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In this issue

The Role of the Association of the Arab Universities (AArU) in Shaping the Future of Higher Education in the Arab World

By H.E. Professor Amr Ezzat Salama, Secretary General of the Association of Arab Universities

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Dear BUEians,

I am delighted to write to the students and readers of CEMES. This article explains the role of the Association of Arab Universities in shaping the future of higher education in the Arab world. We strive to lead the collective efforts of the Arab universities to promote the development of higher education and scientific research in the Arab world through a variety of initiatives and programmes to keep pace with rapid developments as well as prepare capable graduates who can serve their communities. I hope that the intellectuals, the students of BUE, and other Universities find this article useful.

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The Association of Arab Universities is primarily a joint Arab academic endeavor, a symbol of Arab solidarity, and serves as an effective concourse amongst members of Arab Community through its affiliated academic institutions. From this vantagepoint the association continues to do everything in its power to highlight the role of Arab universities, coordinate their efforts and build human capacities in them, and contribute to creating solutions and projects that advance people, provide them with well-being and protection, and keep pace with the changes the world is witnessing, especially in the field of scientific research and academic work. In the face of the world's great and rapid transformations and in accordance with the Strategic Plan 2019-2030, The Association of Arab Universities has been working through its affiliated institutions and projects, to develop a knowledge society, capitalize on the developments of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and artificial intelligence, raise the level of projects that the region requires in the present and in the future, and prepare graduates for new jobs commensurate with the tremendous changes in the world.

The Association of Arab Universities comprises 40 affiliated councils, societies and centers spread over the Arab World to achieve its numerous goals. Among these Councils is the Council of Quality Assurance & Accreditation which aims at assisting the Arab Universities to improve their quality through the spreading of the Culture of QA, preparing QA guides, provide advise and training to support the process of QA and Accreditation for institutes and programs. The Council has issued the Quality Assurance Certificate which is obtained after an assessment of the Academic Program in line with the global standards of Quality Assurance for Higher Education.

Considering the impact of COVID-19, and the total and then partial transition to distance education, the council issued the practical guide for distance learning as well as a new edition of the quality assurance and accreditation guide for academic Programmes in the Arab universities' Faculties. Also, the Council organised several practical training workshops in quality assurance and accreditation standards, including AACSB and ACEN accreditation standards, and several other workshops and lectures.

Highlights of the Association of Arab Universities Projects & Activities

1. The Arab University Ranking

Within the framework of the joint cooperation between the Association of Arab Universities, the League of Arab States, and the Arab Organisation for Education, Culture, and Science (ALECSO) and their collective efforts and shared interest to improve the outputs of higher education and scientific research to enable them to lead Arab development, this council was approved at the seventeenth conference of ministers of higher education and scientific research in the Arab world, which was held in Cairo on December 24 and 25, 2019. Then, an executive plan was developed for the Arab classification of universities, which was approved at the joint committee meeting on August 26, 2020, and the Council began its work.

The Arab classification project is characterised by the fact that it sets new standards that were not found in other international ranking, such as the criterion of creativity, entrepreneurship, and innovation, which considers research and academic programmes at the university in the fields of creativity, entrepreneurship, innovation, and technology transfer. It will be the implementation of the first Arab classification for several Arab universities, as a first stage, and then it will be launched to become an international classification for all universities in the world. The results of the classification will be announced in the first week of June 2023.

2. The Faculty Platform

The Association of Arab Universities has established the Faculty Platform, which brings all Arab faculty members and compile their academic, industrial experience and educational background into one platform. The platform shall act as the main source for information required by all beneficiaries such as scientific research units, faculty members, researchers and students in addition to providing decision makers and stakeholders - inside and outside universities - with the statistics, indicators and reports they need, in order to help them make appropriate decisions in the future in the field of higher education and to facilitate the benefit of different institutions from their experiences in various national projects.

3. Arab Journals Platform

The purpose of the initiative is to strengthen the influence of Arab publishing and improve the classification of Arab university journals, scientific research associations and centers. Accordingly, the Association of Arab Universities made an agreement with Elsevier to host several Arab journals issued by Arab universities. To enhance the impact, the platform offers Digital Commons services to the subscribed journals. Forty Arab magazines joined the platform, and an advisory board was formed as one of the evaluation mechanisms, ensuring the availability of distinctive Arabic content, and increasing the quality of Arabic publishing in compliance with international rules and criteria.

4. Arab Qualification Framework

The unified framework of the Arab Qualifications was initiated in coordination with the Association of the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organisation (ALECSO). The project represents a common Arab framework, which in turn will facilitate the understanding, comparison, and recognition of qualifications across different countries and educational systems in Arab countries.

5. Certificate Authentication System and Anti-counterfeiting Technology in Arab Universities

The Association of Arab Universities has implemented a system for documenting certificates and protecting them from all types of forgery, in addition to tracking certificates and documents. The system has been tested and implemented in many scientific and academic institutions. The system gives global credibility to all certificates and documents issued by educational institutions in Arab countries and reduces the cost of verifying documents and their validity and credibility, which lessens the burden of financial verification on Arab universities and graduates alike.

