

Intro

Emboldened by the international recognition received after brokering a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas, president Morsi issued a decree immunizing his administration from judicial review¹. This represents at least the second time that this Egyptian administration increased its domestic powers responding to international events. Earlier this year, soon after being inaugurated as President of Egypt, events that lead to the death of 16 Egyptian soldiers in Sinai and border confusion with Israel, Mohamed Morsi preceded to fire the chief of intelligence, retire the top six officers in the Ministry of Defense including the long time minister of defense chief Marshall Mohamed Tantawi, and issuing decrees reducing SCAF's hold on power². After only six month in power after the elections, an observer can identify the impact of foreign policy on domestic arrangements in Egypt. As Fared Zakaria explains about the concept of *Primat der Aussenpolitik* founded in realist theory designating that international pressures place an effective weight on the "internal arrangements" in the state³. In this paper, I do not argue that this is not true, but I do argue that it is not only enough to study the *Aussenpolitik* but to also study the domestic resources of foreign policy and international Relations. By studying the changing domestic politics of Egypt after the revolution, *I argue that the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) and the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) will change the nature of US-Egyptian relations and change the priorities of the relationship between the two countries.*

In this research, I will discuss the implication of foreign policy for international relations. I argue that the sources of domestic politics account for many of the variables that are in place for conducting foreign policy. To make it clear, I do not argue that international politics do not affect domestic politics, it is likely that both have are interdependent on-each other, but domestic politics cannot be ignored in studying international relations. Kenneth Waltz and other realists describe the state as a "black box", I will attempt to debunk this myth and explore the domestic sources of international relations theory. Graham Allison argued in his article "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis" that the bureaucratic model of politics is superior to the rational actor model portrayed by realists⁴. In this paper, I will use the domestic-politics model for foreign policy analysis. Then I will present the case of Egyptian-US relations before and after the revolution. I will survey the US-Egyptian relations using Congressional Research Survey country reports since 2002 to outline the relationship. In the case study, I will discuss the platform of the FJP and President Morsi's foreign policy. I will then attempt to see the actions of FJP's and president Morsi since the revolution to confirm or a null my hypothesis. My hypothesis stands on the validity of the domestic political sources model in the foreign policy analysis.

In order to measure if the polices have changed, I have surveyed Congressional Research Service (CRS) reports from 2002, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011. In every single report from 2002-2009, the United States saw the Mubarak regime as influential on the region and expected him to exert influence on the hope of moderating the region. Egypt as moderating force and

¹ Spencer, Richard and Magdy Samaan. "Mohamed Morsi grants himself sweeping new powers in the wake of Gaza". *The Telegraph*. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/egypt/9697347/Mohammed-Morsi-grants-himself-sweeping-new-powers-in-wake-of-Gaza.html>

² Taylor, Julie. "Changing of the guard in Egypt". *Rand Institute*. August 14, 2012. <http://www.rand.org/blog/2012/08/changing-of-the-guard-in-egypt.html>

³ Zakaria, Fared. "Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review essay Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition by Jack Snyder." *International Security*. Vol 17, No 1(Summer, 1992) pp. 177-198.

⁴ Allison, Graham. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis". *The American Political Science Review*. Vol 63, 1969. Pp. 689-718.

cultural influence was a primary concern to US policy-makers. Human rights, minority rights, gender rights, and democracy promotion was included in every single report. Egypt's relationship with Israel was a pillar of the US Middle East policy but American lawmakers has sought more than once to advance what is described as "cold peace" by conditioning US funding to Egypt. Trade and the Economy continued to appear as an issue in the bilateral relations. The Israeli and Palestinian conflict appeared under a heading only once, but isolating Hamas was a primary concern for both parties since 2007. In the 2008 and 2009 reports US worries about the global economic crisis and inflation spurred worries about the durability of Egypt's economy. Since the transition, there has been five CRS's issued on the transition displaying US policymakers worries about the new internal politics in Egypt toward the Israeli peace treaty and democratic transition in Egypt⁵. Will the change in domestic orders in Egypt change US-Egyptian relations? Have the priorities changed? Before we examine this, we will look at the theoretical and conceptual framework of assessing the domestic sources of foreign relations.

Conceptual Framework

Egyptian-US relations have been studied in an approach focusing on the top. That is mostly focusing on the government as a rational actor. This has been the case for most authoritarian regimes in the region. This has occurred do to the seemingly very stable authoritarian presence of the various regimes in the region. From Qaddafi's Libya to Saleh's Yemen, the regimes in the Middle East have been durable in power. As the Tunisian protests began in late 2010, the fault lines began to appear in the region. Transformation seemed possible and regimes began to breakdown by the month. In a book *Arab Spring in Egypt* in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution, Rabab El Mehdi and Bahgat Korany argue that "contentious politics" is now a part of the Middle East and studying the region in completely top-down approach is no longer possible⁶. To explain Egypt's behavior internationally the concepts of "contentious politics" must be represented in our study. What are the tools we can employ to understand the new "Egypt"?

