classes.

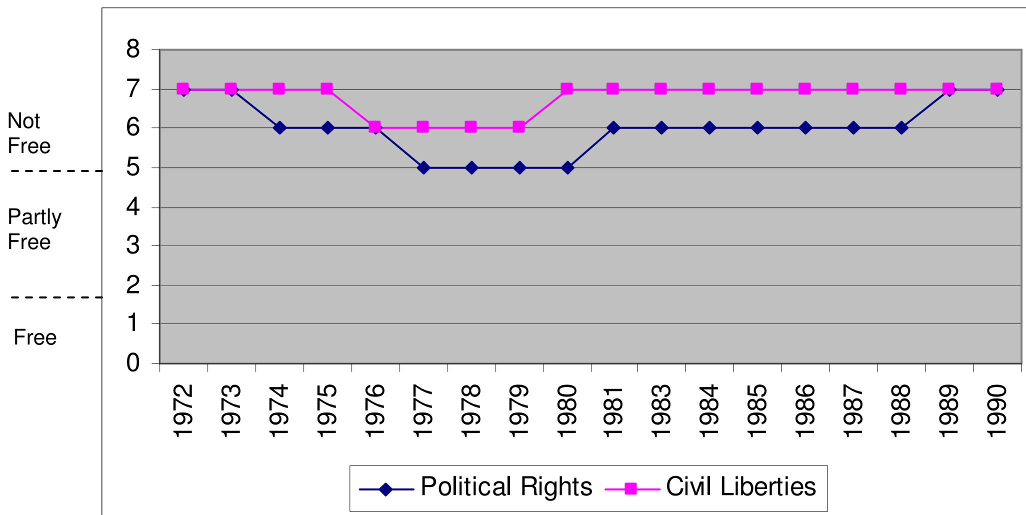
Prominent among Asad's pledges upon seizing power on November 16, 1970 were a permanent constitution and a legislative assembly, and he spoke of the average "citizen's liberty and honor" as important regime considerations. These promises were repeated in *Jaysh Al Sha'b* (No. 959) at the outset of the regime. When Asad and political allies described the regime, they used terms like "popular democracy" (Picard, 1978, 140), the "development of socialism" (Perthes, 1994, 145), "socialist transition" (Howard, 1972, 9), and "*infitah*," or opening (*Jaysh Al Sha'b*, No. 961), which was in effect a political and economic liberalization.

To most scholars, Asad's primary aim was to broaden the base of his regime and legitimize his rule, rather than to democratize. Asad rapidly implemented a number of political measures that constituted an *infitah* in the political system (Gongora, 1995, 220; Picard, 1978, 130-135). Between February 1971 and May 1973, these included the appointment of a parliament; presidential elections by plebiscite; provincial council

elections—in which independent and opposition candidates won a large proportion of seats; the legalization of four friendly parties[90] within the framework of the Ba'th-led Progressive National Front; a referendum on the new constitution; and parliamentary elections.

According to Freedom House, Syria's liberalization was measurably improved as early as 1974, with a modest improvement of political rights. This was followed by an improvement in civil liberties in 1976, and a further improvement of political rights in 1977, when new parliamentary elections were held. As a result, Freedom House's rating of Syria improved from not free to partly free in 1977. Syria's score improved from 7/7 in political rights/civil liberties in the early 1970s to a 5/6 in political rights/civil liberties at the peak of liberalization. Figure 5.1 graphs the evolution of political liberalization.

Figure 5.1 Freedom House Measurement of Syria's Political Liberalization, 1972-1990[91]

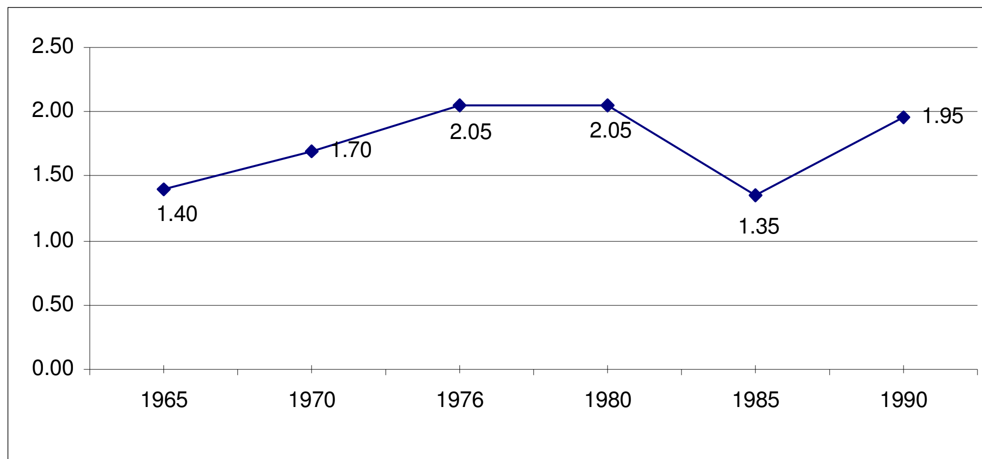


As Figure 5.2 shows, the military's average corporateness score for the 5 categories improved from 1.4 to 1.7 between 1965 and 1970. Noticeable improvements

[90] The Union of Arab Socialist (pro-Nasserist), the Socialist Unionist Organization (Ba'th splinter), the Arab Socialist Movement (its leader, Akram Hourani, was in exile), and the Syrian Communist Party.
[91] This is Freedom House data for 1972-1990.

were made in four of the five categories in this period, including the Personnel System, Educational Autonomy, Mission Exclusivity, and Defense Leadership. While these years preceded Asad's presidency, they are relevant to the H1 hypothesis. Moreover, LTG Asad became the minister of defense in March 1966, so the same person was architect of both improved military corporateness and liberalization.

Figure 5.2 Average Military Corporateness Score, 1965-1990



By 1968, when LTG Asad was able to appoint MG Mustafa Tlas to the chief of staff post, it seems apparent that he had consolidated his control of the armed forces, and subsequently was able to impose on it his corporate vision, which combined elements of Ba'thist ideology and professionalism, and was underpinned by the placement of personal loyalists—both Sunni and Alawi—in key positions.

Military readiness was important to Defense Minister Asad, but its relevance probably increased after his 1970 coup. Among his chief justifications for liberalization, as early as late 1970, was the need to strengthen the "internal front" in advance of war with Israel (see chapter 6). Preparation for war evolved from a hypothetical to a practical consideration between July 1972, when Sadat expelled Soviet advisors from Egypt because he felt they were constraining Egyptian war readiness, and January 1973, at an

Arab Defense Council meeting (Zartman, 2001, 21-22). At the latter meeting, Arab states took practical steps, e.g. funding, to support a future war. Asad's management of his defense leadership was crucial to Syrian preparations.

The improvements in the Personnel System mainly involved Asad's ability to virtually eliminate political factionalism in the military. A key measure here, paradoxically, was the imposition of ideological requirements, based in loyalty to the Ba'th party. Requiring adherence to Ba'thism narrowed the scope of the general population that might be entrusted with a commission, but it did permit a minority-based, Alawi regime to incorporate select members of the majority Sunni population, as well members of other minorities. None of the other militaries examined in this study had a similar requirement.

Syrian corporateness improved in the area of Educational Autonomy, due to institutional improvements in the military schooling system and the publication of a new professional officer journal, *Al Fikr Al 'Askari*. Military corporateness also improved in the area of Mission Exclusivity, beginning during Asad's tenure as defense minister. Key early actions included gaining control of Ba'th party militias. Asad also imposed stronger boundaries between the army and the civilian wing of the party, while retaining a party structure within the military.

Finally, improvement between 1970 and 1976 came in the area of Defense Leadership. First, Asad eliminated the Jadidist wing of the military under the leadership of MG Ahmed Suwaydani. Additionally, he rotated senior officers into the defense minister and chief of staff positions more often and for reasons of professionalism. The

military's performance in 1973 reflected better leadership, planning, preparation, and training than in the 1967 War.

Improvements in some key categories, e.g. Defense Leadership and Mission Exclusivity, were later reversed, leading to an overall reduction in corporateness. This downturn in corporateness, beginning in the latter half of the 1970s and extending through 1985, coincided closely with challenges to the regime that cropped up internally and regionally. These developments coincided with a downturn in liberalization beginning in 1979 and extending through the 1980s, measured by Freedom House. Syria's intervention in Lebanon in 1976 generated broad domestic opposition (Drysdale, 1982, 4-5; Van Dam, 1996, 71-89), most dangerously by adherents of the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood. Grumbling was also reported in the military (MEW, 1991, 8). Just two months after Syria's Lebanon intervention, President Asad asked MG (Ret) Abdul Rahman Khleifawi, a Sunni and popular former army officer, to be the prime minister in a new government (Dawisha, 1978, 352). The 1977 parliamentary elections attracted voter turnout of only about 5 percent, far below the estimated 40 percent turnout for the 1973 parliamentary elections (Shinn, 1979, 174).

In 1978, President Asad was re-elected by referendum, while the parliament passed an anti-terrorism law that increased the powers of the security apparatus (Shinn, 1979, 176; MEW, 1979, 9). Meanwhile, MG Naji Jamil, who commanded the Air Force since Asad took power in November 1970, was replaced (Dyer, 1983, 687; Van Dam, 1996, 68). Popular dissent, particularly by the Muslim Brothers, reached near-civil war proportions and the climax was not reached until 1982 in Hama. By then, Syrian political rights and civil liberties, as measured by Freedom House, had fallen back to not free.

Military corporateness in the early 1980s also fell back to the level of the pre-Asad era, before recovering most of the lost ground in the late 1980s.

This evolution of corporateness in the 1980s highlights a final point. The correlated downturn of both corporateness and liberalization is a reasonable expectation of the H1 hypothesis. If improvements in corporateness support liberalization, the opposite should also be true. In the case of Syria, the correlation of corporateness and liberalization held for both the improvements through most of the 1970s and the deterioration in both areas in the early 1980s.

The Evolution of Military Corporateness

Hafiz Asad, first as defense minister in 1966 and subsequently as president after seizing power in November 1970, initiated a number of improvements in military corporateness.

In the Personnel System, these mainly involved Asad's ability to eliminate most of the political factionalism that long existed in the military, even after the Ba'th takeover of 1963 and the subsequent coup by neo-Ba'thists in 1966. The inter-party factionalism that marked the military throughout most of the post-independence years was largely eliminated by imposing ideological requirements based in loyalty to the Ba'th party. But it was only after February 1968, when Asad removed Ahmed Suwaydani, the chief of staff and adherent of his rival, Salah Jadid, that the personnel system functioned on a relatively normal, non-factional basis.

Syrian corporateness improved in the area of Educational Autonomy, partly due to institutional improvements in the military schooling system. The primary improvement early in Asad's presidency was the upgrading of Staff College to a Command and Staff

College. This development and the general contribution of institutionalization to corporateness highlight that, to some extent, corporateness can be built through the allocation of resources to support military institutions. But the other contribution to improved corporateness in the mid-1970s was the publication of the professional officer journal, *Al Fikr Al 'Askari*, which stood apart from other journals because of its focus on professional military concerns. Its focus was a matter of choice rather than of resources.

Military corporateness also improved in the area of Mission Exclusivity. Here, as with the personnel system, the process began during Asad's tenure as defense minister. Among his early key actions was bringing a number of militias subordinate to the Ba'th party under control of the armed forces. Additionally, upon taking power in 1970, Asad was able to impose boundaries between the army and the civilian wing of the party, while retaining a party structure and its ideological tenets within the military. This allowed him to maintain a degree of homogeneity in the officer corps while ensuring that officers did not become the clients of civilian party officials.

The final area of improvement between 1970 and 1976 came in the area of Defense Leadership. The two main factors here were the elimination of the rival Jadid-allied wing of the military under the leadership of MG Ahmed Suwaydani and the rotation of at least two officers in each of the defense minister and chief of staff positions. It is not clear whether this resulted from Asad's preparation for war prior to 1973, which may have left him more concerned about finding suitable defense leadership and more conscious of the benefit inherent in a periodic rotation or renewal of senior-level leadership. It does seem evident, however, that the military's performance in 1973 reflected better leadership, planning, preparation, and training than in the 1967 War.

In some of these categories, e.g. in Personnel and in Education, the improvements in corporateness were lasting. Other categories, particularly Defense Leadership and Mission Exclusivity, experienced a deterioration in corporateness after the mid-1970s. This continued in the 1980s. A rapid increase of the force structure—a result of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and subsequent Israeli-Syrian combat there—sharpened the downturn in corporateness from 1982 to 1985, after which the force structure stabilized.

Personnel System

After independence, aspects of the personnel system, e.g. rules for promotion and seniority, were carefully specified (Van Dusen, 1971). But the rules themselves were not always closely followed and sometimes they were changed to accommodate regime preferences.

The Syrian officer corps has become demographically skewed to favor the Alawi sectarian group over others. After the 1963 coup, when Salah Jadid became chief of personnel (J-1), and subsequently chief of staff, he recruited Alawis to matriculate at the Military Academy and earn an officer's commission (Maoz, 1976). MG Jadid was also in a position to assign key allies to important command positions. Thus, Hafiz Asad was named commander of a major military airfield and Mohamed 'Umran commander of the 70th Armored Brigade, at the time the key ground force unit in the Damascus area (Drysdale, 1979). All three men, aside from being Alawis, belonged to the Ba'thist Military Committee, formed secretly in Egypt in 1959 and later expanded to include 15 members, mostly from minority groups (Van Dusen, 1971, 338).

The members of the Military Committee adhered closely to a seniority system tied to their year of graduation from the Military Academy (Van Dusen, 1971, 338-339 and 359). The senior-most members were Amin Hafiz, class of 1948 and Mohamed Umran, 1950. Salah Jadid was in the next tier, a 1951 graduate and Asad was in the 1952 class; however, this seniority system broke down during the struggle for control of the Ba'th between the 1963 and 1966 coups, which pitted the Ba'th party establishment—largely urban Sunnis—against a younger generation of lower socio-economic standing, who were typically minorities from the countryside.

Politicization of the promotion system resulted in such promotions as that of Hafiz Asad from major to major general in about 18 months, between early 1963 and late 1964 (Maoz, 1988, 31-32)—a trajectory similar to that of Abdul Hakim Amer in Egypt. By 1966 the military was completely politicized (Dyer, 1979). with the Ba'th party in control of the state and the military, the military remained factionalized for some years. One group of officers supported the populist leftism, including a doctrine of "popular war" in the Arab-Israeli conflict, of Salah Jadid—the former military chief of staff who controlled the party (cf. Kerr, 1973). A second and increasingly powerful group was loyal to Hafiz Asad and his attempts to professionalize the military and pursue more conventional strategies of warfare.

After the debacle of the 1967 War, Defense Minister Asad in early 1968 was able to remove the chief of staff, MG Ahmed Suwaydani—an advocate of popular war and an ally of Jadid (Dishon, 1968, 713)—and replace him with Asad's comrade, MG Mustafa Tlas. Subsequently Asad and Tlas were better able to isolate or remove dissident officers from command. For instance, there are reports in the *Middle East Record* (Dishon, 1968,

713-714; 1970, 1129) that Asad's faction was increasingly successful in making personnel changes that eliminated its opponents. The transfer of a number of field grade officers—major through colonel rank—who supported Jadid away from their battalion and brigade commands in October 1968 and February 1969 consolidated Asad's hold on power.

As LTG Asad gained control of the military, he used the personnel process to build a military that would be both sufficiently loyal to face down internal threats, as well as competent against external threats. Essentially, he professionalized the military, while at the same time establishing firmer control over the military's senior leadership (Dyer, 1983, 563; Altunisik, 2002). Asad was less restricted in building a competent conventional force because he created a regime protection force whose political loyalty he trusted (Drysdale, 1979, 372).

And Asad entrusted division command to non-Alawis, while putting fellow Alawis in command of regime protection units. During the 1973 war, non-Alawis commanded 3 of the 5 divisions, including Mustafa Sharba of the 3rd Armored, an Ismaili, and Umar Abrash and Hasan Turkmani of the 7th and 9th Infantry, respectively, who were Sunni (Dupuy, 1992, 616; Batatu, 1999, 228). On the other hand, the Special Forces, the Defense Detachments, and the Republican Guards were all headed by Alawis close to Hafiz Al Asad.[92] In these regime protection units, even the rank-and-file was predominantly Alawi. The use of Alawis extended to other key posts, which were either held by Alawis or had Alawi deputies (Hinnebusch, 1990, 163).

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[92] Rifat Asad, commander of the Defense Companies, was Hafiz' younger brother. Ali Haydar, the SF commander, was reportedly from Qardaha, Hafiz' home village (Maoz, 1988). Adnan Maklouf, commander of the RG, was a relative of Hafiz' wife, Anisa (Zisser, 2001a, 5).

The favoring of Alawis was more noticeable at senior positions, but also seemed to increase in the 1980s and 1990s. For instance, while perhaps half the officers in the Syrian military were Sunnis in the late 1970s, 18 of the 25 highest military posts—a little over 70 percent—were held by Alawis in 1977 (Rudolph, 1979, 211). By 1992, all of the known division commanders were Alawi (Batatu, 1999, 228) as were at least 90 percent of all military generals by 2000, when Hafiz Asad died (Zisser, 2001a). This tilt to Alawi predominance appears to have begun during the regime's 1976-1982 domestic battle against Islamist radicals, but accelerated after the 1991 death, in a car accident, of Asad's son Basil. The elder Asad realized that he would have to build a more exclusively Alawi base of support to ensure the succession of his second son, Bashar, an ophthalmologist.

In the conventional forces, Asad's personnel policies in the 1970s healed "the ethnic fractures that beset the officer corps during the 1960s by reintroducing professional competence" (Drysdale, 1979, 372). At the same time, party membership remained important after 1970. Some hold that it was necessary even for company and field-grade officer positions (Dyer, 1983). Others assess that it was required only for advancement to general officer rank (Devlin, 1983, 58-60). Even if necessary only for the latter prospect, it seems likely that most ambitious officers would consider it important to belong to the party from an early stage in their career.

In addition to party membership or shared sectarian ties, there were other ways in which Asad sought to ensure loyalty. One was providing perks to senior officers. Essentially Asad, having established himself as the patron of the military, made his senior officers his clients (Zisser, 2001a, 5). A key form of clientelization was Asad's willingness to permit key military commanders to dominate certain sectors of the

economy (Chouet, 1995, 7). Thus, Rifat Asad (Defense Detachments) profited from the public works sector via the Military Housing Company, Shafiq Fayyad (3rd Armored Division) benefited from construction materials, and Ali Haydar (14th Special Forces Division) found a lucrative side career in food-packing.

Like Asad in Egypt, President Asad's personal intervention apparently played an important role in the relative increase in corporateness and overall professionalism of the Syrian military. "Nothing goes on in the army without my knowledge, right down to the promotion or transfer of a private," he once claimed (Maoz, 1988, 61). While this statement was exaggerated, Asad's involvement in personnel actions extended down to a junior level, personally approving officer promotions from the rank of major and above.

The most visible and most egregious infringements of personnel system corporateness involve high-ranking loyalists in the military. For instance, Naji Jamil, a career air force officer, became commander of the air force under Asad, and remained in that position until 1978, despite never having completed flight training or served as a pilot (Zisser, 2001b, 34-35 and 160). Hafiz's son, Bashar, was hastily groomed for succession with only slightly more attention to standards of promotion. Bashar returned from London to Damascus, held the rank of captain in 1994, and in quick succession was made a brigade commander in the Republican Guards and completed the Command and Staff College, while rising to the rank of colonel in 1999. He became president in 2000.

When the rules were not bent or broken, they were simply modified to accommodate regime preferences. In conjunction with Bashar's rise as heir apparent, Hikmat Shihabi, the chief of staff, was ousted in 1998. The officer promoted to replace him, Ali Aslan, was approaching the mandatory retirement age of 67. Rather than select a

qualified replacement, the retirement age was simply changed to 70 years of age (Lesch, 2005, 75).

The Syrian military under Asad's leadership, as defense minister in 1966 and then as president in 1971, modestly improved the corporateness of its personnel system. After the initial improvement from weak to partial corporateness, there is little evidence to indicate any further notable improvement.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 5.1: Personnel System

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1965	WC: 1
1970	PC: 2
1976	PC: 2
1980	PC: 2
1985	PC: 2
1990	PC: 2

Mission Exclusivity

The Syrian armed forces have faced a number of challenges to the corporate ideal of an exclusive mission, stemming internally from its own structure, ideology and mission, as well as externally, from the presence of rival organizations. The importance of these ebbed and flowed, so each will be discussed separately before considering the overall impact on corporateness.

Inside the military, the rise of the Ba'th party to power in 1963 resulted in officer membership in the party apparatus, as well as the presence of the party in military units (Maoz, 1976, 287; Zisser, 2001a, 5). The reciprocal infiltration of the military and party was not a means of party control over the military, however, since it led in actuality to military domination of the Ba'th. Initially this was due to the secretive but powerful

Military Committee and later through officer factions, such as those led successively from the mid to late-1960s by Amin Hafiz, Salah Jadid, and finally, Hafiz Asad.

The ideological importance of party membership and party-military relations appeared to be strongest after the neo-Ba'th coup of 1966 (Maoz, 1976, 288-289). In part this ideological focus was intended to gloss over the increasingly sectarian reality of power; Alawis increasingly dominated the military. When Asad seized power in November 1970, he disconnected links between the army and the civilian party, at least at the lower and middle ranks, by forbidding contacts between civilian and military party officials. This did not affect military membership in the party, as the military retained its own internal party structure (Devlin, 1983, 58-60; Van Dam, 1996, 64).

Another significant distraction from mission exclusivity was the military's increasing role in the economy under President Asad. Chouet (1995, 7) portrays this as an inevitable aspect of "economic statization" in a militarized land; this perquisite enabled Asad to reward loyalty without further politicizing a military whose key positions were already held by sectarian allies. The military industrial sector quickly branched into engineering, construction, and agriculture, among other enterprises (Altunisik, 2002, 87). Syria's largest construction firm is Milihouse, the Military Housing Establishment, created in 1975.

The military's role in the official economy is large—80 percent of Milihouse's work is in the civilian sphere—but the military also engages in off-the-books activities. Syria's intervention in Lebanon in 1976 quickly put much of its military leadership in positions of control over routine commerce between the nations, as well as over networks that smuggled consumer goods and drugs (Altunisik, 2002, 87; Gambill, 2005). Rifat

Asad and his 569th Armored Division[93] and Shafiq Fayyad and his 3rd Armored Division provided muscle and logistical support to the drug trafficking network centered on narcotics produced in Lebanon's Beqaa Valley (Sadowski, 1985, 7; Judiciary Committee, 1992). As early as 1984, the illicit economic activity was scandalous enough to be subjected to a crackdown by Asad, though the president's primary motive seems to have been a decision to take the two rival commanders—Rifat and Fayyad—down a peg after a showdown between them in the Syrian capital. Even so, by 1992, the Syrian military was reportedly earning between $300 million and $1 billion annually from the drug trade.[94]

These political party and profiteering roles were debilitating to the notion that the Syrian army's professional mission was 'exclusive manager of violence,' there were structural challenges to the military's legitimate monopoly on the use of force as well. First, soon after coming to power in 1963, the Ba'th party created several paramilitary forces, which the party could rely on in the event of domestic turmoil and as a counterweight to the conventional army. These formations included the National Guard, established in June 1963, and the Organization of Armed Laborers and Farmers (Rabinovich, 1972, 68-70; Maoz, 1976). The National Guard's mission was to provide an additional layer of regime security for the Ba'thists, who could not rely solely on the conventional army because of its own intrigues. The Organization of Armed Workers and Farmers, founded about the same time, was a labor militia, affiliated with groups such as the Syrian Federation of Trade Unions and the General Federation of Workers (Akhrass, 1972, 210-211; Petran, 1972, 176; Maoz, 1976, 283).

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[93] Formerly the Defense Detachments and later flagged as the 4th Armored Division.

[94] The drug trade became most lucrative after 1982, when cultivation, harvesting and extraction techniques were improved with foreign assistance (Judiciary Committee, 1992, 6).

Hafiz Asad was critical of this "duality of authority" and once he became minister of defense in 1966, he worked to assert the control of the military establishment over these disparate paramilitary groups (Maoz, 1976, 286; 1988, 59). This resulted in the consolidation of both the National Guard and the Armed Workers into the new Popular Defense Force prior to Asad's "corrective movement" in 1970. The PDF was brought under control of the armed forces and ceased to be an autonomous organization.

Another armed group that operated outside the framework of the military in the late 1960s was Al Sa'iqa (Thunderbolt), a Palestinian-manned militia led by Ba'thists (Petran, 1972, 240). It was founded in 1968 to fulfill the neo-Ba'thist credo of a popular war of liberation against Israel. In 1969, Salah Jadid brought the militia under control of the Ba'th Regional Command for use in the event of an armed showdown with Defense Minister Asad (Van Dam, 1996, 67). But in September 1970, two months before Asad arrested Jadid, the army closed the Al Sa'iqa camps. Subsequently the militia continued to exist but, like the PDF, under army control (Seale, 1988, 181)

In addition, the military's internal structure was bifurcated in two ways. First, a regime security force was cultivated alongside the conventional forces, whose primary mission was to face external threats to the country. The two most significant of these regime security forces were the Defense Detachments and the Presidential Guards.
The Defense Detachments were created in 1971 (Altunisik, 2002, 86; Judiciary Committee, 1992, 12; MEIB, August 5, 2000) by President Asad's brother, Rifat. Their primary mission was regime security. After Rifat was temporarily banished from Syria in 1984, the Detachments were reorganized and became the 569th Armored Division and, subsequently, the 4th Armored Division. Unlike the Defense Detachments, it is

subordinate to the army chain of command (Zisser, 2001a, 5). In 1976, the regime created the Republican Guards (also known as Presidential Guards), a division-sized armored force assigned to defend the regime (Altunisik, 2002; MEIB, August 5, 2000). The Republican Guards were commanded by MG Adnan Makhlouf, a cousin of Asad's wife, Anisa, until 1995. The RG is directly subordinate to the President.

The second aspect of bifurcation of the armed forces involves the separate status of much of the military intelligence and security apparatus. These are not integrated in a single chain of command. For instance, Syrian Military Intelligence and Air Force Intelligence reported directly to President Asad (Maoz, 1988, 56). The military intelligence agencies[95] possess missions that are not exclusively tactical, operational, or strategic in terms of vigilance against external threats. Instead, they monitor and intervene aggressively against potential domestic threats to the regime (Belkin, 1998, 75). In addition, the intelligence agencies are used in a domestic counterbalancing strategy—the creation of "rival organizations to check and balance each other and protect the regime as a byproduct" (Belkin, 1998, 27, 61, 74-75). The task of the intelligence agencies in this regard is to watch the combat forces, and each other. They remain alert for signs of a threat to the regime and, more generally, for activities of interest, ranging from corruption to missteps that might be of political interest to their commanders and to Asad, to whom they report directly.

The overall trend in mission exclusivity is shaped by two countervailing trends. Internally, the military became less politicized by affiliation with the Ba'th party. Simultaneously, militias such as those controlled by the Ba'th were brought under army

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[95] Syria also has a number of civilian intelligence agencies, including General Intelligence, the National Security Bureau of the Ba'th Party, and Political Security, but these will not be considered here.

control or simply eliminated. These developments took place between the mid-1960s and 1970, and corporateness improved from weak to partial.

But greater improvements in corporateness did not take place because the structure of the armed forces became increasingly bifurcated in the early and mid-1970s. Moreover, much of the earlier gains associated with Asad's depoliticization and assertion of army control over various militias were eroded in the late 1970s and 1980s, as the military became increasingly involved in the economy. The worst aspect of the latter was the military's participation in various black market activities (cf. Maoz, 1988), due to the inherent corruption and lack of accountability in that arena.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 5.2: Mission Exclusivity

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1965	WC: 1
1970	PC: 2
1976	PC: 2
1980	WC: 1.5
1985	WC: 1.25
1990	WC: 1.25

Educational autonomy

The Syrian Military Academy at Homs was founded by France in 1933 and was the primary source of training for all commissioned officers for almost the next 30 years (Sinai, 1988, 261-262). Prior to independence in 1946, instruction was limited in certain ways. Most instructors were French NCOs, for instance (Van Dusen, 1971, 106), and there was little consideration to the liberal arts education normally provided at officers' academy to ensure a university-level education. Even after independence, the two years of military education were primarily focused on the infantry branch, and graduates who wanted to specialize in other branches received their training at army schools after

commissioning. For instance, Mustafa Tlas, an armor officer, received his tank training in the mid-1950s at the Armor School (Aboul-Enein, 2005, 100).

After independence in 1946, fees to attend the Military Academy were abolished and new social groups began entering in large numbers (Faksh, 1985, 6-8; Seale, 1988, 38). This was similar to the pattern at Egypt's Military Academy in 1936. In Syria, it meant a dramatic increase in the enrollment and commissioning of lower middle class youth, often of rural origins (Van Dusen, 1971, 68-70; Hinnebusch, 1990, 81-82). These young cadets were typically more politicized than their pre-independence counterparts. The politics they espoused, given their social standing, tended toward an "agrarian populism" antipathetic to the traditional Sunni urban elite (Hinnebusch, 1990, 82-83). Instruction at the Military Academy seemed to encourage a politically-engaged officer corps. There was not a politically-cohesive curriculum, but the influential faculty and staff of the Military Academy shared their own diverse political ideologies with the cadets. For instance, Jamal Faysal, a Nasserist and unionist who later became the G-1 and then the chief of staff and commander of the UAR First Army during the union, began teaching at the Academy in 1946 (Hinnebusch, 1990, 83; Torrey, 1964, 289; Van Dusen, 1971, 421). Other prominent faculty at the time included Adnan Malki, a Ba'thist who became deputy chief of staff before being assassinated in 1955 and Abdul Karim Zahredin, a politically independent and professional Druze officer, who succeeded Faysal as chief of staff in 1961 (Van Dusen, 1971, 107; Rabinovich, 1972, 32). Colonel Suhayl Ashi, a pro-Western officer, was commandant of the Military Academy until 1955, when he was arrested and charged with participation in a coup attempt that aimed at ousting Ba'thists (Torrey, 1964, 287-289; Hinnebusch, 1990, 82-83).

In 1960, the Air Force Academy near Aleppo was established (Sinai, 1988, 262; Seale, 1988, 39-40, 52 and 57). Prior to that, officers typically attended the Military Academy and then received basic flight training at the Flight Academy in Aleppo and more advanced training abroad, especially in Britain, France, Egypt, and the Soviet Union. For instance, Hafiz Asad, considered a promising air force officer, graduated from the Aleppo Flight Academy in 1955 and subsequently attended advanced training schools in Egypt in 1956 and the Soviet Union in 1958.

Syria created a Naval Academy in Latakia in 1962 (Sinai, 1988, 262). Because of the tiny size and status of its navy, this development was necessitated only by the dissolution in 1961 of its union with Egypt. Syria's main source for commissioned navy officers previously was Egypt's Naval Academy.

Under the Ba'th regime, ideological eclecticism in the Military Academy was ended, as the military worked conscientiously to create an ideological army (Maoz, 1988, 60-61). Once he became defense minister in 1966, Asad ensured that Ba'thist ideology was taught as a core block of instruction at the Military Academy. After the 1973 war, Asad said publicly that 80 percent of Syria's slain officers were members of the Ba'th party (Belkin, 1998, 68).

Education and training for field grade and more senior officers in Syria is limited. Prior to 1963, many officers who trained abroad went to military schools in the West—especially France and England—or Egypt. Two of Syria's division commanders in the 1973 war attended the US Army Command and Staff College (Dupuy, 1992, 616-617). After 1963, virtually all foreign training occurred in the former Soviet bloc. Longtime

Defense Minister Mustafa Tlas, for instance, attended the Voroshilov Military Academy, Russia's most senior and prestigious officer academy (Sinai, 1988).

In fact, Syria sent 5,455 military personnel to the former Soviet bloc and Eastern Europe for training between 1955 and 1979 (FitzGerald, 1983, 50). However, Syria's need for officer training at field-grade level appears to have been reduced somewhat by its creation of a Staff College in 1957 (*Jaysh Al Sha'b*, No. 1326, 14), which later became a Command and Staff College.

The quality of instruction at the Staff College is in doubt; for instance, upon seizing power Asad transferred potential dissident officers—undesirables—from their units to Staff College assignments (Dishon, 1970, 1129-1130). The college later upgraded somewhat. For one thing, it became a Command and Staff College. Additionally, in 1975, it began publishing *Al Fikr Al 'Askari* (Military Thought), a journal devoted to officer professional development.

Foreign advisers have also come to Syria to provide training, especially the Soviets upon whom Syria relied heavily for arms and whose doctrine is the main template for Syrian planning and operations. In the early 1960s, several hundred Soviet advisers were in Syria (Pollack, 2002, 459, 480-481). Although Asad was wary of the Soviets, he viewed their contribution as indispensable to his goal of professionalizing the Syrian armed forces. By the early 1970s, there were up to 3,000 Soviet advisers, attached to every combat unit down to battalion and squadron level.

The Ba'thization of the army under Asad presents the paradox that an ideological army is, at least compared to an ideologically-fractured army, a homogenous army. Asad's professionalization of the military, despite the inevitable limitations imposed by

the nature of his minoritarian and ideological regime, succeeded to some extent, as evidenced by Syria's significantly improved combat performance between 1967 and 1973. This improvement could be measured in some ways in the classroom as well. By the late 1970s, Syria had improved its own instructional abilities enough that it no longer had to rely on Soviet instructors for small unit and individual training (FitzGerald, 1983, 50).

Table 5.1 Military Academies[96]

Academy type	Academy name	Year established
Senior Officer		
Field Grade Officers	Command and Staff College (originally Staff College)	1957
Service Academies	Military Academy	1933
	Air Force Academy	1960
	Naval Academy	1962
Reserve Officers	Reserve Officers College	Not identified

The number of Syrian military journals—only 5 on record, in the post-independence era—is small, fewer than a third as many as the number known to be published by the Egyptian armed forces. Both militaries have roughly the same number of service-wide journals; the difference—and the dearth of Syrian journals—is found within the military services and in the combat and combat support branches of the ground forces.

There are no records in Worldcat of Syrian military journals devoted to the air force, navy or ground forces *per se*,[97] nor to such branches as Engineers, Infantry, or Armor, or to the Transportation or Medical Corps. It may be that Western access to military journals is limited, but it must be noted that even scholars whose specialty is the

[96] Kaplan (1965), Rudolph (1979), Dyer (1979 and 1983), Sinai (1988), Worldcat.

[97] Although journal titles such as *Jaysh Al Sha'b* (People's Army) and *Al Jundi* (Soldier) seem to indicate the journals are devoted to the ground forces, the content is service-wide, i.e. there are articles about navy, air force, and army concerns.

Syrian military, and who rely on such journals, do not cite any military journals not mentioned in Table 5.2 (cf. Be'eri, 1970; Van Dusen, 1971; Maoz, 1988; Eisenstadt, 1992).

Syria's military leadership may have decided it would be more cost-effective to publish only armed forces-wide journals, sprinkling articles about the various services throughout them. The large amounts of political and cultural material found in many of the journals support this notion, since from the standpoint of sociopolitical content alone there is no reason to have journals dedicated distinctively to the education of Engineers, Artillerymen, or other military occupation specialties. Even so, it is surprising that this situation did not change even with the evident professionalization of various aspects of the military services during the Asad presidency.

The military began publication of a weekly military journal, *Al Jundi* (Soldier), immediately after independence in 1946 (Worldcat). It was published by the Directorate of General Affairs and Moral Guidance of the Syrian Arab Army. And as with its successor and other Syrian military journals, much of the content was not strictly professional, but contained articles of public and political interest (Van Dusen, 1971, 140-141).

This diverse content characterized *Al Majalla Al 'Askariya* (The Military Journal), a monthly journal aimed more specifically at the officer corps, which began publication in 1950. Whereas most of its articles had a high degree of political content in the 1950s and 1960s (Van Dusen, 1971, 142), this changed by the late 1970s and the journal reflected the ongoing professionalization of the military under President Asad. A 1978 edition, for instance, contains virtually no political articles, with all content devoted to

questions of strategy, operations, and tactics in the ground, air, and naval services (cf. No. 7, 1978). The evolution of the journal's publisher reflects the changing locus of ideological and professional oversight in the armed forces. *Al Majalla Al 'Askariya* was first published by the G-3 (Operations) of the General Headquarters Staff, according to Worldcat. During Syria's union with Egypt, however, the United Arab Republic's First Army handled publication.

In the 1960s, the military began publishing *Al Jundi Al Arabi* (Arab Soldier). In 1967, the Ba'th regime renamed *Al Jundi*, calling it *Jaysh Al Sha'b* (Van Dusen, 1971, 141). The name People's Army better reflected the Jadid regime's political perspective of the military and its desire to build an ideological army (cf. Maoz, 1988). By 1970, *Jaysh Al Sha'b* was publicizing Asad's activities as minister of defense and those of his primary ally, Mustafa MG Tlas, the chief of staff. The journal also reported on political events, as well as Arabic culture, especially literature and poetry. These articles, as well as the professional military ones, often included translations from foreign sources, including in French, English, and Russian.

Jaysh Al Sha'b has been treated as a journal of record—i.e. a source for official government and military views—by analysts of Syria and its military ranging from Van Dusen (1971) to Maoz (1988) and Eisenstadt (1992). Maoz, in particular, relies on it almost exclusively among Syrian military journals. The journal was first published by the Directorate of General Affairs and Moral Guidance. In 1971, the newly created Political Directorate, apparently another armed forces-wide directorate, commanded by General Abdul Ghani Ibrahim, took over publication (Belkin, 1998, 68; Rabinovich, 1982, 269-270).

Finally, in 1975, *Al Fikr Al Askari* (Military Thought) began publication. According to Worldcat, it was published by the Syrian Command and Staff College. As with *Al Majalla Al 'Askariya*, the subject matter is mostly professional and seems dedicated to education of the officer corps. Some of the content includes translations from foreign military journals—both Western and Soviet.

Table 5.2 Military Journals[98]

Service/Branch	**Journal**	**Year of publication**
Service-wide	*Al Jundi* (Soldier)	1946
	Al Majalla Al 'Askariya (Military Journal)	1950
	Al Jundi Al 'Arabi (Arab Soldier)	1966[99]
	Jaysh Al Sha'b (People's Army; replaced Soldier)	1967
	Al Fikr Al 'Askariya (Military Thought)	1975
Senior Officer		
Service-specific		
Combat Arms		
Combat Support and Service Support		

Taken together, the Syrian military educational system exhibits several signs of an incremental increase of corporateness. These began with the establishment in the early 1960s of military academies for the air force and navy, which brought the school system up to a baseline of weak corporateness—an academy for each service with a 2-year curriculum. The Staff College—termed a Command and Staff College by 1975—is a sign that the military school system may be somewhat beyond that baseline.

The publication of military journals remains weakly corporate, however, especially because of the apparent dearth of any publications for the services or the various branches of the military. The journals did improve in several aspects, however,

[98] Primary sources are Hadi (1965), Van Dusen (1971), Aman (1979), Worldcat
[99] Worldcat says publication may have begun as early as 1961.

with the evidence for this coming in the mid-1970s. One sign of improvement came in the increasingly professional content of *Al Majalla Al 'Askariya*. The other is the publication of *Al Fikr Al 'Askari* in 1975. Although these improvements alone are not sufficient to move the corporateness score in this category from weakly to partially corporate, they too are a sign of improving corporateness.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 5.3: Educational Autonomy

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1965	WC: 1
1970	WC: 1
1976	WC: 1.25
1980	WC: 1.25
1985	WC: 1.25
1990	WC: 1.25

Force structure

Syria's active duty military manpower has increased steadily since independence from France in 1946. The sharpest increase was in the years after the 1948 Arab-Israeli war; active-duty manpower increased nearly six-fold, from 8,000 to 45,000 in 1956, an annual percentage increase of 58 percent (Van Dusen, 1971, 132-140; Petran, 1972, 94-95; Cordesman, 1993, 182; Pollack, 2002, 448-457). This rapid expansion—which undermined corporateness—following military defeat by Israel, almost certainly contributed to the military's subsequent intervention in politics. The officer corps viewed the defeat as a "great tragedy," but for the young officers who entered the military after independence, it was also "the central issue" of their career (Van Dusen, 1971, 139).

There were three military coups in 1949 alone and 21 successful coups in the 22 years between 1948 and 1970 (Belkin, 1998, 72). The rapid expansion of the military and consequent weakening of its corporate fabric made it more difficult for the military to

supersede various political party, ethnic, and sectarian loyalties of the new officers and soldiers. Normally this would take place in schools and during training at units, as well as through military publications and procedures, but a force in flux would find it hard to standardize its corporate indoctrination methods.

The manpower growth of the armed forces leveled off somewhat after 1956—Syria did not participate in that war—until after 1967. From 1956 to 1967, the armed force grew by almost 50 percent, to 65,000 soldiers, an annual average of only 4 percent. It was during this period that the Ba'thist military officers gradually took control of the military, beginning with the creation of the secret Military Committee in 1959 (Galvani, 1974, 6; Maoz, 1988, 31).

After Syria's defeat in the 1967 war, however, the leadership rapidly expanded the military, in addition to taking conscious steps to simultaneously professionalize it and retain its loyalty. From 1967 to 1970, when LTG Hafiz Asad, the Minister of Defense, seized power, the armed forces grew by a little over 20,000 men to 86,750. This equated annually to an 11 percent increase. The rate of expansion increased in the early 1970s, as military manpower reached 132,000 by the time of the 1973 war with Israel, an average annual rate of 17 percent, which fell to just under 10 percent by 1975.

In the last half of the decade, the rate of increase slowed somewhat. From 1975 to 1979, Syria's military manpower reached 227,500 active duty soldiers. This translated into an annual rate of increase of 7 percent. After the 1982 Lebanon War, however, Syria again increased its manpower rapidly.

From 1982 to 1985, Syrian manpower increased from 222,500 to 402,000, or an annual average of almost 27 percent. Cordesman (1987, 135) described the impact on the

military as severe: “No military system can recruit, train, and absorb such an expansion efficiently, and Syria’s training, support, and infrastructure base was badly under-funded before the post-1982 buildup began.” After 1985, manpower growth was almost negligible through the remainder of the decade.

Table 5.3: Expansion of the Armed Forces in Manpower[100]

	1956	1967	1970	1973	1975	1979	1982	1985	1989
Manpower	45,000	65,000	86,750	132,000	177,500	227,500	222,500	402,500	404,000

In 1946, the French-led Troupes Speciales du Levant, organized on a battalion-level structure, was reorganized into the Syrian army (Bou-Nacklie, 1993). By the time of the 1948 war, the bulk of Syria’s ground forces served in one of three brigades. The brigade remained Syria’s primary ground formation until after 1970, when Asad seized power and reorganized the military, creating a division-centered unit structure.

Syria built its brigade structure gradually over the next 10 years. In 1958, it fielded 6 brigades, including two armored brigades (Safran, 1969, 230). This doubling of the brigade structure represented an annual rate of growth of 10 percent since 1948. By 1967, Syria had 10 active duty brigades, mostly deployed either on the Golan Heights facing Israel, or in a reserve echelon that was southwest of Damascus (Dupuy, 1992, 317-318). The increase in brigades since 1958 represented an annual rate of increase of just over 7 percent. The Syrian brigades in the 1967 War were grouped into 3 brigade groups, which were administratively similar to a division comprised of 4 brigades, but the similarity ended there (Pollack, 2002, 460-462).

Each of the brigade groups on the Golan front had authority only over personnel and supply issues for its constituent brigades, but had no powers of command and control

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[100] Data is from Cordesman (1993, 182) for 1956 and the International Institute for Strategic Studies for 1970-1989.

(Pollack, 2002, 460-462). The regime apparently was not ready to create a division structure, which might enable one commander to bring down the regime. Two of the three brigade group commanders were brigadier generals (the third was a colonel), thus outranking the brigade commanders (colonels) in their group. Given the degree of politicization, however, rank meant little without substantive authority. Syrian command and control was further eroded by the fact that combat units were under-officered and years of purges meant that many available officers were new, poorly trained, and inexperienced.

From 1967 to 1970, the number of primary combat units expanded by 4 brigades—an annual rate of increase of just over 13 percent. Then, between 1970 and 1971, President Asad overhauled the ground forces organization significantly by making the division the primary ground formation. He counterbalanced internally by creating the Defense Detachments and, later, the Republican Guards. This reorganization was particularly challenging to corporateness in the short term, since it entailed adding a new echelon of divisions and division commanders below the GHQ headquarters, as well as a new command relationship above each brigade.

From 1971 to 1975, the total number of combat brigades increased from 15 to 21, including 5 new independent brigades added to the force in preparation for the October 1973 War. This was an annual growth rate of 10 percent. It slowed over the second half of the decade, averaging just 5 percent annually from 1975 until 1979. The next big change in unit structure occurred after the 1982 Lebanon War, between 1982 and 1985. The division structure increased by 50 percent, or almost 17 percent annually. In addition,

a corps headquarters structure—with 2 corps HQs—was created to better control the increased number of divisions.