6. Arab Impact Factor

The project is working on developing a scientific model to determine the quality of Arab periodicals and Arab production, through the platform of the Arab Impact Factor, which is a unique measure for Arab scientific periodicals specialised in all fields of human knowledge.

7. Arab Digital Platform

The Association of Arab Universities collaborates with the Arab Federation for the Digital Economy and the Arab Administrative Development Organisation to create the Arab Digital Academic Platform for education and training that serves the Arab region and supports the digital transformation of Arab educational institutions, capacity building among Arab youth and leaders, and the optimal use of data in order to improve indicators of growth and the economy and meet the requirements of the Arab labour market, and today's jobs.

8. Prince Muhammad bin Fahd University Prize for the Best Scientific Production

The Association of Arab Universities launched the Prince Muhammad bin Fahd University Prize for the best scientific production, which is an annual award allocated by Prince Muhammad bin Fahd University in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Association of Arab Universities at a value of (250,000) dollars. The award aims to enhance the role of universities in scientific production, sharing research, thought, and creativity, enriching scientific life in universities with research and specialised studies, and creating an atmosphere of scientific and research competition between universities.

9. AArU Awards for Scientific Excellence for the Best master's Thesis and Doctoral Dissertations

The Association of Arab Universities awards prizes for the best master's and doctoral dissertations in accordance with criteria and conditions that ensure the attainability of its goals, as well as the Distinguished Arab Researcher Award in the designated subjects.

10. An Annual Award for Arab Food Security, Starting this Year 2022

An Agreement was concluded between the Association of Arab Universities, the Arab Organisation for Agriculture Development, and the Union of the Arab Scientific Research Councils to allocate three annual awards under the name The Annual Award for Arab Food Security.

11. MOUs and Partnerships

The association has signed more than 50 MOUs in the last three years. The last ones were with the following:

1. The League of Arab States, Prince Muhammad bin Fahd University, and the Association of Arab Universities with the aim of establishing a scholarship programme for students from Arab countries to study at Prince Muhammad bin Fahd University.

2. Kuwait Society for Graduate Studies PTA.

3. Texas International Education Consortium.

4. The Arab Organisation for Agricultural Development

5. Union of Arab Scientific Research Councils.

6. Federation of Arab Engineers

7. Arab Federation for Capital Markets

8. The Arab Organization for Industrial Development, Standardization and Mining

9. Al-Ahliyya Amman University (Agreement of Authenticating University Certificates and Documents).

10. Leadership Institute of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research - Republic of Egypt.

11. The Regional Center for Quality and Excellence in Education.

12. Arab Bureau of Education for the Gulf States.

13. Simplicity MEA Technology Solutions

The Association concluded its partnership with the Chinese Arab Centre for the Transfer of Technology and Culture in China, as well as several ongoing partnerships with the European Union and the Association of Russian Universities, within the framework of openness and scientific cooperation between Arab and international universities. It has also collaborated with an initiative to improve the quality of education in Jordanian universities using technology.

12. Workshops & Seminars

The Association of Arab Universities organized several workshops and seminars, which focused on important topics in scientific publishing, standards of scientific journals, guidelines for managing projects to obtain funds, and specialized workshops in quality assurance and accreditation. Dozens of professors participated in these seminars and workshops from various Arab universities. In addition to a workshop specialized in preparing reviewers for academic programs, in which a distinguished number of university professors participated.

13. The Association Initiatives

The General Secretariat of the Association of Arab Universities presented three initiatives at the meetings of the Sixth Forum of specialised qualitative federations affiliated to the League of Arab States and the meetings of the Higher Coordination Committee to be presented at the Arab Economic and Social Development Summit, an initiative on the impact of digital transformation on sustainable development in the Arab world, and an initiative to modernise and develop the educational process in colleges of Agriculture, and an initiative to launch an annual Arab scientific and technological forum on food security and sustainable development. The General Secretariat of the Union also presented initiatives in the form of projects to the European Union related to cybersecurity, vocational training, Syrian refugees, and regional competency frameworks.

14. Cooperation with International Organisations

The General Secretariat of the Union works to enhance international cooperation by representing Arab region in meetings, studies, and questionnaires on education in international organisations and federations such as the International Association of Universities (IAU), the European University Association (EUA), UNESCO, GUNI, OBREAL, the Association of Universities in Russia and Belarus, the Texas International Education Consortium, the Global University Associations Forum (GUAF), the Association of African Universities, the Association of Chinese Universities, the Association of Indian Universities, the Association of Russian universities, and many international organisations and circulate many of the activities of organisations and federations to the Arab universities that are members of the association.

