

DAVUTOĞLU, AHMET. 2020. SYSTEMIC EARTHQUAKE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR WORLD ORDER: EXCLUSIVE POPULISM VERSUS INCLUSIVE DEMOCRACY. CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS. XXIV, 306 PP.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108751643>.

REVIEW BY:

NANE ALEKSANYAN* 
Yerevan State University

MAGDA ARSENYAN** 
Yerevan State University

Abstract

The book is devoted to a close analysis of the formation of the modern world (dis)order and the system of international relations, which was significantly influenced by the processes of the systemic earthquake and the struggle for world order, globalization, democratization, the trend of changing the functions and balance of power of states. The current stage of international relations is characterized by dynamic development, the transformation of the role of key states participating in international processes and the redistribution of the balance of power not only in the economic, but also in the military and political spheres. There is a transition to the struggle for world order, in which a significant number of actors in international relations will determine the intensity of the systemic earthquake in global and regional political life.

At the present stage, there is an increase in the influence of regional actors, who are increasingly claiming to strengthen their own role in international relations. One of these states is the Republic of Turkey, which acquires the properties of a link between East and West, North and South. This happens due to the intensification of the foreign policy course, the growth of interaction with many powers, including Russia.

The book analyzes the process of transformation of the modern foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey within the framework of the ideological and value approach, which, in particular, includes soft power tools and a set of stable ideologemes used both in domestic and foreign policy discourse.

* Nane Aleksanyan is a MA student of Public Administration at Yerevan State University. Email: nane.alexanyan@gmail.com. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8692-2641>.

** Magda Arsenyan is a PhD in Political Science of the Chair of Political Science of the Faculty of International Relations at Yerevan State University. Email: magdaarsenyan@yahoo.com. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0367-1622>.



Keywords: systemic earthquake, world order, world disorder, exclusive populism, inclusive democracy, global powers, inclusive governance, sustainability.

The transformation of the modern world space is largely determined by the nature of the world order and foreign policy strategies developed by the leading countries. Turkey's position in the world is determined by its ability not only to take into account and effectively respond to the challenges of other actors in the global political process, but also to shape its foreign policy that implements national interests, which implies an understanding of the purpose and essence of the foreign policy strategies of the leading countries (Davutoğlu 2020, 15-128, 17-45). In this regard, it seems interesting and relevant to study the genesis of the theories of a systemic earthquake and the struggle for world order, which gives an idea of the change in the ratio of instruments of domination, hegemony and leadership that determine the systemic nature of the world order, the expansion of resources for foreign policy strategies, as well as the goals and strategies of modern foreign policy Turkey (Davutoğlu 2020, 46-67, 68-87).

The relevance of this book is associated with a significant change in Turkey's foreign policy after the Justice and Development Party came to power. In the foreign policy of the state, priorities have changed, national interests have become more clearly defined. During the reign of the Justice and Development Party, Turkey is pursuing an active regional policy, interacting with neighboring regions, including through soft power tools (Davutoğlu 2020, 129-253, 131-148). There has been a certain diversification of Turkey's foreign policy, which is manifested in attempts to move away from the position of the USA 'junior partner' in the region, in strengthening contacts with Russia and Eastern states. It can be argued that Turkey's foreign policy has become more active in the context of ongoing changes in international relations (Davutoğlu 2020, 88-128). On the other hand, under the influence of ideological and value factors, Turkey's foreign policy takes on the features of conservatism, which largely determines the dynamism of the state's foreign policy.

As a research task, the author defined an attempt to assess the potential of Turkey in the struggle for world order. In this context, Turkey seeks to expand ties with other countries not only in the political, but also in the economic and military spheres. Turkey is actively cooperating with Russia in the Middle East, primarily in the context of settling the Syrian crisis. Russia and Türkiye have a large number of joint economic projects (Davutoğlu 2020, 149-187, 188-223, 224-253). The intensification of cooperation between the two countries in the field of security has gone through a number of serious crisis moments. However, in general, it can be argued that both states are striving to strengthen the polycentric world order.

There are attempts by Turkey to extend its influence in the Islamic world, to the adjacent territories of Central Asia, the South Caucasus and the Balkans. For this, various tools are used: elements of soft power, increased interaction in the economic and humanitarian spheres, mechanisms for resolving and managing conflicts, a systemic earthquake, as well as the formation of a common 'national spirit' based on belonging to one religion and civilization. A particularly sensitive area in bilateral relations is the Turkic-speaking space of the Commonwealth of Independent States

(CIS), where geopolitical contradictions between Russia and Turkey remain, which may intensify due to the intensification of Turkey's foreign policy.

Turkey positions itself as a foreign policy reformer, an exclusive and inclusive actor in the process of transforming the system of international relations, which, of course, affects the key actors of modern international relations. In this regard, it is important to understand, among other things, the ideological and value basis of Turkey's foreign policy. Without this, it is impossible to establish and build smart interaction and mutually beneficial cooperation, as well as to predict the possible risks and problems of Russian-Turkish relations and the ties of the Turkish elite with other countries and regions (Davutoğlu 2020, 224-253). Knowing the motives, it is possible to pursue a preventive policy and avoid conflict situations, as well as prevent the spread of Turkish influence on the territory of Russia and in the countries of the CIS.