Table 5.4: Evolution of Unit Structure—Brigades and Divisions[101]

	1958	1967	1970	1971	1975	1979	1982	1985	1989
Brigades (independent)	6 -2 AR	10 -2 AR -2 Mech -6 Inf	14 -4 AR -4 Mech -6 Inf	0	6 -2 AR -1 Mech -3 Inf	9 -4 AR -1 Mech -4 Inf	6 -2 AR -4 Mech	2 -2 Mech	2 -2 Mech
Divisions		0	0	5 -1 AR -2 Mech -2 Inf	5 -2 AR -3 Mech	5 -2 AR -3 Mech	6 -4 AR -2 Mech	9 -5 AR -3 Mech -1 SF	9 -5 AR -3 Mech -1 SF
Corps								2	2

The assessment of manpower changes shows a great deal of flux overall, but for the years of this assessment military corporateness was weakest in the early 1970s. Manpower flux was limited in the mid-1960s and the military was very corporate by 1965 (growth of less than 4 percent annually). But the 1967 war touched off dramatic growth that indicated partial corporateness by 1970. In the early 1970s, in preparation for the 1973 war, manpower increases reached about 17 percent annually until 1973, or weak corporateness. By 1975, however, the rate of increase fell to under 10 percent, i.e. mostly corporate. The rate of increase slowed further through 1979, remaining at 7 percent growth in the mostly corporate zone until after the 1982 war. From 1982, when the force increased again, through 1985, the 27 percent annual rate of increase put the military in a zone below weak corporateness. Subsequently, however, manpower growth stabilized through the end of the 1980s, returning to very corporate.

[101] The data included is for regular maneuver brigades, e.g. armored, mechanized, infantry and commando. The number does not include reserve units, nor artillery, air defense, and missile brigades which typically have less manpower. Data for 1958 is from Safran (1969), 1967 draws from Dupuy (1992) and Pollack (2002); subsequent years come from relevant editions of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*.

The Syrian unit structure also was in flux for most of the period, though not quite as dramatically. The unit structure measured mostly corporate in the years just prior to the 1967 war, at an average growth rate of 7 percent. Corporateness decreased to partial through 1970, as growth increased to 13 percent annually with 4 new brigades added in only 3 years. In 1971, as the entire command structure changed from brigade- to division-centered, the force was weakly corporate. It recovered by 1975, however, with a rate of change in the unit structure of just less than 10 percent—which is mostly corporate, but bordering on partially corporate. Growth increased at a slower rate through the latter part of the 1970s, to only 5 percent by 1979. Between 1982 and 1985, however, corporateness again fell dramatically to weak, as the force structure changed and expanded. The unit structure stabilized by the end of the decade, however, returning to very corporate.

The composite corporateness score for manpower and unit structure combined, then, is mostly corporate for 1965, falling to partially corporate for 1970. The 1976 score reflects a return to mostly corporate, improving to very corporate by 1980. Corporateness fell sharply after 1982, due to the expansion of the force after Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Thus, for 1985, the score is weakly corporate. By 1989, the force structure had stabilized to very corporate.

The wild swings in corporateness, from mostly to partially corporate in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and then back to mostly corporate by 1976, indicate that corporateness of the force structure was a problem—despite the high scores in most measured years. And the instability in force structure that resulted from preparation for the 1973 war paled in comparison to the flux experienced after the 1982 war when high

scores of very corporate in 1980 and 1990 were sandwiched around weak corporateness from 1982 to 1985.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 5.4: Force Structure

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1965	MC: 3
1970	PC: 2
1976	MC: 3
1980	VC: 4
1985	WC: 1
1990	VC: 4

Defense Leadership

Although Ba'thists have ruled Syria continuously since March 8, 1963, the first period of rule—until Asad seized power—was marked by fractious civil-military relations. Essentially the defense leadership went through 4 phases prior to Asad gaining control of the state in November 1970. In the first phase, in early 1963, non-Ba'thists held the defense ministry and other top positions for a short time (Rabinovich, 1972). These were allies of the Ba'th who were viewed as important coup participants in the March 8 coup, but were ultimately ousted from power.

The second phase began after July 1963. While the Ba'thists now controlled both army and state, political infighting among Ba'thist military officers meant that defense leadership tenures were generally short and marked by a constant struggle for political survival. The political struggle was waged largely between the National (pan-Arab) and Regional (Syria-first) Commands of the Ba'th and also on sectarian lines, as Sunnis (who were often Nasserists and unionists) were purged, and Alawis rose to the top at the expense of other minorities (Haddad, 1971, 346-349; Van Dusen, 1971, 366-368; Rabinovich, 1972). This phase was completed in February 1966 when a faction led by

MG Salah Jadid, an Alawi, ousted LTG Amin Al Hafiz, a Sunni. MG Hafiz Asad, the air force commander, played a key role in Jadid's coup and was awarded the defense ministry as a result.

The third phase largely pitted civilian party ideologues against military pragmatists who were also party members. MG Salah Jadid left the army, believing that he could still control it while running the country as Assistant Secretary General of the Regional Command of the Ba'th. The party had the power to appoint the head of state and cabinet, thus civilian allies of Jadid—Nureddin Atasi and Yusef Zu'ayin—were appointed head of state and prime minister, respectively. These civilians held doctrinaire socialist positions that left them at odds with the more pragmatic orientation of the new minister of defense, MG Hafiz Asad, and his allies (cf. Hinnebusch, 1990, 133-145).

Table 5.5: Post-1963 Ministers of War/Defense[102]

Minister of War/Defense	Term in office	Comments
LTG Mohamed Al Sufi	March-May 1963	A Nasserist
MG Ziad Al Hariri	May-July 1963	A politically independent Sunni
MG Mohamed Amin Al Hafiz	July-August 1963	A Sunni Ba'thist who was already Minister of Interior since March 1963 Joined the secret Ba'th Military Committee after the March 1963 coup
BG Abdullah Ziyada	August 1963-May 1964	Politically independent
MG Mamdouh Jabir	October 1964-November 1965	A politically independent Sunni who collaborated with the Ba'th
MG Hamad 'Ubayd	September-December 1965	A Druze and member of the Military Committee Elected to the Ba'th Regional Command in August 1965 Promoted from COL to MG for this post
MG Mohamed 'Umran	January-February 1966	An Alawi and founding member of the Military Committee Affiliated with the National Command (elected to it in February 1964)

[102] Information comes from Be'eri (1970), Rabinovich (1972), Olson (1982), Van Dam (1996), Batatu (1999).

		Brought back from exile in Spain to be MoD as part of a last effort to repair the split in the Ba'th party.
MG Hafiz Al Asad	March 1966-April 1971	An Alawi and founding member of the Military Committee Promoted from major in 1963 to lieutenant colonel and then major general in 1964. Elected to Regional Command in March 1966 PM from November 1970 President from March 1971
Mutib Shinan	April 1971-March 1972	A Druze; elected to the Regional Command in 1971. A civilian.
MG Mustafa Tlas	March 1972-May 2004	A Sunni and member of Ba'th party Central Command and Regional Command

The disastrous outcome of the 1967 war for Syria, which lost the Golan Heights, heightened the conflict between Jadid and Asad (cf. Rabinovich, 1972, 217; Hinnebusch, 1990, 133-145). Aside from the political direction of Syria, the two camps defended different perspectives of an "ideological army" (Maoz, 1988, 36 and 60-61). Jadid stressed an army ethos tied organically to the Ba'th party, to which it was nominally subordinate, whereas Minister of Defense Asad sought to sidestep party control by emphasizing the army's affinity with the people, i.e. the nation, rather than the party. Asad also stressed that the ideological army is "first of all a fighting army" (Dishon, 1970, 1139).

The minister of defense delivered a major blow to Jadid within the army in 1968 by replacing MG Suwaidani as chief of staff with COL Mustafa Tlas, a loyalist whom Asad promoted to major general. This marked the beginning of the fourth and last phase of Ba'thist defense leadership, during which Asad or a loyalist has held the top two military posts, the defense minister and chief of staff positions, for the last 40 years.

LTG Asad's seizure of state power in November 1970 was—like his consolidation of control over the military after the 1967 war—precipitated by a military setback. In this case it was Syria's decision to intervene in the Jordanian civil war, which pitted the Hashemite monarchy against Palestinian militants. LTG Asad and MG Tlas apparently supported the decision to intervene—they were both members of the Regional Command that gave the order and, of course, directly controlled the military (Petran, 1972, 247-249). LTG Asad controlled Syrian military and Palestinian Liberation Army units entering Jordan from an operations center in Der'a (Lawson, 1996, 52-53); however, Asad withheld air support after U.S. and Israeli responses indicated a regional military escalation, for which Syria was not ready, was at hand. Syrian units were mauled and withdrew from northern Jordan.

Subsequently, an Emergency National Congress of the Ba'th met and charged Asad and Tlas with creating dual centers of power by flouting party instructions, as well with practicing "reactionary defeatism." To survive politically after the emergency congress ordered Asad and Tlas removed from their posts, Asad trumped the party, relying on the military to arrest his adversaries and seize power (Petran, 1972, 248).

Table 5.6 Post-1963 Chief of Staff of Armed Forces[103]

Armed Forces Chief of Staff (and Army Commander)	Term in Office	Comments
MG Mohamed Ziyad Al Hariri	April 1963-July 1963	An independent (also Minister of Defense during this period) who went into exile in July. Promoted from COL to MG for this post.
MG Mohamed Amin Al Hafiz	July 1963-November 1963	Joined the Military Committee, immediately becoming its senior member. Became PM in November 1963
MG Salah Jadid	November 1963-August 1965	An Alawi and original member of Military Committee Promoted from LTC to MG for this post.

[103] Information comes from Be'eri (1970), Van Dusen (1971), Haddad (1971), Rabinovich (1972), Seale (1988), Chouet (1995)

		Became Assistant Secretary General of the Ba'th Regional Command in 1966
MG Mohamed Shinawi	August 1965-February 1966	Promoted from COL to MG for this post. Initially promoted as an ally of Amin Hafiz.
MG Ahmed Suwaydani	February 1966-February 1968	A Sunni and Maoist ally of Salah Jadid Promoted from COL to MG for this post
MG Mustafa Tlas	February 1968-March 1972	A Sunni and longtime friend and ally of Hafiz Asad Promoted from COL to MG for this post.
MG Yusef Shakkur	March 1972-August 1974	A Christian who was the most prominent officer ousted after the 1973 war.
MG Hikmat Shihabi	August 1974-July 1998	A Sunni loyalist of Asad Member of Ba'th Central Committee Deputy Chief of Staff, Ali Aslan, was an Alawi

In assessing the periods of defense leadership for indications of corporateness, the tenure of defense leadership and the reason for turnover stand out, much as they did in the case of Egypt. The first years of Ba'th rule, from 1963-1970, were marked by constant turnover in the defense leadership. For instance, there were 7 defense ministers under the Ba'th regime between 1963 and 1966. Similarly, though less extreme in the rate of turnover, Syria had 5 chiefs of staff in the first 5 years of Ba'th rule. The reason for these changes in leadership was primarily a result of coups and coup attempts, or because one civil-military wing of the Ba'th outmaneuvered another.

For instance, a string of politically-independent ministers of defense between 1963 and 1965 were mainly nominated as means of achieving compromise between various factions in the Ba'th, as with Abdullah Ziyada, who held the defense ministry, while the real strong man was the Ba'thist chief of staff, MG Salah Jadid (Van Dusen, 1971; Rabinovich, 1972). And Ba'thists too, such Hamad 'Ubayd, were promoted to the defense ministry as compromise choices within the party—in 'Ubayd's case to appease the Amin Hafiz-wing. Asad's predecessor, Mohamed 'Umran, was exiled to Spain after the coup in 1966 in which the Salah Jadid group ousted Amin Hafiz and his supporters.

Similar developments occurred in the chief of staff position. For instance, Salah Jadid was promoted to chief of staff with the support of Amin Hafiz in 1963 when the two were allies (Van Dusen, 1971; Rabinovich, 1972). As Jadid's power rose and a rivalry between him and Hafiz developed, allies of Amin Hafiz were put in the chief of staff post, including Mohamed Shinawi and then Ahmed Suwaydani. Shinawi was replaced after he had been won over by Salah Jadid. Suwaydani was replaced when Hafiz Asad took over the defense ministry. Asad's choice for chief of staff—after the Jadid coup which brought him to the defense post—was his own loyalist, Mustafa Tlas. The extent of these machinations becomes more apparent when one notices the frequency with which the rising chief of staff was a former colonel, promoted overnight to major general.

In other words, unlike the rapid turnover under the Sadat's presidency in Egypt, the changes in Syrian defense leadership between 1963 and 1970 did not reflect routine changes in tenure or policy disagreements. Rather, they were the result of extreme political factionalization of the military and the civil-military leadership, which indicates weak corporateness.

As Defense Minister Asad began to consolidate control over the military, however, civil-military relations became less fractious. In the process, important characteristics, such as tenure and the reasons for leadership turnover became relatively more routinized. Once Asad became minister of defense in 1966, he held the post for 5 years and reshaped the leadership below him. In April 1971, LTG Asad appointed Mutib Shinan as a caretaker defense minister for less than a year, soon after Asad was elected president in a referendum. Shinan, a Druze, was previously Asad's Minister of Labor and

had a solely civilian background (Batatu, 1999, 344). Asad replaced Shinan around the time of provincial elections in March 1972. It was then that President Asad appointed MG Mustafa Tlas, who would hold the defense post for 32 years.

Tenure in the chief of staff position under President Asad was similar. Asad's first two chiefs of staff served relatively short tenures and were moved for somewhat more normal political considerations, rather than due to coup-prevention politics. For instance, MG Tlas, a career army officer and a Sunni friend of Asad since the 1950s, left the chief of staff post to become defense minister in 1972, replacing MG Shinan. MG Tlas' successor as chief of staff, MG Yusef Shakkur, a Christian, was also a professional soldier. MG Shakkur was replaced about 10 months after the 1973 war. He was apparently replaced in consideration of Sunni sensitivities about the Alawi political grip on the military and on the regime (Amos, 1979, 247), but not because Asad feared Shakkur personally or politically. MG Hikmat Shihabi, a Sunni loyalist of Asad, and also a professional soldier, then succeeded Shakkur. MG Shihabi remained the chief of staff for 24 years, from 1974 to 1998.[104]

From Asad's ascendancy in 1970, through the mid-1970s, the rotation of the defense ministry and chief of staff posts occurred regularly and tenure was not lengthy. But it was not only the fact that senior officers rotated that reflected a more corporate military in this early period. In addition, Asad granted more autonomy, in the form of substantive decision-making authority, to the top commanders, including the defense minister, chief of staff and service chiefs, than he would in later years. Rising opposition to the regime, and Asad's reliance on Alawi-commanded regime protection units to

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[104] MG Shihabi was ousted reportedly because he was not committed to the succession plan that would bring Hafiz' son Bashar to power (Pan, 2006).

control it, shifted the locus of authority decisively (Batatu, 1999, 226). This is probably most evident in assessments of the chief of staff's lead role in planning and fighting the 1973 War (Dupuy, 1992). Syria's defense leadership relations in the first half of the 1970s resembled those of Egypt under Sadat.

Subsequently, however, the lengthy tenures of Tlas as defense minister and Shihabi as chief of staff are reminiscent of Mubarak-era defense leadership in Egypt. That pattern of tenure does not reflect a normal, healthy rotation of defense leadership. While it is the opposite of extreme political factionalization and is less dangerous to military corporateness, the reliance on professional military loyalists has its own dangers to corporateness. For instance, the stagnation at the top of the chain of command is an infringement on merit-based promotion and may diminish senior officer professionalism. It may also result in the formation of officer cliques representing supporters and opponents of the political favorites at the top of the chain of command.

But looking just below the top leadership positions, .e.g. at the service commanders and key regime protection-force commanders, Syrian defense leadership there was evidence that political factionalism remained a concern. For instance, MG Naji Jamil was an Asad loyalist since the 1950s, a Sunni who commanded the air force from 1970 to 1978, and served for part of that time as deputy prime minister (Dawisha, 1978, 348; Chouet, 1995). Jamil was removed suddenly, placed under house arrest and court martialed in 1979, reportedly he was suspected of insufficient zealousness in hunting down the Sunni Brotherhood (Batatu, 1999, 227). And MG Adnan Makhlouf—an Alawi and a relative of Asad's wife—headed the regime protection Republican Guards from

their founding in 1976 until 1995, after he reportedly clashed with Hafiz' son, Bashar, then heir-apparent (MEIB).

Another illustrative example is Rifat Asad. LTC Asad, Hafiz' younger brother, commanded the regime protection Defense Detachments from their founding in 1971 until he was removed and exiled in 1984 after his attempt to assert himself, following Hafiz' heart attack. Rifat's status, separate from that of the conventional military commanders, is further exemplified by his unusual rank—muqaddam or lieutenant colonel[105]—whereas his counterparts who commanded regular army divisions in the 1973 war were all colonels or brigadiers (cf. Dupuy, 616-617) before inflation crept into the rank structure. And Makhlouf—his counterpart as commander of a regime protection division—was a major general. Moreover, Rifat, whose family and business ties, and command of the Defense Detachments, made him perhaps the second most powerful figure in Syria, was reportedly detested by most of his fellow military commanders (Sadowski, 1985, 7-8).

The patterns of tenure and rampant factionalism translate into a score of weak corporateness prior to Asad's gaining control of the military in 1968. Subsequently, corporateness improved as LTG Asad was able to end the most extreme of the factional conflicts that were the primary cause for turnover in the defense leadership. This period of improvement extended into the mid-1970s during the period that Shinan and Tlas were ministers of defense and Shakkur and Shihabi were successive chiefs of staff.

The score of partial corporateness fell back into the range of weak corporateness in the late 1970s and 1980s, as the defense leadership tenure stagnated and Asad's regime was increasingly underpinned by loyalty, manifested in Ba'th membership, long-standing

[105] As reported in separate issues of *Jaysh Al Sha'b* in 1974 (No. 1151) and 1976 (No. 1228).

friendship, or Alawi sectarian ties, as the chief criterion for defense leadership. Even with this decline, corporateness levels remained slightly higher than they had been during the era of factionalized Ba'thist control in the mid-1960s.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 5.5: Defense Leadership

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1965	WC: 1
1970	WC: 1.5
1976	PC: 2
1980	WC: 1.5
1985	WC: 1.25
1990	WC: 1.25

Conclusions

The correlation of military corporateness and political liberalization is apparent in comparing Figures 5.1 and 5.2. The correlation meets the expectations of the H1 hypothesis and appears to hold for both an improvement through most of the 1970s and a worsening of both corporateness and liberalization in the 1980s.

According to the Freedom House data in Figure 5.1, political rights first improved in 1974, from a score of 7 to 6. This was followed by a similar improvement in civil liberties in 1976. Overall, political liberalization peaked in 1977, as political rights again improved, from 6 to 5, and Syria was rated partly free for the first time. This peak in liberalization continued through 1979, after which Syria reverted to not free status, marking the end of liberalization.

As Figure 5.2 shows, the military's average corporateness score for the 5 categories improved from 1.4 to 1.7 between 1965 and 1970. Noticeable improvements were made in four of the five categories in this period, including the Personnel System, Educational Autonomy, Mission Exclusivity, and Defense Leadership.

While this period preceded the presidential regime of Hafiz Asad, it is relevant to the H1 hypothesis because LTG Asad became the minister of defense in March 1966 and placed his supporter, MG Mustafa Tlas, in the chief of staff position in February 1968. Thus, the improvements in military corporateness from 1966 until 1970 were not simply coincidental. They were planned by LTG Asad and were a forerunner to the improvements noted from 1970 to 1976, during the early period of Asad's presidency.

During the period 1970-76, overall corporateness continued to improve, from 1.7 to 2.05, as President Asad, two defense ministers, and three chiefs of staff presided over the improvement of the military from weakly to partially corporate. Syria's overall military corporateness score improved by nearly 50 percent in the decade or so prior to the peak of political liberalization in 1977.

The most noticeable improvement in corporateness between 1970 and 1976 came in the area of Defense Leadership. The period before 1973 was crucial in Asad's military planning, as he and Sadat had apparently determined in 1972 to launch the October War. Asad's management of the defense leadership was crucial to these preparations. For instance, MG Shakkur and his general headquarters staff appeared to play the primary role in planning and controlling forces in the 1973 War (cf. Dupuy, 1992, 441-459). After 1976, however, the corporateness of the military declined noticeably in two areas, Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership. These categories of corporateness had played a large role in the earlier improvements, noted from 1965 to 1976, as Defense Minister and then President Asad had asserted control over the armed forces, eliminating rival party-controlled militias as well as pockets of factional opposition to his leadership.

But evaluating the evolution of these categories of corporateness is mainly useful in telling the story in one dimension—either as an improvement or deterioration in military corporateness. There are different variations, or types, of corporate militaries, and we can learn much about the Syrian military by examining the variations of corporateness that it exhibited.

Looking first at the Personnel System, the societal pathology variation of corporateness, epitomized by Nordlinger's (1977, 37-42) discussion of the corrosive effect of communal problems, is illustrative. In fact, of all the cases in this study, Syrian military corporateness most typifies the societal pathology model. The Syrian officer corps in particular has origins disproportionately in the Alawi sect, while the majority of society is Sunni. Nordlinger assessed that, despite the attempts of any military to inculcate its officers with secular and national values that transcend its communal identities, the latter would persist. This is particularly true in cases, as in Syria, in which the military is not representative of society.

And although the military is more cohesive than the civilian elite, and more able to inculcate its officers with trans-communalist values and outlook, it is still unlikely to transcend communal values. The result is a praetorian military (Nordlinger, 1977, 42). Presumably, the proportion to which the officer corps is non-representative of society is a determining factor in the extent to which military behavior is praetorian. In Syria, the inculcation of Ba'thist ideology combined with professional military practices, education, and traditions, provided a potential means of reformulating the officers' outlook above and beyond sectarianism. It had limited success, as Asad was able to professionalize the military sufficiently to pull off a relatively successful military campaign in 1973—

compared to 1967—as well as to intervene in Lebanon in 1976 and crush the Hama uprising in 1982. And while the air force was badly outperformed by Israel in the 1982 War, Syrian special forces units fought well (Gabriel, 1984).

President Asad was also able to control the military effectively through his approach, which included a reliance on Sunni and minority officers, as well as Alawis, at least until succession became an issue after his son Basil's unexpected death in 1991 and Asad increased the promotion of Alawis into the top ranks. One report held that 90 percent of generals were Alawi by the time Hafiz Asad died in June 2000 (Zisser, 2001a). It was apparent from time to time that pockets of political factionalism remained in the military, e.g. with the removal of Naji Jamil in 1978 and of Rifat Asad in 1984, but the military as a whole was obedient.

Another aspect of the personnel system—and also applicable to understanding educational autonomy, as chapter 6's evaluation of the military journal *Jaysh Al Sha'b* will show in greater detail—is Asad's decision to partially depoliticize the military. He determined to do this while retaining an ideological army by separating the civilian and military party structures. This brings to mind the concept of party-army relations, e.g. as discussed by Perlmutter and LeoGrande (1982). Of the three types of party-army relationships—coalitional, symbiotic, and fused—described by Perlmutter and LeoGrande, Syria seems to fall between symbiotic and coalitional.

Syria's military and the Ba'th party are distinct institutions, with different functions; they are not fused. In the symbiotic relationship, the party and army are inter-dependent, with interaction at all levels. This only partly resembles the Syrian case, since officers at all levels may belong to the Ba'th party; however, their party membership is

within their military units. The distinction is that there is a separate party structure within the military and Asad enforced boundaries between party and military.

The interaction of military and party officials is restricted to the highest levels, in that some high ranking military officers serve in the Ba'th Regional Command. According to Batatu (1999, 332-353), some 21 percent of the Ba'th Regional Command appointed between 1963 and 1985 were military officers, i.e. 18 of 85 members. The proportion of officers on the Regional Command was much higher in the 1960s than in the 1980s, e.g. 9 of 24 RC members appointed in the 1960s were officers, whereas only 3 of 19 appointed in the 1980s were from the military. This probably indicates that military input was increasingly less important for party affairs and perhaps too that the party itself was less important to the regime.

Turning to the category of Mission Exclusivity, President Asad seems to have deliberately chosen several corporateness-limiting strategies to ensure his continued grip on power soon after becoming president. Some of these were purposeful reforms meant to address already-present pathologies and represented improvements over the previous era's corporateness. For instance, Asad brought the bifurcated force structure embodied by a party militia and a conventional armed force under his control, but replaced it with dual military institutions, one professional and one loyal. He overlaid this with a system in which the military intelligence organizations had distinct chains of command from those of the combat arms, essentially creating the sort of factionalization of the military institution that Stepan (1988) saw in Brazil's case as damaging to the military as an institution.

The key difference in Syria's case is that the factionalization of the military was monitored closely from the center, by President Asad. This is necessary for the president to ensure that he alone arbitrates the interaction between organizations, thereby retaining control over them. In the Brazilian case that Stepan (1988) described, factionalization was a byproduct of intervention—it was not a designed plan. Therefore, when key Brazilian officers determined that the military institution was becoming damaged by its role in governance, they decided to return the military to barracks to maintain its integrity and effectiveness.

A complementary means of control, devised by Asad in the mid-1970s, was his rendering of aspects of the military into a military business, e.g. the creation of Milihouse in 1975. This approach is described by Mora (2004) as a means by the regime of obtaining support for strategic policy changes. The major policy change at this time that most closely corresponds to the timing of the development of military business was the intervention in Lebanon. It was unplanned, in the sense that Damascus responded to sectarian violence, but became an open-ended occupation—ending only under international pressure in 2005.

Asad's clientelization of key commanders was greatly facilitated by the Lebanon intervention, since it opened up vast opportunities for them to profit through control of trade routes for various goods and contraband. All of these strategies for controlling the armed forces eventually took their toll on Mission Exclusivity. Whereas Asad had initially improved corporateness in this area from weak to partial, after 1976 the military reverted back to weak corporateness again.

In Defense Leadership, where a significant improvement in corporateness was also noted, the initial improvements can largely be credited to the end of the era of factional civil-military alliances, a phenomenon similar to that described by Farcau (1996) that unfolded in Brazil and Bolivia. In Farcau's reckoning, the military's factions were in large measure motivated by the prerogatives of promotions and assignments that would be won by the dominant group, but they needed civilian allies to win. The resulting alliance, based largely on common ideological perspectives, had strategic policy implications, including the nature of the political and economic system.

In Syria, a series of civil-military contests unfolded that paralleled Farcau's observations. In 1963, Ba'thist military officers had prevailed, ousting rival groups that included the Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party, pro-Nasserists, and members of the traditional Sunni urban elite, and rewarding its own leading members with promotions to the highest defense positions. Then after 1966, LTG Asad slowly prevailed in the intra-Ba'th struggle against Jadid's doctrinaire-socialist faction, which had sought to check Asad's power by using its own supporters in the military, such as MG Suwaydani and others. The policy implications of Asad's triumph were wide and deep, touching on foreign and domestic policy and military strategy. It did not become clear, however, until after Asad was president, that political liberalization was on the agenda. In other words, liberalization was not foreshadowed in the Ba'thist civil-military alliances until Asad seized power and his clique announced it (see chapter 6).

Educational Autonomy is in large measure a product of steady institutionalization, e.g. through the creation of military academies and the publication of military journals. This requires a combination of adequate budget and recognition of the need to develop

senior-level officer leadership. In Syria's case, the main evidence of institutional movement, after Asad came to power was the apparent upgrading of the Staff College to a Command and Staff College. But while Syria's military budget generally increased year after year in the 1970s and 1980s (cf. ACDA, 1984, 46), its need to fund force expansion clearly took precedence over more qualitative improvements that might have been considered. This highlights the fact that aside from resources, choices also play a determinative role in institutionalization. That fact is highlighted by the military's decision to publish a professional officer journal, *Al Fikr Al 'Askari*, in 1975, which was the other advance in educational autonomy.

Finally, Syria's Force Structure ebbed and flowed dramatically, at times moving in a direction counter to the evolution of corporateness in most of the other categories. This highlights its relative lack of reliability as a category of corporatess.
Although the categories of corporateness are not weighted, changes in force structure are more transient and probably less weighty in reality, than developments in the other categories. Essentially, force structure does not contribute to the military's corporateness the way a meritocratic personnel system or a robust education system does. And while great increases in force structure present a challenge to corporateness, it is more difficult to ascertain precisely how deeply and in what ways corporateness is damaged.

In the case of Syria in the 1980s, if Force Structure were held out of the calculation of overall military corporateness, there would still have been a deterioration recorded, but without the wild fluctuations indicated by Figure 5.2. Small downturns in Mission Exclusivity and in Defense Leadership would have led to a modest reduction in overall corporateness, but not to the extent measured—either in the downturn recorded

between 1980 and 1985 or the rebound noted from 1985 to 1990. The distorting effect of the Force Structure category in the 1980s was increased because it rose as high as a score of 4 and fell as far as a score of 1.

In the next chapter, we will see how Syria's political values evolved after 1970, particularly regarding political liberalization. The examination of political values will provide another opportunity to review the variations of corporateness to ascertain which type or types most closely explain Syrian civil-military relations.

Chapter 6: The Syrian Military's Political Values

Introduction and Overview

This chapter evaluates the Syrian military's political values, particularly regarding political liberalization. The chapter's main finding is that the self-described "ideological army's" values closely reflect those of the Ba'thist regime. This is not surprising given the relatively weak corporateness of the military, as assessed in chapter 5. Consequently, the flagship military journal, *Jaysh Al Sha'b*, is filled with Ba'thist-imbued discussion of the various categories of political liberalization.

The interaction of the military corporateness and political values variables in Syria highlights the salience of ideas and ideology in the center of the military's corporate variant, as well as by the inability of the corporately weak military to withstand environmental and societal pressures. President Asad in the 1970s was able to fashion the armed forces into a partially corporate party-army at the height of his influence. The party-army corporate variant was a mainstay of the regime's guided political liberalization in that decade.

However, in the 1980s, corporateness stagnated and the party-army was increasingly penetrated by non-ideological concerns. The most debilitating of these may have been the degradation of the military corporation variant—in which Asad had cloaked the party-army after the 1973 war—in the black markets of Lebanon. In the 1980s and beyond, Asad increasingly relied on sectarian Alawi instruments of control. The dominance a minority-based rather than an ideational strategy for civilian control further reduced the prospects for meaningful political liberalization.

The heart of the chapter is an evaluation of the military's political values, and begins with a section that describes both *Jaysh Al Sha'b* and its publisher, the Political Department of the Syrian Army, paying particular attention to the mission and influence of the latter. Of the four military case studies, the Syrian military is the most overtly political, and this is reflected in the PD of the armed forces.

The timeframes for evaluation of the military's political values are divided into roughly 5-year periods. To evaluate the hypothesis that military's position on liberalization—or its support for it—will become clear prior to the onset of liberalization, the first period runs from 1970 through July 1977, ending just prior to the spike in political and civil freedoms enjoyed by Syrians, as portrayed in Figure 5.1.

The second period runs from August 1977 until December 1980, and the third period runs from January 1981 until December 1982, after which *Jaysh* is not available again until 1990.[106] The trends in military thinking emerge clearly in the 12-year period evaluated. In any case, liberalization ends in Syria by this time, according to Freedom House, with civil liberties worsening in 1980, and political rights worsening in 1981-1982—as depicted in Figure 5.1.

The military discourse about political liberalization is framed in the ideological terms of Ba'thism, a pan-Arab socialism to which most officers adhered, as of course did civilian regime members. In fact, the extent to which various categories of liberalization are discussed in *Jaysh* may come as a surprise, but the journal's content is logical given the military's self-conception as an "ideological army," a term it used throughout the 1970s and 1980s to describe itself.

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[106] According to Worldcat, the only library at which *Jaysh Al Sha'b* is available is the Library of Congress.

This fact reinforces the assessment that the mode of civil-military relations—the corporate variation—that Syria most closely resembles is the party-army (Perlmutter and LeoGrande, 1982). And Syria's military is the least corporate of any of the four militaries evaluated in this project. Its corporateness ranges from weak to partial and back to weak again—roughly tracking the increase and decrease in political liberalization, as noted in chapter 5.

Due to its ideological outlook, the Syrian military engaged in much more frequent discussion of politics and "popular democracy" than the Egyptian military did of various aspects of liberalization. On the other hand, the more limited Egyptian discussion—in the military journal *Al Nasr*, whose format was remarkably similar to *Jaysh Al Sha'b*—included more signs of debate between two differing schools of thought and more substantive support for liberalization. The latter was apparent in the Egyptian journal *Al Nasr*, for instance, in the relative respect given to a multi-party system and a discussion of freedom of speech that went beyond "self-criticism," the only legitimate form of expression in Syria.

Several points become clear in the first period, from late 1970 to mid-1977. For one thing, the military's language about and support for the liberalization initiated by LTG Asad and his supporters in the Provisional National Leadership—a combination of civilian and military Ba'thists—was generally in synch with the leadership, though it lagged behind and was at times skeptical in discussing certain aspects of liberalization. For instance, the military sounded dubious about the extent to which civilians should enjoy freedom, seeming to worry that it would be viewed by them as an escape from the discipline and hard work needed for the "liberation struggle" (No. 972, 3).

In the category of elections, *Jaysh* reporting reflects a relatively supportive stance in the early 1970s, as gauged in the frequency and enthusiasm of coverage. This is particularly evident in the coverage of local and national-level elections, which was heavy in the period from 1971 to 1973. There was no real discussion of a multi-party system in which opposition parties served a legitimate and useful function. The Syrian—or at least the Ba'thist—view tended to be that the Progressive National Front, a coalition of friendly parties that conceded the dominant political role to the vanguard Ba'th party, provided sufficient representation of those popular interests not served by the Ba'th itself. This view changed little over time, but recognition of it seemed to decrease over time.

Freedom of association and freedom of expression were also discussed vigorously in the early 1970s. Discussion of the former clearly privileged socialist notions in vogue at the time, such as freedom of employment and freedom from hunger. The Syrian journal often contrasted its own political values with libertine notions of supposed Western freedoms, such as sexual and capitalist exploitation. Free speech was debated seriously within the terms considered legitimate to Ba'thism, which were narrow. Essentially the discussion was framed in terms of "criticism" and, in the Syrian context, only "constructive" or "self-criticism" was legitimate.

Discussion of rule of law issues was also common, much of it tied to the institution of a new constitution in 1973. Subsequent to this, many of the new laws passed by the parliament were discussed in *Jaysh*, including many that pertained to military interests, e.g. military service and presumably some of the business-oriented legislation.

Beginning in the mid- and late-1970s, the tone and content of *Jaysh*'s liberalization discussion changed. Talk of "popular democracy" ebbed—and took on an ideologically-sharper tone, a more "scientific socialism"—as the regime and military became increasingly embattled around 1976. The origin of its troubles seemed to be Syria's military intervention in Lebanon, followed by domestic unrest—led by Islamist radicals. The discussion increasingly resembled the terms that Kerr (1962) described as "totalitarian democracy" in his assessment of "radical notions of democracy" advocated in Egypt and Syria in the early 1960s. In almost every category of liberalization, the frequency of discussion in the late 1970s decreased from the earlier period. For instance, there was less coverage of elections and it was also less enthusiastic.

Discussion of freedom to associate had become more cynical—relying on critique of the West as a defense of Syrian freedom or lack thereof—in 1976. In the late 1970s, the discussion mostly faded from view, except for a cynical use of the topic as an entrée to criticize Israel's lack of freedom for its Arab population. And freedom of expression faded too, though an illuminating interview with the Minister of Information disclosed the extent to which even the civilian media was expected to serve the Ba'th party and the state.

One of the salient themes of the military's political values in the late 1970s and early 1980s was the increasing presence of security as a priority in the rule of law category. This peaked with the announcement in *Jaysh* in July 1980 that association with the Muslim Brotherhood was a capital offense (No. 1418). Freedom House measured a downturn in Syrian civil liberties, in 1980, and in political rights, in 1981-1982. Freedom in Syrian declined further over the remainder of the decade. By 1989, Syria's score in

political rights and civil liberties had fallen to the level of 1972, prior to the onset of liberalization.

The Military's Political Values

The Political Department and Syria's military journals

The Syrian military journal *Jaysh Al Sha'b* was a weekly, self-described "political, military, cultural" journal for most of the 1970s, becoming a bimonthly in 1979. Its format is very similar to the Egyptian journal *Al Nasr*; both are aimed at the widest possible military and military-oriented audience, including active-duty and reserve personnel, as well as retirees, family dependents, and others—not just professional officers. *Jaysh* carries a variety of articles featuring news about the Syrian military, as well as the military profession; politics—international, as well as government policy; the economy; Arab and Syrian culture—particularly fine arts, theater, literature and poetry; sports; health and family; letters from readers; and entertainment, such as word puzzles.

Military journals in Syria were long the responsibility of the Directorate of Public Affairs and Moral Guidance (PAMG), which published *Jaysh Al Sha'b* since 1961 (No. 1000, 23). Similar to the Egyptian military's Department of Moral Affairs, the Syrian chief of PAMG was refered to as an editor (*muharir*) of the Syrian military journals (c.f. *Jaysh Al Sha'b*, No. 996, 42).

At the time that LTG Asad seized power in 1970, PAMG was headed by a colonel (*'aqeed*), a relatively low rank considering the importance given to ideological loyalty in

the military.[107] The editor-in-chief (*ra'is al tahrir*) of *Jaysh* at that time, subordinate to the PAMG chief, was Yusef Al Juma'a (No. 996, 44). Juma'a had held his post since January 1968 and was probably appointed or confirmed by LTG Asad, who had been minister of defense since March 1966. Juma'a had been promoted from within PAMG and remained editor-in-chief until around November 1975 (No. 1215, 4), which was a relatively long tenure for the journal.

Describing the duties of PAMG in an interview with *Jaysh Al Sha'b* shortly after Asad became president, Colonel Ghazi Abu 'Aql, then-head of PAMG, said that "the Directorate of Moral Guidance…works on a number of levels" (No. 978, 34-35). "First, at the level of instruction" it introduces "the modes of science of the military spirit and the fundamentals of training." It also directs "military personnel" using "recreational and instructional means, such as films and journals."

COL 'Aql pointed to the important role of moral guidance officers, termed guides (*muwajjihin*), who were embedded with the "leadership in units and formations and schools at all levels" (No. 978). A later article in *Jaysh* about the "political guides" (*muwajihun siyasiyun*) described them as commissioned officers with extensive training in Ba'th doctrine at the PD's own school. The guides essentially were responsible for political oversight of combat units (No. 1337, 1353-54, 1401). Their responsibilities were to "enlighten" the fighter, and "arm him in science and knowledge and principle," which would stave off either "defeatism or negligence of duty."

The editorial staff at *Jaysh Al Sha'b* was profiled in August 1971 (No. 996, 45). Of the 7 editors highlighted—in charge of sections dealing with topics such as political

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[107] The Egyptian post was headed by a major general (*liwa*) who was also chairman of the board (*ra'is majlis al idara*) of each Egyptian military journal.

and international news, the military, sports, culture, and lighter entertainment, like cartoons—at least 5 were military men, including 4 lieutenants. Of the two apparent civilians, at least one had prior military service. Most of these 7 editors had an ideological grounding, as several had been with Moral Guidance for many years, e.g. one since 1957, and two others since 1962 and 1964. Also, two editors had come to *Jaysh Al Sha'b* from the Ba'th party's newspaper, *Al Thawra* (Revolution).

Just as President Asad recognized the need to professionalize the armed forces so they could improve their combat performance, he also perceived the value of an ideologically stalwart military. Asad acted on his perspective by transforming PAMG and elevating its status. In the spring of 1971—after appointing a *Majlis al Sha'b* (parliament) and being confirmed in a popular referendum as president of the republic—he created the Political Department (No. 1048, 49). On November 2, 1971 the PD made its first official appearance as the publisher of *Jaysh Al Sha'b* (No. 1009, 2).

The Political Department (PD) took on a larger mission than Moral Guidance's reported responsibilities. While the first mission—"strengthening the moral staying power" of the military in its commitment to "the doctrine of the people" in the "framework of the March revolution"—sounded unchanged, the PD took on more explicitly a second mission. This was "to confront the propaganda of the enemy and its psychological war" (No. 1048, 49). In application, the two missions were organizational—"rounding out the party system in the armed forces and acting to continue it"—as well as moral, e.g. providing "guidance and instruction."

One of the most tangible reflections of PD's increased importance over PAMG was the fact that the new chief of the Political Department, Abdul Ghani Ibrahim, was a

brigadier general (No. 1031, 22). He was promoted by August 1972 to major general (No. 1048, 49)—two grades higher than his predecessor at Moral Guidance. MG Ibrahim had held high-level positions in the J-1, where he was in charge of Officers' Affairs, and as director of the Military Academy, prior to being selected as the first PD chief. Ibrahim was already a member of the party's Regional Command—since 1970—when he was chosen to head PD (Batatu, 1999, 341). MG Ibrahim held his post at PD for roughly 6 years and then went on to an executive position in the party as the Syndicates' Bureau chief.

The announcement of BG Nasser Al Din Mohamed Nasser's appointment as PD chief in August 1977 (No. 1302) coincided with two major events in Syria: Army Day on August 1 and the balloting for the new parliament. Nasser, a Sunni (Batatu, 1999, 348), was soon promoted to major general and headed the Political Department for roughly 3 years. By June 1980 he had taken up a new position as interior minister (1416, 10-11) and he too was elected to the Ba'th Regional Command, in 1980. MG Nasser was an ally of Rifat Asad and was not re-elected to the RC after his term ended in 1985 (Mason, 1988, 212).

MG Nasser was succeeded as PD chief in about August 1981, by MG Hassan Turkmani, a Sunni officer who had commanded the 9th Infantry Division in the 1973 war (No. 1443; Gambill, 2002; Dupuy, 1992, 617). MG Turkmani was later promoted to deputy chief of staff, where he served for many years. Turkmani eventually became a lieutenant general, succeeding LTG Ali Aslan as chief of staff in January 2002 and then replaced LTG Mustafa Tlas as defense minister in May 2004 (NYT).

When MG Turkmani moved on from the Political Department in 1982—probably a move prompted by the desire to upgrade army training and operations, his next duties—he was replaced by his then-deputy, BG Jalal Hassan Al Jahani. MG Jahani, an Alawi,[108] headed the PD for the remainder of the 1980s (*Fikr Al Askari*, 1982 and 1990). Jahani had a lower profile than any of his predecessors. He was not a member of the Regional Command, and appears to be the first PD chief not to move beyond that post. This may reflect a broader closing of ranks by the regime due to the increased insecurity felt by the regime. In other words, rather than putting men of ability in important positions, and then promoting them to higher positions of responsibility, an 'Alawi ideologue was selected to head the PD and retained there. His lengthy tenure indicates he was a loyalist.

This summary of the careers of the Political Department chiefs highlights their abilities and political prominence within the regime, particularly for the first three PD appointees through 1982. The fourth—Jahani—reflects the regime's increasing tilt toward empowerment of Alawi officers, which gathered force in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Because the PD was responsible for political oversight in the military and its chief was hand-picked by President Asad, it is clear that the military's political values—e.g. its Ba'thist perspective of political liberalization themes—reflect regime themes. Even so, the PD chiefs and their subordinates were military officers. Their understanding of Ba'thism—and the political values of other journal contributors from outside the PD—came primarily from their indoctrination within the military, e.g. by other Ba'thist military officers, such as the "political guides," or at the military academies, or in the military journals.

[108] According to two reliable contacts, one Syrian-American and the other an American Syria specialist.

LTG Asad had deliberately separated the party branches within the military from civilian officials, to ensure his own control as minister of defense, in the late 1960s. He retained this system, creating the political department within the armed forces to centralize political oversight, when he became president. With Mustafa Tlas, a loyalist, as minister of defense, and other professional loyalists in charge of the PD, this system enabled him to shape the corporate ethos of the military. The Syrian military under Asad was ideological but largely depoliticized since the 1960s and it was professional, but imbued with Ba'thist values.

As a result, the military and its journal articles reflected the regime's ideology and policies, but they were the product of career military officers, not civilian party members.

The Military's Political Values: November 1970-July 1977

After seizing power on November 16, 1970 in the "correctivist movement" that ousted Salah Jadid, the new regime under LTG Hafiz Asad wasted no time in justifying its action. In its November 24 edition, *Jaysh Al Sha'b* (No. 959), printed the "Statement of the Provisional National Leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party" (pp. 3-5).[109] While the communiqué praised the February 23, 1966 takeover by Jadid and his allies, who had included Asad and Tlas, the PNL complained that the party soon fell into "stagnation" marked by a "dictatorial logic" (*al 'aqaliya al diktatoriya*), "an intellectual terror" (*irhabiyan fikriyan*), and the "exploitation of power to humiliate citizens" (*taskheer al salta li dthlal al muwatinin*). This critique, capped by the charge that Jadid had avoided the "confrontation battle," put Asad's movement in a reformist light.

[109] Military members of the PNL included LTG Asad, who retained the Minister of Defense post; MG Mustafa Tlas, who was the chief of staff and first deputy Minister of Defense; and BG Naji Jamal, the commander of air and air defense forces (*Jaysh Al Sha'b*, No. 976, p. 14).