H.E. Professor Amr Ezzat Salama is the Secretary General of The Association of Arab Universities. Besides serving twice as Egypt's minister of higher education and scientific research, he headed the housing committee in the Shura Council and directed the Housing and Building National Research Center as well as the Management Engineering Society. Being an expert on the strength and properties of materials, Professor Salama has published many articles in international journals and conferences. He acted as a board member of several professional engineering associations in Egypt, and a Higher Managerial Court member of the first circle. Professor Salama chaired the Executive Bureau of 57357 Hospital. Also, he presided at Helwan University, where he taught structural engineering and was a counsellor at the American University in Cairo (AUC) for nine years. Professor Salama was awarded the State Prize for Scientific Creativity in 2006, the State Award in Engineering Sciences in 2012, the Engineering Syndicate Medal, and the Golden Medal of the Egyptian Engineering Association. Professor Salama holds a Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering from Cairo University, Master in Maritime Civil Engineering from Manchester University, UK and a Ph.D. in structural engineering from Heriot-Watt, Edinburgh, UK.

India and Asean:
Shared Values and Common Destiny

By H.E. Mr. Anil Wadhwa, Former Ambassador & Secretary Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, India

India's "Look East Policy was introduced in the 1990s and was transformed in 2015 to an "Act East Policy'. India's 'Act East' policy is now firmly focused on stronger commercial links with the Asean and other Indo-Pacific countries and to create opportunities for the connectivity and development of the Indian North Eastern states. The year 2022 marked the 30th anniversary of dialogue relations between Asean and India and was celebrated as the Asean – India 'friendship year". On June 15, 2022, India hosted the Special Asean- India Foreign Minister's meeting to mark the 30th anniversary of its dialogue relations and the 10th anniversary of its Strategic partnership with Asean. Asean is a vital component of the regional and global multilateral order and India supports Asean's central position in the developing Indo- Pacific region. India's

recognition of the centrality of the Asean is in alignment with its vision of the Indo-Pacific. India does not view the Indo-Pacific as a strategy or a club of limited members but as an inclusive, natural region ranging from the shores of Africa to that of the Americas. Prime Minister Modi, speaking at the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore in 2018 had stated that the Indo – Pacific should be "free, open and inclusive", grounded in "rules and norms" based on the consent of all, not on the power of a few', and characterized by respect for international law, including the issue of freedom of navigation, and overflight. On this occasion, PM Modi has also pointed out that it was Asean which had laid the foundation of the Indo-Pacific region, and key Asean initiatives embrace its geography by including India. Therefore, rather than being

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divisive or dismissive, India's vision for the Indo – Pacific further reassures and reinforces the Asean.

Over the past few decades India has made important progress in its relationship with the ASEAN and its related frameworks. India was a dialogue partner in 1996, became a Summit level partner in 2002, a Strategic Partner in 2012 and has since reached the level of a Comprehensive Strategic partner at the 30th India Asean Commemorative Summit in November 2022. Today, India is engaged in at least 30 high level dialogues at the ministerial level in diversified fields with Asean. India has also been an active participant in the East Asia Summit, and its related security and economic groupings like ARF (Asean Regional Forum) and ADMM+ (Asean Defense Ministers Plus), which have many overlaps in membership. India's relationship with Asean encompasses many aspects, including the political, security, economic, cultural and people to people dimensions.

This relationship dates back to ancient times, when India has a significant influence on the cultures of South East Asia, particularly through the spread of Hinduism and Buddhism. In Asean countries like Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, or Myanmar today, India's influence is visible in the art, culture and civilization. Indian religion, political thought, literature, mythology, and arts were absorbed deeply into local cultures due to the interaction with Indians who settled in South East Asia. Buddhism travelled to South East Asia from India in the 3rd century BCE. India has had a significant influence on the cuisine of South East Asia, in the traditional names which are based in Sanskrit in countries like Indonesia and

INDIA IS WORKING TO ENHANCE COOPERATION WITH ASEAN IN DIGITIZATION – ESPECIALLY THE FINANCIAL STRUCTURE AND E GOVERNANCE AS WELL AS CYBER SECURITY.

Thailand. Indian traditional medicine has a lot of similarity with South East Asia.

Today, India's relationship with Asean is going in the direction of economic integration, market access, investment, and trade. The reason why India needs deeper economic integration with Asean and needs to engage it actively, is because it consists of 1.85 billion people, and has a combined GDP of $3.8 trillion. The Asean India Trade in goods Agreement, the Asean India Trade in Services agreement and the Asean India Investment Agreement have all entered into force and have also been ratified by all parties. Bilateral trade has risen, reaching US$ 98.39 billion in 2021-22 even though the pace could have been faster. This area requires much more attention, and the creation of new and resilient supply chains between India and Asean could focus on digital trade which will bring down the costs. This needs to be bolstered by a review of the Asean India Agreement on Trade if India has to benefit equally from the Agreement. A revamped India Asean Free trade Agreement will compensate to some extent for India not being part of the Regional Comprehensive Economic

Cooperation Agreement (RCEP). The Indo Pacific Economic Framework, launched by the United States in May 2022, which includes India and seven Asean countries, will also help in taking the economic agenda between India and Asean forward. Asean has invested US$117.88 billion between April 2000 to February 2022 into India, and India has invested US$55.5 billion in Asean between April 2019 till March 2022. Investment flows, however, are predominantly to and from Singapore, and there is a need for diversification and expansion of investments with a host of other Asean countries.