The main focus of the book is on the study of the prerequisites, stages of transformation of Turkey's foreign policy after the Justice and Development Party came to power, which led to a change in Turkey's domestic and foreign policy. Under the rule of the Justice and Development Party and its leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in power, a transition began from adherence to the state line to the principles of Kemalism to a more conservative one in the country's domestic and foreign policy.

The author's methodology was applied in the book in the analysis of the modern system of international relations based on the systemic earthquake, institutional and model approaches, which was presented in most detail in several parts of the book.

The object of study of this book is the foreign policy of Turkey in the context of the systemic earthquake of modern international relations. The book analyzes the features of the implementation of Turkey's modern foreign policy in the context of the political, ideological and value mechanisms used by the country's leadership. The author also combines elements of structural and functional analysis, as well as historical research, formed within the framework of the Turkish school of studying international relations.

In addition, an ideological and value approach was developed and applied in a comparative study of Turkey's foreign policy. This approach implies the study of Turkey's foreign policy through the prism of not only interests, but ideas and values within the framework of foreign policy ideology, as well as the integration of Turkey's foreign policy into the general system of transformation of the ideological and political field of international relations.

The book clarifies the content of such concepts as 'world domination', 'world hegemony', 'world leadership', 'systemic earthquake', 'exclusive populism', and 'inclusive democracy'. World domination is defined as a mechanism for the exercise of power, based primarily on military force and economic power, used to control other states.

World domination is defined as a mechanism for the exercise of power, based primarily on military force and economic power, used to control other states. World hegemony is seen as the addition of two principles: domination (power and economic resources) and influence (ideological, cultural, informational resources), turning into domination with the inevitable elements of dictate and/or suppression of dissent. World leadership implies the existence of common interests between the leader and his followers, voluntary recognition of the authority of the leader, the formation by the

leader of value orientations that encourage other states to imitate his political and economic structure, political and cultural values, the legitimacy of leadership (Davutoğlu 2020, 149-187, 188-223, 224-253).

Important factors contributing to the active development of expansionist ideas were the features of immigrant culture, as well as the religious factor that determined the strategy of national messianism. The theoretical foundations of the doctrine of world domination were the ideas of the exclusivity and God's chosenness of the Turkish people and political system, including the theory of exclusivity of political values, the theory of racial superiority, the theory of sea power, the model of military and economic power, which became the theoretical basis for the geopolitical strategies of Turkey's expansionist policy.

New systemic earthquakes and the struggle for world order in the 21st century make us think about the reassessment of the role of international law. It is necessary to resolve the issue of the relationship between law and force. The role of law, its moral authority and the moral authority of international organizations, including the UN, the EU, the Council of Europe, the OSCE, and the NATO. This inspired suspicion in many that, in fact, international law is only declarative and not a source of power.

International law is currently sanctioned by both hard and soft power. If there is power, then there will be right. Such a situation is unacceptable. The developed countries of the world need to demonstrate their respect for international law, and for this they need to start changing themselves. It must be understood that the international community of the 21st century is not a world of centers of power, but a world of mutually respected peoples and cultures. This world needs a new geopolitical ethics, a new geopolitical morality based on international law.

In the modern world, it is no longer enough to adequately respond to crises and conflicts. We must learn to manage them together. This implies a shift in emphasis to various kinds of preventive measures. In the long term, these include the education of people and entire nations in the spirit of a culture of peace, dialogue among peoples and tolerance.

Finally, a new revolution in values is needed, a new renaissance of the ideas of Justice, Equality and Fraternity, as well as a revision in the spirit of humanism of such concepts as the market, freedom, well-being, self-expression and other liberal ideas. There will be a hard battle for hearts and minds, in which the decisive role will belong to values and ideas. This implies the involvement of millions of people in a dialogue, within the framework of which interaction and mutual enrichment of all cultures and civilizations should take place.

The developed countries, with good political will, are able to create such a structure of international relations in which each country, each people would have the opportunity to ensure prosperity and a decent standard of living, their own well-being and self-expression. It is necessary to clearly implement the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda to change the current world order, the entire philosophy of international relations, as well as fixing these 17 SDGs as the main guidelines for the evolution of the world community for the next seven years. Only in this case it can be argued that the concept of sustainable development can win the status of a key and system-forming theory of global development in the 21st century.

References

- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "A New Vision: Inclusive Governance." Part. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 129-253. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "Future Projections and Basic Principles of a New Order of Inclusive Governance: The Five I's." Chapter. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 131-148. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108751643.006>.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "Inclusive Global Governance: A New Paradigm of Global Order." Chapter. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 224-253. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108751643.009>.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "Inclusive National Governance: From Survival to Sustainability." Chapter. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 149-187. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108751643.007>.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "Inclusive Regional Governance: From Regional Cold Wars to Regional Orders." Chapter. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 188-223. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108751643.008>.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "Systemic Earthquake: Analysis and Consequences of World (Dis)Order." Part. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 15-128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "Systemic Earthquake: Fragile National, Regional, and Global Structures." Chapter. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 68-87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108751643.004>.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "Systemic Earthquake: Global Powers and the 'Multiple Balances of Power' System." Chapter. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 88-128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108751643.005>.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "The Roots of World (Dis)Order: Geopolitical, Security, Economic, and Structural Earthquakes in the Post-Cold War Era." Chapter. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 46-67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108751643.003>.
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet. 2020. "Traditional, Modern, and Global 'World Orders': A Historical Perspective." Chapter. In *Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order: Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy*, 17-45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108751643.002>.