Most of the PNL's eight proposed domestic initiatives outlined changes to be made in the political system, even if the ultimate goal was to "mobilize popular and progressive energies and put them in service of the battle." The proposals included (No. 959, 5):

- Creating a "progressive front under the leadership" of the Ba'th.
- Forming a parliament (*majlis lil sha'b*) within 3 months, with "representatives from the party," and from "popular and professional organizations," and "progressive" elements. Its aim would be to "implement legislation and put in place a permanent constitution."
- "Deepening the socialist transformation."
- Giving "popular organizations" a role in the "socialist transformation" and "popular oversight" of the state, and building "popular democracy" (*al dimuqratiya al sha'biya*).
- Promulgating a "law of local administration."
- Preserving "the freedom and dignity of citizens" (*siyana hurriyat al muwatinin wa karamatihim*).

LTG Asad used the term *infitah*,[110] or opening, to describe his overall policy as early as December 1970. In a press interview published in *Jaysh* (No. 961, 9), LTG Asad described "*infitah*" as the "assurance, first, of freedom for the citizen because it is the basic condition (*al shart al asasi*) for requiring him to put his energies into the battle."

This rationale is reminiscent of the role played by democratizing European states in Hobsbawm's (1992) description of the rise of nationalism in the nation-building of

[110] The meaning of *infitah* is similar to *abertura*, the word used for political liberalization in Latin America.

Europe. A major difference of course, is that Asad—and the military when it spoke of the domestic arena, or "internal front"—reminded their audience frequently that Syria's primary objective, under which all others were subsumed, was "the battle."

The military repeated and supported key elements of the *infitah* policy articulated by the Ba'th. *Jaysh* (No. 961, p. 3) in December, 1970 praised the effort to build "a progressive front that includes all forces and elements of progressive socialist unity under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party." The journal also endorsed "preserving the freedom of the Arab citizen," which was necessary "to facilitate" the citizen's "role in building the state of unity and socialism, qualified scientifically to launch the battle of liberation." It also noted approvingly plans "to create a parliament."

But the military was slow to use the term *infitah* that described the overall policy initiative. It was late 1975 before the chief editor of *Jaysh*, Yusef Al Juma'a, mentioned it (No. 1214-15, 4-5). And the military was skeptical at times of the rights promised to civilians. According to a *Jaysh Al Sha'b* editorial in mid-February 1971 (No. 972, p. 3) LTG Asad held several meetings with soldiers to explain that winning "the people's trust was not a call for joy and delight only, but it was a big responsibility borne by the masses." *Jaysh* explained further that the "mass and popular receptions," for the citizens did not mean "an extension of the circle of their rights" (*ittisa' da'irat al huquq lahum*) but rather "an affirmation of the duties put on their shoulders" (*takeedan lilwajibat al mulqa 'ala 'awatiqihim*).

And of course within the military there were different interpretations of the aim of the correctivist movement. For instance, in February 1972, Hani Al Shama'a—a pragmatist who was later to become a chief editor for *Jaysh*—evaluated Asad's "action

agenda for building the state and achieving popular democracy." He described it as a means to "confront the invasion and occupation" (No. 1023, 12-13) and listed the regime's domestic accomplishments. Among them he included the law of local administration; the *Majlis al Sha'b*, which was then working on a "permanent constitution;" and freedom of the citizen, the value "dearest" to Asad. It must be noted that Shama'a, without a trace of irony, cited as evidence of this freedom "the strict interpretation of the emergency law, without any excesses" (*al tashaddud 'ala tatbiq qanun al tawari' dun ay shatat*).

The contrasting article, published in November 1972, was a lead editorial evaluating "Two years from the age of correction" (No. 1062, 3). This editorial ticked off the accomplishments at each of 3 levels—domestic, Arab, and international. There was no mention of *infitah*, the parliament or constitution, or the rights of citizens. Instead, the main domestic victory, the only one mentioned, was "national unity." This achievement gave "all factions of the people…their responsibility and role in work and building and protecting the revolution...and defending the people's rights."

But generally the military was supportive and its language in Jaysh reflected a pro-regime view of the new political system and also, despite rhetorical flourishes, more or less accurately reflected Ba'thist notions of democracy. In April 1973, Dr. Michel 'Asali, one of several Christian writers[111] at *Jays*h, described Syria's political system as a "centralized democracy" (*al dimuqratiya al markaziya*) (No. 1082, 26-30). He meant by this that the "mass organization" is "a pillar of the revolution and "basis of centralized democracy." It was a politically apt way of describing politics in which popular

[111] Others included George Ayn Malik, Dr. Georgi Kana'an, and Indarawis Shehada.

organizations are directed from the center, at the nexus of the vanguard party and the state.

A week later in April, Yusef Juma'a, editor-in-chief of *Jaysh*, wrote perhaps the strongest endorsement by the military of democracy to that date (No. 1085, 3). His article, "The revolution is moving to achieve the democratic system" was the lead-in editorial and Juma'a described "popular democracy" as "a basic point of departure" (*muntaliq asasi*) of the Ba'th party. He praised democracy as "an integrated system" and the only way to provide "the appropriate atmosphere for the citizen to render his role effectively." It is appropriate Syria's stage of "nation-building" (*bina' al watan*) because it "provides the free respectable life to each citizen" and renders them able to "create and invent and bear their responsibility."

Juma'a conveyed real conviction about popular democracy's value, arguing that "the big challenges that the Arab nation faces" can only be met by the "widest participation by the people in bearing responsibility" (*musharikat awsa' min janib al sha'b fi tahammul al mas'uliya*). Consequently, "a democratic system" is needed "in which each individual bears responsibility and takes his role in building and protecting his nation." Thus far, the institutional building blocks for "the democratic system" included "the system of local administration…the [Progressive] National Front and elections to the *Majlis al Sha'b*" (No. 1085, 3).

Increasingly after the 1973 war, the domestic focus turned to other topics. When "citizens' needs" were discussed, it was typically in terms of the economy, e.g. supply shortages (1124, 9; 1254, 16-17), infrastructural problems (1177, 18-21), expenses and rising prices (1201, 18-22), or inefficiencies such as *wasta* and corruption (1254, 16-17).

In the summer and fall of 1975, external developments began to preoccupy Syria's leadership. First, Lebanon's fragile, multi-sectarian society began imploding in violence. The first article devoted to this crisis appeared in June 1975 (No. 1193, p. 22). By January 1976, the Lebanon crisis was nearly a regular feature of the weekly military journal. Additionally, Egypt's signing of the Sinai Agreement with Israel in September 1975, quickly condemned by the Ba'th, as well as by "the Arab masses" (No. 1205, 5-9), furthered a sense that Syria was alone in its role as a confrontation state.

Perhaps for this reason, *Jaysh* in November 1975, on the 5th anniversary of the correctivist movement, focused primarily on the importance of internal unity. Both Yusef Juma'a (1214-15, 4-5) and Captain Siyah 'Azzam (1216, 18-19), a "political guide," argued that the movement had repaired the split between "the party and masses and restored to the people their trust in their leadership." CPT 'Azzam also boasted of the movement's establishment of "an air of political and social stability unseen since independence."

Building popular democracy as a means toward these goals no longer seemed to be as important. In fact, Juma'a—until now among the strongest advocates of popular democracy—provided a new context for *infitah*. "The aware infitah is the most important slogan" of the correctivist movement, he said, elaborating that "aware infitah" at the internal level meant "the *infitah* of serious logic and action." He did not mentioned the themes of popular democracy and citizens' freedoms he had touted two years earlier (No. 1085 and 1110).

And in June 1977, just two months before a new round of parliamentary elections, *Jaysh* began reporting on a new topic, new at least during the Asad regime. The headline

“State security court issues its ruling in case of murder gangs,” along with the allegation that Baghdad was linked to this issue, illustrated how sharply concerns about internal security had risen in recent years (1295, 7-8).

Elections

The first 30 months after LTG Asad’s military coup of November 1970 were an active period for citizen voting. The new regime held 3 nation-wide referenda—presidential on March 12, 1971; federation with Egypt and Libya on September 1, 1971; constitutional on March 12, 1973—and a parliamentary election on May 25, 1973 (cf. Picard, 1978, 132-133). Each round of balloting received enthusiastic coverage in *Jaysh Al Sha’b*. For instance, George ‘Ayn Malik presented understatedly the “97.6 percent” who voted “yes to the constitution”—including “our armed forces”—as evidence of “a popular consensus” (1079, 7-11). *Jaysh* noted with the pride that “the election of the *Majlis Al Sha’b*” in 1973 was “the first elected *majlis* since the revolution of 8 March, 1963,” which brought the Ba’thists to power (No. 1089, 6).

Safouh Humaydan, who later became a lawyer, interviewed a number of soldiers for “The Fighters and the Referendum” (No. 976, 12-13) and said soldiers overwhelming approved their right to vote. The “ideological fighter” in the Asad era had moved to “more positive and effective” action, whereas previously, he had “remained on the margins of public life.”

Some Jaysh coverage was devoted to explaining the rules of voting, e.g. for the May 1973 parliamentary elections (cf. No. 1085, 4-5). An article in April 1973 by Dr. Michel Asad Abu ‘Asali, explained that “the progressive constitution” ensured that

voting would be "public, secret, direct, equal" (No. 1082, 26-30). Also, "freedom of the electorate" was promised. The constitution imposed a penalty on "tampering with the will of the electorate" and the public could expect a "right of oversight."

The military's support can be seen to follow the regime's view of these elections and their purpose. For instance, *Jaysh* reported Asad's commitment to having a parliament as an outstanding achievement of Syria's "popular democracy" (cf. 959, 961, 973). But Asad appointed the members of his first parliament and there was no discussion in *Jaysh* about elections (*intikhabat*), or even a referendum (*istifta'*). Even so, the hand-picked *majlis al sha'b* was described by the Provisional National Leadership of the Ba'th as "the practical embodiment of popular democracy" (No. 975, 25-27).

Later, when the referendum for president was held (cf. No. 975 and 976) and the election of the members of the second parliament—the first such election since the Ba'th came to power in March 1963—these events too were seen as the fulfillment of popular democracy and other regime goals. MG Mustafa Tlas described the referendum as "among the most important undertakings of popular war" (975, 20-21). And Bassam Talib, who wrote frequently on international politics in *Jaysh*, described the election of Asad as "a referendum on the goals" of this stage in Syria's history (No. 975, p. 28). In other words, the military's support was for regime policy rather than for elections per se.

A variety of local elections were also described positively, e.g. local provincial council elections (No. 1023, pp. 12-13). And labor elections (1050, 10) were portrayed by *Jaysh* as permitting "the working class" to practice "its natural rights in electing its representatives from the leading trade unionists." These elections, it said, were held in an "atmosphere of complete freedom and democracy."

Despite the positive coverage, there were indications that pledges to the army were part of the equation for maintaining its support. For instance, Prime Minister Ayubi, presenting his "action program" to the parliament in February 1973, promised to "provide the climate of democracy" (*al manakh al dimuqratiya*) for a constitutional referendum and "a free climate" (*al manakh al hurr*) for people "in choosing their representatives" (*fi ikhtiyar mumathilihim*) in upcoming parliamentary elections. He immediately added—in the same sentence—his pledge that "our brave army will meet every support and assistance" (1077, 7). The conjunction of the two thoughts—the ballot and the barracks—indicated at least that the prime minister felt it wise to promise incentives to the military.

Amidst the rhetoric and the hints of material support, there were also opinions reflecting a more practical understanding of the benefits of democratic elections. *Jaysh* (No. 1089, 6) viewed the parliamentary elections in May 1973 as "a foundation" that would "strengthen political life in the country." Moreover, such elections would enhance "the political stability that ensues from the practice by constitutional and popular institutions of their complete role" (*al istiqrar al siyasi alathi yaqum 'ala mumarisat al mu'asasat al dusturiya wal sha'biya li dawrihi al kamil*).

Multi-party system

The regime's view of the political party system, which the Ba'th would dominate, supported by a group of like-minded "progressive" groups, emerged with the promulgation of the Provisional National Leadership's statement of November 16, 1970. It declared that "all progressive and popular energies" would be "mobilized" in "service of the battle" in a "progressive front under the leadership" of the Ba'th (959, 5).

In January 1971, LTG Asad campaigned on behalf of his new regime, meeting with officers and soldiers along the coast, including the Alawi stronghold of Lataqiya. *Jaysh* (No. 968, 3-21) reported the theme of unity that emerged, which hinted that the system would not accommodate opposition. One article declared "we are in the ranks of the people and the masses are with us" and "these masses are with the Ba'th." Another stated "trust between the party and the masses is the basic condition for victory in the battle" and "unity is built by the masses" and the Ba'th is the "party of all the people."

The Progressive National Front was described by one writer in *Jaysh* (No. 1062), who signed as "H,"[112] as necessary in "this stage of our nation's struggle" because "the government alone" (*al salta bi mufradihi*) could not "protect the economic and social achievements" and "deepen the socialist transformation." Thus, it became "appropriate that all of society become responsible" (*yanbaghi an yusbihu mas'uliya al mujtama' kulahu*). This was "the responsibility" taken on by "the national front." In other words, the national front—comprised of the Ba'th and four like-minded secular, nationalist, left-leaning parties (Picard, 1978, 132)—represented all Syrians.

There were several other articles about the PNF during this period (No. 1028, 1030, 1210-11, 1244, and 1266), but they added little to H's description (No. 1244, 8). Articles on the Ba'th party's role in the system were far more numerous. For instance, Dr. Michel Asad Abu 'Asali said that "popular democracy…is not undertaken without a vanguard party" (*la yaqum dimuqratiya sha'biya bidun hizb tali'i*). 'Asali described the party as constitutionally mandated as "the vanguard of the struggling people…and the

[112] It is not clear why only the author's initial was used, but it does not appear to be due to security concerns. Of the two most prolific "H"s writing for Jaysh at this time, Hani Al Shama'a and Hani Khalil, Shama'a is the likeliest author. While Shama'a covered a range of domestic issues, particularly politics, Khalil wrote mainly on military issues at this time, including some translations of Russian texts.

point of its spear in the struggle, preceding it but connected to it" (No. 1082, 26-30). The party "flows from the ranks of the people and represents the public will, which governs" (*wa huwa munbathiq min sufuf al sha'b wa yumathil al irada al 'ama wa huwa yahkam*). While the Ba'th held the "leadership" role, according to the constitution, the role of the PNF was "cooperation."

Freedom of Association

This category of liberalization was discussed vigorously, generally in one of three mutually supportive approaches. One approach was to portray freedom in socioeconomic terms. For instance, "H" (No. 1062, 20) described improved freedoms as reflected in "the income level of citizens" (*al mustawa al ma'ashi lil muwatinin*). He attributed this to the law of local administration, which he described as a "revolutionary experiment" that "concentrates responsibility in the hands of the productive classes" (*tarkiz al mas'uliya fi ayday tabqat al sha'b al muntija*).

In February 1973, *Jaysh Al Sha'b* explained that the constitution supported societal elements, especially "mass organizations" (*al tanzimat al jamahiriya*), that "form the axis of popular democracy and its substructure" (No. 1076, 10-11). The framework was decidedly socialist and corporatist; for instance, *Jaysh* highlighted that "the constitution stipulates the right of the popular sectors to undertake trade union organizations or social or professional or cooperative associations for production or services." Further, these mass organizations were to participate in "developing conditions of work and safety and health," and "the modes of production." Additionally, they would

engage in "popular oversight of the governing apparatus." Thus these associations were the corporatist-style link between the public sector and the state.

Another article by "H" in February 1973 (1077, 8-11) argued that, among the basic measures of the correctivist movement was the "guarantee of freedom of the citizen and…equal opportunities for him (*tahqiq al furas al mutakafa'a amamihi*)" These were "manifested" in "constitutional and popular institutions," including "the parliament, the local councils, and…the progressive national front."

A second approach portrayed freedom as the obligation of the individual to the collective, or the precedence of societal obligations over individual rights. In April 1973 (No. 1082, 27), Dr. Michel 'Asali wrote that "individual freedom" (*al hurriya al fardiya*) is tied to "the general freedoms of society" (*al hurriyat al 'ama lil mujtama'*). It "supplements some of them" (*tatamam ba'dhaha*) so long as the interaction is "harmonious" (*munsajim*) and can "achieve the common goal of the masses." But there were clear limits on individual freedom. It cannot override societal needs and obligations, "because freedom at its basic level is freedom of the masses" (*al hurriya fil asas hiya hurriyat al jamahir*). Society must be given latitude to "build its future in socialism and unity and progress." Implicitly, this put individual freedoms at a level below an individual's obligations to society.

A third mode was to compare socialist and Western freedoms. This approach typically underscored both of the previously mentioned points, i.e. that Ba'thist freedom is socioeconomic more than political and that freedom meant societal prerogatives must be unchecked by individual preferences. For instance, in June 1976 (1238, 32-33) Mamdouh 'Adwan's "The Democrats" was prompted by discussion in the West of

Alexander Solzhenitsyn's critique of the Soviet Union. 'Adwan acknowledged the existence of "freedom of speech" but counter-poised this with negative Western "freedoms." The latter included "pretension and undertaking sexual relationships and the profit of capitalists and…starving from hunger."

A similar angle was Indarawis Shehada's discussion in June 1977 in *Jaysh*. Like his comrades, Shehada treated the positive form of freedom as a socialist value that began—and largely seemed to end—with an individual's material welfare (No. 1296, 8). In capitalist systems, however, "some people are blessed" with freedom "at the expense of the overwhelming majority…who suffer from unemployment and diminished education and depressed wages." Freedom in socialism, said Shehada, eliminated "man's exploitation of man" (No. 1296, 8). And "the socialist system ensures for each individual a place to work, increase in income with fixed rent for his home and prices of necessities, and ensures free medical treatment for him and the welfare of his children, in addition to providing education for them and developing their character." But, Shehada added, "freedom in socialist society does not mean that people are free from obligations," since "personal freedom of the individual must include freedom of society and not be incompatible with it." Essentially, "the individual" must "share in responsibility, for freedom is responsibility also."

Freedom of Expression

Jaysh discussed freedom of expression extensively. For the most part it was portrayed—tellingly—either as "criticism" (*al naqd*), which was unacceptable, or as "constructive criticism" (*al naqd al bina'*), which was acceptable but meant essentially

support and encouragement. Such analysis often occurred in discussing the media's role in society. There was an inherent tension in *Jaysh* between portrayals of the media as a societal watchdog versus strictures calling on the media to be responsible, i.e. to not question authority. This dilemma was resolved with references to the Ba'th or to Asad, which implied that insofar as the media was a watchdog, it worked for the party and under the instructions of Asad.

Jaysh discussed the media's role as a "guardian of the nation and the citizens" (*raqib 'ala al watan wal muwatinin*) in an article in February 1973, "By what right, O you press" (No. 1075, 22). Apparently the civilian media had exposed Syrian-manufactured water meters when they failed in a winter cold spell. *Jaysh* termed this criticism the "pillorying of national manufacturing." The military was piqued by the apparent refusal of some media outlets to publish a counter-argument noting the "mistakes and shameful ignorance" of the original media critique. *Jaysh* claimed the media—"her Majesty the Press (*sahibat al jalalat al sihafa*) who permits herself to critique personalities and institutions and society and all that comes to mind"—was unwilling to tolerate criticism of itself (No. 1075, 22).

Suhail Ibrahim in August 1974 discussed the newly established Arab Union of Journalists in "Self-supervision of Journalism" (*riqaba sihafiya thatiya*) in Jaysh (No. 1148, 50). Ibrahim said that "among the primary missions of journalism is to debate the laws and watch over their implementation" (*min mahamma al sihafa al uwla an tuhawir al qawanin wa turaqib tanfithaha*). But Syrians had often been disappointed by journalism's willingness to "ally" itself "with the old order" (*tatahaluf ma' al bunyan al*

qadim) while "employing itself" in "service of journalistic routine"[113] (*fi khidma routin al sihafa*). Suhail Ibrahim concluded that "the Union of Arab Journalists is a big achievement" but "defending it"—or, ensuring its proper conduct—is a "big responsibility also" (1148, 50). The article's title indicated that this was a duty of the profession.

A response by Ibrahim Mohamed Ibrahim (No. 1149, 50) was "The freedom that we seek is far from the inner guardian" (*al raqeeb al dakhili*). Ibrahim Ibrahim acknowledged that journalistic self-censorship occurred at *Jaysh Al Sha'b*. For instance, the "editorial board" (*hay'a al tahrir*) made such arguments as "the situation doesn't permit writing about that" or "our circumstances demand currently the postponement of such subjects." He argued that "the important thing is to correct mistakes" and this could not be accomplished if "the mistake-maker does not realize that there is someone observing him and holding him accountable" (*man yuraqibuhu wa yuhasibuhu*). But though it seemed Ibrahim might favor investigation, he framed "freedom of speech in its bourgeois understanding" (*hurriya al kalima bi mafhoumiha al burjwazi*) as "a counterfeit freedom" (*hurriya muzayyafa*). This he contrasted with freedom in "our society-in-motion." Ibrahim provided little detail except to say that "the freedom of speech that we aspire to practice…is the obligatory freedom (*al hurriya al multazima*) that our leading party outlined" and which is incorporated "into creative aware action" (*bil 'amal al wa'i al khalaq*). This sounded like a euphemism for exclusion of all but pro-socialist speech.

[113] The Arab term "Routine" typically means bureaucracy in its negative sense, e.g. rule-bound and plodding.

Hikmat Farah in "The press and freedom of the masses" in August 1975 described President Asad's speech to the Arab Journalists Union (1202, 35). Farah noted Asad's instruction that the media's responsibility was to "practice its role in popular oversight of the state apparatus and to practice criticism with complete freedom" (*yumaris dawrihi fil riqaba al sha'biya 'ala ajhiza al dawla wa yumaris al naqd bi hurriya kamila*). But, Farah disclosed, the media's "action program" was "defined" (*hadada*) by Asad. In Farah's words, the "action program" (*barnamaj 'aml*) should serve "the struggle of the masses…for the sake of unity, freedom and socialism." Given that "unity, freedom, and socialism" is the Ba'th party's slogan, citing it implies an expectation that the press adhere to party principles in its reporting.

Abdul Rahman Shibli in September 1976 (1258, 18) wrote about "Criticism and self-criticism" (*al naqd wal naqd al thati*) for a column known as "The socialist instructional encyclopedia." Shibli's claim is strong, at least initially: "Criticism and self-criticism are considered among the most important guarantees of freedom." They are "a necessary foundation for establishing socialist democracy" (*asas dhururi min usisa al dimuqratiya al ishtirakiya*). But "criticism—as a real guarantee of freedom" (*ka dhaman haqiqi al hurriya*)—must be grounded in positive assertions, e.g. it should "constructive" (*bina'*) and should offer "suggestions and solutions" (*muqtarahat wa haloul*). The implication is that working from within the system is the only acceptable mode of criticism. As Shibli put it, "if criticism is a duty for each citizen and a right for them, then self-criticism is more of a duty and more of a right" (1258, 18). For no one knows better than "the member, the group and the organization" the value of their work, or is better

positioned to recognize their “mistakes.” This “is the peak of struggling revolutionary action.”

Rule of Law

Jaysh published a number of articles about legislation and the constitution, indicating their relevance to the military. For instance in October 1972, Jaysh reported that the proposed constitution would be discussed soon in the *Majlis* (No. 1059). And “H” wrote favorably of the constitution, that it would be both a “coronation” of the people’s achievements and “a lighthouse pointing to the future” (1077, 9).

Legislation discussed in *Jaysh* sometimes pertained directly to military service, e.g. Law 29 of March 1972, which stipulated the service requirements of expatriates (No. 1041) and Law 23 of April 1974, which pertained to reservists (No. 1137). Even legislation that did not have direct military relevance might apply to the family members of military personnel, or to retirement plans—or moonlighting—e.g. presidential decrees that applied to university degree programs or agricultural loans (No. 1147).

Coverage of these laws was partly the consequence of a new regime passing new legislation. One of *Jaysh*’s tribute articles in November 1972 about the Correctivist Movement listed the achievement of 16 laws, ranging from establishment of the *Majlis Al Sha’b* and the system of Local Administration to laws that applied to the economy and labor relations (1062, 19-20). After reporting on the legislative decrees that founded the Journalists Union (No. 1148) and a handful of other decrees (No. 1152) in September 1974, the volume of reporting on legislation diminished greatly.

Several articles discussed the socialist philosophy of law in fairly rich detail. Dr. Aziz Saqr wrote a periodically recurring set of articles on such "The social guarantee and its legal forms in socialist society" (No. 1046), "The philosophy of legislation in socialist society" (No. 1094) and "The basic principles of socialist legislation" (No. 1108). These and other articles provided insight into how the Ba'thist military viewed the constitution and law, and often alluded to the primacy of the executive branch.

In February 1973, Mohamed Nur Allah and George Ayn Malik wrote in *Jaysh Al Sha'b* (1074, 4-5) that the new constitution would be "a regulator for the movement of the state and its different institutions and a source for its legislation" (*dabitan li harikat al dawla wa mu'asasatiha al mukhtalifa wa masdaran li tashri'iha*). In a follow-up article (1077, 4), Nur Allah and Malik added that, at the president's wish—they did not mention rioting by Sunni conservatives (Shinn, 1979, 172)—text had been added indicating that Islam was "the official religion of the republic." Ultimately, the compromise was that the president must be a Muslim, and legislation would be drawn predominantly from sharia sources, but Islam was not the official state religion.

In March 1973, Judge Nuri Al Husseini wrote "The general trends of the new Syrian constitution" (No. 1079, 20-24). The bulk of his observations underscored the socialist nature of the legal bedrock. For instance, Judge Husseini addressed the "societal interest over individual interest," the "societal function of private property," and the special relationship of "the constitution and the working class." He also explained the executive's pre-eminence resulting from the "the separation of powers principle" (*mabda' fasl al saltat*), Husseini (No. 1079, 22-23) argued that Montesquieu and Locke did not intend their audience to understand the separation of powers to be "absolute"

(*mutliq*), for this would mean each power acting in “complete independence of the others” (*bi istiqlal tam ‘an al ukhra*). Anyway, it was natural that the executive branch be preponderant (*rujhan*) among the branches of the state. Its pre-eminent authority derived from the “heavy duties and obligations” the executive shouldered, increased by the rise of socialism throughout the world. Second, it made sense from a practical standpoint—because the legislative branch simply was not in “permanent session” (*in’iqad da’im*). And finally, the original notion of a separation of powers was driven by the need to check the authority of kings who “did not represent the people,” a situation extraneous to Syria. There was no discussion of the third branch of government, the judiciary, despite the author’s background.

Dr Aziz Saqr’s “Philosophy of legislation in socialist society” in June 1973 was among the most detailed looks at the socialist theoretical framework of legislation in Ba’thist Syria (1094, 30-31). Dr. Saqr argued that Syria’s “economic substructure” (*al iqtisad ka buniya tahtiya*) must be brought into agreement with “the legal superstructure” (*quwalib huquqiya buniya fawqiya*) for successful socialist transformation of “ownership from private to public.” At the same time, only by “fulfilling the socialist legislative revolution” could Syria “finish finally with the bourgeois laws” (*al tashri’at al burjwaziya*) still governing many Syrian institutions and activities. Thus, a two-front approach—legislative and economic—was necessary because the law in any society is “defined by the prevailing relationships of production” (*yatahaddad bil ‘alaqat al intaj al sa’ida*) expressed as “the will of the dominant class” (*irada al tabqa al musaytara*)… “in the form of legislation.”

Saqr pointed to the identity of the new dominant class. Under socialism, for "the first time in man's history…truly democratic freedoms" (*al hurriyat al dimuqratiya al haqiqiya*) exist because, "contrary to bourgeois law, socialist law presents to the toiling classes effective rights." These laws "confirm the principles of socialist democracy" by "achieving the complete authority of toilers in the city and countryside" (*tahqiq al salta al tama li kadihi al medina wal rif*). According to Mohamed Al Mustafa, in *Jaysh* (No. 1331, 8-11), toilers included "soldier, worker, peasant, and revolutionary intellectual."

The Military's Political Values: August 1977-December 1980

Jaysh's reporting on political liberalization dropped sharply in the late 1970s. There were fewer events, e.g. elections, considered liberalization-related. But the root cause seemed to be the worsening security situation and its impact on the political atmosphere.

One of the few liberalization events in this period was the *Majlis* elections of August 1 and 2, 1977. Voter turnout was extremely low, totaling between 4 and 6 percent of eligible voters—a reflection of the apathy that had set in since the 40 percent turnout of the 1973 parliamentary elections (Shinn, 1979, 174).

Several senior *Jaysh* opinion-makers, including the editor-in-chief and several Political Department "guides," wrote articles hinting that a re-appraisal of liberalization might be underway. Their discussion reflected evidence of a debate in late 1977, one of the few times this seemed to be the case. The first shot was fired by Ahmed Al Haj Ali. Ali, a doctrinaire socialist who emerged as editor-in-chief in January 1977, wrote "Action and appraisal: two member elements in the life of the revolution" two weeks after the August 1977 elections (1305-06, 4-5). Ali noted that "the revolution is in its results but

also in the ability to review and criticize and calibrate." It seemed more likely that Ali was calling for an appraisal of liberalization than making an argument in favor of free expression. In the context of the "spreading and deepening of battles," both internal and external, Ali argued that there was "no alternative but revolutionary control." To clarify, he explained that "the most important truth in the life of the revolution is that it possesses the ability to control all dimensions of the revolutionary process, social transformation, battles of political and national liberation, internal building, and foreign policy."

In November 1977, two authors described infitah-related "achievements," stressing the positive results of the liberalization associated with the correctivist movement. LTC Abdullah Hussein, a political guide who contributed regularly to *Jaysh* and was promoted to full colonel by January 1978, cited "the *Majlis Al Sha'b*…the permanent constitution…the progressive national front…and the local administration" (1316-17, 20-23). And Marwan Nassih also praised "the atmosphere of freedom and trust among citizens and their leadership" (1318-19, 22-23). He also cited positively the building of "constitutional and democratic institutions that enable our people to practice together in building the new society and defending the march of development."

The article that addressed the debate most squarely, and seemed mostly clearly to capture the evolution of views was LTC Blukbashi's November 1977 (1318-19, 62-63) argument that Syria's current security problems stemmed from the *infitah*. LTC Nabil Blukbashi, a political guide, had first contributed to *Jaysh* as a major in March 1972 and was promoted to colonel by April 1978. He opened with the accepted view that "the *infitah*," which re-joined "the masses to their party and the party to its masses" was initially justified by "preparation to enter the fateful battle with the Zionist enemy"

(1318-19, 62-63). But then, however, when “the party opened the doors,” some hid inside it” with “destructive material” and conducted a “campaign of time bombs” (*hamla al qanabil al muwaqata*). Also, “voices were raised in disapproval” (*irtafa’at al aswat muntaqada*), the “volume” of which “confirmed itself more than it resulted from suffering.” These people “practiced freedom irresponsibly” (*yumarisun al hurriya min muwaqi’ al la mas’uliya*) and did not know where to stop. But Syria has a “safety valve” for this, LTC Blukbashi argued, in “the awareness of the leader and his cognizance of matters.” For “as Mao Tse Tung was a nation in complete, so too is Hafiz Al Asad.”

Blukbashi’s “safety valve” seemed to introduce a new type of article—‘personality cult’ pieces devoted to President Asad. For instance, while Asad appeared in almost every edition of *Jaysh*, he was rarely the subject of a hagiography as now appeared with Hani Khalil’s “Attempt to explain some of the illuminating aspects of the unique personality of Hafiz Al Asad” in January 1978 (1326, 6-8). A month later, Asad was referred to for the first time in the title of a *Jaysh* article as “the great leader” (*al qa’id al ‘azeem*) in an article by Mohamed Al Mustafa (1331, 8-11). While a civilian—Minister of Information Ahmad Iskander Ahmad, whose ministry tenure ran from September 1974 until his death from cancer in December 1983—created this cult (Seale, 1988, 339), it clearly found its way into the military media.

The *Majlis*’ nomination of President Asad to serve another term as a president led to a number of articles about this and the subsequent presidential referendum in *Jaysh*, particularly in January 1978 (1327 and 1329). The headlines mostly underscored the president’s re-nomination as a matter of “strengthening steadfastness” (1327, 7 and 8) in

Syria. Major General Khleifawi,[114] a Sunni former military officer highly-regarded in the armed forces (Shinn, 1979, 174), described President Asad to the *Majlis* as "the great man of state." Hani Khalil boasted that Asad's "strength" was "manifested in the unity of the party, the people, and the army" (1327, 11-13).

Discussion about politics turned increasingly to doctrinaire views of socialism without mention of democracy. Abdul Karim Al Na'im, who had contributed a series of philosophical articles to *Jaysh* since 1976 observed that "some" call "urgently" for "this nation" to adopt a "comprehensive ideology" (*idiulujiya shumuliya*) on the basis of a "social order that eliminates exploitation" (*yulghi al istighlal*) (No. 1351). Na'im suggested "progressivism" (*al taqaddumiya*) as a philosophy that "means faith in eliminating exploitation and implementing scientific socialism" (*ta'ni al iman bi ilgha' al istighlal wa tatbiq al ishtirakiya al 'ilmiya*). Especially noteworthy here was that Na'im contrasted the "libertinism" (*al ibahiya*) in Europe, in a situation of "capitalist exploitation" (*al istighlal al rasmaliya*) with "the resolute moral stance" of China, a "progressive" and "socialist" state. In light of Syria's realities, "factionalism" and "internal maladies" (*al imradh al dakhiliya*), he urged that the time had come, not for liberalization, but "to deepen the national socialist thought" (*bi ta'meeq al fikr al qawmi al ishtiraki*).

Increasingly *Jaysh* took up discussion of Syria's internal maladies. The anti-regime violence was described as a "wave of crimes" or "the poisoned weapon…of chaos" as Hani Al Shama'a described it in July 1978 (1352, 4) and September 1979 (1398, 11). Whereas *Jaysh* had run only one such article (1295, 7-8) devoted to the issue

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[114] Abdul Rahman Khleifawi served as prime minister from 1971-1972 and 1976-1978; even as the prime minister, he was still referred to as *Liwa* (Major General) Khleifawi in *Jaysh*.

between 1970 and mid-1977—and that in June 1977—the topic of anti-regime violence headlined frequently from mid-1977 through 1980. The "Story of the vicious crimes in Aleppo" (1393), in which the Muslim Brotherhood killed some 60 artillery cadets—mostly Alawi (Hopwood, 1988, 63)—in June 1979 led to a new round of articles, which described "the criminals" (1393) and "the haters" (1394) as "instruments of the Camp David alliance" (1395). *Jaysh* did not identify the perpetrators as Islamic extremists until February 1980. Captain Turki Saqr, who became editor in chief by September 1979, warned at that time "that Islam [should] not become a tool of imperialism and Zionism" (1407, 4-5). By mid-1980, the regime announced that membership in the Muslim Brotherhood was a capital offense (Abdullah, 1983, 84).

Elections

Turnout for the parliamentary elections on August 1 and 2, 1977 was dismal and *Jaysh* coverage was limited to only one article. Its election coverage in this period indicated that the presidential referendum was more significant than the parliamentary elections.

Jaysh published only "The Elections" (No. 1303, p. 8) to cover the parliamentary elections. The article exaggerated the extent to which Syria had democratized, but it described favorably some aspects of the election campaign process and parliamentary representation. It termed Syria a "complete democracy" (*al dimuqratiya al tama*), instead of using the qualifier "popular" or "centralized." The 1977 elections were a "democratic demonstration" that took place within "the framework of democracy and in an atmosphere of freedom and free, noble competition" (*jaw min al hurriya wal tanafus al*

hurr al sharif). *Jaysh* claimed that “the choice of representatives of the people was completed in complete freedom” (1303, 8).

All the same, the editorial yielded evidence that *Jaysh* understood the reason for and mechanics of the election process and the purpose of representative democracy. The article said “the candidates of different affiliations (*‘ala ikhtilaf inima’atihim*) practice their message (*di’aya*) and publish their program and our media apparatus provides them an equal opportunity to explain their perspectives” (1303, 8). And *Jaysh* noted that “our masses were able…to elect those who will carry their voice, their opinion, and their expectations, and adopt their positions” in the parliament.

The only other election during this period was the second presidential referendum, on February 8, 1979, in which Asad was again the sole candidate. *Jaysh*’s longtime senior staffer, Hani Al Shama’a, played the role of “yes man” to the president in his February 7 editorial, “Yes to the leader Hafiz Al Asad” (1329, 4-5). The purpose of the referendum, from the standpoint of the military, was evident from Shama’a’s opening lines, that “the citizens face the ballot boxes *to renew the pledge of allegiance to the leader.*”[115] Shama’a described the “great progress in all fields” that Syria had achieved under Asad, “especially in the armed forces and in achieving a framework of the modern state and implementing popular democracy.” There was little democratic content in this version of popular democracy. The future, as Shama’a portrayed it, would demand from Syrians “greater efforts” in “the battle of building,” as well as “the battle of resisting conspiracies and confronting the Zionist attacks.”

Jaysh also published a set of interviews with senior representatives of the Progressive National Front, including Daniel Na’ma, Fawzi Al Kiyali, and Darwish Al

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[115] Italics added for emphasis.

Zuni (1329, 16-18). Na'ma endorsed the "renewal of allegiance" (*tajdid al bi'a*) to the president as necessary to "deter conspiracies, and to ensure the honorable future for our Arab people by creating the programmatic state (*al dawla al numuthijiya*) in what it represents for freedom, democracy, justice, and progress" as well as "national unity" and "effective participation" by "all citizens in matters of government and issues of the nation."

Following the referendum, Ahmed Al Haj Ali's editorial lead-in, "The most powerful choices we make ourselves" (1330, 4-5) noted that "our masses said yes to the leader and our masses are not mistaken" and "our masses do not…choose other than themselves and their interests. Although Ali did not speak of popular democracy per se, he used socialist idioms of struggle and choice as a stand-in, for instance, noting that "the toilers" (*al kadihun*) are "strugglers" (*al munadhilun*), i.e. those pursuing a righteous cause. And when it comes to "choices" (*khayarat*), "there is no choice but" that of "the toilers."

Multi-party system

The Progressive National Front continued to play the role in *Jaysh* of periodically validating the positions and achievements of the ruling Ba'th party and the state under the leadership of President Asad. And when appropriate, the PNF also took some credit for those achievements, within the logic of its own *raison d'etre*, which was to broaden—or at least to appear to broaden—the base of the political system.

Daniel Na'ma, a member of the PNF's Central Committee, spoke in *Jaysh Al Sha'b* on the 4th anniversary of the "October liberation war (1311-12, 14-15). Na'ma

noted that the front was founded well before the October war "in response to the popular will and to secure the objective need imposed by the structure of our society." During the war, he said, "our armed forces…fought…without a doubt that all the people was with them." And the "internal front remained during those days united," despite the attempts by "the enemy…to cause any breach in it." This was due in large part to "the National Front," which "was always one of the most important elements of the victories." And when "the national front was absent," said Na'ma, "there was absence of unity in the ranks of the people and among the forces of nationalism and progressivism."

The PNF issued a statement in *Jaysh* (1399, 6-10) in October 1979, which underscored the seriousness of the perceived threat from the battle with the Islamists and in the aftermath of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty. The PNF, which had a stake in ensuring that the political system retained aspects of party pluralism, noted that "strong national unity" had been achieved in Syria through **"**the institutions of democracy and in their forefront the *Majlis Al Sha'b"* and other organizations. But "today we are in the core of the struggle against the agreements of Camp David and the American-Zionist-Sadatist alliance." Syrians "face in the internal arena the most malicious attacks," attributed to "the agents of Israeli and American intelligence." The same "forces…planned and implemented the slaughter of the Aleppo Artillery school and followed its crimes with a series of successive assassinations of doctors and officers and men of religion (1399, 8).

Freedom of Association

Jaysh published few articles relevant to the issue of association in the late 1970s. The articles published had little positive to say about Syrian freedom. In fact, one

somewhat cynically endorsed the precepts of UN General Assembly's Resolution 217 of 1948 (No. 1323-24, 56-57), using them to criticize Israel—without ever discussing the status of Syrian freedom.

In July 1980, *Jaysh* published the principal elements of Law 49, under the title "Capital punishment for all affiliated with the association of Muslim Brotherhood" (1418, 5). The article was not meant as an assessment piece, but contained the essentials of the law issued by President Asad. In any case, the chilling effect of publishing Law 49 provided the more substantive insight.

Freedom of Expression

Unlike the earlier period, there was little in *Jaysh Al Sha'b* that qualified as discussion of free speech. The most substantive treatment was by Ahmed Al Haj Ali in the lead-in editorial of March 1978 (1333, 4-6). Ali gave "criticism" and "self-criticism" a fairly extensive discussion, as had his predecessors. Ali argued that "the revolution is not a hope, it is not a decision, and whoever wants to criticize it must live it" (*la bud an ya'eeshaha*). Ali began with the observation that the correctivist movement itself was a manifestation of self-criticism, since the 1970 "correction" addressed the 1963 Ba'th revolution. The revolution "is a human action and because of that it submits to review, to criticism, to accounting" (*al thawra 'aml insani wa lianaha kathalik fahiya takhdha'u lil muraja'a, lil naqd, lil hisab*). This scrutiny may be "harsh and sharp" at times, but that is acceptable. What "we reject," Ali said, is "putting on the shoulders of some the process of practicing the revolution, while some others resist through criticism and evaluation of the revolution from outside."

Ali (1333, 4-6) specified that "we reject that some judge us according to our slogans, saying 'you raised the slogan of freedom and still the land is occupied' and 'you raised socialism and you still are in its first steps'." He countered that "the revolution" was not "an excursion or some tour." Rather, "the socialist transformation is the essence of the revolution." In other words, it was a comprehensive—or "totalitarian," as Kerr (1962) saw it—process. "It is the great freedom that we see in liberation of the land and achieving unity, in production, and in education and culture, in thought and behavior."

In addition, a May 1978 *Jaysh* interview by Hani Al Shama'a shed some little light on the parameters of free speech by illuminating the role of the media. The interviewee was Minister of Information Ahmad Iskander Ahmad, who has been likened to Mohamed Hassanein Heikal—Ahmad's Egyptian counterpart in the era of Nasser (Seale, 1988, 340). In the interview, Shama'a asked about the "role of the media" (1343, 11). Minister Ahmad said that Asad's "national action program" gave the "media apparatus"—which Ahmad had fused into a team[116], according to Seale (1988, 340)—"two responsibilities." One was to strengthen "national and pan-Arab values and principles." The second was to "undertake the role of the popular oversight" and follow up on the national action program. Ahmad's writ did not extend to the military media, but he and Defense Minister Tlas were members of the Ba'th Regional Command and the military's coordination and cooperation could be expected.

Rule of Law

[116] It included seven key posts: the heads of broadcast media; the civilian daily newspapers *Al Ba'th*, *Al Thawra* and *Tishrin*; the state news agency; and the heads of advertising and press distribution.

Jaysh published fewer articles discussing legislation than in the previous period. Some detailed doing business in the socialist economy. An August 1977 (1304, 6-7) article highlighted a law meant "to protect finances and facilities of the party and state and public sector," while closing "loopholes used for other than the public interest." Another law encouraged "compensation for workers in the public sector," while a third "prevented the export of agricultural products." A second article (1372, 16-17) discussed the establishment of the Military Housing Foundation under Law 12, which aimed to create "programmed housing for the armed forces population."

More characteristic of the period was a new legal column format that discussed criminal conduct, issues of military discipline, and the state's security concerns. This seemed directly tied to the rising unrest since 1976. The first column, in April 1978, called "Law," was by LTC (Jurisprudence) Ibrahim Musa (1339, 44-45). LTC Musa discussed the problem of "concealing information and failing to convey it to authorities." This rated among "actual crimes against state security."

Jaysh began regularly publishing the legal column in August 1978 as "The Legal Corner" and, alternatively, "Legal Stations." It was written initially by Turki Saqr (1353-54), who was a captain in March 1978 and became an editor-in-chief at *Jaysh* that September, and then by Lawyer Mohamed 'Adwan (1359, 1360, 1364, 1372, 1383, 1386), as well as by 1LT Saqr Al 'Aridi (1379). The format was typically a question-and-answer style in which "fighters" (*muqatilun*) learned about basic military discipline and related issues, including the existence of a military court of cassation, the punishment for sleeping during guard duty, and specifics of the law of public service, which defined the exemptions from compulsory service (cf. 1353-54, 23).

Other legal columns were written by more senior field grade officers, including LTC Musa, whose forte was state security issues, e.g. "The fifth column" (1376) and "Secrets touching on state security" (1396). In an article in May 1980, Colonel (promoted) Ibrahim Musa noted that the maximum penalty for sabotage was capital punishment (1414, 44-45).

These articles reflected the changing security environment, and the military's attitudes about the law and its application to society in light of concerns about domestic security. Officers emphasized the duty of the individual to society and a preference for order over freedom. One article described "the penal codes" as "indivisible from those comprehensive rules that organize legal life in human society." In Syria, "it is every person's duty…to obey them and to bow before them" (*min wajib kul fard min afrad hatha al mujtama' an yati'aha wa an yanhani amamaha*) (1393, 19).