Connectivity is a key aspect of improving India's economic relationship with Asean – through land, sea, and air. India and Asean will both benefit if the construction of the trilateral highway which will connect India, Myanmar and Thailand, and will later expand into Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam is speeded up and completed in the near future. Currently, it is bogged down due to the political, financial and governance constraints in Myanmar. The Kaladan multi modal transport project will link Kolkata to Sittwe port in Myanmar, extending into Mizoram by the river and land route. This project, again, has been stuck for a while due to the political situation in Myanmar.

A $1 billion credit line was announced by India in 2015 to enhance digital and infrastructure connectivity with Asean. The utilization has been less than satisfactory and the reasons for this must be analyzed and resolved. $77 million have also been committed by India towards developing manufacturing hubs in the CML (Cambodia, Myanmar and Laos) countries. The soft infrastructure required for the successful opening of the trilateral highway, including a motor vehicles and licensing agreement, customs checkpoints and documentation, as well as economic hubs along the highway - must be in place when the trilateral highway opens. This is essential because the North East itself must be able to export its own produce and benefit economically rather than becoming just an importer of cheap goods. Most urgently, last mile connectivity to border areas and to seaports and development in the North East itself is important, so that India can hope for balanced trade and utilize the full potential of its North Eastern states.

India has constantly striven to build up the capacity of Asean to the best of its ability. Joint activities with Asean are identified either as part of a 5 year "Plan of Action" or through the "Work Plans" of cooperation generated during interactions with Asean "sectoral bodies" or institutions. India is also looking to partner Asean in enhancing blue economy cooperation, - investing in development of desalinization technologies, harvesting the bio diversity, and searching and excavating marine minerals in the

seas. It is setting up coastal surveillance networks and constantly enhancing the capacity for shared Maritime Domain Awareness with its partners. There has been a concentration on defense arrangements at a bilateral level, strengthening defense ties with countries like Singapore, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Myanmar, and Thailand. India carries out maritime exercises with countries like Singapore and Indonesia, and the Indian navy conducts the Milan exercise with navies of the Indian ocean region at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. India and Singapore already have a mutual logistics pact which was signed a few years ago and helps in Indian navy's operational turnaround. The first ever Asean -India maritime exercise is schedule to take place in the first quarter of 2023, where the focus is expected to be on interoperability and exchange of best practices amongst all the navies.

Besides the US$50 million Asean-India Cooperation Fund (later augmented in 2016 by another US$50 million), India has set up a US$1 million Green Fund (later augmented to US$5 million) which helps in undertaking cooperative projects in climate impact mitigation. In 2016, the corpus of the Fund meant for enhancing Science and technology with Asean was also enhanced by India from US$1 million to US$ 5 million. Two major space projects with Asean for tracking, data and reception/data processing stations are located in Ho Chi Minh city, Vietnam, and in Biak, Indonesia. India is working to enhance cooperation with Asean in digitization – especially the financial structure and e governance as well as Cyber security. India is ideally placed to use its niche area of IT to power customs and risk management. India and its partners like Japan, Australia or US who are part of the "Quad" could partner other governments or the private sector to mitigate risk and shorten lead times in the region. The Quad wants be seen as a means of delivery for global good, not as an exclusive club, and is working to encompass the development agenda of the Asean countries.

India has been imparting training in English language, IT, law enforcement and capital markets skills to personnel in countries like Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar. Scholarships have been offered in Nalanda university, and training of civil servants in disaster risk management and drought management, as well as exchange of parliamentarians has been carried out. There has been the establishment of a network of think tanks, and Asean India eminent persons lecture series. India has also proposed the Indo Pacific Oceans initiative (IPOI) at the East Asia Summit. The objective of the Indo Pacific Oceans initiative is to strengthen maritime boundaries, and to this end partnerships based on principles of free trade and sustainable use of maritime resources have been proposed. Such partnerships have three main goals in the Indian Ocean region –wealth creation, welfare promotion, and cooperative win-win strategies. The Initiative draws upon regional architecture and mechanisms to focus on seven pillars of maritime security, maritime ecology, maritime resources, capacity building and resource sharing, disaster

risk reduction and management, science, technology, and academic cooperation, as well as trade connectivity and maritime transport. The elevation of ties should ensure greater coordination between India's Indo- Pacific Ocean's Initiative (IPOI) and Asean's outlook on Indo- Pacific (AOIP). The Asean outlook on the Indo Pacific is aimed at promoting an enabling environment for peace, stability, and prosperity in the region in addressing common challenges, upholding the rules based regional architecture, and promoting closer economic cooperation, thus strengthening confidence and trust. It also aims at implementing existing and exploring other Asean priority areas of cooperation, including maritime cooperation, connectivity, the sustainable development goals, and economic and other possible newer areas of cooperation.

Currently, India is looking to reinvigorate its ties with the Asean. Enormous potential exists for border trade through share 1643 KMs of border with Myanmar. Compared to the Sino-Myanmar and the Thai Myanmar borders, the border points here still have inadequate infrastructure. Rail connectivity of the Indian north East to the border areas and air connectivity through the major cities of the region to eastern India are still a work in progress. Digital connectivity could be India's USP, given India's experiences. The North East states of India themselves need to develop in order to be able to participate in the benefits from regional economic integration.

