

the

postb

**Journal of Politics and Development**

ISSN 2632-4911

**Volume 12 ■ Number 1 ■ Winter 2022**



# the rest: journal of politics and development

*Previously published as Journal of Global Analysis (JGA)*

## Editors-in-Chief:

**Ozgur TUFEKCI, Assoc. Prof.** | CESRAN International, UK

**Rahman DAG, Assoc. Prof.** | CESRAN International, UK

## Associate Editors:

**Alper Tolga BULUT, Assoc. Prof.** | CESRAN International, UK

**Alessia CHIRIATTI, Dr** | CESRAN International, UK

## Assistant Editors:

**Ceren Hakyemez** | CESRAN International, UK

**Ekrem Ok** | CESRAN International, UK

## Editorial Board

**Sener AKTURK, Assoc. Prof.** | Koç University, Turkey

**Enrique ALBEROLA, Prof.** | Banco de España, Spain

**Mustafa AYDIN, Prof.** | Kadir Has University, Turkey

**Ian BACHE, Prof.** | University of Sheffield, UK

**Kee-Hong BAE, Prof.** | York University, Canada

**Mark BASSIN, Prof.** | Sodertorn University, Sweden

**Alexander BELLAMY, Prof.** | Uni. of Queensland, Australia

**Richard BELLAMY, Prof.** | Uni. College London, UK

**Andreas BIELER, Prof.** | University of Nottingham, UK

**Pinar BILGIN, Prof.** | Bilkent University, Turkey

**Ken BOOTH, Prof.** | Aberystwyth University, UK

**Stephen CHAN, Prof.** | SOAS, University of London, UK

**Nazli CHOUCRI, Prof.** | MIT, USA

**Judith CLIFTON, Prof.** | Universidad de Cantabria, Spain

**John M. DUNN, Prof.** | University of Cambridge, UK

**Kevin DUNN, Prof.** | Hobart and William Smith Colleges, USA

**Can ERBIL, Assoc. Prof.** | Boston College, USA

**Stephen Van EVERA, Prof.** | MIT, USA

**Marc FLEURBAEY, Prof.** | Princeton University, USA

**Bulent GOKAY, Prof.** | Keele University, UK

**Ayla GOL, Prof.** | York St John University, UK

**Stefano GUZZINI, Prof.** | Uppsala Universitet, Sweden

**David HELD, Prof.** | London Sch. of Economics, LSE, UK

**Tony HERON, Prof.** | University of York, UK

**Raymond HINNEBUSCH, Prof.** | Uni. of St Andrews, UK

**John M. HOBSON, Prof.** | University of Sheffield, UK

**Michael KENNY, Prof.** | University of Sheffield, UK

**Cécile LABORDE, Prof.** | University College London, UK

**Scott LUCAS, Prof.** | University of Birmingham, UK

**Kalypso NICOLAIDIS, Prof.** | University of Oxford, UK

**Ziya ONIS, Prof.** | Koc University, Turkey

**Alp OZERDEM, Prof.** | George Mason University, USA

**Danny QUAH, Prof.** | London School of Economics, UK

**José Gabriel PALMA, Prof.** | Cambridge University, UK

**Jenik RADON, Prof.** | Columbia University, USA

**Oliver RICHMOND, Prof.** | University of Manchester, UK

**Ibrahim SIRKECI, Prof.** | Regent's College London, UK

**Ian TAYLOR, Prof.** | University of St Andrews, UK

**Ali WATSON, Prof.** | University of St Andrews, UK

**Brian WHITE, Prof.** | University of Sheffield, UK

**Stefan WOLFF, Prof.** | University of Birmingham, UK

**Birol YESILADA, Prof.** | Portland State University, USA

**Hakan YILMAZKUDAY, Assoc. Prof.** | Florida International University, USA

*The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development is published on behalf of the Centre for Strategic Research and Analysis (CESRAN) as an academic e-journal. The articles are brought into use via the website of the journal (<https://therestjournal.com/>). CESRAN and the Editors of The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development do not expect that readers of the review will sympathise with all the sentiments they find, for some of our writers will flatly disagree with others. It does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in any article, which appears in The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development.*

*\* The surnames are listed in alphabetical order.*

# the rest: journal of politics and development

*Previously published as Journal of Global Analysis (JGA)*

## INDEXING & ABSTRACTING

- Academic Index
- Bielefeld Academic Search Engine (BASE)
- Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO)
- Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ)
- EBSCO Publishing Inc.
- EconLit
- EconPapers
- Genamics JournalSeek
- IDEAS
- Index Islamicus
- Infomine
- International Bibliography of Book Reviews of Scholarly Literature in the Humanities and Social Sciences (IBR)
- International Bibliography of Periodical Literature in the Humanities and Social Sciences (IBZ)
- International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS)
- International Relations and Security Network (ISN)
- Lancaster Index to Defence & International Security Literature
- Peace Palace Library
- Research Papers in Economics (RePEc)
- Social Sciences Information Space (SOCIONET)
- Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### RESEARCH ARTICLES