Colonel Qushji, chief of the 2nd Military Court in Damascus, wrote on "Basic rights: identifying them, their types and their importance to society." He noted that "the law protects all" (1405, 42), but clarified that "in finer detail the law is found at its roots to protect society" (*wa bisura adaq naqulu inna al qanun wujida bil asl li himaya al mujtama'a*). The law "stands against all who try to manipulate the security of the citizen, and his stability and security" (*al wuquf fi wajh kul man yuhawil an ya'bath bi amn al muwatin wa istiqrarihi wa tama'ninatihi*). The law played a Hobbesian role (1405, 42). "People live in a social environment," Qushji said, so "they must have rules and authority to protect some from the transgressions of others" (*ya'ishu al insan fi wasat ijtima'i wa huwa bi hatha al wada' la bud lahu min duwabit wa sultan yahmi al ba'dh min tajawuz al ba'dh al akhar*). Without the law, "the greed of the powerful takes over and chaos and

confusion spread." And COL Qushji affirmed that, "since the oldest civilizations," it has been the case that "there is no social life…without the minimum of order."

The Military's Political Values: January 1981-December 1982[117]

The general political tone in *Jaysh* was a deepening of the priority given to security over freedom since the middle of the previous decade. In the early 1980s, the topics increasingly reflected Syria's embattled situation, regionally and domestically. Articles in February 1981 (No. 1432) highlighted that Syria had "no relationship" with the "kidnapping" of several Jordanian officials in Beirut (p. 6); carried a Syrian warning to "the gang of American intelligence in Amman" (p. 8-9); and blamed "Saddam's regime" for "assassinating" a pro-Syrian "struggler" (p. 10).

Turki Saqr, on the April 1981 anniversary of the Ba'th's founding, wrote of the "intense throng of attempts of the enemies and…apostates to assassinate" Ba'thism. Many "agents, traitors and conspirators" were responsible. The list of enemies had lengthened. Among them were "Sadat, the arrogant deceiver, the agent regime in Jordan," and other "agents" of "colonialism and Zionism," including "Saddam, Numeiri, and Qabus."

In August 1981 (1443, 10), *Jaysh* reported President Asad's guidance to the Ba'th Central Committee, wherein he affirmed the importance of "two issues." The first was "the feeling of responsibility" that all citizens must feel, for it is "the effective aware citizen who achieves" his goals. This was a "popular national moral responsibility." The second issue was "martyrdom for the sake of the nation and the people." This, said Asad, "is the highest form of giving" and "it must be normal in our time and not exceptional."

[117] The Library of Congress holdings of *Jaysh Al Sha'b* for the 1980s end in December 1982.

This was a striking formula, especially in comparison to the early 1970s, when—as the military repeated—Asad described the "freedom of the citizen" (Nos. 961, 1023, 1077, and 1110) as a "basic condition" and the "dearest" value. Instead of offering liberties to citizens as an incentive for their investment in the national enterprise, the state in the 1980s simply asked them for martyrdom.

The climax of the struggle between the state and the Islamist opposition came in early 1982 after an uprising in Hama. In February, the 3rd Armored Division of Shafi Fayad and Rifat Asad's Defense Detachments leveled parts of the town, killing up to 20,000 citizens and routing the militants in a 3-week battle for "the fate of the country" (MEW, 1991, 20; Seale, 1989, 333). *Jaysh* reported that "Hama lived a day of popular fury against the enemies of God and nation and Arabism and Islam" (1457-58, 11).

LTG Mustafa Tlas in March 1982 accused "the Muslim Brotherhood gang" of "carrying out the orders of imperialism and Zionism" (1457-58, 12). Most of Tlas' focus was on the escalation of fighting in Lebanon, however, as the regime now considered this the main threat and an opportunity to rally Syrians. After Israel's June invasion of Lebanon, *Jaysh* recorded "the Zionist attack on Lebanon" (1465, 14-15 and 18-19), "the enemy's barbaric attack" (1465, 16-17) and "the criminal Israeli adventure in Lebanon" (1468, 14-15).

Articles celebrating the anniversary of the correctivist movement now rarely mentioned political liberalization as an accomplishment. Hani Khalil said the movement had "decided its road" was "socialist transformation" (1474, 18-19). The movement had led to "renewal of Ba'thist ideas" but in a way that was more "scientific and revolutionary." And Hani Al Shama'a (1474, 20-23), an advocate of popular democracy

in the early 1970s, had ceased to extol its virtues. Like Khalil and most Syrians, he described the "October liberation war" as "the peak" of the movement's "achievements." Domestically, the "logic" of correctivism had been "to convey to Arab society in Syria" a "life of dignity and freedom" through "a fundamental change" in its "structure" (*bunya*) through "reliance on development plans." The "basic principles" for this lay in "supporting the defense capability of our armed forces" and "achieving comprehensive and rapid economic and social development."

Elections

Jaysh's reporting on elections was limited. It undoubtedly covered the *Majlis* elections of November 9-10, 1982, but the precise number of articles is unclear.[118] Aside from November 1982, there was no other apparent discussion of national elections in *Jaysh*. As in 1977, turnout for the 1982 parliamentary elections was low (Devlin, 1983, 68).

President Asad opened the third parliament's legislative session and *Jaysh* reported his address (1451, 6-7). Asad described the recent elections as meeting "great acceptance at the polling centers" and averred that they "took place in an authentic atmosphere of freedom and integrity." Overall, he said, the elections formed "a bright picture of true popular democracy." Asad described "the people" as the first source of all authority" (*al masdar al awal li kul al sulutat*) which "they practice through constitutional institutions." He explained that the people had "a deep understanding" and knew "where" their "national" (*al watan*) and "pan-Arab" (*al umma*) "interests" lay.

[118] The Library of Congress holdings for 1981 are incomplete and the two editions for November—the month of the 3rd parliamentary elections in the Asad era—are missing.

They were "not affected in this by attempts to mislead and not frightened by crimes of the deceptive agents." The simple inference was that the "cohesion" between the party and the people enabled Asad to make decisions and exert his will on behalf of the masses.

The regime also used local council and labor union elections to claim support for itself and its policies (Legum, 1983). *Jaysh* (1474, 9) in November 1982 described a nationwide set of labor conferences and union elections as indicative of support for the regime. The article, "The working class renews its loyalty to the struggling leader Hafiz Al Asad," observed that the workers—in telegrams they sent—affirmed they would follow the "road to liberation and building." These telegrams also "expressed pride in the solidarity between the president and the working class." In addition, the workers articulated their support for the "goals of bringing down the colonialist and Zionist and reactionary conspiracies" and their "pride in the Syrian armed forces."

Multi-party system

There were no articles in *Jaysh* that appeared relevant to a multi-party system.

Freedom of Association

As in the earlier periods, most of what *Jaysh* and the military thought about association was not apparent directly, but the organizations and association considered legitimate appeared in various headlines. Examples during this period included speeches by "the Leader Asad" to the General Union of Arab Labor Unions (1435, 5-7) and to the 5th General Conference of Peasants (1437, 4-5). Additional articles featured the Arab People's Conference (1439, 9) and the Arab Youth Organization (1441, 28-29).

Bassam Khalid, a military correspondent, described an affinity between the military and some of the regime-supporting mass organizations in October 1982. The "National Union of Syrian Students, The General Union of Women, and the Ba'th Vanguard Organization," he said, played "a pioneering role in the October liberation war and in the battles of Lebanon against the Zionist attack" (1471, 53-55). They had rendered support by "sharing in the fighters' lives, raising their morale, and visiting their positions." More practically, they had a role in "protecting economic installations" and "supervising…production institutions."

The most insightful discussion of the role of the "mass organizations" and the ideological military's view of them was provided by Fayiz Izz Al Din in May 1981 (1438, 22-23). Izz Al Din described the Union of the Revolution Youth as "an educational political organization in reserve to" the Ba'th party. As part of its "ideological and strategic plan" it readied "the youth to undertake more rational and revolutionary acts" (*al i'mal thawriya wa 'aqlaniya*). And it supplied the Ba'th with a "programmatic arm" in which youth's role—like the toiling classes—was "building and liberation and cleansing reactionary ideas and achieving the one-class society."

The "revolutionary youth organization," according to Izz Al Din (1438, 22-23), acts as a "political, ideological, and organizational struggle school" that takes youth from "the old traditions" (*al taqalid al qadima*) to a new "reality of homogeneity and unity" (*waqi' al tajanus wal wihda*). This entailed a "more progressive view" that is "more harmonious and responsive to the zeitgeist (*ruh al 'asr*) in national and social and human liberation." This is possible in a "social scientific understanding" (*al mafhum al 'ilmi al ijtima'i*) of youth's role in "the revolutionary movement." Fulfilling their latent potential

requires only “creating intellectual and political unity (*khalq al wihda al fikriya wal siyasiya*) among them” and “social, moral, and national homogeneity for them” (*tajanus ikhlaqi wa ijtima’i wa qawmi ladayhim*).

Freedom of Expression

Only two articles addressed the issue of free speech in this period. Fayiz Izz Al Din’s “For the sake of a united youth: in opinion and position” (1438, 22-23) in May 1981 provided insight into the military’s views on free speech. Izz Al Din’s argument was simple (1438, 22-23). There must be a “transformation” of Syrian youth from their “fragmented, scattered” state, in which they are “isolated from the national mission, to a youth united in opinion and homogenous in its reality, its goals, and its aspirations.” By imposing unity and homogeneity, he said, “we free the youth from the backward legacy of the feudal quasi-bourgeoise society” (*nuklhis al shabab min al turka al mutakhalafa lil mujtami’ al iqta’i shibh alburjwazi*). Only then can youth be situated in “contemporary historical progressive civilizational development.”

In June 1981, *Jaysh* published a review article of longtime military correspondent and sometime editor-in-chief Hani Al Shama’a’s new book, entitled “The press: that sacred message” (1439, 21). In his book, Shama’a described journalism as a calling for those “pledging themselves to the masses to convey to them the accurate news.” Journalism is a “profession of hardships” (*mihna al mata’ib*) he advises his readers, but there is satisfaction in “serving others” and particularly in “connecting them to the shores of the truth” (*al wusul bihim ila shati’ al haqiqa*). Shama’a elevates the pursuit of truth high in his conception of the media’s mission, speaking of “the obligation to truth and

sincerity of professional work" (*al iltizam bil sidq wal iskhlas lil 'aml al mihni*). And he underscores that "the press cannot achieve 'its sanctity' unless it is a trusted source for all citizens" (*la tablagh al sihafa 'qadisataha' ila itha kanat masdar thiqa lil muwatinin kafa*).

But his obligation to socialist dogma—whether this is personal or solely professional is not entirely clear with Shama'a—brings a different perspective, in which the press has a subjective mission—to speak for the "toiling classes." The tension between the two visions is not resolved in *Jaysh*'s book review (1439, 21). In the book's "main chapter," according to *Jaysh*, Shama'a describes the press as a "sanctified profession" because it has "a message to the nation, obligated naturally to the toiling class" (*risala fil umma taltazam tab'an bil tabaqa al kadiha*). The "sanctity" of the press "emanates" from its ability "to express the aspirations of the masses" (*ta'bar 'an tatala'at al jamahir*). It is "a mirror reflecting the hopes of the masses…and speaking in their name." And it "raises its voice high to defend their interests or confront whoever…slanders their principles or beliefs" (*tarfa'a sawtaha 'aliyan lil difa 'an masalihiha aw li muwajiha man…yaftari 'ala mabadi'ha aw mu'taqidatha*).

Rule of Law

Two articles were relevant to the rule of law, and both started with the authority of the *Majlis Al Sha'b*, Syria's elected legislative body. President Asad's inauguration of the third parliament's session on November 16, 1981 was reported by *Jaysh* (1451, 6-7). Asad described "the people" as the "first source of all authority" (*al masdar al awal li kul al sulutat*), which "naturally" they practice "through constitutional institutions" that they

constitute in “the true popular democracy” (*al dimuqratiya al sha’biya al sahiha*). He explained to the new parliamentary members, that their “constitutional mission” was “a sacred trust that all of us” hold, as they were “deputized” (*awkala*) by “the people.”

Thus, the transfer of popular authority to the leadership—each branch of government according to its constitutional authority—accorded with public wishes. Asad spelled it out: “it is the will of the people and the high interest of the nation (*innaha irada al sha’b wa masliha al watan al ‘uliya*) that each power [i.e. branch of government] of the constitutional authorities practice its complete responsibilities in its constitutional scope” (*an tumaris kul salta min al sulutat al dusturiya mas’uliyataha kamila if hiziha al dusturi*).

Finally, there was a rare sign, reported in *Jaysh*, of a limited degree of civilian, parliamentary oversight of the military. Defense Minister Tlas testified to the *Majlis Al Sha’b*, the first such instance noted, and which was prompted by Israel’s June 1982 invasion of Lebanon, on June 30, 1982. The meeting was a “closed session” chaired by Comrade Mahmoud Zoghbi, speaker of parliament, with the ministers of state for the Majlis, Oil, Public Works, and Water Supply in attendance.

According to *Jaysh*, the defense minister presented “the military situation in light of the Israeli attack” on Lebanon and then “answered a number of questions that members posed” about “the military and political situation.” Subsequently, the “Majlis members” directed thanks and praise to “our armed forces” and to President Asad, “the commander in chief of the army and armed forces, who leads the ship to the shores of safety.”

Corporate Variants and Political Liberalization

Pre-Ba'th era: weak corporateness and civil-military alliances of guardians

For the first 17 years after independence in 1946, Syria's military resembled the civil-military model described by Farcau (1996) in which civilian and military factions are allied by ideology. The interaction of the factions resembled the societal pathologies described by Nordlinger (1977), in which the military organization is insufficiently strong to instill a strictly corporate and professional military outlook in its officers; instead, they reflect society's inter-communal tensions. Additionally, the Syrian military was imbued with a guardianship sense of mission that justified the use of force when deemed necessary (cf. Hinnebusch, 1990, 81-86).

Various factions within the Syrian military, ideologically allied with civilian groups or parties, competed for dominance. In 1958, these civil-military alliances even led to the political union of Syria with Egypt, in large part as a result of—and to counter—the rise of the left and the promotion of a communist sympathizer to the Syria chief of staff position (Faksh, 1985). The stakes in Syria were higher than the largely professional concerns that Farcau noted in Latin America, because the Syrian civil-military factions sought to control or reshape the social and political order. For instance, the Ba'th mobilized the rural poor and represented their interests in the political system. These high stakes and the opportunity (Taylor, 2003)—presented by weakly institutionalized procedures for governance and resolution of political conflict—led frequently to military intervention.

Even so, the willingness of various factions within the military to use force did not directly and unambiguously destroy parliamentary democracy. To clarify, military coups in 1954 and 1961 overthrew a military dictatorship and the increasingly unpopular and Egyptian-dominated Union of Arab Republics, respectively (cf. Petran, 1972; Drysdale, 1982). In both cases, the coup-makers turned over power to civilian governments through parliamentary elections. The military did not oppose democracy, at least in the form of competitive elections and parliamentary legislation. But the various civil-military factions—or at least, their military wings—were unwilling to accept unfavorable outcomes. As a result, Syria's experiment with parliamentary democracy was increasingly marginalized, leaving instead a pattern of praetorianism that did not end until the Ba'thist coup of 1963.

The Syrian case indicates that the model of civil-military ideological alliances when overlaid with guardianship pretensions by the military is politically unstable and destabilizing. The particular ideology or outlook of the various military factions was probably not relevant to whether they viewed elected civilian government as legitimate. For instance, the 1954 anti-dictatorial coup was led by leftist officers and the 1961 secessionist coup was led by right-wing officers (Petran, 104-105 and 150).

Thus, it may be said that the military guardians were prone to intervene but generally recognized the legitimacy of civilian rule. They were in this sense acting as arbiters, rather than with a desire for permanent rule. But in Syria's factionalized environment, once the precedent of violence was established—which 3 coups in 1949 had achieved—parliamentary democracy became increasingly disconnected from reality and ultimately discredited. This was not solely due to the military (cf. Hinnebusch, 1990,

79-80), but the various military factions were the action-arms of allied civil-military elites.

Pre-Asad Ba'th era: weak corporateness and factionalized party-army

After the March 1963 Ba'th "revolution"—another military coup—civil-military relations were still characterized for a time by the civil-military ideological alliances described by Farcau. Allies of the Ba'th who participated in the coup controlled the defense ministry, for instance, and it was not until July 1963 that the Ba'th was able to consolidate power (Rabinovich, 1972). The predominant corporate variant from this point and throughout Asad's rule was the party-army.

Even so, the Ba'thist military throughout the 1960s was riven with civil-military factions that reflected cross-cutting ties. There were ideological splits between the Ba'th's National (pan-Arab) and Regional (Syria-first) Commands, but increasingly the factional strife led to a search for primordial sources of allegiance. Thus, sectarian and kinship ties became increasingly important within the military, but these did not reflect the demographic structure of society. Syria is a predominantly Sunni country, but the Ba'th, and particularly its military, was dominated mainly by minorities, such as Alawi and Druze, and by rural Sunnis.

While the overarching corporate variant at this time was the party-army, Syria's military was not unified under the Hafiz Amin-led Ba'th. Thus, civil-military ideological alliances continued to be a factor, though their impact diminished after 1966, when Salah Jadid's wing of the party seized power. Subsequently and particularly after 1968, Defense Minister Asad increasingly brought the army under his control. The party-army variant

was then characterized increasingly by a struggle that mainly pitted radically doctrinaire party leaders against more pragmatic military leaders in Asad and Tlas.

Notably, there were no parliamentary elections during the Ba'thist 1960s. In fact, the first parliamentary elections after 1961 were those held in 1973, after Asad's 1970 military takeover. The Ba'th, like other left-leaning political parties in the region and with a radical peasant base, viewed the landowning parliamentarians of the era as "feudalists" (cf. Hinnebusch, 1990, 71-80). Parliamentary democracy was tainted and electoral turnout in Syria declined steadily from 65 percent in the late 1940s to under 30 percent for the 1961 election.

While the Ba'th supported democracy in a formal sense, in practice its paltry success in electoral politics—and the growing strength of its military wing—seemed to push it toward a self-perception as a necessary vanguard for implementing the national will (Hinnebusch, 1990, 89-93). And given its own internal divisions throughout the 1960s, it weakness at elections was both unsurprising and a practical factor impelling the infighting Ba'th and the factionalized party-army to ignore democratic electoral procedures.

The Asad-era 1970s: creating partial corporateness and a party-army

Asad launched several institution-building initiatives as he gathered the power to do so. As recounted in the discussion of military corporateness in chapter 5, he began building the corporateness of the military soon after becoming defense minister in 1968. In doing this, he had several aims in mind. First, a more cohesive military instrument under his control would be more trustworthy and less coup-prone. Also, de-politicized—

at least from the civil-military factions of previous decades—and increasingly professionalized, it would be a key instrument of the state and more useful and effective in the Syrian-Israeli conflict that dominated the external threat agenda. And as an ideologically-grounded party-army, it would be a loyal tool for internal contingencies. These included easily foreseen potentialities, such as post-coup regime consolidation of the early 1970s, as well as probably unforeseen developments, such as the rise of Islamist extremists in the late 1970s.

Asad's main focus immediately after his 1970 coup was constructing a strong presidential system from which to rule. Although one of his first moves was to appoint a parliament in 1971 and then to have it develop a constitution and hold national elections in 1973, Syria's parliament served mainly to endorse and legitimize the initiatives of the president. In the Syrian system, the president held all the meaningful reins of executive power, unlike the more balanced presidential-parliamentary systems of Turkey and Pakistan. Thus, civilian control over the military was undivided and indivisible.

The fact that President Asad carved out a strong executive position within a domestically-strong state structure, but retained a party-army model, is revealing. It indicates the importance of Ba'thism and the Ba'th party to the president, to the state, and as the formula—particularly in the 1970s—for building an armed force that was loyal but also competent. General loyalty could be ensured by requiring adherence to Ba'thist tenets without restricting leadership positions to officers who came from the Alawi manpower pool—which is roughly 11 percent of the total population (Landis, 2004). Under Asad in the 1970s, the portion of Sunnis—the sectarian majority—holding both junior and senior officer positions was higher than previously (Maoz, 1988)

Asad's institution-building, and particularly his consolidation of power over the state and its party and party-army instruments, included the restoration of a guided or controlled electoral system. Elections at least initially seemed to be aimed at broadening the base and deepening the legitimization of the new regime. In Syria in the 1970s, the increase of military corporateness, the corporate model that was followed, i.e. the party-army, and the political liberalization that ensued were all driven by Asad and suited the nature of the political regime.

Asad's ability to influence all these aspects of the military, and to shape the outcome of political liberalization, distinguished his era from any other in Syria's post-independence history. This was more true in the 1970s than later, indicating that Asad too was limited in his ability to shape the military under certain conditions.

The Asad-era 1980s: disrupted corporateness and a party-army with multiple identities

In the 1980s, Syria's military corporateness was generally stagnant, though it declined sharply after 1982 and did not recover until after mid-decade. The corporate model of the military mutated, as the armed forces added several personas to their foundation as a party-army. On the political front, liberalization ended and was reversed. Beginning in 1980, Syria fell to "not free," according to Freedom House, and by the end of the decade its ratings were as low as possible in both political rights and civil liberties.

The key development that seemed to spur these disparate outcomes was Asad's decision in 1976 to intervene in Lebanon, resulting in an occupation whose military presence ended only in 2005. Of course, the rise of Islamist extremism—first mobilized in reaction to Damascus' perceived intervention on behalf of Lebanese Christian factions

in their civil war with Palestinians—may have been inevitable, given the centrality of Alawis and of secularist principles in Asad's Ba'thist regime.

The regime's reaction—rather than broadening its base and sharing power more substantially—was to hunker down and rely on aspects of loyalty in which it could trust. The existence since the early and mid-1970s of regime-protection units, commanded by Alawi relatives—Asad's brother Rifaat and his in-law, Adnan Mahklouf—foreshadowed the increasing importance of sectarianism. But only in the 1980s and beyond did an increasing portion of regular army division commanders also come from the Alawi sect (cf. Batatu, 1999, 228). The party-army thus was increasingly guided by sectarian loyalists.

Syria's presence in Lebanon directly affected the army as well. Asad, like Sadat but earlier, had engaged his military in national development, e.g. through the founding of Milihouse in 1975. But by the early 1980s, the military corporation facet of the military had become increasingly entangled in the black market in Lebanon. With the rise of the lucrative drug market, the stakes of black market turf wars and accompanying levels of corruption and infighting increased as well. The detrimental impact of this corruption on mission focus negated gains in military corporateness elsewhere, e.g. in the educational autonomy of the armed forces.

In this respect, the Syrian case highlights the potentially negative effect of the international strategic environment on liberalization, an argument that Hinnebusch (2001a) makes—though his focus is primarily on the influence of the Soviet and regional Arab patrons. While the latter diminished the urgency of economic liberalization in Hinnebusch's view, the argument here sees a different international cause and different

domestic effects. The findings of this chapter are that Syria's intervention and lengthy presence in Lebanon affected the military's corporateness directly, through its black market activities, and affected corporateness and political liberalization indirectly, by sparking domestic opposition that ultimately led to greater reliance on Alawi sectarian military leadership and the regime's rollback of freedom due to its security concerns.

The rise of the domestic Islamist opposition was the most noticeable aspect of the regime's decreasing popularity. The single-digit turnout for the 1977 parliamentary elections was another. As the pages of *Jaysh Al Sha'b* reveal, the military in the late 1970s and beyond increasingly viewed stepped-up security measures, rather than political liberalization, as the answer to popular discontent. The military doubtless followed the regime's lead in this, and it became more sectarian as the regime became less representative.

Conclusions

In looking at the Syrian military's corporate variant over time, the most constant pattern to emerge is the centrality of various forms of civil-military ideological alliances. These alliances resulted in the embedding of a range of political ideologies—of the left and the right—within the military. In the early period after independence, these ideologies were distributed among various factions. As noted, military factions of both the left and the right intervened to overthrow a popularly-perceived oppressive regime, and held elections—in 1954 and 1961, respectively—as an exit strategy.

This praetorian behavior was motivated generally by a guardianship outlook, while particular political ideologies guided the military factions' behavior in specific

instances. But while specific interventions sought to restore a democratic regime, the accumulated effects of praetorianism undermined the prospects for democracy in Syria.

After 1963, when the Ba'th took power and then Asad took control of the Ba'th, the weakly corporate military was honed into a party-army with a Ba'thist ideology. But the party-army was more corporate than its predecessors, but it was not impervious to societal pressures.

This highlights a second pattern, which relates to the reason for the resonance of civil-military ideological alliances. Environmental factors seem to have played a disproportionately large role in shaping the military and civil-military relations. For instance, the discussion of Force Structure in chapter 5 noted the impact of the 1948 war on the military and its manpower. Many Syrian officers described the war's outcome as "the central issue" of their career (Van Dusen, 1971, 139), ultimately imbuing them with a guardianship role and justification to intervene in politics. Moreover, the 8 years between 1948 and 1956 witnessed an annual percentage increase in active-duty manpower of 58 percent (cf. Van Dusen, 1971, 132-140; Petran, 1972, 94-95; Cordesman, 1993, 182; Pollack, 2002, 448-457). This rapid expansion is off the charts in terms of disrupting corporateness, as described in Corporateness Assessment Chart 2.2.

Moreover, as we have seen, Asad's decision to intervene in Lebanon in 1976 had multiple unintended consequences on military corporateness—including both the post-1982 force structure expansion and the blurring of the military mission—and the corporate model the Syrian military came to resemble. The Lebanon intervention quickly caused a backlash in Syrian domestic politics and the resulting unrest led Asad to clamp down on liberalization. Most of these effects began to crystallize in the 1980s.

In the 1970s, by contrast, President Asad showed himself as a civilian executive to be on a par with President Sadat of Egypt in his ability to reshape the military and civil-military relations. There were some important differences between Egypt and Syria, which gave Asad a relative advantage in re-shaping the military into the corporate variant he sought. The Syrian military was more malleable than its Egyptian counterpart, as its procedures were less institutionalized and its identity less established. And President Asad controlled power more centrally and through less institutionally-developed organizations and procedures. Asad created or reshaped dramatically many of the institutions of rule, particularly the strong presidency, and in the military, e.g. the Political Department.

In the longer run, however, he was unable to strengthen the military's institutions adequately to withstand the Syrian environment. In the 1980s and beyond, as Asad relied increasingly on Alawi generals to secure his control over the military, the prospects for democratization became more remote.

Conclusions

The military's political values

In this intensive review of the Syrian military journal *Jaysh Al Sha'b* from 1970 through 1982, several general trends emerge regarding the military's political values. First, it is clear that the most robust and positive discussion of the various aspects of political liberalization occurred in the early to mid-1970s, prior to the peak of

liberalization—from 1977 to 1979—as measured by Freedom House.[119] This is apparent in all five categories of liberalization, though more so in some than in others. The military media's positive outlook peaked about the same time as the March 1973 constitutional referendum and the May 1973 parliamentary elections. *Jaysh*'s coverage of these events was heavy and favorable, particularly compared to its treatment of roughly similar events later in the decade, e.g. the August 1977 parliamentary elections and the February 1978 presidential referendum.

Second, it is clear that the self-described "ideological army" prized Ba'thist socialism as a political, economic, and social system. The military saw itself as a defender of that outlook, which it viewed as the only legitimate way of ordering relations between a people and their government, achieving growth in the economy, modernization of society, and security for workers and peasants and other "toiling classes."

In the Egyptian military's discussion of liberalization-related concepts it was possible to see strongly contrasting notions of democracy, specifically between a holdover Nasserist socialism on one hand and a Sadatist version of democratization—combining the form of Western liberalism with the content of Egyptian realities, such as the state of emergency—on the other. In the Syrian military, however, there was no such debate. But there were a variety of approaches within Ba'thist socialism. An *infitah* socialism, in the early through mid-1970s, touted referenda, elected local councils, and an appointed—and then elected—national parliament as elements of popular democracy. Then, a more self-consciously ideological and "comprehensive" version—e.g. promoted

[119] A good case could be made that Freedom House assessed the peak of Syrian political liberalization later than it actually occurred, and the discussion in *Jaysh Al Sha'b*, as well as the assessments of many scholars, such as Picard (compare 1978 and 1988) and Maoz (1988), would seem to support that contention. But that is not the focus of this dissertation.

by Ahmed Al Haj Ali and Abdul Karim Na'im—of scientific socialism became prominent in the late 1970s. For this group, staying the course of Ba'thist rule was paramount. But overall, the military contributors to *Jaysh* were homogenously socialist in their political views throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Third, and apart from the evolution within Ba'thist thought, the military's discussion of liberalization issues evolved over time. Such categories as elections, multi-partyism, freedom of expression and of association, and rule of law took on different meanings and changed over time. But almost exclusively, these categories were discussed in terms steeped in the values of Ba'thist socialism.

A review of each of the five liberalization categories will illuminate all three points above. The military supported the concept of elections, but clearly followed the regime's position about their nature. For instance, the president's appointment of the first *Majlis* in 1971 was described as emblematic of "popular democracy," as were later national elections to the parliament in May 1973. Soldiers seemed genuinely enthusiastic about the opportunity to vote in the first presidential referendum, in March 1971, as well. But by the latter half of the 1970s, the excitement over voting seemed to abate and coverage of parliamentary elections in August 1977 was noticeably reduced from that of the earlier *Majlis* voting. This trend seemed to hold; *Jaysh* was not available for November 1981, but there was no coverage of that month's parliamentary elections in either October or December 1981.

With respect to the political party system, coverage in *Jaysh* reflected a strong and persistent favoritism toward the ruling Ba'th party, as well as the relatively weak standing of the Progressive National Front. The PNF was given a headline in the military journal

several times during each period evaluated, but its status was not comparable to that of the Ba'th, which received annual tributes every March on the occasion of the 1963 "revolution" and on the anniversary of April 7, 1947, the date of the first party conference, which is treated as the founding date. There was no discussion of a multi-party political system that might incorporate real opposition parties. Syria's was a one-party system with PNF an adjunct or dependent ally of the Ba'th.

The military's view of freedoms of association and expression were areas in which it often overtly contrasted Ba'thist socialism with Western liberal democracies, often presented simply as "capitalism." The contrasts were made almost exclusively in terms that caricatured the supposed capitalist notions of freedom from a standpoint that reinforced the military's Ba'thist beliefs, e.g. in socialism's quest for material economic security for individuals through a guaranteed job and livable wage. These were contrasted with "exploitation," "libertinism," and the freedom to "hunger" under colonialist and capitalist systems.

When *Jaysh* treated the issue of free speech directly and substantively, it was generally through use of the terms "criticism" and "self-criticism" to frame the discussion. As such, free speech—criticism—was not acceptable, but self-criticism was viewed as a necessary means of keeping "the revolution" on its proper course. The prime example was the view of Asad's correctivist movement as a constructive critique of the Ba'thist revolution. Legitimate criticism—self-criticism—was thus any form of constructive input to the regime by its members. Ba'thists in the military and civil sectors could criticize the course of the revolution; others could not.

The military did not generally address the notion of association directly as a freedom or a right, but the implication of *Jaysh*'s discussion of the "masses" and various "mass organizations," for youth, peasants, labor, etc., was that these auxiliaries of the B'ath were legitimate. These associations were controlled by the regime (Perthes, 1995, 261) and provided little of substance to civil society. Probably the single most indicative event reported in *Jaysh* was the regime's decision to apply capital punishment to affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood in July 1980. *Jaysh*'s negative coverage of internal "reactionism" began during the late 1970s, and reflected a military view of freedom of association that was defined largely by the illegitimacy of groups and modes of thought that were not regime supporters. There was little space for civil society; associations either were with the regime or against.

The concept of rule of law as depicted in *Jaysh* changed dramatically from the early to the late 1970s. Early on, *Jaysh* devoted many pages to highlighting new laws, especially after the 1973 constitutional referendum. There was much discussion about the constitution itself, especially its socialist nature, as well as of laws that underpinned the *infitah* and laws that pertained to military service. The late 1970s by contrast were characterized by discussion of security concerns. The various legal columns written by political guides and military lawyers focused on various punishable offenses. At the peak of these were violations of state security, which could be punishable by death.

The military's corporate variants

Several modes of civil-military relations are potentially applicable to Syria based on evaluation of its military's political values. For instance, given the shared Ba'thist

perspective both of military officers and civilian leaders, as well as their alliances both in and out of government, Farcau's (1996) notion of an ideologically-grounded alliance between civilians and military leaders appears relevant. But Farcau's cases—Brazil and Bolivia—are different in several distinct ways. For one, the two Latin American militaries seemed more corporate, even if internally factionalized, and their ties with civilians correspondingly resemble the alliance of two autonomous entities. Also, Farcau depicts the Brazilian and Bolivian militaries' interest in politics as deriving to a large extent from its concern over mundane issues such as pay and promotion lists.

In Syria, the overtly ideological nature of the armed forces, the single-party system, the high respect *Jaysh* paid to Ba'thism and the Ba'th party, as well as the membership of most military officers in the Ba'th party and the presence of the highest-ranking officers on the Ba'th's highest-level coordinating body—the Regional Command—all point to a different pattern of civil-military relations. The relationships in Syria in the 1970s and 1980s more closely resembled a variation of civil-military relations in communist systems, as advanced by Perlmutter and LeoGrande (1982).

Of the three types of party-army relationships—coalitional, symbiotic, and fused—described by Perlmutter and LeoGrande (1982), Syria seems to fall between symbiotic and coalitional. Its military and the Ba'th party are distinct institutions, with different functions—thus, not fused, as in the case of Cuba in the early post-revolutionary years. But neither do Syrian civil-military relations approach the corporate military and coalitional party-army relationship exemplified by the Soviet model of the 1970s.

In the coalitional pattern, while the party is sovereign, the military retains autonomy due mainly to "the complexity of military technology" and the consequent

irreplaceable value of the military's "specialized knowledge" (Perlmutter and LeoGrande, 1982, 782-784). In a symbiotic relationship, the party and army share a high dependence, with interaction at all levels—not just among elites. This is similar to the Syrian case, in which officers at all levels belong to the Ba'th party, yet a distinction is maintained between party and army because the latter provides the indoctrination within its own system of education, e.g. in the military academies, military-party branches in each combat division (Devlin, 1983, 59), and through the Political Department's oversight.

Syria maintains a moderate level of differentiation between military and civilian elites, e.g. with respect to circulation between military and non-military positions. Some senior officers—e.g. MG (Ret) Khleifawi, who served twice as prime minister in the 1970s, and MG Nasser Mohamed Nasser, who became interior minister in 1980—moved to posts outside the armed forces, there was little evidence of movement in the other direction. Aside from the ambiguous military background of some Asad family members, particularly Rifat and Bashar, the only civilian observed to hold a military post was Mutib Shinan, minister of defense for less than a year. The military officers elected to the Ba'th Regional Command—a total of 18 over a 35-year period (Batatu, 1999, 332-353)—held military command and staff positions that were functionally-distinct from those of their civilian counterparts.

In addition to the party-army model, two additional patterns are relevant to better understanding Syrian civil-military relations and the military's political values. One is Mora's (2004) concept of the "military corporation." Mora argues that the military may take on non-military roles in the economy if the payoffs are substantial or a historical example of such behavior is admired by officers. *Jaysh* and the Syrian military celebrated

such roles under the slogan “the army for war and construction” (*al jaysh lil harb wal i’mar*), which appeared in article titles and callouts as early as July 1974 (No. 1147) and appeared at least once annually afterward through 1982 (cf. 1178-79, 1297, 1353-54, 1356, 1396, 1408, 1441, 1474).

The military corporation concept was present in the Syrian military prior to the October 1973 war. For instance, an article in March of that year highlights the military’s mission in “building and construction” (No. 1078, 20-27). *Jaysh* linked the military corporation idea to the “correctivist years” in an article devoted to “the battle of building” (1408, 26). Articles about the creation of the armed forces’ Production Department (1353-54, 32-34) and the Military Housing Foundation (1275, 14-15) put the founding years for those institutions in 1973 and 1975, respectively.

Certainly the reporting in *Jaysh* indicates that, whenever the concept originated, it was most intensively touted after the 1973 war and particularly in the late 1970s (cf. 1325, 1330, 1377, 1405, 1407, 1418), perhaps partly as a consequence of an economic downturn in the late 1970s, which worsened in the 1980s (Maoz, 1988, 82; Perthes, 1995, 15). The notion of a military corporation does tell us something about the Syrian military, but the black market activities of the military were also significant. *Jaysh* does not publicize the lucrative business dealings the military generated as a result of being stationed in Lebanon after 1976, nor of the smuggling and corruption that accompanied it (Altunisik, 2002, 87; Gambill, 2005).

Another relevant perspective is Nordlinger’s (1977) view of the military as inevitably a vessel of societal pathologies, regardless of its corporateness. In this view one would expect tensions to arise either over the generally secular character of Ba’thism

or the largely minority and predominantly ‘Alawi control of key military units and the regime more generally. There was some indication in *Jaysh* that religion was viewed as backward, particularly the references to “reactionism” in Syria after 1976, when Islamist opposition to the regime arose. And *Jaysh* recorded the regime’s and the military’s attempt to co-opt moderate Muslims, e.g. with articles about the military celebrating *‘Eid Al Adha* (cf. No. 1021, 1188, and 1471)—the “feast of the sacrifice,” a reference to Islam’s Abrahamic origins—and of Asad or Defense Minister leading prayers (cf. No. 1062, 1071-72, 1303).

This highlights a puzzle regarding *Jaysh*, which is its lack of discussion of the ‘Alawi-Sunni split, i.e. between the minority controlling the regime and the civilian majority. Scholars have disagreed over the importance of sectarianism in Syria and the causal relationship between it and politicization in the army. Drysdale (1979) argues convincingly that ethnicity or sectarianism is situation-dependent and that sectarianism was introduced into the military in the 1960s and 1970s mostly as a result of the army’s increasing interventionism in Syrian politics in the 1950s and 1960s. Pipes (1989), on the other hand, views confessionalism as of primordial importance “through the centuries” and sees the Alawi takeover of the army and the party almost an inevitable result of the opportunity presented by intra-factional struggles and weakness in the dominant Sunni community.

The pages of *Jaysh* do not hold a single story that highlights the ‘Alawi hold on power, either in the armed forces or in the regime. But before we call into question reliance on the military journal as a repository of explanatory data regarding the military’s views, it must be noted that *Jaysh* did not discuss any sectarian identities,

either as an issue of national demographic trends or challenges, or to profile its contributors or military personnel more generally.

The failure to acknowledge sectarianism is probably best understood as reflecting that, while sectarianism was a fact of Syrian power politics, it was not a value espoused by the military or the regime. Asad, in fact, sought to build “cross-sectarian” ties (Hinnebusch, 2001, 70-71), especially by promoting Sunnis into prominent positions, e.g. Air Force Commander Naji Jamil in 1970, Defense Minister Mustafa Tlas, since 1972, and Chief of Staff Hikmat Shihabi—who replaced a Christian, Yusef Shakur—in 1974. On the other hand, after the 1973 war, most division commanders in the 1970s and 1980s, e.g. Ibrahim Safi and Shafiq Fayad of the 1st and 3rd Armored, respectively, and Ali Habib and Adnan Badr Hassan of the 7th and 9th Infantry, respectively, were Alawi. But *Jaysh* did not identify commanders at division level by name, presumably for reasons of operational security.

Given the aversion to mentioning sectarianism, the ideological claims made in the military journal can be seen in a new light. In this view, Ba’thist nationalism and socialism provided a unifying ideology to the military and to officers from different class, regional, and sectarian backgrounds.[120] It helped to hold together the key regime institutions—the military and the party—while preparing for and launching a major war against an external foe in 1973, withstanding an internal challenge from Islamists from 1976 to 1982, and anchoring the Asad regime since 1970.

[120] In fact, this notion is alive in the adaptation or growth of secular ideologies of various stripes in the Arab world, and helps explain the adherence of minority groups, including Christians, Druze and Alawis in the Levant to Arab nationalism and variants of leftist ideologies, such as communism and socialism. But these ideologies attracted Sunnis too, or they would not have taken root as they did in Egypt or Algeria.

Finally, with respect to the interaction of the military corporateness and political values variables, Syria's military is clearly pre-disposed to the adoption of ideologies and the formation of civil-military ideological allegiances. Military factions intervened to restore democratic governance on two occasions in the first 15 years after independence.

In the period of Ba'th rule, the centrality of ideology mainly resembled the party-army variant, though it has taken different manifestations over time. The reason for this appears to be the generally weak corporateness of the military and the resulting high impact that environmental factors—as opposed to civil-military leadership—seem to have. The Ba'th military hued to the line of the regime—though it is important to remember there was interaction between regime and military, i.e. the military had input to the regime's policies and outlook. This is nowhere more evident than in the fact that 21 percent of the Ba'th Regional Command appointed between 1963 and 1985 were military officers (cf. Batatu, 1999, 332-353).

The rapid expansion of the Syrian force after the 1948 war and the loss in that war by a party-army that—according to the tone of many articles in Jaysh Al Sha'b—seems to hold itself uniquely responsible for Palestine, explain much of the vulnerable corporateness of the Syrian military. Most likely Syria's subsequent praetorianism, an environment in which military factions of different ideological and sectarian hues intervened frequently, prevented the institutionalization of a corporate military that could withstand shifts in societal fissures and pressures. And this praetorianism undermined the prospects for democratization, notwithstanding military interventions to restore parliamentary democratic regimes.

But in the 1970s, President Asad showed himself as a civilian executive to be on a par with President Sadat of Egypt in his ability to reshape the military and civil-military relations. Syria’s more corporate party-army in that decade was part of the formula for a regime-controlled political liberalization, which may arguably have been sustained if not for the domestic backlash against Asad’s decision to intervene in Lebanon in 1976.

In re-shaping the military, Asad had the advantage of working with a more malleable institution in Syria—though this proved to be a two-edged sword, as the military also remained penetrable by societal forces. In the 1980s and beyond, the military increasingly became mired in black market activities and guided by Alawi generals representing a minority regime that recognizes representative democracy will mean the end of their predominance.

Chapter 7: Turkey's Military Corporateness and Political Values

Introduction and Overview

This chapter and the next one extend the methodology used to examine Arab militaries and their potential to support political liberalization beyond the Arab world to two Muslim world cases. In this chapter, Turkey is chosen for examination of the research question: can a Muslim-world military support political liberalization and, if so, under what conditions?

One main finding of the Turkish case is a further correlation between military corporateness and political liberalization, though with a depth that is less than the other cases. Additionally, it appears the military's political values are firmly pro-liberalization—pro-democratic—with respect to political rights, e.g. elections and a multi-party system. Its view of civil liberties is more difficult to judge, but the military has accepted legislation that improved minority rights.

The interaction of the corporateness and political values variables in Turkey produced a mostly corporate military with a Kemalist-informed guardianship responsibility. Its corporateness has increased to a level at which the military is able to act coherently when it takes political action, which also results in more carefully calculated and subtle political behavior. This and its political preference—shared by the pro-Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP)—to adhere to European Union harmonization laws have advanced democratization.

The extension of cases to non-Arab Muslim-world countries represents a test of whether an incremental expansion of the approach—evaluating military corporateness and political values for evidence of support for liberalization—will hold up beyond the

Arab world. The two non-Arab cases, like the two detailed cases in this study, are republics. All four cases are developing-world countries and share some primary attributes of both culture and politics. All are majority-Muslim countries with a republican political system, but as noted in Chapter 2, there is diversity as well, e.g. in their histories and language.

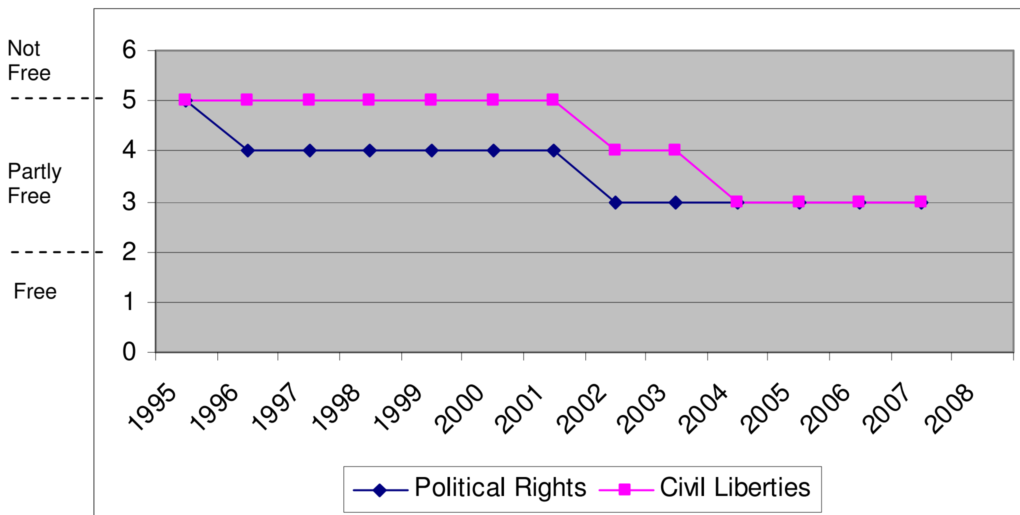
In addition, the non-Arab cases offer some variation on the independent variables and on the degree of liberalization measured by Freedom House. The Turkish case in particular is one of a mostly corporate military with a relatively high score in liberalization.