India, Japan and Bangladesh are in discussions to coordinate connectivity efforts in Bangladesh and India's North East states to attract regional value chains and manufacturing

to the region over the next few years. The plan includes adjusting tariffs, boosting connectivity, and jointly courting investments particularly from Japanese enterprises, and binding India closer to countries on the Mekong River system such as Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Japan has been a major proponent of infrastructure projects in Bangladesh as well as the North East Indian states. Japan has helped build the Matarbari port in Bangladesh, which can be used by the Indian North East. Japan has also funded road connectivity projects in India's North East states.

India's involvement and the idea of developing port infrastructure in Sabang in Indonesia is significant and could be a game changer but needs quicker follow up. Sea links are also vital between the eastern sea board of India including ports of Ennore and Chennai to CML countries and there is need for improving transshipment links with partners like Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Thailand. Experimental routes have been tried out and have turned out to be promising. These need to be scaled up. There is a proposal to link Dawei port in Myanmar, being developed with Japan and Thailand to Chennai port in India. However, Japan, Thailand and Myanmar all need to come together with India with finance and ideas in order that this proposal fructifies and succeeds. India and Asean need to look at shipping joint ventures, and related concessions through an Agreement on maritime transport. While flight connections from tier 1 and tier 2 cities in India are well established with Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and now Indonesia, the other countries

either lack direct links or have inadequate linkages with India. This is an impediment to tourism, as well as trade and investments. India and Asean therefore, need to work towards an Asean India comprehensive air services agreement which will benefit trade, investments, and tourism.

Asean is recognized as a leading cog in the global value chains, with strong production networks established across its member countries. India needs to invest more in building industrial capacity in Asean, creating production linkages between Indian operations and South East Asian suppliers, providing training, and opening its own market access in restricted segments. The outcome will create regional value chains at different stages of industrial manufacturing, linked to services, that would facilitate the relocation of production bases across India and the Asean seamlessly. SMEs account for 90% of the total enterprises in the CMLV countries. India can offer its expertise in developing SME clusters based on skill and resource endowments, institutional strengthening, and export capacity creation.

Some of new areas of collaboration between transition including solar energy, wind energy, and green ammonia; power grid connections with South East Asia; the new age Fintech and related resources, sharing of Indian digital technologies like UPI; and cooperation in health care and vaccines as well as digital monitoring and mapping of the pandemic. Most importantly, India needs to present itself as a viable alternative to other partners in the Asean economic and strategic landscape. The Comprehensive Strategic partnership with Asean would enhance cooperation in areas like technology, and climate change mitigation. Collaboration in areas such as start-ups, and innovation, empowerment of youth and women and the development of micro, small and medium enterprises will be an important driver in moving India – Asean relations to a higher pedestal.

Ambassador Anil Wadhwa was a member of the India Foreign Service from 1979–2017 and has served as the Indian Ambassador to Italy, Thailand, Oman and Poland. As Secretary (East) in the Ministry of External Affairs of India he oversaw relations with South East Asia, Gulf and West Asia, Pacific and Australasia. He has served as the Indian Ambassador and permanent Representative to FAO, IFAD, WFP UNESCAP and worked with the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) in The Hague heading the Government Relations and Political Affairs and Media and Public Affairs Branches. He has served as India's chief delegate to the East Asia Summit, Asean- India, ASEM, ACD, the Arab league, Mekong Ganga Cooperation, and ARF meetings. Ambassador Wadhwa's previous postings include stints with the Indian Permanent mission to the United Nations in Geneva, twice to the Indian Embassy in Beijing, and in the Commission of India in Hong Kong. He has led a Confederation of Indian Industries task force for writing the Australia Economic Strategy report for the Indian government released by the Minister of Commerce, Industry & Textiles in November 2020. Ambassador Wadhwa is currently a Distinguished fellow with the Vivekananda International Foundation, New Delhi and serves as an Independent Director and Advisor on the Boards of some corporate firms and organisations in India and abroad.

Media and Foreign Policy: Major Trends and Shifts in the Literature

By Enji Khaled Matar, BUE Political Science Student, Degree year 2

Introduction:

The relationship between media and foreign policy is controversial. Media is currently perceived as a global actor in the international arena (Gilboa, 2005). Since the end of the Gulf War in 1991, debates regarding the impact of the media on states' foreign policy have sparked ('the foreign policy and the media', n.d). This debate was concerned with what is called the "CNN Effect" or the "CNN Curve", which analysed the CNN itself (Cable News Network) (Gilboa, 2005). However, scholars looked into other media actors over time. The aim of this paper is to review the current literature on the relationship between media and foreign policy. After doing so, it concludes that there is a gap in the literature on the relationship between media and both Middle Eastern and African Foreign policy. The paper is divided into four main sections and five subsections. The first section defines the concepts of foreign policy and media. The second section examines the literature on the CNN Effect, which dominated the debate of media and foreign policy until the early 2000s. There are three strands under this section; the approvers, the disapprovers, and the neutrals. The third section highlights the major shift in the literature that examines the relationship between the two variables. This shift examines the role of movies and social media. The final section briefly examines the argument that media itself is a foreign policy, which explores the argument that media is a form of soft power.