06

**An Overview of Agricultural Support Policies in Turkey:  
A Comparative Regional Analysis**

*By Hakan Uslu*

30

**Digital Marketing of Political Parties in Turkey**

*By Ramazan Aslan*

45

**The Cyberthreat in the Contemporary Era: Challenges for the security of  
Pakistan**

*By Muhammad Rizwan*

### REVIEW ARTICLE

58

**The Windows in Many Dimensions: Tongdong Bai, *Against Political  
Equality: The Confucius Case***

*By Dmitry Shlapentokh*

### BOOK REVIEWS

76

*Daniel A. Bell and Wang Pei*

***Just Hierarchy, Why Social Hierarchies Matter in China and the Rest of the  
World***

*By Müge Yüce*

80

*Sean R. Roberts*

***The War on the Uyghurs: China's Internal Campaign against a Muslim  
Minority***

*By Konstantinas Andrijauskas*

83

*Adam Mestyan*

***Arab Patriotism: The Ideology and Culture of Power in Late Ottoman Egypt***

*By Halim Gencoglu*

87

*Adeeb Khalid*

***Central Asia: A New History from the Imperial Conquests to the Present***

*By Marat Ilyasov*

90

*Michael Cotey Morgan*

***The Final Act: The Helsinki Accords and the Transformation of the Cold War***

*By Adrian Pogacian*

93

*Robert P. Inman and Daniel L. Rubinfeld*

***Democratic Federalism: The Economics, Politics, and Law of Federal  
Governance***

*By Aynur Ünal*



International Think-tank [www.cesran.org](http://www.cesran.org)

Consultancy

Research Institute

CESRAN International is headquartered in the UK

CESRAN International is a member of the United Nations Academic Impact (UNAI)

**CESRAN International** is a think-tank specialising on international relations in general, and global peace, conflict and development related issues and challenges.

The main business objective/function is that we provide expertise at an international level to a wide range of policy making actors such as national governments and international organisations. CESRAN with its provisions of academic and semi-academic publications, journals and a fully-functioning website has already become a focal point of expertise on strategic research and analysis with regards to global security and peace. The Centre is particularly unique in being able to bring together wide variety of expertise from different countries and academic disciplines.

The main activities that CESRAN undertakes are providing consultancy services and advice to public and private enterprises, organising international conferences and publishing academic material.

Some of CESRAN's current publications are:

- THE REST: Journal of Politics and Development (tri-annual, peer reviewed) [www.therestjournal.com](http://www.therestjournal.com)
- Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security (biannual, peer reviewed)
- Political Reflection Magazine (quarterly) [www.politicalreflectionmagazine.com](http://www.politicalreflectionmagazine.com)
- CESRAN Paper Series
- CESRAN Policy Brief
- Turkey Focus Policy Brief

CESRAN International also organises an annual international conference since 2014

**International Conference on Eurasian Politics and Society (IEPAS)**

[www.eurasianpoliticsandsociety.org](http://www.eurasianpoliticsandsociety.org)

- **Ranked among the top 150 International think tanks**

---

# BOOK REVIEW

---

Adam Mestyan

## **Arab Patriotism: The Ideology and Culture of Power in Late Ottoman Egypt**

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020. ISBN:9780691172644, pp.368, \$45.00, paperback.)

The book, *Arab Patriotism*, written by Adam Mestyan reflects on what the Ottoman context of Egypt means for its nationalism. Throughout the nineteenth century the governance of the Egyptian province was in the hands of one Turkish-speaking family. They were neither local Egyptians nor people sent from the imperial elite. Mestyan noted that, Patriotism or national pride is the feeling of love, devotion, and sense of attachment to a homeland or the country and alliance with other citizens who share the same sentiment to create a feeling of oneness among the people. In this regards, Arab patriotism is a nationalist ideology that asserts the Arabs are a nation and promotes the unity of Arab people, celebrating the glories of Arab civilization, the language and literature of the Arabs, and calling for rejuvenation and political union in the Arab world. Its central premise is that the peoples of the Arab world, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean, constitute one nation bound together by common ethnicity, language, culture, history, identity, geography and politics. One of the primary goals of Arab nationalism is the end of Western influence in the Arab world, seen as a "nemesis" of Arab strength, and the removal of those Arab governments considered to be dependent upon Western power. It rose to prominence with the weakening and defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century and declined after the defeat of the Arab armies in the Six-Day War. From this point of view, Mestyan's book provides significant analyses

for the beginning of Arab Patriotism in the Ottoman Egypt.