To understand Egypt's new approach to foreign policy we will look at theories of foreign policy analysis (FPA). Valerie Hudson describes FPA as the "theoretical hallmark" for understanding human decision-making in international relations⁷. Christopher Hill and Margo Light describe FPA as "the overall environment in which decision-makers operate is divided into the 'external' (or international), the 'domestic', and the psychological environment"⁸. In this study we are concerned with the domestic sources of conducting foreign policy. The new found democracy has created multiple new actors in Egypt. Those actors embody new political, social, and economic interest groups presented in many forms such as civil society organization and political parties. These actors have either a direct or an indirect influence on foreign policy decision making. Certainly each group has a different weight or impact, but they are all entrusted with different values, different motives, and different objectives. The rational actor model from a realist perspective is simply not developed enough to study the different variables that exist domestically. The rational model ascribes that the government is "united" with the

⁵ All CRS of 2002, 2007, 2009, 2011 and transition CRS will be mentioned in the bibliography.

⁶ El-Mehdi, Rabab and Bahgat Korany Ed. *Arab Spring in Egypt*. Cairo: The American University Press, 2012.

⁷ Hudson, Valerie. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. Plymouth, UK: Rowaman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007. Pp. 3-4.

⁸ Hill, Christopher and Margot Light. "Foreign Policy Analysis". *International Relations*. Boulder, CO: Lynee Rienner Publishers, 1985. Pp. 156

same purpose and knowledge of all information to choose the “optimal” policy⁹. This is not only false for democracies; it is false for all regime types. Even authoritarian states have competing interests, objectives, and values which can cause foreign policy to be sub-optimal. In referring to international relations theories that do not include human decision-making, Hudson asserts that such theories contain no element of change¹⁰. James Rosenau on other hand pioneered the use of domestic actors as constraints or part of the scientific equation of FPA. In his book *Along the domestic-foreign frontier*, he highlights the change in societies and impact of domestic politics on foreign policy¹¹.

Christopher Hill acknowledges that the foreign and the domestic are not the same but they are “not separable”¹². In Chapter 9 of his book *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*, Hill acknowledges that the domestic sources are many and they are: 1) actors, constraints and sources, 2) domestic events, 3) constitutional structures, 4) regime type, 5) class and development of policy. Since the very short time Egypt had in transition and with no constitution in place, we will attempt to focus on the actors and constraints. Essentially we are employing the “domestic” level of analysis that Robert Putnam discusses in his two-level game¹³. Putnam employs a two-level game in which he describes one level to be on the international front and the second to be on the national front. Level one is described as bargaining between one country to another’s negotiators, and Level two is bargaining between constituents in the domestic politics¹⁴.

For our purposes, we are not so much interested in level one of these games, but we are more interested in the latter. On many positions with the United States, Egypt’s domestic forces are likely to behave differently with different objectives. These objectives stretch from the peace treaty with Israel to the trade and economic environment of the two nations. Studying all the Egyptian domestic sources would be an extensive study that would require a great deal of energy and time, but with the limited amount of space we can attempt to look at the most-important forces in Egyptian politics and interest groups to gather an idea about the majority domestic constituency of the country. In the 2011 parliamentary elections and 2012 Presidential election the Muslim Brotherhood’s political arm, the Freedom and Justice Party and its candidate Mohamed Morsi came out as the clear winners. Here in our level two analyses we will examine the objectives of the Freedom and Justice Party and by association president Morsi towards the relationship with the United States.

By identifying our tools, we can employ a case study of the domestic sources of Egyptian-US relations after the 2011 revolution in Egypt. If we are to identify if the foreign policy of Egypt has changed, than what are the identifying tools? Foreign policy can be described as the objectives, means deployed to achieve those objectives, and expenditures and resources to achieve them¹⁵. Thus, our case study will deploy a second level of Putnam’s two-level games theory. The actors here are the domestic sources in Egypt particularly the Freedom and Justice Party and president Morsi. These two domestic actors independently will create our level two

⁹ Ibid 157.

¹⁰ Hudson, Valerei. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007. Pp. 7.

¹¹ Rosenau ,James. *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

¹² Hill, Christopher. “The Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy”. *The changing politics of foreign policy*. Pp.224.