Defining Foreign Policy and Media

Although the definition of media is generally agreed upon by scholars, the definition of foreign policy is less clearly defined. The paper uses a specific one. Foreign policy is "the way in which states articulate their interests towards foreign actors" (Frizis, 2013). The paper uses this definition because of its generality.

Since the aim is to review the literature, broadening the definition helps in encompassing a greater number of scholarly work. Similarly, the paper uses the broadest definition of media. Media refers to any mode or modes that convey any form of expression whether information, opinion, art, entertainment, or advertisement to a large number of people (Duignan, 2022). The paper looks into the possible influence of such modes on foreign policy decisions by policymakers.

1. The CNN Effect

There are 3 main groups of scholars that have explored the CNN Effect. The CNN Effect is the most examined concept in the debate regarding the relationship between media and foreign policy. Thus, it is vital to start with it. It is important to first define what the CNN Effect is. The CNN Effect is a concept that was coined during the Gulf War in 1990 ('the foreign policy and the media', n.d). It highlighted the role of mass media on foreign policy ('the foreign policy and the media', n.d). The argument was that CNN provided more information to the policymakers during the war than the intelligence and other official actors ('the foreign policy and the media', n.d). Scholars were divided into three groups in regard to this argument.

2. Approvers of the CNN Effect: A Liberal Thought

The first strand of scholars is in favour of the CNN Effect. This group of scholars shares the assumption that media can influence foreign policy because it succeeds at framing crises in a tragic way that puts pressure on policymakers to take action (Cohen, 1994; Edwards, 2001; O'Neill, 1993; Reeson, 2017; Shattuck as cited in Gilboa 2005; Shaw, 1996). The most commonly cited example of this is the US intervention in Somalia. The claim is that the Bush administration did not intend to intervene in Somalia (Reeson, 2017; Shattuck, 1996). It was only when the media started to cover millions of people that suffered from famine, that the government intervened in a humanitarian mission (Reeson, 2017; Shattuck as cited in Gilboa 2005). When the public was exposed to pictures in Somalia, they pressured the government to move (Shattuck as cited in Gilboa 2005). The claim is that the media is capable of directing the attention of the public toward a certain issue (Kim et al. as cited in Alaradi & Almatrouk, 2021). As a result, not only does the media direct people on what to think about, but also how to think about it (Kim et al. as cited in Alaradi & Almatrouk, 2021). Another common example is the US withdrawal from Vietnam (Alaradi & Almatrouk, 2021). The media drew the public's attention to the losses caused by the war (Hallin, 1984). Thus, public opinion pressured the United States to withdraw American troops from Vietnam (Hallin, 1984). Therefore, this group of scholars argues that media has a significant impact on foreign policy and that the CNN Effect is accurate.

This strand of literature adopts some form of liberal IR thought. Almost all of the mentioned scholars did not use liberalism to explain this relationship between media and foreign policy. However, their assumption can fall under a liberal umbrella because of their belief in the power of societal actors. These societal actors can decrease the self-interest and selfishness of the state.

There are several problems with this perspective. The first problem is that it neglects the fact that sometimes, even if the media promotes a certain idea, the public might not pressure the government to take action. This is simply because the people's agenda is not in-line with the media's agenda. In other cases, it is the exact opposite. For example, in the case of social media, it becomes difficult to separate the media from the public. Does the media really influence the public if the public is the media? The difference between the two can sometimes be blurry. Moreover, this strand indirectly assumes that the information that the media has is accurate. Media, although not always, generally aims at propaganda to create profit. They are sometimes influenced by advertisements. Since governments know that it sometimes can be unrealistic for governments to respond to media propaganda easily. This is not always the case of course, but this must be taken into consideration when examining the CNN Effect. Ultimately, a criticism provided by Gilboa (2005) is that there is a difference between "pressure" and "control". This group of scholars mostly assumes control, which means that media forces policymakers to act (Gilboa, 2005). Meanwhile, pressure means that media is one of the several factors that can add an issue to the agenda of the state (Gilboa, 2005). Hence, media is not always capable of forcing a government to make a specific foreign policy.