In extending the approach to these additional cases, the main difference from the previous treatment of Egypt and Syria is methodological. The same methodology is used for measuring corporateness in all 4 cases, but the military's political values are examined much more summarily in the extended cases. Whereas in the Arab cases, the study of this variable was based on thorough and detailed analysis of a flagship journal of the armed forces, the political values of the Turkish military are gleaned primarily through a reading of secondary source literature and evaluation of the military's political behavior.

This latter methodological pillar—the military's political activities—highlights one important difference between the two Arab cases and the two non-Arab Muslim cases: the Egyptian and Syrian militaries are politically obedient to the extent that it is difficult to find instances in which the military took an independent political action, particularly one counter to civilian leadership wishes. The history of the Turkish military, on the other hand, is replete with such examples of political activism.

This chapter begins with a study of Turkey's military corporateness, divided into 5 measurable, or quantifiable, categories. The Turkish case presents a correlation between military corporateness and political liberalization, but its depth is less than the other confirming cases. Overall, corporateness improved from 3.2 to 3.5, or 9 percent, between 1995 and 2005. By 2008, corporateness improved further, to 3.55, for a total improvement of just less than 11 percent since 1995. Turkey has the most corporate military among our cases.

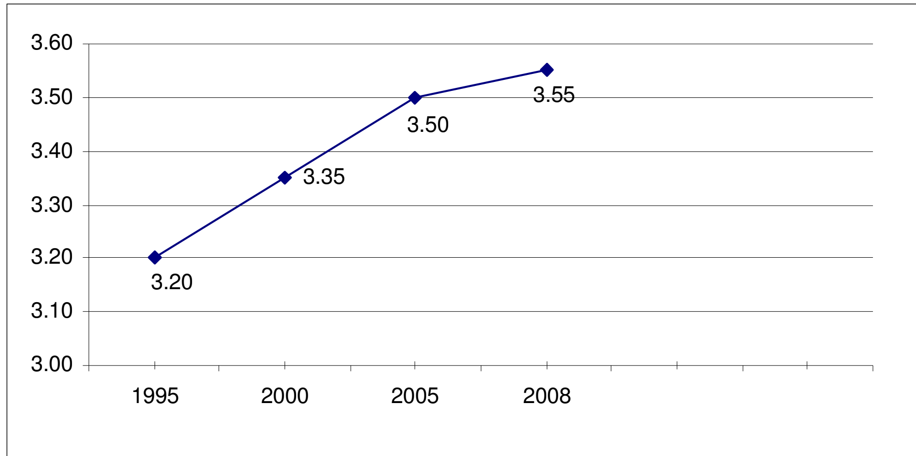
Figure 7.1 Freedom House on Turkey: Political Liberalization, 1995-2007[121]



The improvements in military corporateness appeared prior to political liberalization, as anticipated in hypothesis H1. For instance, the increased liberalization in Turkey that began in 2002, and deepened in 2004, was preceded by a gradual improvement in military corporateness since 1995, as illustrated in Figure 7.2. In addition to having the most corporate military among our cases, Turkey also has the highest scores in political liberalization.

Figure 7.2 Turkey: Average Military Corporateness Score, 1995-2008

[121] This is Freedom House data. Data is not yet available for 2008.



Turkish military corporateness is strongest in categories that are largely a factor of institutionalization. These are Personnel System and Educational Autonomy. It is weakest in two areas that often reflect overall civil-military relations, specifically Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership.

The low score in Mission Exclusivity is primarily because the Turkish military takes seriously and acts politically on its perceived guardianship role, in which it enforces Ataturkist principles, especially secularism within the republic. The military's score has improved in this area, leading to an increase in corporateness in the last decade. The improvement is measurably apparent not necessarily because the military has relinquished its guardianship role, but because it has become more sophisticated in executing it. Increasingly, the military relies on sympathetic sectors of the state bureaucracy and civil society to enforce secularism, as it did in leaving to the Constitutional Court a decision in July 2008 on whether to ban the pro-Islamist Justice and Development Party (its Turkish acronym is AKP) violated the constitution. The Court's decision, to fine but not ban the AKP, was widely viewed as a compromise acceptable to all concerned parties (NYT, July 31, 2008).

Turkish Defense Leadership is the other main area of weakness in military corporateness. But it has improved in this category too, though the change in Defense Leadership is smaller. The improvement essentially is a rebalancing of power toward civilian leadership within the National Security Council—long an institutional entryway for the military into government policymaking. The other main cause of weakness in Defense Leadership is the bifurcated civil-military chain-of-command—at the civilian level—which effectively obscures and dilutes civilian control.

In the area of political values, the military exhibits signs of a more favorable view of liberalization in several areas, including elections and freedom of speech. This assessment is based more recently and significantly on the military's acceptance in 2007 of the Turkish parliament's election of Abdullah Gul, a pro-Islamist candidate of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), to become president. The military had made its opposition to Gul's candidacy known publicly through a website posting, but after the AKP called new national elections, which strengthened the party's position, the military acquiesced. The military's connection to freedom of speech is tenuous, but the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) attested to improvements in press freedom in the early 2000s. Additionally, the NSC ended its monitoring presence on various supervisory boards.

The rule of law category is illuminating in both Turkey and Pakistan for similar reasons. It is apparent that the constitution in each country is a central feature—strategic terrain—in a civil-military relationship that remains adversarial. Turkey's constitution was written in 1982 by the military. The civilians, e.g. various political parties that have governed the country, have proceeded with liberalization by passing laws within the

existing constitutional framework. The military-backed constitution's centrality to ongoing liberalization is an important contextual aspect of the military's stance, which is generally accepting. When the military has disagreed with policy, it has relied on the legal and electoral processes to make its case.

An ultra-nationalist coup plot by a group called Ergenekon is a troubling sign of the deep divide between secularists and Islamists in Turkey (TZ, January 26, 2008; NYT, July 15, 2008). After an investigation that began in 2007, more than 80 ultranationalists, including intellectuals, lawyers, businessmen, and former security officials—including two retired military generals—were charged in July 2008 with plotting against the AKP-led government. The highest-ranking former officer linked to the plot was MG (Ret) Vali Kucuk, commander of the gendarmerie, which is an arm of the Interior Ministry attached to the military's General Staff. There is no indication that active-duty military officers are members of Ergenekon; the plotters did not aim to direct a military takeover, but hoped to precipitate one by instigating social mayhem through acts of terror. Some Turkey analysts view the plot—and the military's absence from it—as further evidence that Turkey has reached a post-coup phase in its history (cf. Ozel, 2008; Hakura, 2008).

Turkish Military Corporateness

This section evaluates Turkish military corporateness, using the five categories applied to the detailed cases. The methodology here is about as detailed as in the earlier cases. The main difference is in the time frame, since this chapter measures military corporateness from 1995 to 2008. Turkey's military corporateness is the highest among the four cases. Overall, corporateness improved by almost 11 percent, most noticeably in the key areas of Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership.

Personnel System

The Turkish military has an outstanding reputation for professionalism and its personnel system is widely judged to be meritocratic in both recruitment practices and criteria for promotion (Jenkins, 2001, 22-29). Physical and academic standards are high and fewer than 15 percent of applications are accepted (Tartter, 1996, 331). According to the investigation of a highly-reputed Turkish journalist, the military is "the only Turkish institution which has consistently maintained an uncorrupted appointments [assignments] system" (Birand, 1991, 137).

There are few instances of favoritism or discrimination, but the military does vet its officer candidates for political activism (Jenkins, 2001, 22-29). Until the 1990s, the military's main concerns were with leftist ideologies and Kurdish separatism; since then, outward signs of Muslim piety or activism have reportedly become red lines against entry to the military academies.

The demographics of the officer corps reveal that, while the officer class is highly regarded, it does not represent all segments of society (Brown, 1987). Most officers come from lower-middle and middle class families, and some 40 percent are the sons of military or gendarmerie officers, or of civil servants; most new officers are first-generation military men (Jenkins, 2001, 23). Future officers matriculate at the military academies from throughout Turkey, except the predominantly Kurdish southeast. Careful vetting of Kurdish candidates as well as potentially devout Muslims yields recruiting classes that are predominantly secular and nationalist in outlook. Limited numbers of women have been admitted to the service academies since 1992.

Junior officers rotate in their assignments every two to three years, generally alternating between more and less developed areas of the country, so there is little opportunity for cliques to form within units. Personal connections have little impact on service assignments (Tartter, 1996, 333; Jenkins, 2001, 24-25). There are maximum age limits at each rank and minimum periods of service prior to gaining eligibility for promotion, so officers develop an "up or out" career mentality. Additionally, officers become eligible for their service's staff academy after roughly 6 years of service, and completing the staff course—entry to which is also highly competitive—is a virtual prerequisite for general officer rank.

The Supreme Military Council, comprised of the prime minister, defense minister, and all 15 four-star generals and admirals (Jenkins, 2001, 25-26), is responsible for general officer promotions. Its procedures reflect the extent of the military's autonomy and the meritocratic promotion format. While the prime minister chairs the SMC, the officer promotions are made based on a review of the officers' files and the recommendations of his former commander(s) on the SMC.

Colonels have a window for eligibility for promotion, which opens after 7 years in rank and closes after 5 years of eligibility. Only 25 to 50 new flag-rank officers are promoted yearly (Tartter, 1996, 333; Jenkins, 2001, 25-27). The numbers at flag rank remain stable, varying between 280 and 300 general officers, a figure set by law (Birand, 1991, 173).

In sum, the Turkish personnel system has well-institutionalized standards for recruitment and advancement that reflect a predominantly open system of intake and meritocratic procedures for advancement. It is mostly corporate, falling short of very

corporate because of security concerns about officers and officer candidates who are overtly religious. There is no sign of any significant change in these procedures since the early 1990s.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.1: Personnel System

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1995	MC: 3.75
2000	MC: 3.75
2005	MC: 3.75
2008	MC: 3.75

Mission Exclusivity

Like its Western counterparts in NATO, the Turkish military's constitutional mission is to defend the country against internal and external threats. In practice, however, the Turkish military is actively engaged in combat against a perceived internal threat—the Kurdish insurgency—that reflects a different operating environment from Western militaries. The Turkish military is not able to focus exclusively on defending against an external threat.

The military's founding role in the establishment of the Turkish republic—and a long history defending the Ottoman Empire and society—gives the armed forces a keen sense of guardianship (Altinay, 2004; Akkoyunlu, 2007). In this role, the military has taken on responsibility for defending the principles of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the republican founder. These principles—Ataturkism or Kemalism—entail secularism, nationalism, republicanism, populism, statism, and reformism. They are the official ideology of the state (Narli, 2000, 108) and the most succinct description of the military ethos.

The guardianship role the military assumes to defend Kemalism is the main challenge to mission exclusivity. It is the framework justification for military intervention in politics, but also draws the military into society on a mundane, daily basis. For instance, the military teaches a mandatory high school course, called National Security Knowledge, which focuses on Kemalism, perceived threats to Turkey, and the republic's national security strategy (Altinay, 2004, 119-140). The salient fact about this course is that, under the supervision of a military officer, it is the only approved high school forum for discussion of current political affairs (Akkoyunlu, 2007, 27).

The other chief potential diversions to mission exclusivity in Turkey's case are minimal. There is another legitimate armed force within the state, the gendarmerie (Jenkins, 2001, 22-24). The latter's high stature is reflected in its presence on the National Security Council, along with each of the 3 services (Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 445). The command structure leaves room for ambiguity, since the gendarmerie falls under the Interior Ministry in peacetime, but the National Defense Ministry during war. However, even in peacetime, the gendarmerie is attached to the Turkish General Staff for its training requirements and to conduct special duties, e.g. in counterinsurgency operations in the southeast.

The armed forces also operate business enterprises that have the potential to impact negatively on mission exclusivity. The 1961 law of the Army Mutual Aid Association created OYAK (*Ordu Yardimlasma Kurumu*). Regular officers are required to invest 10 percent of their salaries, to be reimbursed on retirement (Ahmed, 1977, 280-281). OYAK grew rapidly into one of Turkey's largest business conglomerates, and has been termed "the third sector" (Michaud-Emin, 2007, 34). OYAK's board of directors,

headed by a retired lieutenant general, is selected by a general assembly consisting of military representatives from each branch of the service. (Gumbel, 2008, 66-70). Its chief executive officer and fund managers are civilians, however, and the fund is institutionally distinct from the armed forces, which does not have its own direct business interests (Jenkins, 2001, 6).

Some analysts view OYAK—and the smaller, but similar conglomerates operated by the other military services—as further evidence of the military's involvement in politics (Karabelias, 2000, 140), but it seems more accurate to view this particular business venture as analogous to the system of retirement funds and post exchanges administered by Western militaries for the benefit of military personnel. As such, in Turkey, the military might intervene to protect its business investments, but it is not engaged in the economy in the manner of the militaries of Pakistan, China, or many Latin American countries (Jenkins, 2001, 6 and 89 fn10), or Egypt or Syria.

The military's mission exclusivity is impaired and its corporateness politicized by its adoption of the guardianship role, in addition to internal and external defense missions. There is evidence of a change in its behavior in this role however; for instance, its intervention in 1997 is widely described as "post-modernist" (Jenkins, 2001; Akkoyunlu, 2007; Gorvett, 2007). In that intervention, the military cultivated and mobilized public opinion and private enterprise support to compel the resignation of the pro-Islamist Erdogan government. It did not seize power itself, nor dictate the formation of the new government.

The military's actions in 2007, when it sought to compel a change in behavior by a second pro-Islamist Erdogan government reflect even greater evolution away from the

old guardianship role. In this instance, the military played its hand, posting its opposition to the candidacy for president of Abdullah Gul, the pro-Islamist AKP choice, on its website. The military then accepted political defeat—the parliament's election of Gul. Subsequently, its political disagreement with the AKP has played out in the courts, as "lawfare" (Kalaycioglu, 2008). Thus, the military's corporateness in this area can be said to have improved measurably over the last decade or so, even after accounting for its continued guardianship activity.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.2: Mission Exclusivity

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1995	PC: 2.5
2000	WC: 2.25
2005	PC: 2.5
2008	PC: 2.75

Educational Autonomy

Each service—army, navy, and air force—operates its own academy to train and incorporate new military officers. These academies are the sole means for obtaining a regular commission in the military (Tartter, 1996, 330-332; Jenkins, 2001, 24). Entry is highly competitive, as only about 1 in 7 candidates are accepted. The military schools are prestigious[122], and the educational facilities and instruction are considered better than at civilian universities. Cadets typically matriculate at the age of 19, and undergo a four-year course of education. Twenty percent of the academic curriculum is reportedly concentrated on studying the principles of Kemalism and Ataturk's reform policies

[122] When General Buyukanit, the chief of staff, addressed the new class of the Military Academy in October 2006, his speech was carried live by 11 television channels (Jenkins, 2007, 353). Public interest was heightened because Buyukanit had replaced a relatively moderate and reputedly pious predecessor, General Ozkok, and Turks wanted to know what the new C/S might say about the pro-Islamist Erdogan government.

implemented in the modern republic. The teaching of Ataturkism has become a more important part of the curriculum since the 1980s (Birand, 1991, 91).

The 3 military services each run a staff academy co-located in an Istanbul suburb (Tartter, 1996, 332-333; Jenkins, 2001, 24-25). Officers typically attend at the rank of captain. Completing the staff course is a major milestone in the career of most officers; 75 percent of all general officers—and all of the highest-ranking service commanders—are staff officers. Enrollment is limited to 120 to 130 officers per year for the two-year staff course.

Unlike other countries in this study, the Turkish military operates military academies at two—not just one—additional echelons above that of the staff academies. The Armed Forces Academy is the next educational milestone for most high-achieving officers (Tartter, 1996, 332-333). It accepts two classes per year of roughly 35-40 students. The incoming officers are majors and lieutenant colonels, and must be staff academy graduates. The curriculum has operational and strategic-level themes, as well as current study of global conflict.

The National Security Academy is the capstone for domestically-available, military-political instruction. This academy presents a 5-month class to a mix of 30 officers and civilians, usually in a roughly 1:2 ratio (Tartter, 1996, 333). Military students at the NSA tend to be colonels or brigadier generals, while the civilians are high-ranking civil servants, including ambassadors and provincial governors. The overt aim of the curriculum is to provide training in the military and political aspects of modern warfare (Heper and Guney, 1996, 628), but civil-military interaction at this level is likely beneficial to both parties in the context of Turkish socio-political affairs.

The Turkish armed forces publish a number of military journals at the armed forces-wide level. These are organized in Table 7.1 by title, along with the year publication began and the name of the publisher.

Table 7.1: Turkish Armed Forces and Academy Journals[123]

Title	Start Year	Publisher
Ordu Dergisi (Armed Forces Journal)	1882 (began as *Military Review*; title changed @ 1947)	Istanbul Military Publishing House; later published by Turkish General Staff
Harp Tarihi Vesikalari Dergisi (Historical War Documents Journal)	1952	Turkish General Staff
Harb akademileri (War colleges)	NLT 1963	
Stratejik etütler bülteni (Strategic Studies Bulletin)	1968	Turkish General Staff Publishing House
Atatu rk haftası armag anı (Gift of Ataturk Week)	NLT 1973	Turkish General Staff Headquarters
Askeri tarih bu lteni (Military History Bulletin)	1976 (began as *(Military History Research Journal*; title changed in 2003)	Turkish General Staff Publishing House
Gu ncel konular (Current Affairs)	1980	Turkish General Staff Military History and Strategic Studies Headquarters
Kara Harp Okulu dergisi. (Turkish Military Academy Journal)	1991	Turkish Military Academy
Stratejik aras tırmalar dergisi (Strategic Research Journal)	2001 (began as *Strategic Research and Study Bulletin*; title changed in 2003)	Turkish General Staff Publishing House

Several characteristics stand out regarding these journals. One is the extent of time over which journals have appeared. For instance, the oldest journal, *Ordu Dergisi* (*Armed Forces Journal*), first appeared in 1882 (as *The Military Journal*), but new journals have been added periodically over time. The most recent journal—*Stratejik araşţırmalar dergisi*—was first published in 2001. This is indicative of institutionalization as well as vitality. A second highlight is that most of the professional journals are published by the General Staff Headquarters, its publishing house, or one of

[123] Several online sources were used to find journal titles: Ulrich's Periodicals Directory; Library of Congress Online Catalogue; WorldCat; the Turkish National Library. Additional information came from Hodges, 1964 and Waley, 1993. Translations were provided mainly by a Turkish-American (dual citizen) friend and colleague.

the professional schools. Thus, the military publications are controlled fairly centrally—more so than in Pakistan—but are not overseen by a Political Department as was the case in Egypt and Syria.

The Turkish military is very corporate in the area of education and indoctrination of its officer corps, due to the quality, scope, and prestige of its military school system. Its professional journals also contribute significantly to military corporateness. Corporateness has remained steady in the area of educational autonomy.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.3: Educational Autonomy

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1995	VC: 4
2000	VC: 4
2005	VC: 4
2008	VC: 4

Force Structure

After some flux in the mid-1990s, personnel strength changed little in the 2000s. The number of personnel in the armed forces was reduced somewhat in 1994 (Tartter, 1996, 335), apparently as the result of a decision to reduce the length of the conscription obligation from 18 to 15 months (IISS, 1991, 73 and IISS, 1994, 66). And subsequently, in the mid- to late-1990s when military manpower increased, the bulk of the surge was also in the conscript population and apparently tied to a temporary restoration of the earlier service obligation of 18 months (IISS, 1996, 71 and IISS, 1998, 67).

Table 7.2: Expansion of the Armed Forces in Manpower[124]

Year	1995	1996	1998	2001	2006
Manpower	507,800	639,000	639,000	515,100	514,850

[124] All manpower totals come from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*, Routledge: London for the years indicated in table.

The military's intent seems to be keep the term of conscription at 15 months, but periodic security crises, or at least surges in army operational activity, e.g. in southeastern Turkey due to the Kurdish insurgency, have resulted in extending the tour of service of some conscription classes (cf. IISS, 1994, 39). Turkey also experienced increased tensions with its neighbors. As a result, it deployed a brigade to Bosnia-Herzegovina after the 1995 Dayton Accords (IISS, 1996, 32-34), and in early 1996, with the the Imia/Kardak crisis, came as close to war with Greece as at any time since 1974 (Robins, 2003, 171).

The personnel increase of 26 percent between 1995 and 1996 equates to weak corporateness. However, in this case, the effects were mitigated because these were conscripts widely distributed across the force and for a brief period of time. Additionally, there was no change to the force structure (see Table 7.3).

The Turkish land forces conducted a far-reaching reorganization of the force structure in 1992, which transformed the previously division and regimental structure into a corps and brigade structure (Tartter, 1996, 335-336; IISS; 1991, 73 and 1994, 66). No new headquarters were created; instead, a layer of command—the existing division HQs—was simply eliminated. In the resulting structure, army brigades reported directly to pre-existing army corps HQs. This added flexibility to task organization and streamlined the dissemination of orders from higher to lower echelons, but increased the command and control load shouldered by the corps HQs. Because the reorganization did not involve the creation of any significant numbers of new units, the effect on military corporateness was minimal and, in any case, the changes took place prior to 1995.

Table 7.3: Evolution of Unit Structure—Brigades and Divisions[125]

	1995	1998	2001	2006
Brigades	44 -14 AR -17 Mech -9 Inf -4 CDO	44 -14 AR -17 Mech -9 Inf -4 CDO	44 -14 AR -17 Mech -9 Inf -4 CDO	48 -17 AR -15 Mech -11 Inf -5 CDO
Divisions	3 -2 Mech -1 Inf	3 -2 Mech -1 Inf	3 -2 Mech -1 Inf	2 -2 Inf
Corps	9 HQs	9 HQs	9 HQs	10 HQs

Overall, from 1995 to the present, only the manpower increase in 1996 might have affected military corporateness. Considering the mitigating effects—that the increase was among conscripts and the force structure was unaffected—it seems reasonable to assess the military as mostly corporate, rather than weakly corporate, in this area. And by 2000, the stability of the military in both personnel strength and force structure rendered the armed forces very corporate.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.4: Force Structure[126]

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1995	MC: 3
2000	VC: 4
2005	VC: 4
2008	VC: 4

Defense Leadership

Turkish civilian control of the military is disjointed, a situation that favors the military's independence of action, but also invites politicization. Essentially, the civil-military chain-of-command lacks integrity: both the civil-military hierarchy and its powers are split. On one hand, the Turkish president is constitutionally-designated as the

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[125] Armor and infantry variants only. All unit totals come from the IISS, *The Military Balance*, Routledge: London for the years indicated in table.
[126] To be accurate, the score for 1995 should appear in 1996, but the latter year was not assessed. This does not change the fact that corporateness improved over the remainder of the period.

peacetime commander in chief of the armed forces, but the chief of staff of the Turkish General Staff is the commander of the armed forces and assumes the commander-in-chief role in wartime (Tartter, 1996, 321-322). Further complicating civilian institutional control, the president delegates responsibility for Turkey's security and military readiness to the prime minister and the cabinet. Thus, the chief of staff reports to the prime minister, not to the president, nor to the minister of defense.[127] And in Turkish protocol the C/S ranks ahead of the minister of defense and second only to the prime minister (Jenkins, 2001, 22).

The C/S is responsible for operations, training, intelligence, and logistics for the armed forces and he has input on the military aspect of Turkey's international obligations, as well as the last word in allocation of the military budget (Tartter, 1996, 322-324). The Turkish General Staff is effectively a joint headquarters with authority over the service commanders, e.g. land, air and navy forces. Meanwhile, the responsibility of the Minister of National Defense is to carry out the policies decided on by the C/S, including conscription, weapons and equipment procurement, provision of health services, accounting for finances, and submitting the budget request. Many of the MND staff, and the defense undersecretary, are military officers.

The C/S serves a regular 4-year term and is eligible for up to 3 one-year extensions by the prime minister (Heper and Guney, 1996, 625). According to General Kenan Evren, a former C/S and president of Turkey after the 1980 coup, the 4-year term helps keep the C/S from becoming the prime minister's 'yes man.' Regular rotation, he

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[127] Prior to the 1960 military coup, the C/S reported to the Minister of National Defense. In the military-shaped 1982 constitution, the C/S was made responsible to the PM (Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 444).

argued, also kept morale high by rewarding merit and keeping open the path to senior-most command.

The C/S is in theory appointed by the Council of Ministers and ratified by the president, but in practice the outgoing C/S selects his successor, since each C/S appoints the commander of the land forces, and this post—held by an army officer—is the springboard to the C/S slot (Jenkins, 2007, 26). Similarly, the C/S in actuality selects the commanders of each of the 3 services and notifies the prime minister of his choices, though in theory the list is submitted jointly by the prime minister, MND, and C/S to the president for ratification. The service commanders are typically chosen on the basis of seniority, which is determined when they are promoted from 3-star to 4-star rank by the Supreme Military Council.

The Turkish military also practices role expansion into the civilian policy-making arena through a long-standing institution, the National Security Council (*Milli Guvenlik Kurulu*), or NSC. The NSC was established after the 1960 coup and its powers were generally strengthened until the 2000s (Gorvett, 2003, 18-19; Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005; Cook, 2007, 25; Jenkins, 2007, 343-347). The NSC's views were conveyed to the cabinet and in the 1982 constitution it was deemed that they would be given "priority consideration" by the civilian ministers.

From the 1982 constitution until its amendment in 2001, the NSC was composed of 10 of the senior-most members of government, half of them civilian and half military (Jenkins, 2007, 343-344; Michaud-Emin, 2007, 31). But because decisions were made by consensus, the united views of the military typically held sway.

The NSC's power was limited only with a series of reforms intended to meet European Union criteria for civilian control of the military with the aim of eventual Turkish accession to the EU (Akkoyunlu, 2007, 31-40). In October 2001, Turkey's parliament amended the constitution to increase the civilian representation on the NSC—adding the minister of justice and deputy prime ministers (Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 455-456; Jenkins, 2007, 346-347). Additionally, the phrase "priority consideration," which referred to the Council of Minister's responsibility to consider NSC views, was changed to simply require that the cabinet be "notified" of NSC recommendations.

Deeper reforms to the NSC were implemented in July 2003 (Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 455-456; Jenkins, 2007, 346-347). The secretary general of the NSC under-secretariat, which shaped the agenda with its papers and briefings for NSC members, no longer need be a military officer; the first civilian NSC secretary general was appointed in 2004. Also, the staff of the NSC's undersecretariat became increasingly civilianized, while the overall personnel strength was reduced by 25 percent. The NSC secretary general's power to follow up on recommendations by the NSC was abrogated, as was the NSC's unlimited access to civilian agencies; this effectively ended the NSC's presence on supervisory boards, e.g. the Higher Audio-Visual Board and the Higher Education Board. And the frequency of NSC meetings was halved, from monthly to once every two months.

In sum, the armed forces' role expansion into civilian policymaking via the NSC and corresponding politicization diminished after 2001 and again after 2003. The basic attributes of corporateness manifested at the level of defense leadership remain

weakened, however, by the disjointed hierarchy at the highest levels of civilian control over the military. Civilian control may expand since the EU has pressured Turkey to make the military subordinate to the defense minister, rather than the prime minister (Cook, 2007, 127-128, 130-132). A small step in that direction was registered in December 2003, when some of the military's off-budget funds were made subject to civilian oversight and the civilian under-secretariat of defense gained the prerogative of identifying defense budget priorities. Overall, corporateness has improved by a half-point, reflecting a modest improvement in the early 2000s.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.5: Defense Leadership

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1995	PC: 2.75
2000	PC: 2.75
2005	MC: 3.25
2008	MC: 3.25

The Turkish Military's Political Values

This overview of the military's political views is based primarily on the observations of scholars, both about the values of the military and its behavior. Regarding military values, it is not as comprehensive or detailed as an examination of Turkish military journals, or as a comprehensive survey of military officers.

Arguably the strongest and most organic theme of the Turkish military's ethos is its self-perception as guardian of Turkey's Kemalist regime (Narli, 2000, 108; Karpat, 2004, 252; Akkoyunlu, 2007, 21-23; Jenkins, 2007, 340-341). Kemalist principles, or the "six arrows" of Ataturk, are the founding tenets of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, who fought for Turkey's independence and established its republic, after centuries of Ottoman rule and the (Heper and Guney, 2000, 636-637; Demirel, 2004, 128-129; Cook, 2007, 94-95).

The six principles of Kemalism are nationalism, secularism, republicanism, populism, statism, and reformism (Narli, 2000, 108). The army associates these values with modernization and sees them as the antithesis of many characteristics ascribed negatively to the Ottoman empire, including religiosity, traditionalism, imperialism, and a sclerotic aristocracy (Karpat, 2004, 252; Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 441-443; Aydinli, 2006, 77-78). Military officers saw themselves as part of the state, which was also the means to bring society into modernity. And the army saw modernization as synonymous with Westernization (Tank, 2006, 465-466) and thus, democratization (Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 443; Jenkins, 2001, 34).

But while the Turkish military values democracy, its relationship to it as a political regime is deeply ambiguous. (Demirel, 2004, 127-135; Akkoyunlu, 24-36). There is not a clear dichotomy in Turkey of "democrat civilians versus non-democrat soldiers." Historically, soldiers were the driving force in much of Turkey's early democratization. But in Turkey, as elsewhere in the developing world, civilian politicians sometimes seek the leverage of military support to achieve their policy goals. And the military not only seeks and wins civilian backing from various quarters when it intervenes, but it is consistently viewed as the most trusted institution in Turkey.

The supremacy of civilian rule—a key pillar of democracy—is seen as a primary but not paramount value in Turkey (Birand, 1991; Jenkins, 2001; Demirel, 2004). Put another way, the military views democracy as the best form of government but also sees its role as guardian of Kemalism as indispensable.

The military's conception of a democratic system seems to reflect a "rationalist" utility, which is prized above the actual practices of democracy (Heper and Guney, 1996,

636; Demirel, 2004, 132; Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 443; Akkoyunlu, 2007; 26). In other words, officers value democracy greatly, but more as a means than as an end in itself. Democracy was a means that provided venues for discussion and debate of policy options, enabling Turkey's leaders to find the best way forward. Some essential values of this idealized version of democracy, which glosses over its inherently conflictual and disorderly nature, are a "technical and bureaucratic rationality" (Demirel, 2004, 132) and "maintenance of order" (Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 443). The military's guardianship responsibilities could therefore at times be understood to compel it to intervene politically to keep the country on the right track, i.e. to ensure policies adhere to Kemalist principles.

Kemalism is not necessarily fixed, however, and the military's interpretation of it, as a matter of identity or culture, is malleable (Aydinli et al., 2006, 89-90; Tank, 2006, 474-475). Military values and behavior may change over time.

According Birand (1991, 53), the teaching of Kemalism in the military academies was reinvigorated in the 1980s to counter other ideologies—of the extreme right and left—in Turkish society. Various Kemalist principles were deemed important, according to the curriculum and discussions with cadets (pp. 59-67). After Turkey's first Islamist government came to power in 1996, senior commanders in the armed forces seemed nearly unanimous in pointing to secularism and unity as the key values. For instance, Chief of Staff Kivrikoglu in 2002 and Chief of Staff Buyukanit in 2006 emphasized these as foremost aspects of the republic (Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 455; Akkoyunlu, 2007, 41). Not surprisingly, secularism and unity are the values most obviously suited to military efforts to counter to Islamism and Kurdish separatism, two phenomena that arose

in the 1980s. Ironically, military-backed policies after the 1980 coup that introduced Islam in schools as a means to counter extremist secular ideologies of the left and right are credited with the beginning of Islam's growing strength.

In foreign policy, the key variables influencing the military worldview seem to be the movement toward EU accession—and attendant conditions supportive of liberal democracy—and Turkey's place in the US-led struggle against Islamic terrorism (Tank, 2006; Akkoyunlu, 2007; Cook, 2007). These two imperatives can easily conflict, as US policymakers have often—since the Cold War—been more interested in working with a strong executive than with an elected legislature, as long as the resulting policy is supportive.

The military's wish that Turkey join the EU has been evident since at least the 1990s.[128] And the military agreed to a wide-reaching overhaul of Turkish civil-military relations, including important aspects of Defense Leadership to meet EU criteria since 2001 (Aydinli, 2006, Akkoyunlu, 2007, 31-40; Cook, 2007). But the military, and the majority of Turks who supported accession in the early 2000s, have been frustrated (Akkoyunlu, 2007). Public support for joining Europe has declined since 2004 and, while the military's motives are strategic rather than poll-driven,[129] its calculations may be subject to change.

Elections

[128] I saw evidence of this at a professional conference in Ankara in 1998 that involved Turkish military analysts. Many of the officers I spoke with viewed Turkey as a part of Europe.
[129] Aydinli, et al (2006) explain that the General Staff saw the drive for EU membership as a means both to unite both elites and society and to address some of Turkey's chief problems.

The military has a favorable view of elections that derives from Kemalism. According to the military academy textbooks, “real democracy for Turkey lies in the principles of Ataturk and especially in the principle of populism. Thus democracy can achieve its real purpose only through elections (Birand, 1991, 70). These schoolbooks cited Ataturk’s view that elections were an ancient tradition of the Turks. They “proved their adherence to the idea of democracy in the general assemblies they held to elect heads of state,” a principle “violated by the despotic Ottoman monarchs.” Such views are durable in the Turkish military profession.

Chief of Staff General Hilmi Ozkok, then-chief of staff, acknowledged in a 2005 speech that Turkey was an “exception to the standardized civil-military relationship” (Aydinli, et al, 2006, 77-78). But he harkened back to Ottoman days, recalling that in destroying “the political structure…based on the sultanate and caliphate” Turkey’s “soldiers…built up a new, modern system based on societal power.” To Ozkok, this military-led revolution was “as important for Turkey as the Renaissance for those in the West.”

Chief of Staff General Kenan Evren, who became president of the republic after leading the 1980 coup, said that “sovereignty belongs to the people without qualifications and conditions” (Heper and Guney, 1996, 622-624). General Evren distinguished representation of the people from trusteeship for the people, asserting that in Turkey’s representative system, the elected representative sought to achieve goals defined by the electorate, rather than aims devised by the trustee (Heper and Guney, 1996, 222-224). “Whatever you say,” he noted, “whatever you want, will carry the day.” But the ambiguous relationship of the military’s role in relationship to society and democracy

was highlighted by Evren's argument that the 1980 coup was needed "to avert civil war and to save the democracy that was going down the drain."

Even so, at times the military has played the role of trustee. For instance, in the 1995 elections the pro-Islamist Welfare Party won the largest block of votes, which should have resulted in Turkey's president asking its leader, Necmettin Erbakan, to form the next government (Tartter, 1996, 247; Michaud-Emin, 2007, 37). Instead, and with military backing, the president asked the next-two largest parties, Motherland and True Path to form a coalition government under the leadership of Prime Minister Tansu Ciller (Cook, 2007, 93). Only when this secular coalition foundered did Erbakan become prime minister in June 1996. The military began to engineer Erbakan's ouster in January 1997, in what was known as the February 28 process, so-called for the date on which the National Security Council presented an 18-point list of anti-Islamist demands to the Welfare-led government (Jenkins, 2007, 345-346).

More recently in 2007, the military and the Justice and Development Party (AKP[130])—successor to Welfare—squared off over whether Turkey would elect its first pro-Islamist president. The AKP ultimately prevailed after a series of political maneuvers beginning that April, when the military posted statements of criticism and concern on its official website (Knickmeyer, 2007, 12). Crucially, however, the military did not challenge the results of snap parliamentary elections, called for and won by the AKP, or the subsequent election of President Gul by the National Assembly. The episode indicated that the military may feel justified in taking political stances on election issues without feeling justified in using force to oppose an election result. This seems to

[130] The Turkish acronym is Adelet ve Kalkinma Partisi.

demonstrate an evolution in military thinking toward greater acceptance of the peoples' choice at the ballot box.

Multi-party system

The military's view of politicians, political parties and the party system is frequently unfavorable, due to the penchant in politics for short-term gains and the serving of partisan rather than national interests. Military views have become more favorable in recent years, however, and military officers seem to be willing to subordinate their aversion for party politics because the party system is an integral aspect of democracy. One military intervention, the "coup by memorandum" of 1971, was largely the result of Turkey's factionalized and divisive party politics in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Momayezi, 1998, 7-8). In its memorandum of March 12, 1971, the National Security Council asked the president for a "strong and credible" government that would be "above party politics" (Narli, 2000, 113). Civilian technocrats then governed the country until martial law ended and elections were held in 1973.

This military view of politics stems largely from Mustafa Kemal's thinking and writings (Birand, 1991, 68-75) which taught the importance of personal non-involvement in politics: "commanders should keep their minds free from the influence of political concerns when they consider or perform their martial duties."

Military cadets are taught fairly categorical and idealistic prescriptions about the role that political parties should play in Turkish society, a pedagogy that ultimately disappoints and generates cynicism. For instance, political "parties are responsible for achieving the Dynamic Ideal of the state" (Birand, 1991, 69-70). This "dynamic ideal" of

Ataturk "rejects socialism and capitalism" and is achieved "by eliminating religious discrimination and influences of a divisive and separatist nature." Political parties were expected to fulfill the near-impossible task of being "a bridge between the government and the people to communicate the demands of the people" while being expected also "to consider the people's needs and wishes in the light of the existing means and of the future and general well-being of the country" (Birand, 1991, 70-72). Thus, they "should not promise to meet all the wishes of the people. This is damaging for democracy."

The military had further expectations regarding the behavior of a party in opposition, which is to be "constructive, rational, and realistic." Opposition parties were free to "disseminate their own political views and be critical of the party in power, but their criticism should not be damaging to national unity" (Birand, 1991, 71). This distinction between the ruling party and national unity actually holds up in Turkey, highlighting an area in which military views of politics are more nuanced than in many developing states, e.g. some aspects of the debate in Egypt's military journals.

But Turkish military academy teachings have criticized certain, named parties. For instance, the military disapproved when political parties that had been banned for anti-Ataturkist positions were essentially revived under new names. The relevant stricture was that "a change in the name of the party should not be intended to 'deceive'" (Birand, 1991, 71) This was illustrated by reference to pro-Islamist parties, "the Justice Party and the Welfare Party as successors to the Democrat Party and the National Salvation Party respectively."

From the 1990s to the present, military behavior toward political parties is more sophisticated than in the early 1980s, when parties were banned for a time. The armed

forces reportedly were behind the demise of the Welfare Party, engineered through a Constitutional Court ruling in 1998. High-ranking military officers publicized their view that the secular nature of the state was at risk and the relevant government institutions responded (Momayezi, 1998, 21-22). And while Welfare's successor, the Justice and Development Party, is thriving politically since coming to power in parliamentary elections in 2002, it too is threatened with political extinction. In a near-reprise of the 1998 case, Turkey's public prosecutor filed a motion with the Constitutional Court to ban the AKP on grounds that its policies are a violation of secularism (Jenkins, 2008). Observers expect the AKP to lose its case in court in the latter half of 2008.

The military has come to fully accept a multi-party system, though its tolerance of religiously-oriented parties remains in doubt. While the nature of the case in the Constitutional Court makes it hard to conclude that the military is directly responsible for seeking to eliminate a party that supports religiously-oriented policies, it does seem likely that the armed forces will be content with that outcome.

Freedom of Association

There are indications that the military's conception of some affiliations and associations as legitimate has expanded in the past 10 years.

In "National Security Knowledge," a mandatory high school course taught by officers, a new 1998 textbook examines the Turkish nation as a concept whose definition is subject to debate and interpretation (Altinay, 2004, 127-129). The textbook defines citizens, according to "Ataturkism," as those who "share a common history, morals and laws, embrace the same shared culture and ideals, and have tied their fate to the Turkish

nation on their own will." Although the textbook provides some contradictory descriptions of Turkishness and citizenship,[131] it represents a step toward greater inclusiveness, by recognizing theories of nationhood that are essentially subjective or cultural, rather than objective—such as race, religion, or language.

The Kurdish insurgency in southeast Turkey since the 1980s, and the presence there of some 80,000 Turkish soldiers and officers, has introduced new realities about the heterogeneous nature of the country into the thinking of officers schooled in the concept in national unity (Aydinli et al, 2006, 85-86). Kurds hold different linguistic, cultural, and ideological conceptions about Turkey. But while the military viewed the insurgents as an enemy to fight and defeat, officers also provided community services in the Kurdish southeast. By the late 1990s, officers were registering marriages, providing community health care, teaching classes to help students prepare for their university entrance exams, and hosting Kurdish children in Istanbul as an outreach effort (Demirel, 2004, 143).

These developments came at a time that the military, evaluating concerns ranging from Islamism and separatism to a sense of strategic isolation, made the cost-benefit analysis that complying with key demands of EU membership would enable Turkey to form a civil-military consensus to address its problems. One result of this was that in 2001 the National Security Council published a national security policy document that addressed the Kurdish issue from a multi-culturalist standpoint. "Our citizens," said the NSPD, "who are united under the banner of Turkish national identity, should have their cultural and local linguistic characteristics be considered as individual rights and freedoms" (Demirel, 2004, 85-86)

[131] The textbook describes the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish minorities recognized in the 1923 Lausanne Treaty as the only minorities in Turkey and as citizens before the law and argues that those who claim to belong to a different race (e.g. Kurds) are "divisive."

By 2005, the military's commitment to EU accession and civil-military concord was such that a number of reforms passed by the National Assembly, including a number which rolled back military prerogatives, had become law (Demirel, 2004, 145; Akkoyunlu, 2007, 39). These included the end of capital punishment, expansion of rights for minorities, and increased freedom of expression.

Freedom of Expression

As with freedom of association, there is some evidence of increased military support for freedom of opinion.

The discussion of political issues in society generally is permissible, but the state bureaucracy and the military monitor the discussion from the standpoint of Kemalist guidelines (Akkoyunlu, 2007, 23-24). Issues deemed too sensitive for discussion are typically foreclosed from public discourse on 'national security' grounds. Thus, while religious freedom may be discussed, no critique of secularism is permitted since it is a central tenet of the Ataturkist regime. Likewise, cultural identities may be discussed unless the principle of national unity is questioned.

But, as noted above, the discussion of sensitive political topics—otherwise a violation of national security—is now part of the required National Security Course in high school. This is a development of the late 1990s (Altinay, 2004, 135-154). Military officers lead discussions and students are permitted to ask questions and give opinions on subjects such as wearing the head-scarf at university, the handling of the Kurdish insurgency, or the treatment of Armenians during World War I. The right to discuss these issues, however, is not accompanied by a guarantee of immunity. For instance, one

officer punished two religious students because they complained that Kemalist secularism was anti-democratic (p. 154). After concluding that he could not change their minds, the officer expelled the boys, arguing that they should not attend the secular public schools.

In addition, the military presence on a number of supervisory boards, established in the 1980s to monitor various civil institutions, was ended in the early 2000s (Guney and Karatekelioglu, 2005, 455-456; Aydinli, et al, 2006, 82-83; Jenkins, 2007, 346-347). For instance in 2001, the National Security Council removed its representative from the Supervisory Board of Cinema, Video, and Music. And in 2003, the NSC's presence on the Higher Audio-Visual Board and the Higher Education Board was ended as well.

These measures seemed to translate into greater freedom for journalists—literally. While Turkey was among the world leaders in imprisoning journalists in the early 1990s, its record improved dramatically between 1995 and 2005, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ, 2006). By the end of 2006, only one reporter was still in jail. The improvement was credited to the government's desire to join the European Union and the consequent need to improve Turkey's record on freedom of expression.

The vaguely-framed legislation criminalizing the discussion of topics deemed sensitive from a national security remained in place, however, despite legislative reforms meant to address European requirements (CPJ, 2006). And in 2006, prosecution of journalists again was on the rise, driven by nationalists opposed to EU membership in league with similarly-minded public prosecutors. One of the cases was that of Hrant Dink, an Armenian Turk who received a suspended 6-month prison sentence for writing about the massacre of Armenians. None of those charged in 2006 was imprisoned, but the

criminal prosecutions dampened journalists' freedom to write. Dink was murdered in 2007 by a Turkish nationalist.

Rule of Law

Using the rule of law to assess the military's stance on democracy is not as clear-cut as some other categories of liberalization. For instance, as Cook (2007, 98-101) notes, the Turkish military, like its counterparts in Egypt and Algeria has used the law to constrain freedoms, particularly freedom of the press. Even so, it is worthwhile to assess the military's view of the law in the context of a democratizing regime. Respect for the law by the military is likely to inculcate it with norms that may support further democratization, as well as stable and predictable behavior, rather than arbitrariness. The military's relationship to the constitution is particularly illuminating since the latter is a framework document for the law.

In Turkey the military justifies its guardianship role by reference to Article 35 of the Internal Service Law of 1961, which says that "the task of the armed forces is to guard and protect the Turkish land and the Turkish Republic as designated by the constitution" (Birand, 1991, 85; Cook, 2007, 132). On the two occasions that the military seized power by force, 1960 and 1980, it cited this law (in 1980) or a similar, earlier law of 1935 (Jenkins, 2007, 343).

The military has shaped the constitution, beginning with the 1961 constitution, promulgated after its 1960 takeover. The 1961 constitution was in large measure a correction to the authoritarian and anti-military Menderes government and was widely considered a liberal constitution, with unprecedented freedom of expression (Karpat,

2004, 257; Cook, 2007, 100; Akkoyunlu, 2007, 36). The military said at the time that its aim was "to establish democratic order" (Birand, 19991, 78). Its textbook on constitutional law explained that the 1961 constitution sought to "safeguard political parties, the electoral system and, in particular, the by-elections" and also that "the executive powers must be kept under the supervision of the judiciary" (Birand, 1991, 78). The 1961 constitution also created the disjointed civil-military hierarchy described above in Defense Leadership.