¹³ Putnam, Robert. “Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of the two level games”. *International Organization*. Vol. 42, Summer 1998 pp 427-460.

¹⁴ Ibid, 436.

¹⁵ Lentner, Howard. *Foreign policy Analysis*. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1974.

analyses. Their objectives and means will be explored to identify if they can cause a change in the relationship with the United States.

Case Study

In May 2011, the MB created its political arm the Freedom and Justice Party, the platform of FJP gives us great insights on their foreign policy and ideological values. According to Carnegie Endowment there are 13 different foreign policy issues that the group weights. The one's that pertain to the US-Egyptian alliance are: 1) Strengthen national security and Egypt's role in African, Islamic, and Arab countries, 2) Upholding international treaties including the Geneva conventions and acknowledging Islamic principles of justice and non-aggression, 3) promoting free-market economy and democracy but opposing interventionist policy, 4) Building a strong Egyptian army to increase national-power, 5) Affirming the need to confront the aggressive and expansionist Zionist entity, 6) Peace treaties can only be valid if paced by referendum, 7) supporting the Palestinian right to self determination, rights of all refugees to return, and Jerusalem as the capital, and 8) supporting self-determination¹⁶. It is interesting to note that there is no mention of Israel but only a reference as the "Zionist entity", increasing military power could certainly be something that alarms US policy but the financial means are substantially less than the current objectives. Placing peace treaties in a referendum especially Israel's peace treaty is destined for failure in Egypt; this would be very alarming to American policy-makers. The FJP puts Palestine as a case issue on its platform, increasing the profile of the Palestinian issue in the bilateral relationship could prove to be one of the most important goals of the FJP.

In October, 2012, FJP member and chairman of the foreign policy committee of the party wrote an article in *Foreign Policy* magazine describing the party's stances. Amr Darrag wrote that Egypt will leverage its cultural, historical and geographical location to "restore its rightful place in world affairs"¹⁷. This is certainly something that American policy-makers were hoping that Mubarak would accomplish for them. It is clear that the US not only valued Egypt's hard power but also their soft power in the region, which seem to be waning in the later years of Mubarak. Amr Darrag mentions the "soft-power" tools including the Al-Azhar, Coptic Church, relief organizations, and cultural institutions¹⁸. The chairman also mentions that relations with other countries should not be based on "dependency and domination"¹⁹; this how Mubarak was at least perceived in many circles especially by the MB. Amr Darrag articulates a similar policy to that of Turkey's Justice and Development party of "zero problems with neighbors", FJP leader says that Egypt should "move from a single alliance (US) approach to a balanced international relations"²⁰. President Morsi certainly displayed this approach in his trip to Iran shortly after he became president to attend the non-aligned movement summit. Although the trip certainly does not signal a dramatic approach between Iran and Egypt which could be counterintuitive to US interests, the trip does signal willingness to engage other members of the world community that maybe hostile to US interests in the region.

¹⁶ Freedom and Justice Party. "Guide to Egypt's transition". Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 2012. <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/22/al-hurriyya-wa-al-%E2%80%98adala-freedom-and-justice-party>

¹⁷ Darrag, Amr. "A revolutionary foreign Policy". *Foreign Policy*. Oct, 2012.

¹⁸ ibid

¹⁹ ibid

²⁰ Ibid.

The nature of the relationship has clearly shifted. The first trip that Morsi conducted while in office was to China; America's arch rival in the region and main geo-political challenge. President Morsi is certainly following the advice of his party of escaping Egyptian dependence on the United States. In a trip to China, Morsi secured \$200 million for development and the increase trade ties between the two countries will certainly worry American policy-makers. According to David Schenker at the Washington Institute of Near East policy, china is becoming more integral to Egypt new strategy toward less reliance on the west²¹. The most important actions as of yet concerning the shift in policy with Washington came only weeks ago. This shift concerns the most important issue between the two countries; that is the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt signed in 1979. In another war between the pro-Brotherhood Palestinian group Hamas situated in Gaza and Israel, the reaction of newly elected Morsi was completely different than Mubarak.