2.1. Disapprovers of the CNN Effect: A Realist Belief

The scholars in this strand of the literature believe that it is either the government that influences media, or that media has no effect at all. They claim that the government takes a foreign policy decision when it is in its interest, regardless of the media's pressure (Bennett, 1990; Gibbs, 2000; Livingston, 1997; Livingston & Eachus, 1995; Mermin, 1997; Wheeler, 2000). The assumption is that if a foreign policy is not in the government's interest, the media can never be an agenda-setting agent (Gibbs, 2000; Livingston, 1997; Livingston & Eachus, 1995; Mermin, 1997; Riley, 1999). The most cited example is the case of Rwanda in 1994. Despite the media's strong coverage of the genocide that took place, the US government decided not to intervene (Gibbs, 2000; Livingston, 1997; Livingston & Eachus, 1995; Mermin, 1997; Riley, 1999). Livingston (1997) goes further to argue that it is the government that sets the agenda of the media and not the other way around. For instance, Livingston uses the case study of Somalia. He argues that in the first few months, the situation in Somalia was disastrous, and many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as the Red Cross intervened (Livingston, 1997). Despite this, there was no media coverage (Livingston, 1997). Nevertheless, in August 1991, the US government decided to intervene, and it was only at that time that the media started to pay attention (Livingston, 1997). This attention was not because the struggle increased, but because American troops were in Somalia (Livingston, 1997). Similarly, in the following December Bush decided to send Marines and as a result, the media's attention rose (Livingston, 1997). From a realist perspective, Gibbs (2000) argued that the reason for the US intervention in Somalia was due to the

state's strategic location which is close to the Red Sea and Bab-el-Mandeb strait. Hence, this group of scholars believe that the CNN Effect is a myth.

This strand of literature is similar to realism. These scholars, except for Gibbs (2000) did not use realism to explain the relationship between media and foreign policy. However, their claims share the realist assumption that states are self-interested and will only take actions that will serve this interest. Societal actors (in this case the media) do not influence the state to change their agenda.

The main problem with this strand is that its scholars tend to ignore the vitality of legitimacy. Even the most authoritarian regimes need to legitimise their actions. In many cases, the government cannot take act unless it has some degree of legitimacy. Before the US invasion of Iraq, the Bush administration had to legitimise its action by claiming that Iraq possesses Weapons of Mass Destruction. Responding to the media's pressure can be one form of gaining legitimacy. This does not mean that states will always respond to that pressure. It rather means that sometimes, media cannot be ignored.

The Neutrals: The Role of the Intervening Variables

This group of scholars claims that there is no direct relation between the media and foreign policy. There are "intervening variables" that impact this relation. There is no consensus among these scholars on what these intervening variables are. However, what is common between them is that they believe that media does not impact foreign policy directly (Ammon, 2001; Badsey, 1997; Hoge, 1994; Jakobsen, 1996; Robinson, 2002; Seib, 2002; Strobel, 1997). For example, some have argued that media only affects a foreign policy when it is certain (Gowing, 2000; Robinson, 2002; Jakobsen, 1996). When a policy is certain and determined, media is unlikely to influence policymakers, whereas when there is some kind of hesitation, media is successful in pressuring leaders (Gowing, 2000; Jakobsen, 1996; Robinson, 2002). Robinson (2002) provided examples of Bill Clinton's intervention in both Kosovo and Bosnia. In the latter case, Clinton was criticised by the media and was uncertain about the intervention in the Gorzade area. As a result, criticisms pressured him to lead a humanitarian intervention (Robinson, 2002). In the former case, however, Clinton was determined to use air forces in Kosovo, and thus, media failed to pressure him to use ground troops (Robinson, 2002). Furthermore, Ammon (2001) argued that there are five main factors that determine whether media will impact a state's foreign policy or not. These factors are: a humanitarian crisis, a fast-breaking event, a leadership vacuum, media autonomy, and high visibility. In other words, the impact of media on foreign policy can only be understood within the context of other factors.

There are two main problems with all three strands. The first one is that all of these claimed that they tackled the impact of media on foreign policy. Nevertheless, they wrote only about wars and more specifically, humanitarian interventions. They looked into the pressure of media on governments only in the time of crises, which cannot be generalised to all foreign policies. Media can push any agenda at any time. The second

criticism is that all three strands examined Western case studies. This is the result of the first criticism. By focusing on humanitarian interventions, it was logical to look at Western states. This is because most, if not all, humanitarian interventions were led by Western states in non-Western ones. Even in when examining eastern states, one cannot generalise either. This is because Eastern governments are not homogenous. Media might have a more significant impact in one state than the other.

The Problem of the CNN Effect

Another major problem with most of the literature when examining the impact of media on foreign policy is that most scholars examine CNN-like media. The CNN is, from its name, a Cable News Network (Erickson, 2022). This means it is a cable news channel that broadcasts news 24/7 through screen devices (Erickson, 2022). Media is not only cable news channels. As mentioned, media can include any form of information delivery to a large audience. Despite this, most of the literature claims to look into the relationship between media and foreign policy without examining other forms of media. It might be insufficient to examine this form of media only. Hence, there are few scholars that examined the impact of other forms of media on foreign policy. The next two groups of scholars adopt one of the three previous strands. However, they are mentioned separately since they examine different forms of media than CNN. Another reason for this separation is that the impact of movies, social media, and media as soft power have only recently been explored in depth. This is unlike the CNN debate, which was prominent in the 90s and the early 2000s. Hence, the next two sections elaborate the major shifts in the literature regarding the relationship between media and foreign policy.