After the military's intervention in 1971, the constitution was amended to delineate a jurisdiction for civilian courts and to permit state courts to arrest left- and right-wing ideologues in absence of *habeas corpus* (Brown, 1987, 251, fn 23). Amendments directed by the military rolled back freedoms of expression and conscience (Cook, 2007, 100). And the writ of the National Security Council was expanded to give it more input to policymaking.

The 1982 constitution resulted from yet another military intervention, the 1980 coup. According to Chief of Staff Evren, who became president in 1982, laws were a manifestation of the "national will" of the people (Heper and Guney, 1996, 628). Consequently, the ruling military junta issued a new constitution, overwhelmingly approved by popular referendum, and over 600 new laws during its 3 years in power (Jenkins, 2001, 38-39; Akkoyunlu, 2007, 36-38). The 1982 constitution, still in effect, gave the NSC the power of emergency rule, restricted political pluralism by banning politicians and closing down parties, and curtailed freedom of expression. The role of the president—at the time the former chief of staff—was strengthened, enabling him to submit constitutional amendments for national referenda, to call for new elections, to

deploy the armed forces, and to declare martial law (Momayezi, 1998, 11). And the military's new national educational curriculum required that Islam be taught in the school system, a far-reaching initiative that was intended as an antidote to communism.

Some of the more draconian laws were repealed after President Turgut Ozal was elected in 1989 to replace General Evren. For instance, laws that banned pro-Marxist and religious associations were eliminated from the books, without any public protest by the military (Demirel, 2003, 10). In 1999, military judges were removed from the state security courts (Jenkins, 2007, 346). Subsequently the EU accession process seems to have been the major driving force in liberalization of Turkish laws, with 'harmonization packages' meant to address EU requirements leading to reformist legislation since 2001. The results have been termed "breakthroughs for Turkey's democratization process" (Akkoyunlu, 2007, 31). This includes the significant reforms made to strengthen civilian control over the NSC.

Overall, it is clear that in the last decade and especially in the 2000s, Turkey's legal system is moving in a more liberal direction, though within the framework of the 1982 constitution. One insightful critique of the effect on Turkey's laws of the military's guardianship role and its national security concept is that it often creates internal security problems by drawing legal bounds around political issues and criminalizing those who cross the lines (Cizre, 2004, 108). If so, the limits to the liberalization of Turkish laws will prove to not only be constitutional, but will also be tied to a further evolution of the military's Kemalist values and the ability of this to reshape its guardianship ethos.

Corporate Variants and Political Liberalization

A mostly corporate, Kemalist military in a guardianship role

The Turkish military has long been characterized by a relatively high degree of corporateness,[132] Kemalist political values, and a guardianship corporate model. While Turks enjoy more freedom—according to Freedom House—than citizens of any other country examined here, the military has intervened against civilian government on 4 occasions in the history of the modern republic. Only Syria, among our case studies, experienced more coups, though none since 1970.

Turkey's combination of military activism and a history of democratization since the inauguration of a multi-party political system in 1950 make it reasonable to consider whether the military has played a more constructive role than conventional wisdom would recognize. Although an affirmative answer is clearly contrary to democratic theory, a view of Turkey as democratizing, rather than as a democracy, leaves room for discussion. The factors that lead to democratization are not necessarily the same as the requirements of consolidation, or stable democracy (Rustow, 1970, Anderson, 1999). Bearing this in mind, it is possible to view the Kemalist military more positively or, to put it differently, to evaluate Turkey as a strong case for the argument that, in certain conditions, the military may support democratization.

Several facets about Turkey's corporate variant stand out. For one, its Kemalist principles—the ideological engine that drives the vehicle of guardianship—are generally and indirectly pro-democratic rather than specifically so. The attributes that form Ataturk's legacy to the military—nationalism, republicanism, secularism, reformism, populism, and statism—were in synch with the tones struck by European political movements in the post-World War I era.

[132] Junior officers seized power in 1960 and reportedly played a role in the 1971 coup, reflecting a weak chain-of-command integrity and thus relatively weaker corporateness at that time (Jenkins, 2007, 36-37).

Together with Turkey's geo-historical position on Europe's Mediterranean frontier, and the reform-mindedness of Ataturk's dismantling of the Ottoman caliphate, these formed an impulse to modernize in conformity with European development. Thus, the meaning of Turkish democratization, or its component aspects, was for the military elite both indirect and genuine. The military strove hard to guide development and modernization in terms compatible with Europe's institutions and procedures of modern, democratic government, but without an orthodox adherence to each principle of Western democracy.

This positive role played by Europe highlights another international explanation for political liberalization, one that has not been much in evidence—either in practice or as an argument—in the Arab cases. That is, Europe has long been the "city on the hill" to the Turkish military and other modernizers—who appear to include the pro-Islamist AKP. But Europe does not solely have the role of a "demonstration effect" for Turkey. That is because the EU has taken an active role through its formulation and offering of harmonization criteria for joining Europe. These criteria incentivize democratization and democratic procedures for a broad spectrum of Turks. The likelihood that international factors played a positive part in Turkey's democratization seems stronger in this case than any other.

The other distinguishing feature of the Turkish corporate variant is its constancy over time. This is likely the result of the military's mostly corporate institutional strength, which makes it comparatively impervious to societal pressures, politicization through civilian linkages, corruption, and many other factors that debilitate military corporateness. In fact, the primary corporate weakness of the Turkish military is its

mission focus. In terms of mission exclusivity, Turkey's military is partially corporate, mainly as a result of its zealous adherence to a guardianship mission in addition to the professional external defense role. It is this guardianship role that forms the counter-point to the military's generalized support for democratization.

A quick survey of the 3 military coups between 1960 and 1980 to highlight the pre-coup political landscape is contextually useful. This survey indicates that the military's actions may be viewed historically as instances of "tutelary" democracy (cf. Rabkin, 1992), since the military typically took power only temporarily before restoring government to elected civilians. In other words, the military did not seek power for its own sake.

And from a counter-factual perspective, it may be posited that if the military had failed to take action, Turkey might have moved to an alternate path of political development, in which a democratic option eventually might be entirely foreclosed.

- The first military coup in 1960 was carried out by relatively junior officers within a factionalized officer corps (Jenkins, 2007, 36) with weak integrity in the chain-of-command; the military probably was less corporate at that time than any time since. The officers overturned an increasingly authoritarian government whose resort to martial law (Rustow, 1970; Karpat, 2004, 257) essentially had put the armed forces squarely in the political arena.
- Political unrest, including violence in the streets, kidnappings, and bank robberies attributed to political groups on the left and right—as well as a parliamentary impasse—led to the military to deliver its 1971 coup by memorandum

(Momayezi, 1998, 7-8; Jenkins, 2007, 37). The elected government was replaced by a civilian government of technocrats.

- Political violence that preceded the 1980 coup was worse than previously, the political polarization involved Kurdish and Islamist demands as well as ideologies of the right and left, and civil war was deemed possible (Momayezi, 1998, 8-9; Jenkins, 2007, 37-38).

The point here is that the military interventions of 1960, 1971, and 1980 may be viewed as necessary actions to keep democracy from being derailed, either by authoritarianism or by political violence.

Conclusions

Although the military retains its Kemalist-informed guardianship role, its corporateness has strengthened since the early 1970s. One clear indication of this is the firmer command that the senior-level military leadership holds over the rank and file, an attribute manifest in the planning for the 1980 coup and subsequently (Jenkins, 2007, 38).

Because of its robust corporateness, the military's signals to politicians are clearer and its behavior is accordingly more subtle. This is evident in the 1997 "post-modernist coup," in which the military caused a change of governments from one group of elected civilians—the pro-Islamist AKP—to another party. It is even more evident in the events of 2007, in which the military was opposed to but ultimately accepted the election of Abdullah Gul to be president. And in 2008, when secularist sympathizers of the military brought charges against the AKP to the Constitutional Court, the military appeared to be

merely an observer, watching from the sidelines as the court ruled against banning the AKP, levying a fine against it instead.

The increased subtlety and political precision of military action does not equate to an end of its tutelary guardianship. It does however allow the military's behavior to be less disruptive to Turkish democratization. And the incentive of EU membership, on the criteria that Turkish laws and civil-military relations conform measurably to European standards, forms a structural framework for military behavior to conform to democratic norms. The military's behavior thus may be seen as a trend opening an avenue of political development in which, over time, the military's political activism may further recede and a more complete democracy may be established.

Conclusions

Military corporateness and political liberalization

In examining the corporateness of the Turkish military and tracking its evolution from 1995 to 2008 along with the Freedom House evaluation of political liberalization, there is further support for the H1 hypothesis. Not only is there a correlation of the two, but improvements in military corporateness appeared prior to political liberalization.

Turkey's military is mostly corporate, and corporateness improved from 3.2 to 3.5 between 1995 and 2005, a gain of 9 percent. By 2008 corporateness improved to 3.55, for a total improvement of eleven percent since 1995. In the meantime, while Turkey remained partially free, according to Freedom House, liberalization improved in 2002 and again in 2004, as depicted in Figure 7.1. The total gain was 3 points and the biggest gain was in civil liberties, which include our categories of freedom of association,

freedom of speech, and rule of law. These areas were liberalized as part of Turkey's campaign to join the European Union.

Turning to specific changes in Turkish military corporateness, there were improvements in three areas: Mission Exclusivity, Force Structure, and Defense Leadership. The improvement in Force Structure, which actually occurred between 1996 and 2000, appeared just after an earlier minor improvement—of 1 point—in liberalization in 1996. For this reason, and because the change in Force Structure involved mostly a large increase in the number of conscripts, that category does not seem particularly relevant or illuminating.

The other changes were more important, however. Mission Exclusivity is hard to measure but the Turkish military seems to have developed a more subtle means of playing its guardianship role, which permits it be less overtly political and enhances its corporateness. Turkish corporateness in this category fell but then rose higher, tied to the nature and outcome of military intervention in 1997 and 2007.

To put the military's guardianship role and behavior in perspective, consider that Turkey now has an openly Islamist president for the first time in its history, as well as an Islamist prime minister, and that the military accepted this development without coming out of the barracks. The military has acted through its civilian allies, who have taken up the political issue as a constitutional case about secularism. The Constitutional Court decision of July 2008 seems to have been accepted by all sides. The assessment that military corporateness improved a quarter-point in Mission Exclusivity, from 1995 to 2008, is a conservative estimate.

In the area of Defense Leadership, corporateness improved by a half-point over the early 2000s. Of the three areas of corporateness that improved, this category has the most obvious link to the simultaneous political liberalization that Freedom House observed between 2002 and 2004. That is because the most visible changes were to the National Security Council, and involved both bringing it under greater civilian control and beginning its extrication from the sociopolitical arena. The probability that the military acceded to the diminution of its political influence because the European Union required this is significant. It highlights the positive role that an outside power can play in both military reform and in political liberalization—as well as the link between the two.

This raises a further point, which is that there are few aspects of corporateness in these cases that can be pointed to as causal regarding political liberalization. The potentially direct links are the categories of Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership, and the impact they can have begins to emerge in the non-Arab cases.

But the argument this dissertation makes is that, even without a causal link, improvements in corporateness are a necessary condition for liberalization to occur. It is hard to imagine political rights and civil liberties expanding so long as the military is more interested in politics than professional matters, or when martial law is in effect, or if a minority sectarian or ethnic group dominates the armed forces.

The military's political values

The political values of the military are more difficult to gauge, much less measure, especially in the cursory format of an extended case study that lacks a comprehensive examination of military journals or interviews with officers. But political

values are more likely to have a causal relationship to political liberalization. That is because, assuming a military is sufficiently corporate to hold interests and views independent of the regime, it is likely to follow the logic determined by its political values to guide its action, if and when it intervenes.

In Turkey's case the overriding ethos of the military is its Ataturkist commitment. This has many facets, but is generally sympathetic to democracy. However, as Turks are aware the military also internalizes a guardianship role that it views as part of the Ataturkian legacy, even though guardianship and intervention is not formally Ataturkist. As a result, when the military perceives certain principles, especially secularism, threatened, it sees its mission to be staving off that threat, even if this requires intervention—and the interruption of democracy.

Some distinctions can be made among the Turkish military's views of certain specific aspects of political rights and civil liberties. For instance, with respect to political rights, the military's respect for elections and the legitimacy of their outcomes appears firm. This judgment is strengthened by the military's acceptance of the parliamentary elections in 2007 that strengthened the hand of the pro-Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP) in parliament and subsequently the parliament's election of Abdullah Gul as president.

And there appears to be little if any prospect that the military would end Turkey's multi-party political system; however, the military does continue to view certain parties, particularly religiously-inspired ones, warily and to confront them directly and publicly when it sees an encroachment on Ataturkism. It seems that the military's most serious

challenges to such parties may be indirect, e.g. through civilian allies such as the general prosecutor who brought the AKP and its policies before the Constitutional Court.

In the category of civil liberties, much of the evidence regarding the military's stance is more ambiguous, though the changes on the ground—in terms of greater liberalization—are clear. It is difficult to divine clear trends in the military's view of freedom of association, for instance, but the National Assembly has passed laws improving rights for minorities, e.g. the Kurds, and religious groups in the early 2000s (Yildiz, 2007) with no apparent resistance from the military. Similar improvements in liberties have taken place in the media field, though some of the progress was undercut by increased prosecution of journalists in 2006. Again, it is difficult to pinpoint the military's position or responsibility for these developments, other than to say that it has allowed them to play out in the legislature and the judiciary. That fact is significant in itself.

The final civil-liberties category, rule of law is the most structurally revealing, particularly with reference to the military's stance regarding the constitution, both in Turkey and generally among these four cases. The more quiescent militaries in this study see their national mission to consist in part at least of defending the constitution. Their quiescence results from a combination of their acceptance of the constitution and the fact that the ruling actors in government, and allied political parties, and in civil society, do too. The activist militaries—those that intervene politically—are activist in part, it seems, because there is more political space for their opponents. The constitution in the latter cases spells out the ground rules of competition and activist militaries want to ensure these remain favorable.

In Turkey's case, the military-authored 1982 constitution remains in place, but many of the laws based on it have been liberalized since 2001 in the parliament's desire—supported by the military—to "harmonize" the legal system with the expectations of the European Union. The instructive aspect of Turkey's harmonization laws is that the military accepts liberalization. In recent years, it is specifically only perceived threats to the secular character of the republic, embodied in actions of the pro-Islamist AKP, that provoke military activism. The form of activism is legal and political, rather than the use or threat of force.

The improvements in Turkish military corporateness and support for political liberalization highlight a final point, which is the positive, incentivizing influence that external actors may play. Specifically, the European Union's criteria or conditionality for accession provided incentives to civilian and military leaders alike to pursue reforms. The key to understanding the EU's effectiveness in this regard is that the standards pointed to a goal desired by most Turks, including the military. As such the standards are a requirement that Turkey's government and military have sought voluntarily to achieve.

The military's corporate variants

There are two corporate variations that give insight into the military's behavior. One of course is that of the guardian of the state (Bradford, 2005). A weakly corporate military in this role typically exhibits a variety of dysfunctional behavior, mainly through exploiting its power advantage over various sectors of society and engaging in corruption and extortion (cf. Bradford, 2005). Turkey's mostly corporate military enjoys a reputation within the country as clean and capable, as well as for acting in the interest of the state, or

the nation, rather than for personal or even institutional reasons (Kamrava, 2000; Jenkins, 2007).

A second corporate variant seems increasingly to be relevant as well, that is Farcau's (1996) view of civil-military ideological alliances shaping the politics of a country. In Farcau's models, Brazil and Bolivia, democratization was boosted by such alliances. In Turkey, the military seems more inclined than in the past to act in conjunction with civilian allies in defending Ataturkist principles, rather than simply intervening outright to enforce them. As a result, the civil-military alliance—specifically, the military's willingness and ability to rely on like-minded civilians and civilian institutions—is reshaping the way Turkey's military implements its role as the perceived national guardian. The outcome thus far seems to coincide generally with Farcau's Latin America cases.

The mostly corporate Turkish military with its Kemalist-informed guardianship role does not seem likely to cease its military activism soon, but its behavior has become increasingly well-calibrated and subtle. This trend is evident in comparing the 1997 "post-modernist coup" to earlier coups. It becomes even more apparent in comparing the military's behavior in 1997 when it forced the AKP from power to 2007 and 2008, when the military or its sympathizers challenged the AKP, but accepted outcomes counter to or less than its preferences.

Although this study has not examined the civilian political parties, it is likely that the accommodation goes both ways, in other words, the AKP has also modified its behavior to conform to military expectations. The point here is that democratization in Turkey is a strategic process involving the military and civilian parties, particularly the

AKP. The military is not solely responsible for democratization, either progress toward it or its degradation. And if the military has behaved more responsibly—in the sense that it is more careful and precise in its political action—the AKP may have learned in similar fashion how to behave more carefully with respect to the secular principles of the constitution.

One key implication of this military nuance is that democratization has more breathing space now and in the near term than it did in the past. In the 2000s, there is evidence that both officers and pro-Islamists, and presumably other political parties, have found less confrontational ways to live up to their political ideals and to fulfill their agendas. Perhaps Turkey has passed through its stalemate phase between two clashing social forces—secularism and Islamism—and into that phase of democratization described by Rustow (1970) in which elites decide to compromise.

Two notes of caution must be sounded. One is that military's role in democratization seems determined by its mostly corporate guardianship outlook. Thus, a weakness in corporateness could undermine the military's ability to act coherently and result in derailing democratization. This is unforeseen at present, but is possible, e.g. if the Ergenekon plot implicates senior active-duty military officers or large numbers of junior officers, the military's corporateness may be weaker than believed. The second cautionary note is that the desire for EU accession has played a role in democratization by creating a political and legislative path on which both the military and the AKP agree. The path, if well-trod, could lead to the habituation of democratic processes. But if Turkey's EU membership is declined, the path might prove to be a dead end.

Chapter 8: Pakistan's Military Corporateness and Political Values

Introduction and Overview

This final case study chapter extends the approach to a second non-Arab Muslim-world case. In this chapter, we project that Pakistan will be seen as an additional case in which a correlation exists between military corporateness and political liberalization, though affirmation is pending Freedom House's scorecard for 2008. The military has an ambiguous or questionable relationship with Pakistani democratization. Its political values are informed mainly by respect for Islamist political parties, though a radical undercurrent exists because of the military's cooperation with jihadist groups on its western and eastern borders.

It is not the military's support for Islamism, however, so much as its corporate variant—which combines a guardianship role with a military corporation outlook—that results in its ambiguous relationship to democratization. Military guardianship in Pakistan has resulted in 3 periods of lengthy military rule, as well as persistent participation at lower levels of government since 1980 even when civilians govern.

And the military's "milbus" (Siddiqa, 2007) corporate model adds to the military's interventionist impulses. Pakistan's military corporation involves active-duty and retired military officers, and entire branches of the military, in the public and private sector of the economy. The military's economic investments and resources are not subject to public oversight. At the same time, their value can be enhanced by military activism to shape the economic environment. Consequently, milbus is anti-democratic.

As noted in previous chapters, the extension of cases to non-Arab Muslim-world countries is an incremental expansion of the approach to see how well it serves in looking

at militaries, civil-military relationships, and political outcomes beyond the Arab world. All four cases are developing-world republics with a predominantly Muslim population.

Their histories diverge, e.g. Egypt and Syria were Ottoman territories and then became British and French mandates respectively after World War I, gaining independence only after World War II. Turkey transformed itself from empire into republic after driving out allied occupation subsequent to Turkey's defeat during the First World War. And Pakistan was part of the British colony of India until partition in 1947 and independence.

The non-Arab cases offer additional variation on the independent variables and on the degree of liberalization measured by Freedom House. Pakistan's military improved from partially to mostly corporate between 1999 and 2008. It is a half-point less corporate than the Turkish military but about a quarter-point more corporate than Egypt and over one point more corporate than Syria. And it is less politically liberal than Turkey, but has received higher civil liberty scores from Freedom House than either Egypt or Syria.

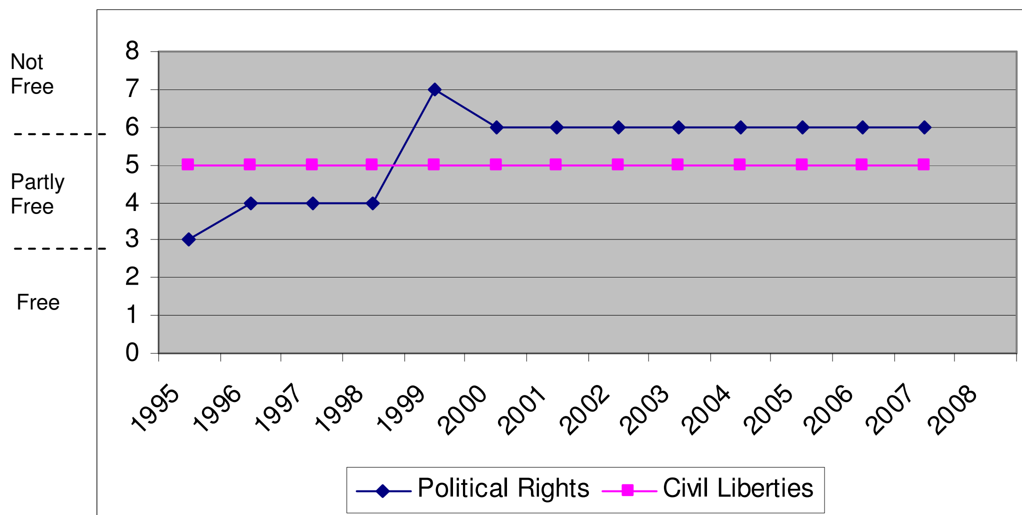
The main difference in this examination of Pakistan compared to the two detailed cases is the methodology for assessing the military's political values. Whereas in the Arab cases, a thorough and detailed analysis of a flagship military journal was conducted, the political values of the Pakistani military are understood here mainly through a reading of secondary source literature and through the military's actions, e.g. intervention.

The chapter begins with a study of Pakistan's military corporateness, followed by its political values. The Pakistan case provides further support for hypothesis H1. Military corporateness and political liberalization fell together in the late 1990s,

highlighting a further correlation that supports the hypothesis. Pakistani measures of political liberalization—specifically, its political rights, i.e. the categories of elections and a multi-party system—as measured by Freedom House, and depicted in Figure 8.1, worsened dramatically in 1999. This development stemmed from the Musharraf coup and coincided with changes in the army that resulted in a worsening of military corporateness in the same year, as shown in Figure 8.2.

The roughly 15 percent downturn in corporateness between 1995 and 1999—from a score of 2.9 to 2.45—was most noticeable in the categories of Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership. The changes there were intrinsically linked to the military coup, since it was the mission of overt governance taken on by the military and the fusing of civilian and military leadership in the person of President Pervez Musharraf, who retained the post of army chief, which caused the weakening of corporateness in 1999. These changes are further evidence of the centrality of these two categories to overall civil-military relations and to political liberalization, at least in much of the developing world.

Figure 8.1 Freedom House on Pakistan: Political Liberalization, 1995-2007[133]



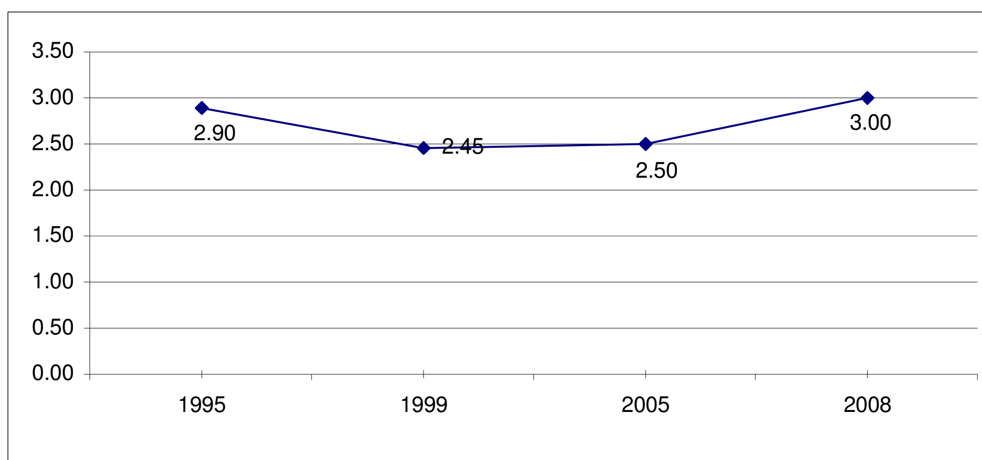
[133] This is Freedom House data. Data is not yet available for 2008.

Subsequently, Pakistani military corporateness began to improve, first only slightly, but then more dramatically after 2005. The half-point improvement in corporateness, from 2.5 to 3 was an increase of 20 percent. It brought the military from partially to mostly corporate and came ahead of an anticipated improvement in political liberalization in 2008—barring any new military intervention.

The likelihood of an improved score from Freedom House follows from the elections in February 2008, rated "competitive" by the European Union; an end of the state of emergency imposed in 2007; and the restoration of civilian government, followed by Musharraf's resignation under threat of impeachment. Parliament's election of a new president, Asif Ali Zardari, in September establishes formal civilian control of the military, and may lead to more substantive civilian control, though this is likely to be established only slowly given Pakistan's turbulent history of civil-military relations. Freedom House has not yet issued its report on 2008.

The prospects for rocky civil-military relations in the future are high. For instance, the civilian government is weak and the fractious coalition of the Pakistani People's Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), which won the first- and second-largest share of votes in the 2008 election, fell apart in August. Paradoxically, this may make the civilian government more tolerable to the military—chastened by the disastrous outcome of Musharraf's rule—in the near term, but makes it more difficult for civilians to establish substantive control of the military.

Figure 8.2 Pakistan: Average Military Corporateness Score, 1995-2008



Pakistan, like Turkey, has scored relatively low in both Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership, but improved its standing in both areas after 1999. In terms of its mission, Musharraf's handover of government to civilians was the most obvious reason for increased corporateness, but the move was supported by a little-noted complement. General Ashfaq Kayani, the army chief appointed by President Musharraf, rescinded in February 2008 a 28-year old quota that had military officers serving in a score of government agencies (Masood, 2008a). If completed, this step would lead to further improvement in military corporateness and a rationalization of civil-military relations.

In Defense Leadership, the military's corporateness also benefited from the end of military rule, but several specific steps were important. One was the just-noted separation of the posts of president and army chief in November 2007. Another was the decision made by the newly-elected civilian government in March 2008 to separate the posts of prime minister and defense minister, which highlighted the army chief's subordination to the prime minister, to whom he no longer reported directly. And the election of a new civilian government in February 2008 and a new president in September represents a rationalization of the civil-military chain of command via the end of Musharraf's

militarized presidency. This rationalization consists of a separation of civilian and military spheres and clarification of the nominal command structure.

The political values of Pakistan's military—unlike the others in this study of Muslim world militaries—are openly pro-Islamist. Its values are not as clearly defined as the secular worldviews of either Turkey or Syria, with their Ataturkist and Ba'thist ideologies respectively. The circumstances of Pakistan's birth—in which Islam was used to justify statehood—and its regional competition with India and in Afghanistan, led it to support jihadists in the east and later the west are relevant to the evolution of the military's values in practical terms. That is, the military works cooperatively with Islamist groups, both political and guerrilla, or terrorist, in nature.

In the two categories of political rights, the military's apparent respect for elections has increased in the last two decades, compared to the first four—at least based on the occurrence and relative freedom of elections, particularly since the 1980s. Its acceptance of the multi-party system is more longstanding and deeper, but it comes with a caveat. The military feels entitled to back and coordinate the political parties it perceives are most sympathetic to its own views. These tend to be conservative pro-military and Islamist parties.

In the three categories of civil liberties, the military's grudging respect for freedom of the press is probably the strongest evidence of most outstanding feature in the civil liberties category. Although Musharraf's regime pressured journalists at times, its treatment of them was reportedly better than that accorded by the predecessor civilian regime of Nawaz Sharif. In fact, the primary concern reported by the Committee to

Protect Journalists (CPJ) in 2007 was journalists' safety—in light of the rapidly deteriorating security situation, not government harassment.

A final point about rule of law is worth highlighting. The constitution in Pakistan, as in Turkey, is strategic terrain in a civil-military relationship that is still largely adversarial. Pakistan's current constitution was written in 1973 by the civilian Bhutto regime, but amended in 1985 by General Zia ul-Haq to strengthen the president's power vis a vis the prime minister. This amendment restored the military's pivotal role and curtailed the parliament's power. Not a decade has passed without an alteration of the constitution on this point, by either civilians or the military. Resolving this constitutional disagreement is a pre-requisite for amicable civil-military relations and eventual civilian control of the military.

Pakistani Military Corporateness

The section that follows traces the evolution of the military's corporateness in 5 categories, from 1995 to 2008. The average, or overall, corporateness score is depicted in Figure 8.2, which shows that corporateness declined by almost a half-point between 1995 and 1999, from 2.9 to 2.45, about 15 percent. The key areas of decline were in Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership. These areas were also the locus of improvements in corporateness, between 2005 and 2008. In those 3 years, corporateness increased by a half-point, from 2.5 to 3 or 20 percent.

In addition to the correlation of corporateness with the fall and then an anticipated improvement in political liberalization, the two categories in which the changes were most noticeable encompass specific aspects of civil-military relations that tie directly to

liberalization, as measured by Freedom House. This gives the military's mission and the civil-military defense leadership in Pakistan key importance among the five categories.

Personnel System

Pakistanis of all backgrounds are reputedly eligible to become military officers. Accession to the officer corps is almost exclusively through the Pakistan Military Academy, which accepts only 300-350 young men of nearly 15,000 applicants (Cohen, 1984, 52-53; Keefe, 1984, 286). The examination process is rigorous, including oral and written tests, as well as medical tests, and a final 3-day exam and interview.

Despite this, the makeup of the officer corps—like that of the other ranks—is not fully representative of society. Demographic data is rare, but most cadets come from the lower middle class or rural areas of Pakistan (Cohen, 1984, 52-53). More significantly, official sources show that cadets entering the PMA in 1979 were mostly from 2 of Pakistan's 4 provinces: 70 percent were Punjabis and 14 percent were from the predominantly Pashtun North West Frontier Province. The figures have changed little over time and recent unofficial estimates put the respective percentages at 65 percent Punjabi and 22-25 percent Pashtun (Rizvi, 2000, 240). Both provinces were over-represented in the officer corps, since their actual portion of the population is roughly 56 percent Punjabi and 16 percent from NWFP and the tribal areas. The Sindhis and Baluchis—whose provinces have seen periodic anti-government unrest over the years—are underrepresented, especially at higher officer ranks. Notably, prior to the secession in 1971 of present-day Bangladesh, Bengalis were also grossly under-represented in the army.

The promotion process through the rank of major is primarily by time in service and grade (Cohen, 1984, 54). A selection board meets to determine promotions from major to lieutenant colonel and higher ranks. This is the point at which political considerations may become a factor in Pakistani officer promotions, typically through family or regional connections (Jones, 2003, 279). General Zia ul-Haq, chief of army staff from 1976 to 1988, introduced Islamic piety as a factor, though inadvertently, during his bid to Islamize the state bureaucratic machinery and through his personal example (Rizvi, 2000, 245-246).

Although the officer corps prides itself on its professionalism, the tilt in the military recruitment system in favor of Punjabis and Pashtuns, at the expense of Sindhis and Baluchis, reflects and reinforces the domination of society by the former groups at the expense of the latter. The personnel system is mostly corporate.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.6: Personnel System

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1995	MC: 3.25
1999	MC: 3.25
2005	MC: 3.25
2008	MC: 3.25

Mission Exclusivity

The military has two significant missions that detract greatly from its professional focus. The most important of these is governance; Pakistan's armed forces have governed the country for over half of its existence since independence in 1947 (Barracca, 2007, 142). This is not what was intended by the constitutional stipulation that the military provide "aid to civil power when called upon to do so" as stipulated in the 1973 Constitution (Shafqat, 1997, 168). "Aid to civil power" reflected a practice dating back to

the pre-independence Indian Army under the leadership of British senior officers (Cohen, 1984, 48).

Both military coups after 1973 were justified in similar legal terms by Pakistan's highest judicial body. The Supreme Court ruled that the seizure of power and decade-long military rule of General Zia (1977-1988) and of General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008) had been legitimately dictated by "supreme necessity" (Shah, 2003, 26; Cloughley, 2006, 244-245).

The military's penchant for governance was further institutionalized in 1980 when Zia's regime mandated a quota for the induction of military personnel into civilian positions (Rizvi, 2000). As a result, a minimum of 10 percent of civilian positions were reserved for military personnel and by the time of the Musharraf regime, an estimated 100,000 military personnel were engaged in civilian tasks (Faruqui, 2001, 38). Missions ranged from highway construction to administration of public utilities, and agricultural oversight and reform. In February 2008, the current Chief of Army Staff (COAS) took a significant step toward demilitarizing the government bureaucracy. General Ashfaq Kayani rescinded Zia's mandated quota (Masood, 2008a). This may in time lead to stronger corporateness, but the military retains vast responsibilities in the Pakistani economy.

The activities of the military as a corporation, or military business—termed "Milbus" by Ayesha Siddiqa (2007)—are a fundamental mission of the military. Milbus detracts directly from the military's defense mission—by diverting personnel, resources, and attention—and indirectly, since the military's economic considerations are now inextricably tied to its political influence and interests (Ravi, 2006; Siddiqa, 2007, 112).

Pakistani military enterprises are conducted at several levels, including as an official aspect of the military—generally in key infrastructure in partnership with civilian ministries. The military is also engaged in the economy through subsidiaries of the armed forces, and through individual enterprise, relying on connections within the military and the state (Rizvi, 2000; Siddiqa, 2007).

The Pakistani military's direct involvement in the economy distinguishes Pakistan from Turkey and is more similar to the military enterprises of Egypt and Syria. In Pakistan, several national-level military organizations provide key infrastructural inputs to the economy. For instance, the National Logistics Cell is the country's biggest public-sector transport outfit. It is a hybrid civil-military organization, but its 4 main divisions are headed by active-duty brigadier generals and its operations are army-managed (Siddiqa, 2007, 114-117). The Frontier Works Organization is controlled by the Ministry of Defense and staffed by army personnel; it builds roads and collects toll fees. The Special Communication Organization, which builds and maintains telecommunications in Kashmir and northern Pakistan, is run jointly by the army's Signals Directorate and the Ministry of Information Technology. In addition, each of the nine corps and their divisions run for-profit business cooperatives, using military personnel as free labor, and engaged in enterprises including bakeries, poultry farms, cinemas, gas stations, and markets.

The military and each service also have welfare foundations that are subsidiaries of the military services, and run directly by them (Rizvi, 2000, 236-238; Siddiqa, 2007, 117-126). The largest, the Fauji (Soldier) Foundation, is run by a Committee of Administration chaired by the secretary of defense, who is typically a high-ranking civil

servant or military general.[134] Other members include the chief of general staff, quartermaster general, adjutant-general, chief of logistics staff, deputy chief of naval staff (training and personnel), and deputy chief of air staff (administration). The adjutant general of the army is the managing director of the Army Welfare Trust. The navy and air force each control similar welfare subsidiaries, the Bahria Foundation and the Shaheen Foundation, respectively.

This is the weakest aspect of Pakistani military corporateness, ranging between weakly and partly corporate, with the lower score reflecting periods of military governance.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.7: Mission Exclusivity

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1995	PC: 2
1999	WC: 1
2005	WC: 1
2008	PC: 2

Educational Autonomy

Each service runs a military academy with a two-year curriculum to produce junior officers. The Pakistan Military Academy at Kakul was established in 1948 and trains army officers in a combination of academic and military subjects (Keefe, 1984, 286; Cohen, 1984, 81-85). Graduating cadets receive a bachelor's degree from a cooperating university after their commissioning. Instruction is primarily in English, the country's official language, and the school has an honor code. The military conducts

[134] The status of the defense secretary was clarified in an e-mail from P3, a Pakistani civil-military expert, on July 4, 2008.

follow-on studies of former cadets to assess the effectiveness of their training and education at the academy.

The process for producing air force officers is lengthy and begins with two years of flight training at the Pakistan Air Force College in Sargodha (Keefe, 1984, 286). Successful cadets then matriculate to the Pakistan Air Force Academy in Risalpur, initially a flight school but upgraded later to an academy (Cheema, 2002, 106-107). Graduates earn a bachelor's degree and become air force pilots.

The Pakistan Naval Academy was established in 1960; previously, naval cadets had trained in Great Britain (Pakistan Navy website[135]; Cheema, 2002, 88-89). The status of the academy has gradually been upgraded, initially by conferring bachelor's degrees in Naval Sciences in 1965 and later, in 1990, by awarding a bachelor's degree in conjunction with Karachi University. Since 1997, the joint degree has been conferred by the National University of Science and Technology. The program of study is a two-year course, but the final six months is spent at sea (Keefe, 1984, 286; Cheema, 2002, 88-89).

Each service has a Staff College. The Navy College is in Lahore, the Air War College is in Karachi, and the Army Command and Staff College is in Quetta. There is also a Joint Staff College in Rawalpindi (Cheema, 2002, 37 and 89). Probably the most prestigious of these is the Army Staff College.

The Staff College in Quetta was founded in 1905—one of the few military schools that did not go to India after independence—and is devoted to training its officers for work at brigade- and division-level staffs (Cohen, 1984, 75-79; Cheema, 2002, 81). It provides nearly a year of training, mostly to majors and is modeled on the British Staff College at Camberly. Quetta has a reputation for providing competent but conventional

[135] http://www.paknavy.gov.pk/Pna.htm

training, with little creativity.[136] For instance, it is reportedly more exclusively focused on staff work than western equivalent-colleges (Cohen, 1984). Other critiques of the Staff College are that it neglects analysis of logistics and that its curriculum on Indian strategy is somewhat doctrinaire, superficial, and factually inaccurate.

The highest-level officer training is offered at the National Defense College, founded in 1971 (Cheema, 2002, 81; Aziz, 2008, 85-87). It has two wings; the war course provides instruction in military strategy, mostly to colonels or the equivalent, and the national defense course offers training in policy formulation and implementation. The latter course brings together mostly brigadier generals, and their equivalent, with civilians at joint secretary and equivalent rank. Completion of the NDC is a virtual prerequisite for further advancement in the military. According to a major general who served on the faculty, the NDC is a venue for civilian and military elites to reach consensus on Pakistan's national interest and relevant policies (Aziz, 2008, 88). Instruction is provided almost exclusively by military officers, which is a weakness according to a former US Defense Attache to Pakistan.

The Pakistani armed forces publish a number of military journals at the armed forces-wide level. These are listed in Table 7.4 in order of year publication began.

Table 7.4: Pakistani Armed Forces-wide Journals[137]

Journal Title	Start date	Publisher
Military Digest	1950-55 (ceased)	Military Training Directorate
Hilal (Crescent Moon)	1951	Inter-Services Public Relations
Pakistan Army Journal	1956	Military Training Directorate
Defence Journal	1975	Pathfinder Group
Defence Review	1978	Military Training Directorate
The Citadel	1984	Command and Staff College, Quetta.

[136] COL (Ret) David Smith is a former US Defense Attache who attended the Command and Staff College in Quetta during the Zia era. His remarks were made at a public briefing on September 28, 2007.
[137] Several online sources were used to find journal titles: Ulrich's Periodicals Directory; Library of Congress Online Catalogue;

Pakistan Army Green Book	1990	Army GHQ

Most of the Pakistani military journals published for the armed forces were created roughly 5 to 10 years after independence in 1947. The bulk of the journals added since were created during the period in which General Zia ul-Haq was Chief of Army Staff (1976-88) and President (1977-88).[138]

One feature that stands out is that the publication of these military journals is entrusted to various directorates. The Pathfinder Group seems to be a combined civilian-military enterprise. In other words, the COAS and the Army HQ, for all their power, do not attempt to control the 'message' to the military by relying on a single publishing source, as did the Egyptian and Syrian militaries through their almost-exclusive use of the Political Department for such journals. The Pakistani armed forces are more permissive, and the institutionalization of journal publication is more diffuse, than even Turkey in this regard.

Overall, the military is mostly corporate with respect to educational autonomy. It meets many of the standards of being very corporate, e.g. the number of staff colleges and the existence of a national defense college. But while its academies provide a bachelor's degree, they offer only two years of university education, compared to four years in Turkey. And the quality of Pakistan's senior-officer education is not first-rate, according to multiple sources. Pakistan has a diverse set of military journals, though it trails Turkey in the number published, especially if annual publications are omitted from consideration.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.8: Educational Autonomy

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)

[138] The *Army Green Book* is an annual, so it does not have the same status and influence as the other periodicals. The start date of *The Citadel* is extrapolated from the fact that Volume 11 appeared in 1993.

1995	MC: 3.25
1999	MC: 3.25
2005	MC: 3.25
2008	MC: 3.25

Force Structure

Personnel strength in the Pakistani armed forces was very stable during the period between 1995 and 2006. The largest manpower increase in the active forces came between 1999 and 2000, probably due to the 1999 Kargil crisis. Pakistan had infiltrated forces across the Line of Control in Kashmir, and withdrew them under severe international diplomatic pressure and after inflicting losses on Indian forces.

Kargil had serious ramifications for Pakistani civil-military relations in that a rift emerged between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and General Pervez Musharraf, the Army Chief, over the need for a military withdrawal, which the latter opposed (Rizvi, 2000, 232; Jones, 2003, 267). In any case, the increase in personnel strength was just over 4 percent, which remains within the threshold for a very corporate military.

Table 7.5: Expansion of the Armed Forces in Manpower[139]

Year	1995	1999	2000	2001	2006
Manpower	587,000	587,000	612,000	620,000	619,000

Pakistan's unit structure was mostly stable throughout the period from 1995 to 2006, with the exception of a reorganization between 1998 and 2000, and a subsequent reduction of units between 2001 and 2006, perhaps due to fiscal pressures that also caused Pakistan to defer the purchase of new F-16 fighter aircraft in 2005 (IISS, 2006, 227). Although this was a modest reduction given the overall size of the force, it may

[139] All manpower totals come from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance*, Routledge: London for the years indicated in table.

have had symbolic resonance to a military accustomed to determining the size of the defense budget.

The reorganization primarily involved the reallocation of equipment from 3 armored reconnaissance brigades to create 6 independent mechanized brigades between 1998 and 2001. Subsequently, between 2001 and 2006, Pakistan eliminated a total of 8 independent light and mechanized infantry brigades from the force structure. This change probably had little impact on corporateness, both because it was a modest reduction—not an increase—in the force and because it affected only independent brigades.

Table 7.6: Evolution of Unit Structure—Brigades and Divisions[140]

	1995	1998	2001	2006
Brigades	20 -7 AR -3 AR Recce -9 Inf -1 SF	20 -7 AR -3 AR Recce -9 Inf -1 SF	23 -7 AR -6 Mech -9 Inf -1 SF	15 -7 AR -1 Mech -6 Inf -1 SF
Divisions	22 -2 AR -20 Inf	22 -2 AR -20 Inf	22 -2 AR -20 Inf	21 -2 AR -19 Inf
Corps	9 HQs	9 HQs	9 HQs	9 HQs

As can be seen from Table 7.6, the Pakistani force structure is primarily a division-oriented one, with corps headquarters providing command and control in various potential theaters of conflict. There was little change to this core unit structure, and the armed forces are assessed to have remained very corporate, with the exception of the slight drop in corporateness between 1998 and 2001.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.9: Force Structure

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1995	VC: 4
1999	MC: 3.75
2005	VC: 4
2008	VC: 4

[140] Armor and infantry variants (including 1 infantry "area command" division) only. All unit totals come from the IISS, *The Military Balance*, Routledge: London for the years indicated in table.

Defense Leadership

At the defense leadership level, Pakistani civil-military relations are shaped by several institutional and constitutional features, which have been highlighted by political practice through the years. The Chief of Army Staff, rather than the Defense Minister or the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC), is the most powerful position in the defense arena. This is in large part a reflection of the disproportionate size, seniority and prestige of the Army among the three services (Cheema, 2002, 37).

Two other institutional factors contribute to the relative power of the COAS. One is the fact that the position of Chairman, JCSC was created relatively late—1976—in Pakistan's history (Faruqui, 2001, 37). The JCSC has wielded little actual power, hamstrung by various civil-military dysfunctions. For instance, during General Zia's rule, while he continued to hold the COAS position, the JCSC post was allowed to go vacant for two years. In 1998, PM Nawaz Sharif—thinking that he needed to strengthen the supposed loyalist whom he had promoted over more senior officers (Rizvi, 2000, 232)—appointed General Musharraf to hold both the COAS and JSCS Chairman positions.

Also important, Pakistan's prime minister has typically held the minister of defense portfolio throughout the country's history (Cheema, 2002, 39). While this may theoretically strengthen the prime minister's control over the defense hierarchy, in practice it has not for two reasons. First, Pakistan's elected prime ministers are typically civilian career politicians with few connections and little power within the military establishment; they lack the personal and professional connections of a career officer. And second, the consolidation of the prime and defense ministerships effectively puts the already powerful COAS on more equal footing with the prime minister, since the COAS

reports directly to him.[141] In other words, the vertical chain of command leading from the civilian prime minister to the uniformed COAS through the defense minister exists only on paper.