Mestyan emphasizes that the situation in Egypt under the Ottoman rule was different from direct European colonialism. When Mestyan mentions British occupation in the region he states that 'Egypt is not India', he reveals his view on British occupation in India. (2020: 10)

Mestyan notes that no Ottoman sultans had visited the province of Egypt in the three centuries since its conquest by Sultan Selim I in 1517. However, Sultan Abdulaziz travelled by train from Alexandria to Cairo, where he observed factories and visited the museum of Egyptology. (2020: 19)

When Mestyan emphasizes the Ottoman imperial patriotism in the middle of the nineteenth century, he mentions *Osmanlılık*, referring to Ottoman citizenship, however *Osmanlılık* was not necessarily about a citizenship. Ottoman patriotism was derived from consciously being Ottoman as *Osmanlılık*, however it was not really related to Ottoman citizenship, because attachment to Ottoman Empire was more than citizenship. Ottomanism was a concept which was developed prior to the 1876-1878 First Constitutional Era of the Ottoman Empire. Mestyan states that, its proponents believed that it could create the social cohesion needed to keep nationalism from tearing the empire apart. It is because the major precursors to Ottomanism were the Reformation Edict of 1856 promised full equality under the law regardless of religion, and the Ottoman

Nationality Law of 1869, which created a common Ottoman citizenship irrespective of religious or ethnic affiliation.

According to Mestyan, Abbas Hilmi in early 1850s, distinguished between Ottoman Imperial interests and Egyptian dynastic ones. The governor himself used to expression in Turkish “what comes first for an Egyptian is Egypt” can be explained through the notion of the Arab patriotism. (2020: 38) Indeed, the patriotic idea in Ottoman Turkish and in other Ottoman languages gained momentum in the late 1840s and it was during the Crimean War that it appeared as a forceful imperial territorial ideology. (2020:55)

Mestyan’s use of some of the Ottoman-Turkish terms like *zevat*, *ferik* shows the writer’s familiarity with Turkish literature. (2020: 55)

It is also important to note that he highlights the Italian Opera as Sultan Abdulmejid’s choice in Istanbul in the 1850s. It also became popular in the Egyptian Khedivate. (2020:112) According to Mestyan the elite Ottomans adopted European public aesthetics in Khedivial Cairo and Khedive Ismail ordered the buildings from European architects and brought in Italian entertainment in order to modernize Egypt. (2020:112) He noted that it seemed to unite these intellectuals was an unspoken but shared belief that educated Arabic ‘*al arabīyya al Fushā*’ should become the language of Khedivate. (2020:126) Indeed, native speakers of Arabic generally do not distinguish between Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic as separate languages. They refer to both as *al-‘Arabīyah al-Fuṣḥā*, meaning “the eloquent Arabic”. Today they consider the two forms to be two registers of one language in Egypt.

In 1876, new political figures appeared in Egypt. The anti-British Persian thinker Jamal al Din Al Afghani, living on a government pension in Cairo, found useful allies in Ottomans Syrians to fight European Imperialism. (2020:112) His plea for Islamic

renewal through solidarity never lost its relevance as a powerful symbol linking the past with hopes for the future. The image of Afghani as the indefatigable fighter against Western imperialism who helped make the Muslim world aware of its distinct identity remains equally as suggestive in Northern Africa. According to Mestyan, Ahmed Mukhtar arrived in Cairo in 1885 as a remarkable Ottoman Imperial High Commissioner man who was a friend of Jamal al Din Al Afghani. A warrior and general of the Ottoman army, Ahmed Mukhtar fought the Russian army in 1877-1878. The presence of an Ottoman war hero aroused pro-Ottoman sentiments in British-occupied Cairo. Ahmed Mukhtar faithfully upheld the Ottoman colors in Cairo, despite having only symbolic means, secrets agents and his own bodily presence to express Ottoman sovereignty. (2020: 286)

The history of Egypt under the British started from 1882, when it was occupied by British forces during the Anglo-Egyptian War, until 1956 after the Suez Crisis, when the last British forces withdrew in accordance with the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1954. Undoubtedly, in 1882, Islamic and Arabic Nationalist opposition to European influence and settlement in the Middle East led to growing tension amongst notable natives, especially in Egypt which then as now was the most powerful, populous, and influential of Arab countries. The most dangerous opposition during this period came from the Egyptian army, which saw the reorientation of economic development away from their control as a threat to their privileges. During British occupation and later control, immigrants from less stable parts of the region including Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, began to flow into Egypt. In the aftermath of World War I, the large British Imperial Army in Egypt which was the centre of operations against the Ottoman Empire was quickly reduced with demobilization and restructuring of garrisons. Free of the large British military presence, the incipient German backed revolutionary movements were able to more effectively launch their operations. This part could be emphasized

more in the book in terms of the British action against *Osmanlilik* in Egypt. However, despite that Metsyen's book provides remarkable analyses to understand late Ottoman Egypt in history.

Briefly, a wholly original exploration of Egypt in the context of the Ottoman Empire, Arab Patriotism sheds light on the evolving sense of political belonging in the Arab world. The book, Arab nationalism provides important analyses and historical data for sociologists, historians, and political scientists. It is a well-researched study however could be more interesting with Ottoman archival sources.

**Halim Gencoglu**  
*University of Cape Town*  
Gnchal001@myuct.ac.za





[www.cesran.org](http://www.cesran.org)

Tower Court, Oakdale Road, York YO30 4XL, UK