

Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order

Exclusive Populism versus
Inclusive Democracy

Ahmet Davutoğlu

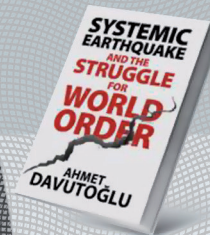
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English translation by Andrew Boord

Foreword by Richard Falk

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What led to the crises that the current world is experiencing? The approach to deal with them and restore the international order. The Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order is a metaphorical title. The book's importance increases because its author is a statesman, not only in relations but also at the same time he has been prime minister (2009–2014) and Prime Minister (2014–2016). The book reflects the author's personality. In our recent history, this type of prominence is extremely rare. Henry Kissinger and Zeynep Tufekci are prominent but both of them were never at the helm of a country.

Dr. Emir Hadžikadunić doktorirao je iz oblasti međunarodnih odnosa na Internacionalnom univerzitetu u Sarajevu. Objavio je dvije knjige: *Od Dejtona do Brisela* i *Zašto Iran*, uključujući nekoliko članaka u naučnim žurnalima na temu vanjske politike, geopolitike i evropskih integracija. Kolumnista je za domaće i strane medije kao što su *Al Jazeera Balkans*, *Al Jazeera English*, *Fair Observer* i druge. Trenutno je angažovan kao profesor na Sarajevskoj školi nauke i tehnologije, kao i gostujući predavač na Univerzitetu za trgovinu u Istanbulu i Univerzitetu Sultan Zainal Abidin, suradnik je na Univerzitetu Tehnologije MARA u Maleziji. Član je Institut za geopolitiku, ekonomiju i sigurnost. Bivši je ambasador Bosne i Hercegovine u Iranu i Meleziji.

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Dr. Emir Hadžikadunić received his doctorate in the field of international relations at the International University in Sarajevo. He has published two books: *From Dayton to Brussels* and *Why Iran*, including several articles in scholarly journals on foreign policy, geopolitics and European integration. He is a columnist for domestic and foreign media such as *Al Jazeera Balkans*, *Al Jazeera English*, *Fair Observer* and others. He is currently employed as a professor at the Sarajevo School of Science and Technology, as well as a guest lecturer at the University of Commerce in Istanbul and Sultan Zainal Abidin University, and is also an associate at the MARA University of Technology in Malaysia. He is a member of the Institute for Geopolitics, Economy and Security. He is the former ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Iran and Malaysia.

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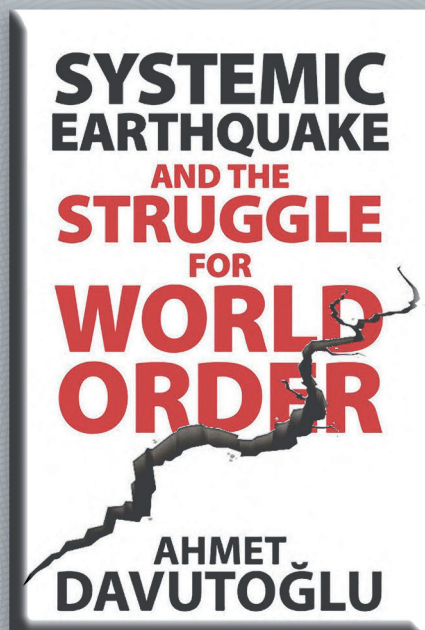
INTRODUCTION: CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

From Utopic Optimism to Nihilistic Pessimism: A Psycho-Methodological Dilemma

The discussions and debate we had around the "Toward a Greater Eurasia: How to Build a Common Future" in the fourth Astana Club Meeting (12–13 November 2018), held while I was working on *Systemic Earthquake*, contained significant clues with respect to understanding the psychology of the international environment and bringing out the main focus of this book's methodological approach. The prevailing intellectual currents among participants emerged right from the opening session of this wide-ranging roundtable gathering hosted by the President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, and attended by a number of former presidents, prime ministers, and ministers together with a host of academics distinguished for their work on the issue of international order.