Additionally, the PM's stature is weakened by the Eighth Amendment to the 1973 constitution, introduced by General Zia in 1985. It strengthened the presidency, particularly by enabling him to dismiss the prime minister (Chawla, 2001; Shah, 2003, 28 and 35-36; Aziz, 2008, 71). Thus the relationship between the president and prime minister was similar to Turkey's 1982 constitutional system. This effectively strengthened the political power of the armed forces, which could engineer the dismissal of a prime minister. This is the constitutional underpinning of the informal leadership "troika," comprised of the president, the prime minister and the army chief of staff (Ziring, 1984, 227; Rizvi, 1998, 98).

Prime Minister Sharif abolished the Eighth Amendment in 1997 (Rizvi, 1998, 98; Aziz, 2008, 78-79). But with his 1999 coup, General Musharraf dismissed Sharif and in 2001 combined the army chief post and the presidency in his person. After a 2002 referendum ratifying his presidency, Musharraf—in a constitutional amendment termed the "legal framework order"—restored to the presidency its powers over the prime minister.

Within the armed forces, the most powerful body after the army chief is the collective group of nine corps commanders (Barracca, 2007; Rizvi, 1998, 98; Rizvi, 2000; Shah, 2003). The army chief typically rises from this group, and a savvy chief acts with the consensus support of his corps commanders. The group meets regularly to

[141] A Pakistani expert on civil-military relations, P3, agreed with this assertion in an e-mail on July 4, 2008.

discuss professional and security issues, as well as domestic subjects ranging from law and order to the political situation.

As a result of his 2002 constitutional amendment, Musharraf created a new National Security Council in 2004. Some view the NSC as a potential way to formalize the military's political influence, in a manner similar to Turkey's NSC (Shah, 2003, 28) and with the potential paradoxically to improve civil-military relations (Faruqui, 2003, 131-132). In this view, the NSC would be a mechanism by which the military plays the role of arbitrator, as in Turkey, rather than governor. While this is not the ideal civil-military relationship, in the Pakistani historical context it would be an improvement.

Under increasing domestic political pressure in 2007, Musharraf set in motion events that restored some integrity to the civil-military chain of command. After his October 2007 reelection as president, he stepped down in November as COAS and appointed General Ashfaq Kayani to that post. Subsequently, Musharraf permitted parliamentary elections in February 2008 and a new coalition government led by Asif Ali Zardari's[142] PPP, along with Nawaz Sharif's party, the Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N), took office in March 2008. Then, in August 2008, under threat of impeachment by the coalition government, Musharraf resigned the presidency and in September parliament elected Zardari to replace him. This formally ended the militarized presidency.

A key civil-military feature of the March 2008 government is its separation of the prime minister and defense minister positions. While the PPP's Yusef Raza Gillani became prime minister, the defense minister was Chaudry Ahmed Mukhtar, also of the PPP (Najam, 2008). But the provisions of the muscular presidency enshrined in the legal

[142] Zardari, Benazir Bhutto's widower, effectively became party head when his wife was assassinated.

framework order remained standing, having withstood—on a technicality—a challenge in the Supreme Court.[143]

It is still early to say whether the new civilian government will be stable and assert control over the military, e.g. through such reforms as the separation of the defense ministry from the prime minister and through a newly civilianized presidency under Zardari. Regarding the creation of the NSC, one civil-military expert has already assessed it to be "powerless" and says it has "played no useful role" since its establishment.[144] This analyst fully expects the military to "intervene again as the ruling power" in coming years.

Although much uncertainty remains in the Defense Leadership picture, the end of overt military governance in 2008 improves corporateness from weak to partial. Moreover, the separation of the presidency and army chief in 2007, and the separation of the prime minister and defense minister positions and the election of a civilian president in 2008, must be judged as additional modest improvements. Overall Pakistan's weak corporateness in this area during General Musharraf's rule improved to partial corporateness under new, civilian leadership in 2008.

Corporateness Assessment Chart 7.10: Defense Leadership

Date	Corporateness Level (and score)
1995	PC: 2
1999	WC: 1
2005	WC: 1
2008	PC: 2.5

[143] http://www.supremecourt.gov.pk/judgment.htm
[144] Personal e-mail correspondence with P2 on July 2, 2008.

The Pakistani Military's Political Values

The political values of the Pakistani military were shaped by the circumstances of the state's birth. The Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader) Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his lieutenants were secular Muslims who saw religion as a private and personal matter (Haqqani, 2005, 1-15). But Jinnah needed and used Islam as a political tool to justify the creation of an independent and sovereign state separate from Hindu India. After independence, Islamism was a readily available worldview with which to maintain the unity of the ethnically and linguistically diverse Pakistani people, whose diversity it was feared might be exploited by India.

Furthermore, the military itself was created during the violent throes of partition and saw itself as the most powerful and capable organization within the new state. It became the state's guardian, fearful of threats to its security from India, and it embraced the Islamic principles on which the state was founded (Cohen, 1984, 33-39; Haqqani, 2005, 24-29). The military's engagement with Islamism was deepened as a practical matter due to regional security problems that Pakistan addressed in part through support to jihadist groups, both to the east in Kashmir since 1947, and to the west in Afghanistan since at least 1979.

At the same time, the military's ethos was affected by its evolution from the British Indian Army, with its professional standards and secular outlook (Cohen, 1984, 55-74; Haqqani, 2005, 29-37). The first two commanders of the Pakistani Army were British officers; not until 1951 did a Pakistani—General Ayub Khan—take command. And the new Pakistani military quickly sought and received US military assistance, both in arms procurement and training. Its military relationships and alliances with the West

reinforced the professional qualities of the military and tempered the role of Islamism, but also raised the stature, capability and interests of the military and its leaders within the state. Generals Ayub Khan, Zia ul-Haq, and Pervez Musharraf each won significant military, political, and economic support from the U.S. and were among the country's longest-serving army chiefs and presidents.[145] Each one took power in a military coup.

From an ideological standpoint, the salient aspects of Pakistani nationalism and the military's worldview were a blend of pragmatic reliance on Western assistance, insecurity about and hostility toward India, and Islam as a national unifying theme (Haqqani, 2005, 43-50). General Zia ul-Haq institutionalized a role for Islam in the military in the late 1970s and 1980s, enhancing its place in the military ethos and downgrading Western practices (Cohen, 1984, 86-97; Cloughley, 2006, 246). For instance, Zia raised the stature of the *maulvis*, or chaplain, assigned to each unit; encouraged officers to wear traditional *sherwani* in public; replaced secular Western symbols—e.g. the owl—with Quranic verses in professional military journals; and introduced Islamic teaching in the military academies, including the Staff College.

After Zia's passing, General Asif Nawaz Janjua (1991 to 1993) and subsequent army chiefs reaffirmed the subordinate role of Islam in the military profession (Rizvi, 2000, 247). A military plot in 1995—headed by MG Zaheer ul-Islam Abbasi, the chief of Infantry—revealed the inroads that extremist versions of Islam had made, as well as the highly variable nature of Islamism (Haqqani, 2005, 237-238; Cloughley, 2006, 295). The military plotters, who were linked to LTG (Ret) Javed Nasir, a former ISI chief, intended

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[145] General Muhammad Musa, army chief during Ayub Khan's presidency, served as army chief for a few months longer than General Khan.

to assassinate the Pakistani army chief and the 9 corps commanders at their regular conclave as a first step toward overthrowing the 'unIslamic' government of PM Bhutto.

Nevertheless, the promotion of Islam as a component of military professionalism cannot produce "a complete model" for Pakistani officers (Cohen, 1984, 92-93) in the way that hewing to Ataturkian principles provides an ideological framework for Turkish officers. Islamism seems to be used more as lens through which to see the world, e.g. to understand interests, opportunities and allies—making possible domestic and foreign alliances between the armed forces and various political parties and jihadist groups—rather than as a set of organizing principles for policy or doctrine.

Elections

The holding of national elections and their status as a legitimacy-bestowing prerequisite for governing in Pakistan has been slow to develop, though provincial elections were held as early as 1951 in several provinces.[146] The first national-level parliamentary elections were not conducted until December 1970, under the regime of General Yahya Khan. Yahya Khan, with the backing of the other top military leaders, had assumed power from Ayub Khan in a bloodless internal transition (Shafqat, 1997, 66-75; Rizvi, 2000, 119-142). At the time, the military viewed elections as preferable to the use of force in suppressing popular unrest that had developed against Ayub Khan. But, while the 1970 elections were conducted freely, the regime was surprised by and decided to ignore the election results—which favored the Awami League in East Pakistan and the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in West Pakistan over the Islamist and right-wing parties favored by the regime. The ensuing unrest became an uprising in the east, and then a civil

[146] The provincial assemblies then chose the members of the national assembly, or parliament.

war in which India intervened. By the end of 1971, the new state of Bangladesh was created and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the PPP, replaced the military president of Pakistan.

The next national elections, held in 1977 by the civilian Bhutto regime, were reputedly rigged (Rizvi, 2000, 158-159; Jones, 2003, 229-230). When Bhutto called in the army to put down subsequent unrest, General Zia ul-Haq took power. He cancelled parliamentary elections scheduled for 1979 and argued that Islamist rule did not require majority support but only being "correct" (Rizvi, 2000, 169). After Zia's 1988 death in a plane crash, new national elections were held (Rizvi, 2000, 203-204). First, however, senior officers met, headed by the new Army Chief, General Mirza Aslam Beg, and spelled out a new set of policy priorities, which included the restoration of democracy. General Beg also publicly expressed the military's support for the holding of free and fair elections.

Subsequently, under civilian governance, elections were held in 1988, 1990, 1993, and 1997 (Rizvi, 2000, 204-232; Jones, 2003, 230 and 276-277). These resulted in alternating governments headed by Benazir Bhutto (in 1988 and 1993), who succeeded her father as head of the PPP, and Nawaz Sharif (in 1990 and 1997), leader of the PML-N. Each of these governments was dissolved before completing its term by a military-backed president using the powers of the Eighth Constitutional Amendment of 1985.

Even so, in light of the country's first four, election-poor decades, it is significant that four national-level elections took place during the terms of three of the next four army chiefs, between 1988 and 1997, with alternating political parties coming to power in the process. These chiefs included General Beg (1988-91), General Abdul Waheed

Kaker (1993-96), and General Jehangir Karamat (1996-98)[147]—and Karamat resigned in 1998 rather than intervene against a civilian government over a policy disagreement. Although parliamentary elections in 2002 were tainted by "the military's manipulations" (Shah, 2003, 28), EU monitors described the 2008 election campaign and elections as "pluralistic" and "competitive" (EU EOM, 2008, 3). But while the elections inspired more "public confidence" than past elections, they still "fell short" of standards for "genuine democratic elections."

One Pakistani civil-military expert, asked whether the future was more likely to resemble the decade of elected civilian governments from 1988 to 1999 or the decade of martial law from 1999 to 2008, answered that the last decade "represents the strongest political tradition of [the] military's expanded role."[148] The 2008 handover to civilians, he said, is merely "a tactical move" required by "political and societal conditions that developed during the last 2-3 years."

Multi-party system

Pakistan has had a multi-party political system since independence, but mostly these have been regional parties, with an ethnic and patrimonial aspect, that have limited national-level appeal (Ziring, 1984; Rizvi, 2000; Haqqani, 2003). The military authorities have played an ambiguous role in the development of the party system. At times in Pakistan's first few decades, the military banned political party activity under martial law. At other times, especially in the last two decades, the military-dominated Inter-services Intelligence agency helped organize multi-party coalitions to improve the

[147] General Asif Nawaz Janjua (1991-93) served less than two years before dying in office of a heart attack; there were no elections during his tenure as army chief.
[148] E-mail correspondence with P1 on July 5, 2008.

electoral prospects of right-leaning parties. Civilian-led governments have also used their power to pressure rival political parties.

One major party that pre-dated independence, the Pakistani Muslim League (PML), *nee* All-India Muslim League, originated in East Bengal but became Punjabi-dominated after independence (Ziring, 1984, 205-218). Another, the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), is an Islamist party with some national appeal (Haqqani, 2003, 21-23 and 101-102). The Awami League, founded in 1949, dominated East Pakistani politics until secession in 1971. With the first declaration of martial law in 1956, political parties were prohibited and re-established only after Ayub Khan implemented the 1962 constitution. The secular National Awami Party polls strongest in the Pashtuni Northwest Frontier and in Baluchistan.

The PML split into two wings in 1962 (Rizvi, 2000, 113). The PML-Q, [149] as it is sometimes called, is a conservative, pro-military party, headed by Ayub Khan in the 1960s. The other wing became known as the PML-N under Nawaz Sharif, and is strongest in Punjab. The Pakistan People's Party, founded in 1967 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was the first West Pakistani party to win large-scale, national support, which it did in the 1970 elections, though its political base is in Sindh.

General Zia's regime was the first to openly court right-wing and Islamist political parties in search of a civilian governing partner (Rizvi, 2000, 174-185). In 1981, the regime banned all political parties and in 1985 held non-party, national elections. The military-dominated Inter-Services Intelligence agency[150] has worked with right-wing, mainly Islamist parties to unite and strengthen them in all the parliamentary elections

[149] The Q is for *Quaid-i-Azam* (Great Leader), a reference to Muhammad Jinnah
[150] The prime minister appoints the ISI Director General and Benazir Bhutto succeeded in appointing a retired major general in 1989, but the ISI leadership is usually active-duty military (Rizvi, 2000, 206).

during the 1988-1997 decade of civilian government (Rizvi, 2000, 192-193; Shah, 2003, 28-31). Prior to the 2002 election, Musharraf's regime further boosted the prospects of the Islamists by establishing as a constitutional requirement that members of the legislature hold a bachelor's degree, and stipulating that a degree earned from a madrasah, or religious school, was the equivalent.

Aside from the military's view of political parties, its opinion of politicians is generally negative. There are exceptions, such as the respect accorded to Jinnah as a founding father. But the military's view that politicians are incompetent, divisive, and derelict—"corrupt" is a frequent epithet—provided context and pretext, if not justification, for every intervention in the post-Zia era (Cloughley, 2006, 266-297 and 336-397).

These negative views remain current and seem deeply ingrained. Pakistan's Ambassador to the US, MG (Ret) Mahmoud Ali Durrani (2006 to 2008) said in 2006 that "political turmoil" in Pakistan is "because of the weakness of our leaders," as well as "problems with the weakness of our civil society and democratic institutions" (Freedburg, 2006, 45-46). Ikram Sehgal, managing editor of the *Defence Journal* and a former army major whose father was a career officer, used less diplomatic language to describe a standoff between the two largest parties in the government in mid-2008.[151] Sehgal described Pakistan as "a state in paralysis" and charged that "ineffective governance in the face of looming crisis is criminal neglect" (Sehgal, 2008).

Freedom of Association

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[151] Summaries of the current edition of the Pakistani Defence Journal are available online in English at www.defencejournal.com. Information about Ikram Sehgal comes from an online summary of his biography, *Pakistan: Quetta Days* (2005), and the website of the All Pakistan Newspaper Society.

Each of Pakistan's 4 military-led governments —Generals Ayub Khan (1958-1969), Yahya Khan (1969-1971), Zia ul-Haq (1977-1988), and Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008)—and the civilian government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-1977) enforced martial law with its attendant restrictions on civil liberties during portions of its rule (Haqqani, 2005, 386). In 1971, the Pakistani military's March 25 crackdown in Dhaka singled out Awami League members, university students, and Hindus (Haqqani, 2005, 71-80). As the conflict went on, intellectuals in the East, such as doctors, professors, literati, and journalists, were targeted by paramilitary troops raised by the army. The military's own estimates of the numbers of civilians killed range from 30,000 to 50,000.

After Zia ul-Haq seized power in 1977, his regime suppressed the PPP, distinguished Muslims from non-Muslims in the electorate, and discriminated against secular political parties through the use of registration criteria (Rizvi, 2000, 177-179; Haqqani, 2005, 139-140). In 1979, Zia's regime became particularly harsh, arresting politicians, academics, journalists, lawyers, and others calling for a return to democracy. In 1981, after 9 parties banded together to form the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, many of its activists were arrested. The regime also imposed restrictions on the travel of opposition party leaders, and harassed and monitored them using the intelligence services. Less senior activists were issued warnings or placed in detention before being arrested.

Musharraf, upon seizing power in 1999, placed restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly that were only lifted a few weeks before the 2002 parliamentary elections. The regime enforced this crackdown more ardently against secular opposition parties than against the Islamists, whose support it counted on (Shah, 2003, 28).

A Pakistani expert views the military's hands-off approach to politics in 2008 as an effort "to retrieve its reputation with the people."[152] The army "retains the capability to intervene in politics," he cautioned, but "in the near future" it is more likely to give "space" to "political leaders." It will "wait for them [to] mess up governance and political management" before intervening directly again.

Freedom of Expression

Using freedom of the press as the primary indicator of freedom of expression, the trends in this category generally track with the expansion and contraction of political space accorded by civilian and military governments. Pakistan has a legacy of a relatively free press dating back to the late 19th century as part of British India (Mansingh, 1984, 31; Menon, 2000) and the press is considered one of the country's stalwartly independent institutions.

As noted earlier, 5 governments—four military and one civilian—have resorted at times to martial law in the last 5 decades. In that time, the longest uninterrupted period without martial law spanned the alternating civilian governments under Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif (1988-1999). Even without martial law, however, PM Sharif employed the coercive tools of his regime against the media in his second term, from 1997 to 1999 (Menon, 2000). Sharif aimed to turn his electoral mandate into overwhelming centralized power and he jailed and harassed the press when it opposed him.

After General Musharraf seized power in 1999, he and the military gave assurances that they would respect press freedoms. This was not due to any liberal inclinations but to distinguish Musharraf from his predecessor and to put the coup in a

[152] E-mail correspondence with P1 on July 5, 2008.

more positive light. Musharraf called on the press to “play a positive and constructive role” (Menon, 2000) and said that some of what was printed “deserves restrictions, but I won’t do that” (Rehmat et. al., 2001). General Musharraf also distinguished among types of criticism, however, saying he would “tolerate” criticism of himself and the government, “but not [criticism] against the country.” LTG Syed Mohammad Amjad, the II Corps Commander appointed in 1999 to be the first director of the new National Accountability Bureau (Abbas, 2005, 184) responsible for investigating corruption, expressed a grudging respect for the press’ independence. The NAB would not investigate the “judges and the press” he said, because the Accountability Bureau “cannot afford it” and it would result in “an unending campaign…about press being in chains” (Rehmat et. al., 2001).

By 2007, however, treatment of the press had worsened and Pakistan was viewed as one of the world’s “Top 10 Backsliders” by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ, 2007). This report covered the 2002-2007 timeframe and its concerns were partly due to a deteriorating security situation in which 8 journalists were killed and about twice that number were abducted. But CPJ also noted that “government security agents interrogate” journalists who talk to certain people, e.g. the Taliban. In early 2008, CPJ reported it was “concerned” that Musharraf’s regime “no longer can guarantee security” for journalists but also that “the government will punish them” over their coverage of the upcoming 2008 elections (CPJ, 2008).

Rule of Law

Much of Pakistan's political history—including its civil-military relations—can be better understood by following the struggle to shape its constitution. The 1973 constitution—the 4th such basic document of governance[153] in its history—underpins Pakistan's current system of laws and government. It was the first such text promulgated by elected civilian representatives (Bajoria, 2008). The 1973 constitution was formulated by the government of PM Zulfikar Ali Bhutto soon after the military government of General Yahya Khan withdrew from power over the 1971 fiasco of East Pakistani secession. All political parties agreed on the parliamentary form of government defined in the constitution, and the military—beneficiary of a generous defense budget—acquiesced (Haqqani, 2005, 105).

The 1973-origin parliamentary system gave the popularly elected civilian prime minister more power than the military was willing to tolerate, however, and after General Zia seized power in 1977, he amended the constitution to strengthen the president. As the president does not rely on popular support—he is elected by the parliament—and the Eighth Amendment of 1985 empowered the president to dismiss the prime minister, the army chief effectively became an extra-constitutional powerbroker in a tripolar political system (Haqqani, 257-258).

The struggle between parliament and president resumed when PM Nawaz Sharif, flush with electoral success, overturned the Eight Amendment in 1997 (Haqqani, 2005, 258-259; Abbas, 2005, 227-229). General Musharraf's coup in 1999 enabled him to re-

[153] The newly independent state relied on the Government of India Act of 1935, which empowered the Governor-General, the head of state, to dismiss the parliament; the 1956 constitution, prepared by a national assembly chosen by the elected provisional assemblies, established a presidential-parliamentary system with a dominant president; and the 1962 constitution—established during military rule—arrogated more power to the president and required that he or the defense minister be a former army officer of at least lieutenant general rank (Bajoria, 2008).

establish the powers of the president—which he was careful to do only after strengthening his legitimacy through a popular presidential referendum in May 2002. The civilian government elected in February 2008 seeks to restore the preeminence of parliamentary rule (Bajoria, 2008). The focus of its effort in this regard is to restore a number of Supreme Court justices removed by Musharraf in 2007. The governing coalition led by the PPP and PML-N parties will rely on the judges to back constitutional changes that restore parliamentary power.

The central role of the constitution in the political power struggle between civilians and the military highlights the complexity of this relationship, as well as the military's determination to retain a means of political intervention short of seizing power. Far more than the Turkish military, Pakistan's army is unwilling to abide by unfettered civilian decision-making for long, apparently due to a combination of reasons, including its corporate interests and institutional ethos, as well as its perception of civilian fallibility. As one Pakistani civil-military expert noted, "the current [civilian] government" is "a fragile coalition" with "too much on its plate" while "the army continues to be the fountainhead of power."[154] Even under this civilian government, he said, the military retains full control of "foreign policy and defense matters." The institution is "is very large and very well-funded" and, until it is "rationalized, it won't let civilians run the show."

Corporate Variants and Political Liberalization

A partially to mostly corporate military with pro-Islamist values in a paternalistic guardianship and milbus role

[154] E-mail correspondence with P2 on July 4, 2008.

The Pakistani military likely has been partially corporate for most of its history. It has maintained consistently strong institutions for managing and educating personnel, but overall corporateness has generally ebbed and flowed, depending mainly on whether it or civilians governed the country. Improvements in corporateness in 2007 and 2008 brought the military to mostly corporate in 2008, for the only time since at least 1995. The political values of the military have also been consistent, though the officers have become more conservative in their personal religious views (Nawaz, 2008). And the military has held firmly to its guardianship role throughout this period as well, though it has also behaved as a military corporation with extensive economic business and commitments.

At first glance, the Pakistani military and its corporate variant seem to provide an opportunity for comparison with Turkey. The corporateness variable and the corporate model of both seem similar enough to potentially treat as control variables, enabling a closer examination of whether the pro-Islamist or the secular political values of the Pakistani and Turkish military, respectively, are responsible for different levels of military support for liberalization and democratization.

The Pakistani military has seized power from civilian governments 3 times since independence in 1947, and a 4th military government—headed by Yahya Khan—took power from Ayub Khan when the latter's health was failing (Mazhar, 2008). This roughly approximates the frequency of intervention exhibited by the Turkish military during a similar period of time.

But there are several reasons to think that its Islamist orientation is not the key factor that distinguishes the Pakistani military's stance toward liberalization from Turkey's. For one thing, a closer look at Pakistan's military corporateness reveals some

key differences with Turkey. Pakistani military corporateness appears to have been consistently about a half-point to a full point lower than Turkey's. And as the earlier case studies have shown, there does seem to be a correlation of corporateness with political liberalization.

Regarding the nature of corporate differences, the Pakistani military, on occasions that it intervened, exhibited greater chain of command integrity and organizational cohesiveness than the Turkish military in the latter's earlier—1960 and 1971—coups. For instance, each Pakistani military coup has been led by the senior-ranking military officer, the chief of army staff. His outlook and strategic vision has been crucial to the development of the army's political values. But while Islamism is a force in Pakistani domestic politics and foreign policy, only General Zia—of the army chiefs who seized power—set out deliberately to Islamize the military and the state. General Musharraf's 1999-2008 rule was a strategic muddle, largely characterized by his use of Islamists domestically, and jihadists regionally, even as he cooperated with Washington against them on other fronts.

There is some room for considering international explanations, particularly the strategic environment, to be relevant in the Pakistani case. But this requires viewing one of the key potential factors—Islamism—mainly as an international driving force, when it is clearly a domestic factor as well. In other words, it can be argued that Pakistan's insecurity with respect to India is an international factor, and even that Islamabad's use of jihadists and the spiraling conflict that feeds Pakistan's insecurity are linked to the original imbalance of Indo-Pakistani power. But the prior decision of Pakistan's founding fathers to separate from India—mainly a result of their fear of being a permanent Muslim

minority after independence—was not internationally-driven. Moreover, there are enough examples of democratizing or democratic states with security concerns—including much of Europe and parts of Asia—that regional insecurity alone cannot explain the tenuous status of Pakistan's democracy.

The main weaknesses in Pakistani military corporateness differ from Turkey's corporate vulnerabilities and seem to explain much of the military's poor record on democratization. For one thing, the change in mission focus associated with governing has been much more extensive in Pakistan—due to lengthier periods of military rule—than in Turkey. The longest period of Turkish military rule followed the 1980 coup, when a military junta governed for 3 years, turning power over to civilian technocrats in 1983 and elected civilian government in 1987. In Pakistan, by contrast, each of the 3 coups against civilian governments was followed by a minimum of 8 years of military rule.[155]

And it was not only the tenure of military rule in Pakistan that was different. Once Zia passed the law mandating that 10 percent of government staff positions be filled by military personnel, the military had a formal role in government even under civilian administrations. These factors formed a major difference in the nature of corporateness, imbuing the Pakistani variant with a different understanding of its guardianship role. The latter's is enduringly paternalistic and hands-on as opposed to Turkey's temporary and tutelary variant of guardianship.

One other significant difference in the corporate variant of the Pakistani military is that it practices "milbus" (Siddiqa, 2007), or the military corporation model (Mora, 2004). In other words, the military's guardianship role is heavily overlaid with concern

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[155] Ayub Khan and then Yahya Khan ruled from 1958 to 1971, Zia ul-Haq from 1977 to 1985 (with behind-the-scene control until his death in 1988), and Pervez Musharraf from 1999 to 2008 (Mazhar, 2008).

for military corporate and personal profits. According to Siddiqa (2007, 2), “military capital”—its investments and other economic interests—shapes the military’s preferences and is “the major driver for the armed forces’ stakes in political control.” Subsequently, the military’s political behavior is best characterized as “predatory,” not pro-democratic. Military capital is neither transparent nor accountable, but its value is enhanced by the military’s ability to shape state, society, and economy.

Although Siddiqa views the Turkish and Pakistani militaries as two sides of the same coin regarding milbus—e.g. indicating that each military is similarly engaged in business—she examines only the Pakistani military’s business dealings in detail. My own finding in these two abbreviated case studies is that the Pakistani military is much more directly involved, as a corporate entity, in the economy. This is evident both in the extent to which Pakistani military units are engaged directly in the national infrastructure and the direct involvement of senior active-duty military officers in directing economic affairs.

Finally, with respect to whether the Pakistani military’s more Islamist outlook explains differences in political behavior and in levels of support for democracy, it must be noted that the level of freedom in Pakistan has equaled its level in Turkey at times, according to Freedom House. For instance, between November 1987 and December 1989—after Zia returned government to elected civilians—it was evaluated as 3/3 in political rights/civil liberties, the same as Turkey’s score from 2004 to the present. Although the late 1980s preceded the timeframe covered in this study, there is no reason to think that Islamism in the military was significantly less in the 1980s than today. The

increased conservatism in the military described by Nawaz (2008) pertains more to personal piety than political Islamism.

Conclusions

The primary difference within the military since the beginning of this year is that the military has become—though barely and tenuously so—mostly corporate, as depicted in Figure 8.2. Most of the gains in corporateness can be traced to the gradual transfer of power from President Musharraf to military and civilian officials. This shift included depoliticizing the military, beginning in November 2007 with the appointment of General Kayani as the new chief of army staff and continuing with his order in February 2008 that reversed the presence of military officers in almost two-dozen government agencies. In addition, the appointment of a civilian defense minister in March 2008—rather than keeping that post in the prime minister's portfolio—contributed, at least formally, to corporateness. In parallel with and overlapping that process, civilian rule and the presidency were gradually demilitarized. Key milestones included the February 2008 elections, the resignation of Musharraf—under parliamentary threat of impeachment—in August, and the election of Asif Ali Zardari, a civilian president, in September.

Each of these developments represents an improvement to military corporateness, but the improvements are tenuous; they might be reversed. Until the both the mechanisms and the habit of civilian control is established, the military may intervene again. The consensus of specialists on Pakistani civil-military affairs seems to be that the military will give civilians some space to govern in the near term—largely because of perceptions

that the era of Musharraf's rule was unsuccessful—but that renewed military intervention is likely in the future.[156]

While public and military perceptions of Musharraf's rule seem to compel the military to refrain from intervention in the near term, military leadership and political and strategic developments in Pakistan and the region will play key roles in this issue. General Kayani has expressed an interest in increasing the professionalism of the military and resisting the pressures or temptations to intervene (Nawaz, 2008). His February 2008 order to withdraw military personnel from government offices indicates that he is serious on this point.

But Pakistan is increasingly discussed as a potential "failed state." The chaos that this characterization denotes, if true, could only be controlled by the military. In the past, civilian governments such as Zulfiqar Bhutto's that imposed martial law to restore law and order found themselves deposed by the military. Thus, we might already be watching a recurring slide toward military intervention. However, an alternative view is possible.

This view holds that the current unpopularity of Musharraf's recent military government is sufficiently strong that the military will commit itself to working in cooperation with the elected civilian government. The civilian government, recognizing the country's dire straits, will not push its formal ability—e.g. Pakistan People's Party control of the presidency and pre-eminence in the parliament—to control the military so far as to exacerbate military concerns about its freedom of action. It is possible, in other words, that a civil-military *modus vivendi* can be reached that includes some compromise on each side in order to stabilize the country. Such accommodation in the near term, if successful—meaning restoration of order along the western border and subduing the

[156] Based on private e-mail exchanges with 4 Pakistan civil-military experts.

jihadist movement—would enhance the civilian government's prestige sufficiently that the likelihood of military intervention would be further diminished.

Conclusions

Military corporateness and political liberalization

Two aspects of Pakistani military corporateness are particularly notable and worth highlighting here. These are the degree of correlation between corporateness and liberalization and the two categories of corporateness that are most directly linked to the ebb of freedom and the anticipated improvement in Freedom House measurements of it for 2008.

As depicted in Figure 8.1, political liberalization in Pakistan—specifically, its political rights, i.e. the categories of elections and a multi-party system—worsened dramatically in 1999. This development—stemming from General Musharraf's coup—coincided with changes in the army and in civil-military relations that resulted in a worsening of military corporateness in the same year, as shown in Figure 8.2. There were two key developments that indicated a deterioration of corporateness in 1999. One was the military's assumption of a governing role, which further compromised its mission focus. The other was the fact that after Musharraf, the army chief, seized power, he had himself elected president but retained his army post—in violation of the constitution.

When corporateness began to improve after 2005, the main changes came in the same two categories—Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership. The changes again seemed to tie directly to the later, anticipated improvement in political liberalization.

Mission Exclusivity improved as the military withdrew from government—and not solely at the executive level. The military's involvement in government throughout the nominally civil service was reversed by General Kayani's 2008 order. This instructed that military personnel be withdrawn from 23 civil departments of government, ranging from the National Highway Authority and the Ministry of Education to the Water and Power Development Authority and the National Accountability Bureau (Masood, 2008a). If carried out fully, this would reverse a military presence in the government that has existed since the Zia era, regardless of whether civilians or the military led the country.

The overall improvement in Defense Leadership was a modest half-point, but underlying this is the potential for further improvement—if some nominal indicators of civilian control have a substantive payoff. Two important measures involved elections, including the competitive election of a new parliament in February 2008, and the parliament's election in September of a new president to replace Musharraf.

Separate steps to separate merged civilian and military positions also nominally improved civilian control. One was Musharraf's relinquishing of the COAS position in November 2007, which met a constitutional requirement. The other step was the choice made by the new civilian governing coalition in March 2008 to separate the posts of prime minister and defense minister, both held by PPP members. These measures together indicate a new beginning for civil-military relations in Pakistan. But whether the fresh start translates into a new reality remains in doubt and a number of Pakistani civil-military experts are skeptical about the long-term intentions of the military.

A final point about corporateness and political liberalization is that the mission and leadership categories are two areas in which direct links between corporateness and

liberalization can be identified. This study claimed only that the correlation of corporateness and liberalization is worth testing and examining. It is hard to imagine political rights and civil liberties expanding so long as the military is more interested in politics than professional matters, or when martial law is in effect, or if a minority sectarian or ethnic group dominates the armed forces. But the emergence of a direct link is worth exploring further in future research.

One caveat must be noted regarding this claim of correlation and direct links. That is that Pakistani liberalization for 2008 has yet to be measured by Freedom House. The events that undoubtedly foretell an improvement include the end of Musharraf's state of emergency, imposed in 2007; the elections in February 2008, rated "competitive" by the European Union; and the changeover from military to elected civilian government that took office in March 2008. Although the governing civilian coalition collapsed in August 2008, it succeeded in forcing Musharraf's resignation and elected Zardari, a civilian successor, in September.

The military's political values

The Pakistani military's political values provide a useful contrast to the other cases; its military is the most outwardly pro-Islamist. For some observers, a contrast between Turkey and Pakistan in terms of the military's political values and the country's Freedom House ranking must prove that secularism is more favorable for democracy than Islamism.

But, assuming the issue could be reduced to a single variable, this would overlook the fact that Pakistan's highest score in political rights (a 3 in 1995) ranked higher than

Egypt and Syria at any time during this study. And Pakistan's 2008 score may also rival the highest rankings achieved by the two Arab countries.[157] Syria, whose military values secularism—embodied in its Ba'thist principles—as much as Turkey's, was the least free of the four cases, according to Freedom House.

Perhaps the Pakistani military's strongest value of the 5 categories considered here is its long-standing recognition of the multi-party political system's validity. Although martial law has been invoked frequently and it typically results in pressure on civil society, the last time parties were banned was in the early 1980s during the rule of General Zia ul-Haq. On the other hand, the military considers itself a legitimate actor in the political party system and works with several pro-Islamist parties against the larger mainstream parties that oppose military rule.

Similarly, Pakistan and the military appear to have progressed beyond the early decades in which the first national election was not conducted for almost a quarter-century after independence. The 1988-1997 period in particular heralded a new era characterized by relatively free elections. The military felt entitled to tilt the playing field by helping to form and fund a coalition of conservative, Islamist parties, but was not willing to pervert the process sufficiently to ensure victory. Its preferred coalition did not win any of the 4 parliamentary elections contested over the course of the decade. Musharraf's regime demonstrated that the integrity of national elections is not yet an absolute value in the military mindset, though holding them is increasingly ingrained.

Turning to the categories represented as civil liberties, the military's most pro-liberalization value is the respect it accorded the media. As a result, military views of

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[157] In 1984 and 1985, Egypt was rated Partly Free by Freedom House, with a score of 4/4 in political rights/civil liberties (see Chapter 3). Syria's highest score came in 1977 through 1979 when it was also rated Partly Free, but with a score of 6/5 in political rights/civil liberties.

freedom of expression are relatively supportive. It is not entirely clear why the press is granted such independence, but part of the answer from the military perspective may be the logic in giving space to a profession that can provide the public with independent appraisals of the behavior of politicians and credible assessments of the threats facing the country—internally and from abroad. In this view, an independent media is useful because it provides credible information to the public that tends to support the military's desire for a large budget, domination of the foreign policy agenda, and—when civilian cooperation and effectiveness breaks down—intervention.

Among the strongest patterns visible in the history of Pakistani civil-military relations—as in Turkey—is the struggle over the constitution. The focal point is the extent to which the parliamentary system will be dominated by a civilian prime minister or this power will be tempered by a military-backed president. The 1973 Bhutto-era constitution seems to be accepted by all sides, but the Eighth Amendment pertaining to the president's powers has been fought over by both military and civilian governments to uphold their warring interpretations. The military has been more successful in imposing its interpretation.

The military's ability to impose its will essentially derives from its willingness to use force. Each time it has imposed the Eighth Amendment followed a military coup. The civilian version of the constitution lasted only for four years under Zulfikar Bhutto and two years under Nawaz Sharif. Even so, it is not clear that the military will seize power solely to overthrow the parliamentary version of the constitution.[158] But the military's

[158] Zia's intervention in 1977 was the result of civic unrest provoked by the civilian-rigged election and enabled by Bhutto's imposition of martial law. Musharraf seized power in 1999 after Sharif tried to prevent his return from an overseas trip. Although the military was uneasy over Sharif's centralization of power, the primary civil-military dispute at the time related to the Kargil crisis.

doggedness in restoring to the president the constitutional prerogative to dismiss the prime minister indicates this is a key military interest.

The military's corporate variants

The military's corporate variant—which combines a guardianship role with a military corporation outlook—has resulted in a very ambiguous relationship to Pakistani democratization. Pakistan's 3 periods of lengthy military rule, and continuous lower level participation of the military in government between 1980 and 2008 have undermined both civilian control of the military and Pakistani democracy.

The military corporation variant practiced by the military further detracts from Pakistan's democratic potential and adds to the military's interventionist impulses. Military capital in predatory cases like Pakistan is largely off-the-books and not subject to civilian scrutiny or oversight, thus contributing to in-adherence to democratic principles. And, in light of the military's wide-ranging investments, prolonged instability could lead the military to intervene to restore order and protect its investments.

There is paradoxically an opportunity to advance civilian control and widen the current space in which democratization is again being practiced in Pakistan. This is the combined result of the de-legitimization of military rule due to Musharraf and the urgent need for civil-military cooperation in face of increasingly bold jihadist attacks, which have targeted both civilian leaders and the military in recent months.

The military likely will continue to play at least a backstage role in influencing the policies pursued by elected civilian governments. Over time, however, and crucially if the state can defeat the jihadist threat, the civilian government may win enough time

and prestige to institutionalize and normalize the formal elements of civilian control that it has gained in the past year. The possibility of failure is significant.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

Introduction and Overview

This project posed a simple, timely, and policy-relevant research question: can Muslim world militaries support political liberalization and if so, under what conditions? Implicit in the question is the notion that the military and civil-military relationships are worth examining as a variable in political liberalization. And the question implies too the possibility of an affirmative answer—that under certain conditions, these militaries may contribute positively to liberalization.

This proposition is somewhat counter-intuitive—we know from the democratization literature that military obedience of civilian rulers is a pre-requisite for democracy. Thus, any activist military seemingly would be—by definition—anti-democratic. Yet, upon recognizing the key role that militaries play in various authoritarian, semi-authoritarian, and quasi-democratic regimes, in those contexts, the converse may at times be true. Perhaps in these situations, a certain type of military may support political liberalization—typically an opening in the political system and often the first breath of democratization.

In studying the military and civil-military relations in this context and in a study of this scope, it is necessary to suspend judgment about whether the military is justified in intervening or not intervening in certain circumstances, or whether the outcome of the intervention provided *post facto* justification. This study brackets examination of environment external to the military and civil-military relations. The social, political, and economic environment is only discussed to provide context to the military's political values and to measure political liberalization so that the hypotheses can be tested.

One of the key findings of this study is that there is fairly consistent evidence of a correlation between military corporateness and political liberalization. Additionally, there is almost certainly a link between the military's political values and its support for liberalization. Conclusions here are more tentative largely because the political values variable is difficult to operationalize and measure in a systematic and comparable manner. Military journals are a reliable source for understanding the military's values. This is particularly so in cases, e.g. much of the Arab world, in which military obedience of civilians makes it difficult to interpret political values based on military actions.

The interaction of these two independent variables was captured in a number of corporate variants. These corporate models provided a framework for understanding the military's outlook toward political liberalization. The most pro-democratic corporate variant among the case studies was Turkey's, in which the military is mostly corporate, holds Kemalist political values, and envisions its guardianship role as entitling it to intervene only temporarily and in circumstances of extreme political instability. The Turkish military variant appears increasingly willing and able to accommodate, within constitutional parameters, the very different political values of the country's pro-Islamist political party, allowing space for democratization to deepen.

The military that is least supportive of democracy among these cases is Syria, which has a weakly corporate military, with Ba'thist principles. Its principal corporate variant is the party-army, but this has become increasingly overlaid with other models, including a corrupt version of the military corporation, as well as a largely sectarian-based, Alawi leadership. Syria's multi-layered corporate variant leaves the military corrupt, unrepresentative of society, and anti-democratic.

The remainder of this chapter summarizes the main conclusions from the 4 case studies and draws additional key findings from them. It assesses the generalizability of the approach and its findings, which it views as relevant broadly to republics in the developing world. Thus, the study's applicability is not restricted to Arab or Muslim world militaries.

The chapter also highlights the policy implications of the conclusions, and the subsequent recommendation that US policymakers structure foreign military aid more carefully to incentivize it. Although this raises the prospect of US officials working more closely in some cases with military personnel in less-than-democratic regimes, the inherent political sensitivity is mitigated since the recipient countries would either be current recipients of US aid or future recipients that qualify by meeting certain conditions.

The last section offers recommendations of related research topics that may expand our understanding of key aspects of military corporateness, political values, and political liberalization. Foremost among these is how closely Presidents Asad and Sadat saw the link between improved military corporateness and political liberalization. For instance, they seemed to recognize each as an important step in preparing for the October 1973 War and its aftermath. But did they also believe political liberalization would be more achievable if they corporatized their militaries?

Evaluating military corporateness and political liberalization

The first hypothesis tested was evidence of a link between military corporateness and political liberalization.

H1: More fully corporate militaries are likely to support political liberalization. Thus, there is a correlation between improved military corporateness and political liberalization. Conversely, less corporate militaries are unlikely to promote or support political liberalization, so worsening corporateness is likely to correlate with reduced liberties.

This study found a consistent correlation between the improvement of military corporateness and increased political liberalization in each of the four cases, with one partial exception. Several additional key findings emerge. One is an indication that the depth of change matters, especially for less corporate militaries, whereas in mostly corporate militaries a small improvement may affect liberalization. Another key finding pertains to the role of civilians in initiating military organization reforms. An additional set of findings pertains to the utility of the categories of corporateness. Two categories—Mission and Leadership—are particularly insightful, but a third category—Force Structure—should be discarded or modified.

Regarding the first key finding, the strongest correlation of military corporateness and political liberalization appeared in the cases of Egypt and Syria, during the 1970s. The correlation was weakest in Turkey during the period from 1995 to 2008. A review of the correlation of corporateness and liberalization in each of the four cases will help draw some lessons about the relationship.

In Egypt, there is a very clear correlation between the increased military corporateness in the 1970s and an upswing in political liberalization, which peaked in 1976-77. The improvement in military corporateness preceded political liberalization. Military corporateness improved between 1965 and 1976 by over 70 percent, from an

initial measurement of 1.5 to a score of 2.6. In other words, corporateness improved from weak to partial, and approached mostly corporate. In 1976, Egypt's score in liberalization improved significantly, from "not free" to "partially free," according to Freedom House. Egypt's combined score in political rights/civil liberties improved from 6/6 to 5/4, a total of 3 points.

During Husni Mubarak's presidency—the earlier noted exception—military corporateness dropped slightly to 2.65 in 1985, a decrease of under 4 percent. At the same time, political liberalization improved slightly in 1984, from scores of 5/5 in political rights and civil liberties, to 4/4 in those categories. The overall ranking remained "partially free." Over the remainder of the decade, corporateness improved again to just above its level at the beginning of the decade. Meanwhile, liberalization fell slightly in 1986—but Egypt was still "partially free"—and remained unchanged through 1990.

The context and likely explanation for the Mubarak case is that there was no significant change in either corporateness or political liberalization during the Mubarak-era 1980s. That decade for the Egypt case is best considered a 'no test,' rather than an invalidation of H1.

In Syria too, the evidence shows a correlation between the improvement of military corporateness and an increase of political liberalization under the Asad regime. The improvement in military corporateness began when LTG Asad was Syria's defense minister, starting in 1966, and continued through the mid-1970s. The overall improvement in corporateness from 1965 to 1976, from 1.4 to 2.05, was nearly 50 percent. Corporateness improved one level, from weak to partial. The improvement in corporateness was followed by an improvement in liberalization, from "not free" to

“partially free.” Syria’s combined score in political rights/civil liberties improved by a total of 3 points, from 7/7 as late as 1973 to 5/6 in 1977.

Moreover, after the peak of liberalization—which lasted from 1977 through 1979—Syria experienced a downturn in liberalization that correlated with a downturn in corporateness. Between 1980 and 1985, military corporateness fell from 2.05 to 1.35, a drop of almost 35 percent. The downturn in liberalization began in 1980 and resulted in Syria falling from “partially” to “not free,” according to Freedom House. The erosion of both corporateness and liberalization may be taken as evidence of a further correlation that further confirms H1.