1. A Shift in the Literature

1.1.   Movies

The first shift in the literature examines the impact of movies on foreign policy. Movies are a one-way source of media (O'Hare, 2022). This means that they deliver information to a large number of audience but there is no communication between the audience and the movie (O'Hare, 2022). This group of scholars believes that movies play a vital role in shaping foreign policies. Movies are tools that promote certain ideas through visuals in the public's minds and therefore, they can pressure governments in their foreign policies (Alaradi & Almatrouk, 2021; Su & Hao 2005; Zitouna, 2008). The most commonly used example is the US "War on Terror" and its relation to Hollywood movies (Alaradi & Almatrouk, 2021; Zitouna, 2008). Some scholars argue that Post 9/11, stereotypical Hollywood movies portrayed Arabs and Muslims as terrorists, which resulted in significant hatred of Americans towards Muslims (Alaradi & Almatrouk, 2021; Zitouna, 2008). This led many people to support Bush in his decisions to invade Afghanistan and Iraq (Alaradi & Almatrouk, 2021; Zitouna, 2008). In addition, Su & Hao (2005) argued that American movies in China have created some kind of tolerance towards Americans in the Chinese society. This is because Chinese people became used to American values (Su & Hao, 2005). This led China to be more careful in its policies with

the United States (Su & Hao, 2005). Su & Hao (2005) talks about all forms of foreign policy such as trading. In other words, media has created a cultural boundary that the state must behave within.

1.2.   Social Media and Foreign Policy: The Major Shift

The current debate is about the relationship between social media and foreign policy. This group of scholars focused only on social media as a pressure tool on policymakers. Since the social media revolution, people shifted from using newspapers, televisions, and radios to using social media platforms. Hence, scholars had to examine the role of these platforms on foreign policy. This group of scholars argues that social media strongly influences foreign policy because the public has unlimited access to unlimited information about events outside a society's boundaries (Adesina, 2015; Baum & Potter, 2019; Carpenter et al., 2010; Kluver, 2002; Rubenzer, 2015; Zeitzoff et al., 2015). Consequently, people pressure governments whenever they saw the necessity for a government to take a certain foreign policy (Adesina, 2015; Baum & Potter, 2019; Carpenter et al., 2010; Kluver, 2002; Rubenzer, 2015; Zeitzoff et al., 2015). Rubenzer (2015) conducted an exceptional study, which have shown that due to the social media activism of some Cuban exiles in the US, the latter has slightly changed its foreign policy towards Cuba. Therefore, social media has become the "global media".

As mentioned, what makes social media specifically stronger than other medium is that it is used by the public and ordinary people rather than by journalists. Anyone who has internet access can be part of this public sphere that influences foreign policy. This is especially the case since many leaders and politicians (most notably Donald Trump) are using social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook (Sun, 2020). Thus, sometimes the public has direct communication with leaders. Nonetheless, social media can still be controlled by the government and the latter can restrict what is accessible to the public (Zeitzoff et al., 2015). This is the case in Iran (Zeitzoff et al., 2015). This can decrease information the credibility that the public receives.

Media as a Form of Soft Power

Another strand that is worth mentioning is the use of media itself as a tool of foreign policy. The role of media in the domain of foreign policy is not limited to the impact of media on foreign policy. Media itself can be a foreign policy tool. This group of scholars argues that media, whether movies, social media, or newspapers, is used by states to influence societies in other states (Haberova, 2019; Keune & Frantz, 2017; Purushothaman, 2010; Suwankaewmanee, 2021). For example, the cultural American values of patriotism, liberty, and individuality are used by the state to promote these values in other non-western (as mentioned by Su & Hao) (Haberova, 2019; Keune & Frantz, 2017; Purushothaman, 2010; Suwankaewmanee, 2021). Another, rather more controversial example, is the role of Facebook in campaigning for Brexit (Hall, 2022). It is argued that the public has created Facebook campaigns to pressure the UK government to leave the EU

(Hall, 2022). The main problem with this is that it can be difficult to outline direct relationships between such campaigns and movies in other states.

Conclusion

This paper explored the relationship between foreign policy and media. After the Gulf War, the focus was mainly on the impact of cable networks and channels. Nevertheless, with the emergence of other modes of information transmitters, scholars' attention shifted toward the two most dominant modes, social media, and movies. A totally different group of scholars saw media as a form of foreign policy in itself. Although these trends have shifted from humanitarian intervention to various foreign policies, they have not examined the relationship between media and foreign policy in the Middle East and Africa. Hence, it is recommended to do future research on this. This paper was limited because it only briefly outlined each strand, especially the soft power strand. In depth analysis can be conducted in the future. Further, other trends and shifts can also be examined.
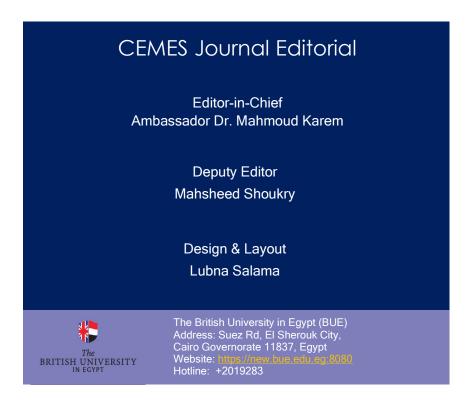
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