One group had a relatively optimistic vision of the future in spite of the crises we were going through, while another argued that humanity was on the threshold of a major debacle from which it would be very hard to emerge. Advocates of the first approach provided comparative historical references to emphasize the fact that in terms of the losses relative to the population of mankind incurred in these ongoing crises we were in a far more favorable position than previous centuries, while those arguing for the second approach did not limit themselves to depicting the current spiral of crises in anticipating an extremely gloomy future.

Experiencing now and what is their scale and scope? What is the best international disorder? Prof. Ahmet Davutoğlu in his book *Systemic Earthquake* is not just a professor of political science and international relations, but also a politician. He has held the most important positions in Turkey: Foreign Minister and Prime Minister. His book reflects both theoretical as well as the practical dimensions of international relations. The unique mix of high-level political experience with academic research makes his book a must-read. Zbigniew Brzezinski are the other two important figures of this book. The book is a masterpiece of international relations as Davutoğlu was during his prime ministership.



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Emir HADŽIKADUNIĆ

SISTEMSKI POTRES I BORBA ZA SVJETSKI POREDAK

AUTOR AHMET DAVUTOĞLU

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SYSTEMIC EARTHQUAKE AND STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD ORDER

AUTHOR AHMET DAVUTOĞLU

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Ahmet Davutoglu's book comes at a time of another geopolitical upheaval, this time on the European continent, where conventional war was unimaginable, until yesterday.^{▼1} Its fundamental thesis is that every international conflict contains seeds for a new order, just as a new order contains seeds for a new conflict. Each order has built-in system errors, which gradually break it down, and which eventually lead to a new system upheaval. It is possible to prevent it if the system weaknesses are corrected or structural components restore their functionality, which the author analyses in detail in the second part of the book.

Systemic earthquake is not only important because of its layered content, interdisciplinary approach or a large number of practical suggestions, but also because the author is one of the rarely engaged intellectuals who has held the highest political positions, which again puts him among the ranks of public officials like Mohammad Javad Zarif, Henry Kissinger or Zbigniew Brzezinski. The synthesis of the intellectual and professional provides an unforgettable reading experience interwoven with moments in which professor Davutoglu's foreign policy ideas were tested on the real international scene at a high or highest diplomatic level for many years while the author served as foreign policy adviser, foreign minister, or prime minister of Turkey. On these foundations, Davutoglu offers a systematic analysis of the world's problematic relationships at three interconnected levels – international, regional

and national – but also offers concrete proposals for different relations, while creating a coherent unity of the past, present and future.

The paper is intended for a global reading audience, mostly a professional audience in the field of geopolitics, but it can be of great use for the local or regional audience who want the best possible insight into the geopolitical turmoil of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans. In this sense, the part that explains the line of separation of two tectonic plates within the European subsystem is interesting. According to the author, this problematic line does not only pass through Eastern Europe (Donbass, Crimea, Abkhazia, Ossetia, and Nagorno-Karabakh), but also affects the Balkan region (Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo). This area is characterized by an "era of prolonged ceasefire", in which the parties to the conflict see no benefit from the continuation of hostilities in the given circumstances, waiting for more favourable opportunities to break the ceasefire and return to violence, which has already happened in the case of Donbass and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Earthquake analogy

Davutoglu uses the earthquake analogy from the title throughout the book, with good reason, we would say. As he says, every international order faces a test of resilience just as physical structures on earth face seismic movement. Fragile structures that cannot withstand impacts simply collapse, while surviving structures show the need for serious rehabilitation. Likewise, the international order characterized by structural weaknesses faces crises, conflicts or wars. Disruptions lead to its gradual collapse if that order

^{▼1} The original work was written in Turkish, translated into English by Andrew Boord, and the foreword was written by Professor Emeritus Richard Falk, Princeton University.