Turning to the abbreviated case studies, Turkey also experienced a correlation between military corporateness and political liberalization, though it was less pronounced than the other confirming cases. Overall, corporateness improved from 3.2 to 3.5, or 9 percent, between 1995 and 2005, and then to 3.55 in 2008. Meanwhile, liberalization improved from a 4/5 in political rights/civil liberties in 2001 to a 3/3 in 2004, with the initial gain coming in 2002. Turkey’s rating according to Freedom House remained “partially free” throughout the period, but its overall gain in political rights/civil liberties was 3 points.

The Pakistan case provides further support for hypothesis H1. Military corporateness and political liberalization fell together in the late 1990s, highlighting a correlation that supports the hypothesis. This development stemmed from the Musharraf coup, resulting in a roughly 15 percent downturn in corporateness between 1995 and 1999, from a score of 2.9 to 2.45. Pakistan also experienced an anticipated positive correlation, as military corporateness improved from 2.5 in 2005 to 3 in 2008. This

represents an improvement of 20 percent, which came in the years just prior to an anticipated improvement in political liberalization—pending Freedom House's rating for 2008—based on the holding of relatively free and fair elections in February and the subsequent restoration of power to an elected civilian government and president.

The study also found that stronger increases in corporateness support deeper improvements in liberalization. This is most apparent in the two main cases, Egypt and Syria. It also seems to be the case that, once significant gains in corporateness have been made, further minor increases or decreases do not necessarily correspond to changes in liberalization. This may help explain the lack of correlation between corporateness and liberalization in the 1980s, during Mubarak's presidency.

The data for Turkey points to a different possible finding. Because the Turkey case is out of tune with the finding that strength of improvement or change matters, it may indicate that at high levels of corporateness—Turkey's military is mostly corporate and approached very corporate by 2008—a country may be at a threshold for improved liberalization. Thus, small improvements in corporateness, or improvements in key areas, e.g. Defense Leadership, may be sufficient to precipitate liberalization. This is particularly true if liberalization is relatively low, as Turkey's score of 5/5 in political rights/civil liberties in 1995 suggested.

An additional key finding identifies the importance of civilian leadership for initiating corporate reforms in the military. But to do this, civilian leaders must have knowledge of and authority over the military. In fact, in 3 of the 4 cases, the improvements in corporateness were driven mainly by former military officers in executive roles, i.e. the civilianized ex-military presidents of Egypt, Syria, and Pakistan.

The primary factor behind this is probably that the ex-military executives held a unique position, in which they had authority over and understanding of the military sufficient to plan, launch, and monitor reforms that would improve corporateness, but presumably within desired parameters. And of course, these ex-military presidents knew the regime parameters within which a more corporate military would operate.

Another related prospective finding, emerges from the top-driven nature of both military corporateness and political liberalization in Syria and Egypt. Both initiatives were begun by new civilian leadership who soon cooperated in launching a major war against Israel. This raises the prospect that there was more than coincidence behind the political and military reforms. The presidents of Syria and Egypt shared several concerns. They were new in office; they were trying to win over key sectors of the population and the state bureaucracy; and they had to prepare their armed forces for war—and by mid- or late-1972, at least for Egypt, this was a certain war, not just a contingency. Surprisingly, given the plethora of studies on the two countries and their leaders, there does not seem to be any detailed investigation of the premise that *infitah* and improvements to the military institution may have been two sides of the same strategic vision.

In Pakistan, where the military is reluctant to submit to civilian oversight, Musharraf's dual-hatted status as president and chief of army staff enabled him to initiate reforms to corporateness. In Turkey, some improvements to corporateness, e.g. in the civil-military balance of the National Security Council and its input to the government, seemed essentially to have resulted from mutual civil-military accommodation. The primary incentive for compromise was external, i.e. the European harmonization criteria.

Other key findings relate to the utility of various categories of corporateness. While there is no accurate means of weighting certain categories to increase their impact over other categories, it does seem clear that some categories are more important as barometers of corporateness than others.

The two categories that seem to best capture the overall nature of corporateness are Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership. These categories typically reflect the quality of overall civil-military relations. As a consequence, they also leave a mark on the military's political values. For instance, the military's mission and whether it has the exclusive prerogative of bearing arms to defend the state is not a matter solely decided by military officers. Rather, it is typically the product of history and the resulting political culture. These shape civilian and military approaches to the question of national security and how best to achieve it.

Thus, militaries that take on a national guardian role usually do so because of previous political history, including the perceived dysfunction of ancien or modern regime civilians, as with the Ottoman sultanate, or Pakistan's feuding politicians. The desire of civilians to find an outlet for military energy, other than in politicking and war fighting, may lead to the development of an entrepreneurial military, as in Egypt. And a history of politically fractious politics may contribute to inveterate praetorianism, which in turn leads to the bifurcation of the armed forces, as in Syria. And of course, such a military may lose its exclusive focus on the external defense mission in multiple ways, resulting in a military that is structurally bifurcated, has multiple security responsibilities—both internal and external—and is engaged legally and extra-legally in the economy.

Certain aspects of Defense Leadership also affect the entire military, influencing its political values or its corporateness or both. In both Egypt and Syria, the stagnation at the top-most ranks, due to a civilian preference for loyalty and aversion to ambition, undermines the integrity of the senior military command structure. In Syria, the situation was exacerbated by Ba'thist and then minority Alawi control of key security posts.

And as has been noted regarding Western civilian control of the military, divided civilian authority enables the military to assert its autonomy more freely (Avant, 1994). In Turkey, the constitutional bifurcation of civilian control—between president and prime minister—and the wartime authority of the military chief of staff, leave an opening for political initiatives by the military that constantly reinforce the guardianship mythology. In Pakistan too, the constitution is crucial to the activist role played by the military, since it gives the president authority to dismiss the prime minister, allowing the army chief a means of circumventing the latter's authority. In both Turkey and Pakistan, a history of this sort of intervention reinforces the military's tendency to view the guardianship role as its prerogative.

A final point about Mission Exclusivity and Defense Leadership is that these categories mostly strongly represent areas in which military corporateness has a direct, potentially causal relationship to political liberalization. This insight emerges in the non-Arab Muslim-world cases. For instance, in Turkey the military has been more subtle in playing its guardianship role and the primary institution through which it intervened in politics, the National Security Council, has been modified to strengthen civilian standing. This change is directly related to improvements in corporateness and is also an aspect of liberalization, as it rests in the EU harmonization basket. And in Pakistan, the

rationalization of civil-military relations—through newly elected civilian leadership and the separation of key civilian and military posts that had been unified in one person—contributed directly to both corporateness and liberalization.

The argument this dissertation makes is that, even without a causal link, improvements in corporateness are a necessary condition for political liberalization. Political rights and civil liberties are unlikely to expand if the military is more interested in politics than professional matters, or when martial law is in force, or if a minority sectarian or ethnic group dominates the armed forces.

The military has greatest control over two other categories of corporateness, Personnel System and Educational Autonomy. Typically, these categories are not directly affected by civil-military relations, although there are exceptions. For instance, in Syria's case the personnel system, whether factionalized by the intervention of political parties or united under Ba'thist principles, has long reflected ongoing societal pressures.

But for the most part, the personnel and education systems of the military are largely a reflection of institutionalization. They are areas in which 'best practices' can be adopted and procedures can be standardized and practiced by all members of the profession. To some extent, the degree of educational autonomy may reflect budgetary considerations, i.e. adequate funding to operate quality military academies and colleges that provide training to professionals at junior officer, field-grade, and general officer ranks. Similarly, funding must be available to publish military journals for each service and various military branches, as well as for officers, and for the armed forces as a whole.

Institution building, including budget allocation, is largely a matter of choice, however. This is especially true at the level of creating academies and journals, and

establishing practices, e.g. for recruiting and promoting personnel. Each of the four militaries examined here have significant influence in the formulation of the defense budget and presumably control how money for operations and maintenance is spent.

The four categories of personnel, education, mission, and leadership, while not weighted, represent a good balance between civil-military and military institutional factors. The two categories most reflective of civil-military relations probably have the most weight in determining corporateness. Whether it is because they reflect societal influences that find their way into other categories of corporateness or because the defense leadership and the mission affect everything the military does and how they do it, these categories are the most revealing.

And though personnel and education systems have less far-reaching impact on corporateness, they each are important in that they reflect the institutionalization of the armed forces in key areas. A military with meritocratic recruitment procedures, particularly for the officer corps, and a high-caliber education system, is likely to produce quality leadership and to protect the institutional integrity and effectiveness of the military.

The fifth category of corporateness, Force Structure, is revealed in this study to be something of a wild card category. In reality, force structure does not contribute to corporateness, but has the ability—when in flux, usually in expansion of the military—to detract from it. Even so, it must be emphasized that much of the impact on corporateness during times of rapid growth is potential. During expansion of the force structure, new units are created, large numbers of new personnel are inducted in the military, and the

need for officers to command and staff these units and personnel increases significantly in a short period of time.

As a result, the opportunity exists for practices and procedures to be disrupted and for new or different values to be introduced into the military. The existing corporate structure changes in some ways and its identity may be affected as well. The more corporate a military is in other areas, the better it is likely to be able to handle rapid change in force structure.

It is hard to capture the result of a change in force structure in the existing corporateness assessment chart. But it does seem more realistic to assess a reduction in corporateness to rapid expansion than to assess an increase in corporateness to a force structure that is stable. The assessment of Syrian force structure stands out as an example of the difficulty in assessing this category. Cordesman's (1987) assessment in the wake of Syria's 1982-1985 force expansion, that the military institution suffered greatly from the rapid force expansion, is probably accurate.

But while the Syrian military's overall corporateness was weak, Corporate Assessment Chart 5.4, shows that its force structure corporateness was mostly corporate or very corporate in 4 of the 6 years evaluated. These are the highest scores achieved by the Syrian military in any category during the 1970s and 1980s; they probably do not accurately reflect its corporateness. There are at least two potential solutions to this assessment problem.

One approach would be to simply drop force structure as a category of corporateness. The other is to adjust force-structure corporateness by averaging it with overall corporateness. For instance, if overall military corporateness is a 1, or weakly

corporate, but force structure corporateness is a 4, or very corporate, the adjusted corporateness assessment would a 2.5, or partially corporate. For cases in which overall corporateness is weak, but force structure is stable, this probably is a more accurate reflection. But in cases of weak corporateness and a force structure in flux, the adjusted corporateness assessment probably under-evaluates the extent to which corporateness is negatively affected. Thus, dropping this category seems like the best approach for future quantitative assessments of corporateness.

A final key finding begins with an earlier judgment: the numerical assessment of corporateness offers a way to compare corporateness universally, but it is one-dimensional. An appropriate compensation for this shortcoming is to determine the corporate variant that most closely describes a particular military. Using a model offers another way to generalize and compare militaries, as well as providing contextual clues about the military's characteristics and its behavior in certain circumstances, i.e. predictability. If corporate reform is desired, then understanding the relevant corporate variation is the best means of selecting appropriate reform paths to successfully improve military corporateness.

Evaluating the military's political values and political liberalization

The H2 hypothesis holds that a correlation exists between the military's political values—specifically, the extent to which they are pro-liberalization—and the extent to which liberalization occurs. In other words, military support for liberalization should be evident in its stated political values. H2 is validated if the military's professed support for liberalization appears prior to liberalization.

H2: Corporate militaries are more likely to support and promote political liberalization if their values reflect aspects of liberalization, a quality that should be apparent beforehand. Conversely, if military discourse reflects an anti-liberalization outlook, the military can be expected to support a curtailment of political rights and civil liberties.

There are several key findings about the military's political values. Comparisons between the Egyptian and Syrian cases indicate that the regime in Egypt was apparently unable or unwilling to impose a political orthodoxy on the military journals, leaving room for different views of liberalization. There is much utility in drawing from military journals to understand the military's political values. Moreover, the realm of political values is a worthy one, but better analytical tools are needed to navigate through it. And finally, the abbreviated cases, Turkey and Pakistan, reinforce the importance of the military's actions—not just its words—as a gauge of its values.

The assessments of the Egyptian and Syrian militaries' political values enjoy one advantage over the two non-Arab cases, Turkey and Pakistan. This is the comprehensive review of the Egyptian and Syrian military journals that formed the basis for studying the political values variable. The assessment of the Turkey and Pakistan cases relied on a variety of mainly secondary sources, but also enjoy their own advantage—one that is simply not available historically for study of most Arab cases after around 1970. This is the fact that relatively greater military corporateness and relatively frequent military intervention make it possible to supplement judgment of the Turkish and Pakistani militaries' political values with the nature of their political action and inaction.

In Egypt, the discussion of political liberalization themes was less vigorous than in Syria, but the character of the discussion was more supportive of aspects of

liberalization—as opposed to supporting Ba'thist socialism, as the Syrian military did. In the 1970s, discussion of liberalization in *Al Nasr*, the Egyptian military journal, increased noticeably between 1974 and 1976, the timeframe in which some key aspects of liberalization unfolded, particularly the founding of the multi-party political system. This discussion occurred in advance of the peak of freedom, beginning in 1977, measured by Freedom House.

A second significant difference from Syria was evidence of different perspectives in the Egyptian military journal. The various positions advocated by pro-Nasserists and pro-Sadatists in *Al Nasr* indicated that Sadat's regime did not or could not simply impose its political values on the armed forces. The diversity in Syria's *Jaysh Al Sha'b*, on the other hand, could not be traced to different political approaches; it was more simply a case of some diversity within Ba'thism as well its evolution to respond to changing circumstances in the sociopolitical and strategic landscape.

The discussion of liberalization in Egypt's *Al Nasr* faded in the late 1970s. Freedom House assesses that Egyptian freedoms peaked at this time; consequently, the military discourse would seem to be out of touch. But the use of the armed forces to suppress food riots in 1977 seemed to dampen military support for liberalization. Sadat's views cooled too—accentuated by growing public unrest about the peace process with Israel. Thus, the military's political values tracked with regime policy, including a gradual rollback of freedom.

In the early 1980s, the military discussion of liberalization mostly lagged behind the peak of liberalization in 1984 and 1985. There were a handful of *Al Nasr* articles in the early 1980s that articulated support for liberalization. These echoed promises made

by President Mubarak and reflected a determination not to allow the assassination of Sadat to derail the policy course he had charted. But the discussion soon faded and in its place talk of military-supported development of the national economy deepened.

The military's discussion of liberalization became much more vigorous in the mid- and late-1980s, as a generation of officers emerged with views on consultative government, opposition political parties, and free speech. The fact that this occurred after the peak of liberalization casts the entire decade as out of step with H2. Rather than the military supporting liberalization prior to its emergence, the opposite occurred. President Mubarak pursued liberalization early in his presidency, and it peaked with the May 1984 parliamentary elections, while the military discussion of the issue began in late 1985.

In Syria the military discourse in *Jaysh Al Sha'b* reflected fairly closely the trajectory of the country's political environment—and regime policy—in the 1970s and 1980s, loosely supporting the H2 hypothesis. In the first years of the Asad regime, the military discussed and praised a variety of political reforms initiated as part of the president's correctivist movement. In doing so, the military clearly followed and reflected the regime's position.

Significantly, the military view of liberalization was guided by Ba'thist precepts. For instance, it argued for socialist-style freedoms, akin to Nasserism in Egypt, which were primarily concerned with economic rights and employment opportunities. The Ba'thist military did not argue—as did Nasserist officers—for postponing political democracy until social democracy was achieved, but this reflected regime priorities. The Asad regime determined that providing a semblance of political democracy early on was a worthy down payment for popular support. The publicly-stated formula was that this

would yield unified national support for the liberation war. The military rhetoric supported this notion.

After 1976, as Syria's intervention in Lebanon and the secular, Ba'thist, and Alawi character of the regime became intolerable to Sunni fundamentalists, domestic unrest grew. The military discussion of politics increasingly gave preference to security considerations over political liberalization. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the military had largely ceased to tout the political opening associated with correctivism, instead highlighting its economic achievements, mostly in developing the country's infrastructure.

Freedom House assessed that the rollback of liberty in Syria began in 1980—perhaps later than many Syria experts would put it.[159] Assuming that Freedom House is accurate, the military position, which increasingly highlighted the country's security problems and began describing in its legal columns various infractions on state security, actually led the curtailment of Syrian liberties. In any case, military discourse tracked with regime policy.

The two non-Arab Muslim-world case studies are more difficult to judge, because the assessment of their political values is not based on a comprehensive survey of military journals. Instead a more cursory method was used, mainly involving secondary source literature and including the military's political behavior.

In Turkey's case the salient political values of the military are its commitment to Ataturkism. Formally there are six principles associated with Ataturkism. Democracy is not one of these, but the military's outlook is generally pro-democratic because of its

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[159] Maoz (1988) described 1970 to 1976 as the "six good years" under Asad. Seale (1988) described 1975 as "the year things fell apart" (250) and described Asad by 1977 as "driven into a corner" (316).

affinity toward Europe and modernity, as well as such Ataturkist principles as republicanism. However, the military also relishes a guardianship role that it views as part of the Ataturkian legacy—even though guardianship and intervention is not formally Ataturkist either. The military has proven capable of intervening when it sees a threat to any sacred principle of Ataturkism, e.g. secularism.

Some distinctions can be made among the Turkish military's views of certain specific aspects of political rights and civil liberties. For instance, its respect for elections and the legitimacy of their outcomes appears firm, particularly in light of the military's acceptance of the parliamentary elections in 2007 that strengthened the hand of the pro-Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP) in parliament and subsequently the parliament's election of Abdullah Gul as president. Gul is the first openly Islamist politician in to hold that post.

And there appears to be little if any prospect that the military would end Turkey's multi-party political system; however, the military does continue to view certain parties, particularly religiously-inspired ones, warily and to confront them directly and publicly when it sees an encroachment on Ataturkism. The military's most serious challenges to such parties in the future may be indirect. For instance, in July 2008, the Constitutional Court heard accusations by the "secular establishment" (WSJ, 7-31-08) that the AKP's pro-Islamist policies were unconstitutional and it should be banned. The Court decided to fine the party, but leave its governing authority intact—a decision the military seems to have accepted.

The military's stance regarding freedoms, such as association and expression, is more difficult to gauge. The country's laws have become more liberal, since 2004

according to Freedom House, a process driven largely by attempts at "harmonization" with the European Union. Whatever its specific views on various freedoms, the military supports the AKP-led parliament on harmonization. Overall, the military's views track with increased liberalization in Turkey, which supports H2.

The Pakistani military, unlike Turkey's, is avowedly supportive of mainstream Islamist policies. This support does not amount to a cohesive outlook, however, and its political values are complicated by a history of cooperation with Western military advisors in many aspects of conventional warfare while simultaneously supporting regional jihadist groups in low intensity conflicts. These policies are best interpreted as means to enhanced power and influence, rather than ideological positions.

The Pakistani military has been more supportive of elections within a multi-party system than either of the Arab cases, but more willing than the Turkish military to ban political parties and meddle with the election process. The military-dominated Inter-Services Intelligence agency played an active role in the 1980s—perhaps Pakistan's most democratic decade—in coordinating the electoral efforts of sympathetic political parties while undermining other parties.

As with Turkey, it is more difficult to assess the Pakistani military's position on freedoms of association and speech. But media freedom, the benchmark for freedom of expression in this study, is relatively strong in Pakistan. Even in times of limited or restricted freedom, the media has had more leeway to perform its function than other civil society sectors. Overall, however, it is not possible to conclude confidently that the military's views on liberalization conform to H2.

The rule of law category is illuminating in both Turkey and Pakistan because of the similar status of the constitution in both states. The constitution is respected as the foundation of the regime, in part at least because it provides a legal and legitimizing basis for the military to participate in politics without seizing power. In both countries, the constitution or, at least, key clauses were shaped by the military.

It is unlikely the Turkish military would tolerate significant amendment of the 1982 constitution, which it wrote after seizing power in a 1980 coup. The greater likelihood is that civilian political parties accept its legitimacy and legislate within its framework. Parliament's approach to meeting EU harmonization requirements has been to pass the necessary legislation without changing the constitution itself.

In Pakistan, the 1973 constitution is civilian-authored, however, the key clause that enables the military to outmaneuver the elected prime minister was written by General Zia ul-Haq in 1985. Civilian and military governments have each modified this clause since, indicating that each considers it of central importance. To civilians, it is the key to parliamentary governance, while to the military it is the surest guarantee of influence without intervention. Thus, it seems unlikely the military would accept an amendment to the constitution on this point.

Military journals are a fairly reliable source for understanding political values. Despite some concerns that the journals might be little more than propaganda tools, it appears that the military's political values are reflected in—and indoctrinated through—the military media. Certainly there is rhetorical flourish—and the journals serve propagandistic as well as professional purposes—but this is a possibility in any medium, including interviews.

By and large, however, the militaries were not reluctant to publish views that reflected their unique circumstances. In Egypt this was reflected early in the 1970s in differences of opinion between Nasserists and Sadatists. Later, in the 1980s, it was reflected in a variety of discourse about politicians, opposition parties, free speech, and other concerns, such as a preference for military enterprise in the economy. In Syria, military discourse generally reflected Ba'thist principles or regime policy on various liberalization-related issues. But the military did not simply claim to support elections, multiple parties, freedom of speech, etc., nor did it outright oppose liberalization.

Instead, officers offered a range of views about liberalization. At times these seemed vaguely supportive and largely rhetorical. This was especially true in Syria in the early and mid-1970s. At other times, the military's views were genuine, warts-and-all, arguments in preference of limited freedoms, e.g. the concern that free speech not be a pretext for criticism of the regime, as particularly Syrian but also Egyptian officers stated. Similarly nuanced arguments were made in Egypt about the value of opposition parties, which expanded policy discourse but were felt to risk tarnishing regime prestige—again, through criticism. Views on rule of law emerged in Syria that reflected concerns about dissent and unrest, while in Egypt they reflected the increased importance of the constitution—and institutions, e.g. parliament, as opposed to "power centers"—under Sadat, compared to the era of Nasser.

In other words, there is great value in the journal-based approach, as long as statements are scrutinized for intent and context. As with an interview-based approach, a number of sources—in this case, published articles by officers—and an understanding of the environment are necessary to put the expressed viewpoints into context.

It also seems that, while the political values of the military are more difficult to measure than corporateness—they cannot be reliably quantified, for instance—they are more likely to have a causal relationship with its support for political liberalization. That is because, assuming a military is sufficiently corporate to hold interests and views independent of the regime, and integral to the military institution, it is likely to follow the logic determined by its political values to guide its action.

Given that the military's political values are probably the key to understanding and predicting its behavior, it becomes even more important to develop an adequate method to measure or analyze them. The task is made more difficult by the fact that different measuring tools may be needed depending on the focus of inquiry, e.g. the military's view of democratization, national security, or economic development.

But even among the many studies of developing-world militaries that are concerned mainly with the related set of issues that pertain to the military's potential support for democratization and willingness to accept civilian authority, there is not a universally-accepted taxonomy. On one hand, there are many multi-country studies of the military's role in democratization, but they lack a universalizable standard of measurement. Many of these are edited studies, e.g. Diamond and Plattner (1992), Koonings and Kruijt (2002),

There are also many single-author studies that look at multiple countries and propose approaches that explain the military's obedience of civilians or its withdrawal from politics in the context of democratization. These include the integrity of the military institution (Stepan, 1988), the nature of military autonomy from civilians (Pion-Berlin, 1992), the nature of civil-military ideological alliances (Farcau, 1996), the retreat of the

military from politics due to the expansion of electoral politics (Hunter, 1997), subordination of the military, largely as a function of its role beliefs (Fitch 1998), subordination due the military's self-perception as an organic arm of the state and associated mechanisms of accountability and oversight (Akkoyunlu, 2007).

The resulting variables that would drive democratization are identifiable, but mostly context-specific. For instance, cases of military withdrawal and democratization due to concern about weakening institutional integrity are peculiar to Brazil, Greece, Portugal and perhaps a few others. Moreover, many of the variables are not readily operationalizable and measurable in a way that facilitates comparative analysis. For instance, arguments that require interpretive and qualitative assessments include identifying and judging civil-military ideologies, and military role beliefs and self-perceptions, as does grasping the extent to which electoral politics have expanded. And while the autonomy of the military can be operationalized and measured, it is a tautological explanation of military obedience.

A final key finding is that the extended cases—Turkey and Pakistan—demonstrate comparative clarity in gauging the military's political values based on its actions rather than through its public statements. This is partly a matter of actions speaking louder than words. But it is also in large part because both the Turkish and Pakistani militaries have a long history of intervention in politics. As a result, even military inaction—or a military website posting—can be eloquent.

The two Arab cases by contrast showcase militaries that were apparently subordinate—as indicated by the absence of overt intervention—during the 1970s and 1980s. This relationship of subordination remains intact twenty years later, though at the

onset of the Asad and Sadat regimes in 1970 civil-military relations were more tenuous, especially in Syria. The obedience of Arab militaries makes it difficult to interpret their values from their behavior.

Evaluating the military's corporate variants and political liberalization

Evaluation of the military corporate variants of Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Pakistan highlights certain findings related to the independent variables and uncovers some new ones. Key among these is the extent to which the corporate variant, like corporateness itself, is malleable. The corporate model in less corporate cases may be influenced by societal factors but can also be shaped by civilian leaders, as in Egypt and Syria in the 1970s. This malleability might be used to develop a pro-liberalization military, e.g. of the top-down variety promoted by President Sadat. But in instances in which corporateness and the corporate variant are highly elastic, e.g. in Syria, civil-military relations are vulnerable to societal pressures in ways that may not be conducive to liberalization.

In the corporate model that seems most supportive of liberalization in these four cases—that of Turkey—military corporateness and the corporate variant are well-developed and relatively impermeable. The Egyptian model in the 1970s was also supportive of Sadat's top-down liberalization. One trait that the Turkish and Egyptian models share is the simplicity of the corporate variant; neither model is overlaid with multiple variants—particularly the versions of military corporation that afflict the less liberal militaries—and distracting missions. On the other hand, the cases in which support for liberalization is weakest, particularly Syria in the 1980s and beyond and Pakistan under Musharraf (1999-2008), both were characterized by military corporation variants.

In Egypt, the military's corporate model evolved from the guardianship role of Nasser's era, to a model in the Sadat decade that approximated civilian control of an externally-focused military. Subsequently, during Mubarak's presidency, the military increasingly resembled a military corporation variant. One lesson of Egypt's military history is the malleability of the military's corporate model. Thus, the military corporation variant that characterizes the current military is not necessarily permanent.

The key lesson of the Sadat decade is the relevance of strong civilian leadership to shaping the military's corporate model, e.g. the president's decision to de-militarize the cabinet, which alone decreased its guardianship responsibilities and outlook. The interaction of the military's corporateness and its political values in the 1970s yielded a corporate variant that Sadat envisioned as suitable to his strategic objectives, foremost of which was war-fighting in the early 1970s.

Thus, international factors help explain Egypt's economic liberalization, particularly Sadat's desire for foreign investment, and contribute indirectly to the military's mission focus, considering the imperative of recovering the occupied Sinai from Israel. But Nasser and Sadat faced a similar international environment after 1967, yet it was Sadat who initiated political liberalization and carried military corporateness well beyond Nasser's post-1967 improvements. The military was less guardian-minded and more obedient, as well as more corporate and professional, with a focus on external defense responsibilities. This apparently suited it to Sadat's top-down version of liberalization as a component of *infitah*. His ability to shape the military highlights this case, though the other cases also display elements of such civilian influence.

The Egyptian military's adoption of the language of political liberalization reflected a genuine, e.g. Egypt-centric version, led by a relatively small group of officers during both the Sadat and Mubarak presidencies. The pattern of civil-military relations, i.e. restored civilian control, imposed by Sadat, gave the military little or no scope to expand the frontiers of liberalization established by the regime. This Sadat-era corporate model also illustrates the extent to which it was the regime that shaped and guided liberalization, though the military leadership had its own role in bringing the military along, e.g. through the discourse in the military journals.

Subsequently, during the 1980s, the rise in Egypt of a military corporation model reduced the incentives or rationale the military may have had to explore the tenets of democratization and how they might affect the military. In other words, its corporate variant during the Mubarak era helped ensure the military would be engaged in its economic interests. The corporation model aimed to ensure the military's cooperation with liberalization by sidelining the military. And yet, the increase in political liberalization discourse in the mid- and late-1980s seems to indicate that it was still important to bring the military along with the political values espoused by the civilian leaders in the regime.

In Syria, the interaction of the military corporateness and political values variables highlights the salience of ideas and ideology. These are at the center of the military's corporate variant, the party-army. But the Syrian military's weak corporateness rendered it vulnerable to a variety of environmental and societal pressures. These eventually overlaid the party-army model with other variants, undermining it organizationally and ideationally.

In the 1970s, President Asad's ability to shape the Syrian military showed him to be a civilian executive on a par with Sadat. Asad and key military leaders enhanced the corporateness of the party-army in that decade, particularly with the near-elimination of factionalism and in the establishment of the military's Political Department to enforce military control over the officers' Ba'thist outlook. This became the formula for increased professional effectiveness in regime-initiated war-fighting and for ensuring military loyalty during regime-controlled political liberalization. The latter may arguably have been sustained if not for the rise of domestic opposition to the regime after its 1976 intervention in Lebanon. The main relevance of international explanations for the Syrian case stems from the Lebanon intervention and its dampening effect on both liberalization and corporateness.

In the 1980s and beyond, military corporateness stagnated and the party-army was increasingly penetrated by societal and environmental pathologies. One debilitating factor was the degradation of the military corporation variant in the black markets of Lebanon. The military corporation model essentially represents a bargain in which civilians relinquish claims to accountability and transparency in exchange for military support. The military's participation in illegal activities dramatically increases the incentives for military misbehavior and corruption. A second mark against corporateness in the 1980s and beyond was Asad's increasing reliance on Alawis to command both regular army and regime protection forces. This minority-based strategy for civilian control of the military left the armed forces increasingly unrepresentative of society, which further reduced the prospects for meaningful political liberalization.

The Turkish case highlights—perhaps even more than Egypt in the 1970s—a straightforward and uncomplicated corporate variant. Turkey has a mostly corporate military with a Kemalist-informed guardianship role. There is little evidence of other corporate variants overlaying this model. Turkish military corporateness is sufficiently high at present that the military is able to act coherently when it takes political action, which enables it to act with greater deliberation, precision, and subtlety. Its actions are correspondingly less likely to be misunderstood by interlocutors and observers, including Turkey's civilian leadership—currently the pro-Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP).

As a result, it appears likely that the AKP has also modified its behavior to conform to military expectations. The apparent mutual accommodation by civilians and the military, advocates of pro-Islamist and secular outlooks, respectively, has been good for democratization in Turkey. The shared political preferences of the two groups—to join the European Union—has fortuitously given them a common goal with a democratic substance, due to EU accession requirements. This external incentive—Turkey is the strongest case of a positive, or pro-liberalization impact stemming from an international factor—has behaved as a virtual *deus ex machina* in furthering the prospects for democracy. Even so, it is the willingness of civilian and military leadership to take advantage of it that makes it viable.

With respect to democratization, the Turkish case is certainly the most positive at present, but two cautionary notes are in order. One is that an unforeseen weakness in military corporateness could undermine its ability to act coherently. If the military behaved erratically, the confidence of civilians would be shaken and extremists on either

side—Islamists or ultranationalist secularists—might destabilize the country and derail democratization. The main chance of this happening at present stems from secular ultra-nationalists, such as the members of Ergenekon. The other reason for caution about Turkey is that the positive role played by the European Union might be eliminated if the option of adherence were foreclosed. The disappearance of this general incentive with its specific goals might make it more difficult for civilian and military leaders to reach compromises and continue on the path of democratization.

In Pakistan, the military's corporate variant is a pro-Islamist guardianship role that has long been distorted by a direct involvement in governance, as well as by a very overt military corporation outlook. The result is a military variant that permits democratization only tentatively. The paternalistic guardianship role is apparently unleavened by the relatively strong pro-democracy impulses found in the Turkish military. Guardianship in Pakistan has resulted in several lengthy periods of military rule, as well as continuous lower level participation in government. The first indication that the military's role in governance would end came in 2008, so it is not yet clear what the results will be. But the legacy thus far has been one of military aggrandizement of civilian responsibilities and weak civilian control of the military, resulting in a tattered and episodic democracy.

The military business variant practiced by the military further detracts from Pakistan's democratic potential and adds to the military's interventionist impulses. Military "capital," as Siddiqa (2007) terms it, is mostly off-the-books and not subject to civilian oversight. This constitutes a direct challenge to civilian control in any regime and is debilitating to a democratic framework. Moreover, the military's desire to protect its

wide-ranging investments could become an additional motive for military intervention in times of extreme domestic instability. In view of these characteristics of the military, such international explanations as Pakistan's regional insecurity seem inadequate to understanding the country's past inability to consolidate democracy.

The Pakistan case at present, despite the country's increasing instability, may paradoxically constitute an opportunity to advance civilian control and extend democratization. This is due to the combination of de-legitimized military rule—due to Musharraf's regime—and the urgent need for civil-military cooperation in the face of a rising jihadist insurgency. There is evidence that both civilian and military leaders recognize this urgency, e.g. the extraordinary briefing to parliament provided in October 2008 by the military to describe counter-insurgency operations within Pakistan (Masood, 2008b). As a result of the country's strategic circumstances, the military has a strong rationale to leave civilians in control of government and to cooperate with them to garner international support and defeat the insurgency. Such an outcome might put Pakistan on a new path of civil-military relations, one in which military subordination permitted democratization.

Generalizability of cases

The two in-depth cases, Egypt and Syria, were chosen to examine the potential for military support of political liberalization in the Middle East, a region that has been exceptional for its lack of democratization. The methodological approach was then extended to two Muslim-world cases outside the Arab Middle East, Turkey and Pakistan, to assess its suitability for other cases. The other outstanding characteristic of each of the four cases is that they are republics, not monarchies, and share a presidential-

parliamentary form of government—though in Egypt and Syria the parliament's role is relatively formal.

The focus on developing world republics is probably the most distinct boundary of the cases. The developing world focus is fairly obvious; there is little empirical reason to investigate whether militaries in the developed West are pro-democracy. But the question of whether the study is applicable to regime types other than republics comes back to a fundamental premise this study makes about corporate militaries, which is that a relatively corporate military is more willing to tolerate democratization than a non-corporate military. This is because democratization entails regime change and military corporateness makes this tolerable, since civil-military relations are less politicized when a military is more corporate.

The type of regime change is relevant here. The principles at stake in the transformation of a monarchy to a republic are qualitatively different from the transition of an authoritarian republic to a democratic one. Monarchical transformation is a change of regimes, whereas the transition of an authoritarian republic is in a sense change within a regime.

This distinction is implicit in Linz and Stepan's (1996, 16-27) argument that a sovereign state is a prerequisite for democracy, because its legitimacy is established or accepted. The legitimacy of a republic lies in the notion that government represents the will of the people. Usually this principle is upheld by the periodic holding of elections. In a monarchy, on the other hand, legitimacy lies in the right of the king to rule. This principle typically resides in some combination of divine right and lawful succession.

In a republic, therefore, transition from authoritarianism to democracy is typically a matter of upholding the democratic principle of legitimacy on which the republic rests. Thus, the transition may involve holding free and fair elections with competition by multiple parties. The core principle of legitimacy remains unchanged in such transitions, so there is less at stake for the civilian and military adherents of the ancien regime. And from the military's standpoint, obedience is still owed to a civilian executive who represents the popular will. The transformation from monarchy to republic, on the other hand, entails a complete change in legitimacy and consequently the military's political values.

The other generalizability question is whether the methodology and conclusions are restricted to Muslim-world cases. In the four cases examined, Islam played different roles. It played little direct role in informing the military's political values in most cases, and played an inconsistent role in some cases.

For instance, the ideology of the ruling party in each of the two Arab cases—the National Democratic Party in Egypt and the Ba'th in Syria—is secular. Certainly Islam and Islamism play a role in society and politics in these countries, but it did not play a significant role in the discussion of various categories of political liberalization in their military journals. This is not to say that Islam had no place in the discourse of the military journals. In the Egyptian case, a significant space in the journals is devoted to Islam and, in fact, an entire military journal, *Al Mujahid*, is devoted to such discussion. But the discussion of whether and how to liberalize was not an Islamist-informed one.

Even so, both the Syrian and Egyptian regimes oppose the formal participation of Islamist political parties. The military's journals are silent on this point, but political

Islam is clearly unacceptable to either of the armed forces. Thus, it can be said that resistance to Islamism is one symptom of the lack of liberalization in Egypt and Syria, but it is secular rather than Islamist values that most shape these militaries' outlook.

In each of the two non-Arab cases, Islam plays a different, almost countervailing role. The examination of political values in these cases was more superficial, but it appears that Islam had a relatively high profile. In Turkey, as in Egypt and Syria, the ideology of the governing elite and the military is secular. Thus, the role played by Islam was essentially that of counterpoint to the regime. Or more precisely, the military's adherence to secularism is a counterpoint to Islamism, as the military's outlook arises from a reaction against perceived Ottoman traditionalism and backwardness. Thus, if Islamists seek permission to wear Islamic-inspired clothing in universities, the secularists and the military oppose it as an encroachment of religion in the public arena.

The role of Islam in Pakistan and the position of its military is nearly the opposite of Turkey. Pakistan was founded to be Islamic as a counterpoint to Hindu India. As a result, the military—which intervenes against civilian politicians more overtly than any of the other three cases—has supported various Islamist political parties. But it does so primarily as a means to check the two most powerful political parties, the Pakistan Muslim League (N) of Nawaz Sharif, and the Pakistan People's Party, led by the Bhutto family. The main pro-military political party, the Pakistan Muslim League (Q) is characterized more by its conservatism than by Islamism.

Policy Implications

The primary policy implications of this study derive from some of its key findings. In particular, the correlation of improved military corporateness—and pro-

liberalization political values—with improved political liberalization, makes it logical to seek a means to influence military organizations and their values. And the apparent malleability not only of corporateness, but of political values and the military's corporate variant, indicates that it is possible to make such changes. For a US policymaker, the most obvious tool would be a foreign military assistance program and the leverage it provides, particularly in cases in which a foreign military may have as much or more say on such issues than the civilian government.

This is a sensitive area for US policy to tread. Most cases in which the US might proffer assistance as a carrot to reshape the military in hopes of improving liberalization would likely be problematic from a policy perspective. For instance, in the countries where US aid might make a difference, civil-military relations probably would be dysfunctional, democratic norms and institutions would be weak and fragile, and human rights might be in abeyance. Policymakers would have to exert great caution to ensure that US military assistance did not simply strengthen anti-democratic militaries. And despite their best efforts to do so, they might have to battle public perceptions that US aid was being abused or misused.

In addition, US strategic interests could result in contradictory pressures and impulses for policymakers. For instance, the US need for Pakistani cooperation along the borders of Afghanistan and Pakistan—especially within Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas—gives strong impetus to providing military assistance to Pakistan, without attaching incentive-based criteria for its use by the military. The consideration of similar tradeoffs, between immediate national security objectives and

long-range desires to support potentially pro-liberalization militaries, might apply to a large number of potential recipients of US military aid.

These two sets of concerns can be addressed in two general ways. For instance, concerns about poor governance by countries already receiving US military assistance can be addressed by adding criteria for the continuation of aid. Similarly, the extension of military assistance to potential new recipients could also be performance-based. And cases in which conflicting short- and long-range US security interests exist can be resolved by enabling the president to make a determination of which interest is paramount in a particular case. For instance, if the criteria-based aid takes the form of legislation, it could include an executive waiver enabling the president to determine that current national security interests may override other considerations. This would give the president the authority to determine whether to offer military aid conditional on reforms to military corporateness.

The US currently provides significant security assistance abroad with the stated objective of furthering US national security interests. This assistance has three main components. One is foreign military financing (FMF), which enables countries to buy US equipment through US-supplied grants or loans. Another is international military education and training (IMET), which the US Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) describes as "an investment in ideas and people" that "presents democratic alternatives to key foreign military and civilian leaders."[160] And the third is non-proliferation, anti-terrorism, de-mining, and related (NADR) programs.

[160] The DSCA website is www.dsca.osd.mil

According to the US State Department,[161] in 2007 the US provided Egypt with $1.3 billion in FMF, $1.2 million in IMET, and just over $1.5 million in NADR programs. In the same year, Turkey received just over $14 million in FMF and $2 million in NADR, but no IMET money. The US gave Pakistan $297 million in FMF, and nearly $2 million in IMET and $10 million in NADR. Of the four case study countries, only Syria received nothing.

US security assistance can be used as instruments and incentives to modify military structure and culture, as some scholars have suggested (cf. Cook, 2005a and 2005b). This could be accomplished by offering aid conditionally, in a manner analogous to the US Millennium Challenge Account. This foreign aid program offers economic assistance on condition that the recipients' meet criteria designed to encourage more transparent, accountable, and democratic governance. A military-oriented program might condition assistance on the achievement of certain levels of military corporateness in key categories, e.g. defense mission and leadership.

US policymakers should re-assess the objectives of US foreign aid and the effectiveness of the funds provided, e.g. to Egypt and Pakistan particularly. For instance, Egypt receives the largest amount of US military aid in the world, aside from Israel. Yet, despite the centrality of the military to Egypt's political system and the avowed aim of IMET to present "democratic alternatives" to officer trainees, the 2007 rating of Egyptian freedom, according to Freedom House, is "not free," with of score of 6/5 in political rights/civil liberties. This score is worse than at the peak of *infitah* in 1976 and 1977, as measured by Freedom House, prior to the onset of US assistance.

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[161] This information comes from the State Department's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs website, www.state.gov, under the Security Assistance heading.

Cook (2005a and 2005 b), who recognizes the need for reform in Arab civil-military relations as a means to boost democratization, calls for measures to improve civilian control and to change the military's political values. But until US assistance is conditioned on measurable democratization, substantive reforms are unlikely to be pursued with any urgency by authoritarian regimes.

Contrast the negative example of Egypt—where foreign aid has continued regardless of performance—with the case of Turkey. The improvements in Turkish military corporateness and support for political liberalization highlight the positive, incentivizing influence that external actors may play. The European Union's criteria for accession—particularly the required "harmonization laws" to bring Turkey's civil liberties in line with the EU—provided both standards and incentives to civilian and military leaders alike to pursue reforms, and in a cooperative manner. The case of Turkey highlights too that incentives need not only take the form of military assistance.

Based on this study's evaluation of military corporateness and political values, a number of potential reform measures emerge, with fairly universal applicability. The reforms can be accentuated differently to accommodate local conditions, e.g. instances of rising internal threat as in Pakistan, but still aim toward a more corporate military, with pro-liberalization values. The main objectives of reform include ensuring:

- Integrity in chain of command and particularly a single civilian commander-in-chief, with a civilian interlocutor to the military as defense minister.
- Constitutional authority and practical institutions for civilian oversight of defense budget.
- Regular rotation of senior leadership, e.g. defense minister and chief of staff.

- Periodic civilian, e.g. parliamentary, determination of the military's mission focus.
- Refocus of military's economic endeavors toward a strictly infrastructural orientation, e.g. transportation and communications facilities.
- Equal opportunity for all citizens to enter the military.
- Review of educational curriculum and military journals for political values that conform to democratic standards.

The US should also revisit whether to engage with Syria as a matter of gaining leverage. While the denial of aid to Syria is part of a larger effort to pressure Damascus to relinquish instruments of violence, perhaps Syria's repeated claims to seek peace with Israel on the basis of an Israeli withdrawal from the Golan should be tested. A component of a future peace agreement might be the provision of US military assistance to Syria, with the aim of influencing its corporateness and political values.

Future research

One solid topic for future research is a probe of the overall policy strategy of Sadat and Asad with a focus on whether and how improved military corporateness fit into it. The proximate rationale for improving military corporateness was war readiness. Preparing the public for war was also one rationale for infitah. In Syria particularly, this was stated repeatedly. The deeper question is whether Presidents Sadat and Asad consciously planned or intuited that improved military corporateness would play a positive supporting role in *infitah*. The answer surely lies in better comprehending the strategic vision of the two leaders. Perhaps asking the question is the first step toward

finding the answer, whether the means is to interview remaining confidantes of the leaders or to peruse the archives and government files in Cairo and Damascus.

A second area for further work is that the mission and leadership categories of corporateness emerged in the non-Arab cases as two areas in which direct links between corporateness and liberalization can be identified. This study claimed only that the correlation of corporateness and liberalization is worth testing and examining. It is hard to imagine political rights and civil liberties expanding so long as the military is more interested in politics than professional matters, or when martial law is in effect, or if a minority sectarian or ethnic group dominates the armed forces. But the emergence of a direct link is worth exploring further in future research.

A third aspect for future study is the need to generate a taxonomy of corporate variations. Presently, the various corporate variations exist as an ad hoc collection of different approaches to civil-military relations. Numerous corporate variants exist, typically the product of an individual theorist's efforts to characterize civil-military relations among a handful or so similar cases. The variations do not exist as a carefully charted and comprehensive taxonomy of civil-military relations; rather, there are redundant and overlapping types, as well as possible gaps. The potential of the corporate variants as a model is rich, since it can—and often does—incorporate political values as well as the type of corporateness. A useful guide would identify systematically the types of corporate militaries in the world and map each specific military to the appropriate type.

Another area for future research is the need to develop a universalizable and measurable set of criteria for gauging political values. The categories of liberalization used here offer a universalizable set of criteria, but they do not facilitate quantitative measurements and are unwieldy for comparison. A set of comparable measurements would be useful for contrasting and predicting military support for liberalization.

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