In the 2008 war launched by Israel on Gaza responding to the rocket attack by the militant group in control of the Gaza strip, the Mubarak regime aided the Israeli blockade by a blockade of his own. Foreign minister of Egypt justified it by stating that it was necessary not to recognize Hamas as the representative of the Palestinian people²². While Egypt essentially assisted in mediating the ceasefire between Hamas and Israel, Mubarak's administration placed the blame on Hamas. In 2012, Morsi seem to play a crucial bargaining game on the home front and internationally. Shortly after the Israeli raids on Hamas, Morsi recalled Egypt's ambassador from Tel Aviv and summoned Israel ambassador in Cairo²³. Morsi was also quick to respond by sending his PM to Gaza while the fighting was raging between the two sides²⁴. It is clear that the new domination by the MB and FJP of Egyptian foreign policy has not made them commit the ultimate grievance against the US; to cancel the peace treaty with Israel. Is there lack of intent or is it simply a lack of means? There has been very little time that has passed to assess the question but the brotherhood historically and through its affiliate organization has expressed its desire for fighting Israel but clearly governing a state is not like being in the opposition. The MB, FJP, and Morsi have showed a great deal of restraint and an ability to maneuver politically to obtain their domestic goals through foreign policy. They have also changed the priorities of the US-Egyptian relations by elevating the Palestinian issue and breaking the isolation of Hamas which was subsequently followed by almost every country in the region.

As displayed above in the outlining of issues concerning the relations between the two countries, there has been a dramatic change. Isolating Hamas is no longer possible, thus, the US-Israeli-Egyptian strategy prior to the revolution has been shattered. On December 6, 2012, the CRS issued a new report discussing the changing nature of the relations between Egypt and the United States. CRS analyst Jeremy Sharp says "president Morsi may welcome U.S. assistance in stabilizing the country's economy while at the same time he works to distance what Islamists

²¹ Spegele, Brian. "Egypt's Morsi Firms China ties". *Wall Street Journal*. August 29, 2012. <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB1000087239639044230504577617271550304082.html>

²² Associated Press. "Egypt's FM: Hamas gave Israel an excuse to launch Gaza attacks". *Haaretz*. Jan 1, 2009. <http://www.haaretz.com/news/egypt-fm-hamas-gave-israel-the-excuse-to-launch-gaza-attacks-1.267251>

²³ Ahram Online. "Egypt President Morsi recalls ambassador from Israel". *Ahram*. Nov 14, 2012. <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/58145.aspx>

²⁴ BBC News. "Egypt's Prime Minister Hisham Qandil decries Gaza 'disaster'" *BBC Middle East*. Nov 16, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-20353223>

believe has been Egypt's overreliance on the United States during the Mubarak regime"²⁵. The analysis in this report confirms the political goals of the FJP and President Morsi. The relationship remains intact, the report says²⁶. The report also says that military and intelligence cooperation remains intact but increasing US concerns about the Sinai security situation still persists. The report also shows the deteriorating in funding from the US-Egypt from fiscal year (FY) 1999-FY2012 with only one exception in 2003²⁷.

Conclusion

Our hypothesis is partially validated. There has been a slight change in the nature of the relations. But the objectives of the FJP and Morsi have not been realized. Egypt is still reliant on the United States for funding especially military funding. Egypt will also be reliant on the United States as its heading towards an IMF approval of funds. While the Morsi administration and the Freedom and Justice Party face a number of issues at home including a non-performing economy and imposed unpopular structural reform, they're foreign policies seem to be popular with Egyptian parties and many interest groups. To decrease its dependence on the United States, Egypt's domestic economy must be revived. This creates an opportunity for the United States policy-makers and business community. By increasing interdependence and balancing the relationship the US and Egypt can maximize their respective policy interests. Since Israel is the pillar between the Cairo-Washington ties, Israel will continue to play an important role lobbying both governments. The role of Israeli policy-makers and institutions is exceptionally important for this relationship.

The United States can use the Freedom and Justice party and President Morsi in moderating the voices of Hamas. While the FJP has not stated formally that it recognizes Israel nor has the Muslim Brotherhood, but they have participated in the government with only slight objections towards increasing the priority of the Palestinian profile. FJP and Morsi have informally recognized Israel's right to exist by affirming the peace-treaty. This certainly could be a tactic rather than the intention. Egypt neither has the finances or the military capability to defeat Israel, but certainly this provides an opportunity for the United States to moderate the pragmatic Islamists in Cairo. The state-to-state relationship is complicated and they will become increasingly more complicated given the array of interests groups that have entered the political stage. Egypt is in a domestic confusion, but there appears to be an understanding on the foreign policy towards the US. Egypt's domestic sources will continue to recalculate their relations with United States. These calculations are likely to be different for the different groups and interest and the same applies to the United States. There is a great deal of dependency between both nations, more dependency on the part of Egypt. Certainly the US depends on Egypt for its geographical location, and its regional soft-power. American businesses would like to gain access to the large Egyptian markets. Stability and democracy promotion, two key American interests in the Middle East, start with Cairo.

²⁵ Sharp, Jeremy. "Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations". Congressional Research Service. December 6, 2012. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf>

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

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