is not strong enough to manage internal tensions. Resilient systems are corrected where it is most needed, just as newly built buildings are strengthened with new iron structures. From systems that are not so resilient, new ones are born, with a set of appropriate institutions, regulations and values, adapted also to a new balance of power. In the same way, the author speaks of regional subsystems, a group of states that have specific geopolitical, geoeconomic or geocultural characteristics. As an example, he often cites the Middle East, which is more susceptible to systemic earthquakes than the European region, whose static/institutional structures are much more resilient. The Middle East is particularly vulnerable to geopolitical upheavals due to systemic errors embedded in the regional order after World War I and World War II. At the heart of the regional unrest, the Palestinian issue has maintained its high priority before, during and after the end of the Cold War. In fact, the author's list of all wars served as proof that the most common earthquakes do occur in the Middle East. Manifestations of this violence over the past quarter of a century are the First (1990–1991) and Second (2003) Gulf War, Israeli-Lebanese War (2006), Israeli attacks on Palestine (2002, 2006, 2008, 2012, 2014), civil tensions and wars in Algeria, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Libya, Yemen, Sudan and Somalia. These geopolitical upheavals have caused the death and displacement of millions of people, waste of economic resources and the destruction of historical heritage and cultural treasures.

Methodological framework

Although the content of the book is interdisciplinary, the central theme is the structure of the international system, which the author explains through the synthesis of geopolitics, geoeconomics and geoculture as the three fundamental pillars of the international order. The reader may at first think that Davutoglu belongs to the popular school of realism, more precisely structural realism, because it offers a realistic observation of the world, especially in the first part. This part of the analysis is by its very nature more pessimistic, as is the pessimistic oldest thesis of realism that great powers do what they want and suffer less what they must. However, the reader will

learn in the second part of the book that his vision is interwoven with liberal or neoliberal ideas in international relations. In this sense, Davutoglu is more realistic when diagnosing the condition, but with his recommendations – how to proceed – he is more idealistic.

The author actually offers a synthesis between the two extremes of "Nihilist pessimism", on the one hand, and "utopian optimism", on the other. According to him, the main common characteristic of an "overly optimistic" or "overly pessimistic" understanding of international politics is reliance on favourable historical circumstances or on a moment of glory. For example, the psychology of "utopian optimism" is found immediately after the end of the Cold War in F. Fukuyama's euphoric thesis of "the end of history and the victory of liberalism in the long history of human civilization." The author recognizes that a similar "psychology of optimism" is found in pax Romana, pax Ottoman or pax Britannica. The egocentric view that each of the aforementioned orders will last forever has been proven wrong, as has Fukuyama's erroneous thesis of the liberal West's triumph.

In this sense, the loss of effectiveness and the unfulfilled expectations of the existing liberal order, as well as the failure to resolve the accumulated crises of the past three decades, have led to disappointment with the existing order, and consequently a progressive replacement of the "psychology of optimism" by its opposite – the "psychology of pessimism". What will separate humanity from a new spiral of violence will be its ability to create a vision for a different world. The author offers a middle solution of "realistic optimism", thus making his reflection a synthesis of two rival theoretical frameworks, the liberal and the realistic. Instead of deception, offered by the analysis of a single euphoric moment or a "static snapshot", a "dynamic analysis" of the whole process with many more static images is needed. As the author says, the process for international relations is what the law of motion is for physics. Such an approach allows for a realistic understanding of the spiral of systemic earthquakes, but also defines the characteristics for its transformation into a new and more optimistic international order. In this sense, the author emphasizes that his "optimism" is not "utopian",

but "realistic". That is why it offers a mixture of "idealistic" and "realist" principles as a way out of the existing state. He believes that "inclusion", which has an idealistic framework, should be linked to "interest" from the real sphere through what the author calls "institutionalization". Thus, a new understanding of the international order is achieved by overcoming tensions between idealism and realism.

Critical observations

Although its title and content are universal in character, the book is still somewhat Turkocentric. The author paid significant attention to Turkey's foreign policy role. In particular, he highlighted the activities of Turkish diplomacy on the international level as a model of inclusive behaviour, which is not so controversial. However, similar international activities of other states that had more or less impact have been not mentioned. For example, in the part of the book in which the author justifiably points out the joint initiative of Turkey and Spain (Alliance of Civilizations) and credit for promoting intercultural and interreligious dialogue in 2005, there is no mention of the dialogue of civilizations as an antithesis of the clash of civilizations initiated through the UN system by leaders of other countries, such as Iran (Hatami 1997, 2001; Rouhani 2013) or Malaysia (Najib 2010, 2013). Secondly, the author most often and most comprehensively problematized states and regional subsystems from Turkey's immediate environment. At the same time, he paid little attention to East Asia or the Western Pacific, to which, according to the most serious geopolitical analysis, this century belongs. In this sense, the rivalry between the United States and China has not received the treatment it deserves, even though the title of the book emphasizes the term world order. Equally omitted is the zone of separation of the two rival blocs that goes from the line of demarcation of North and South Korea through Taiwan to territorial disputes in the South China Sea. Third, structural earthquake as a key term or phenomenon is not necessarily a simplification. The author uses an interdisciplinary and intradisciplinary approach and explains it with factors from international economics, politics, culture, psychology, security, which in itself is not a

big problem. It also treats it with layered analysis at three levels – national, regional and international. In a mixture of a large number of causative agents that potentially affect the stability or instability of order, the author gives the impression that he is not always consistent because he explains the weaknesses of an international system or subsystem with one set of factors, and explains the weaknesses of someone else with another set of factors. Fifth, the attempt to transform the interaction of the real (pessimistic) and the ideal (optimistic) into a new theoretical framework (optimistic realism) remained only on the synthesis of two opposing views, within which is the greatest contribution of this work. The new theoretical framework, and it seems that there were such ambitions, is not sufficiently simplified, which is the entire point of all theories in the field of international relations. Sixth, in the analysis of great powers and the system of the balance of power, the author treats three great powers (China, Russia and the United States) and one regional integration (EU) at the same time, which is not controversial when it comes to the balance of economic power. However, if it comes to geopolitical relations, then the behaviour of the great powers is mainly treated within the school of realism or neorealism, and the behaviour of regional integration, such as the EU, within the liberal or neoliberal school in international relations. It is also expected that the United States and the EU are most often treated as a single geopolitical pole due to the mechanism of collective security. At the same time, they share the values of liberal democracy, market economy and cultural plurality. Seventh, the author also outlines the UN's commonly known shortcomings by linking them to crises that have erupted since the 1990s. However, these shortcomings did not arise in 1990, but are part of the UN founding acts of 1945. If the UN's capacity has been inadequate over the past thirty years, it had also been inadequate before that. Eighth, the author mentions BiH in several places (almost twenty times) citing it as an example of systemic disorder at the national, regional or international level, for the most part, correctly. However, in the second part of the book for BiH, he also says that it experienced fragmentation "after the bloody civil war". Many in BiH will disagree with this term, which is insinuated mostly by the neighbouring

Serbia, because it implies that all sides are equally guilty. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in the Duško Tadić case also classified the war in BiH as an international conflict, not a civil war. Finally, although the author's rescue narrative is enriched with an inclusive awareness that affirms the values of democracy, pluralism or the rule of law, some of his suggestions for a better, fairer and more peaceful world are still too idealized and difficult to enforce.

Structure

The book of over three hundred pages (including literature) is divided into two main parts, each consisting of four shorter chapters. In the first part – "Systemic earthquake: analysis and consequences of world (dis)order" – the author sheds light on the systemic crises of the international order through various historical phases, including the one of the last post-Cold War. It specifically investigates the causes and consequences of the last systemic earthquake created by the creation of a unipolar world at three levels – national, regional and global. In the second part – "A New Vision: Inclusive Governance" – the author offers his own ideas and recommendations for emerging from the ruins of the last systemic earthquake, consistently repeating the national, regional and international decision-making structure. According to him, these recommendations are essential for building a more stable structure that will be able to withstand all possible earthquakes. The alternative for Davutoglu is to continue the spiral of violence, which, if not properly treated, will one day end in a new world war. The author concludes the last chapter in the spirit of dialogue. "Regardless of our cultural affiliation, we must remember this fact: a peaceful global order that ensures the future of humanity can only be established on the basis of inclusive, pluralistic, inter-civilizational interaction, and not on the basis of monopolistic civilizational hegemony. The truth we have learned throughout history is clear: those who exclude 'other' human heritage in one era are themselves doomed to exclusion in the next."

