

T.C.

ISTANBUL KULTUR UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

NEW CHALLENGES AFTER COVID-19 AND TÜRKİYE’S RESPONSE

MA Thesis By

Emre ÖZGÜR

1403020050

Department: International Relations

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Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Bora BAYRAKTAR

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Emre ÖZGÜR

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ÖZET

Her çağın, Dünya düzenini şekillendirmede rol almış farklı olguları vardır. Orta Çağ'da Dünya düzenini şekillendiren en önemli olgulardan biri din savaşlarıydı. Aydınlanma Çağı'nda bilimdi. 19. ve 20. yüzyıllarda yükselen milliyetçilikti. Günümüzde ise, başta iletişim (özellikle internet) ve ulaşım alanında yaşanan gelişmelerle birlikte küreselleşme olgusu ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu olgunun avantaj ve dezavantajları, özellikle Covid-19 pandemisi ile önemli bir gündem maddesi haline gelmiştir. Yeni bir Dünya düzeninin eşiğinde olup olmadığımız akademisyenlerin, araştırmacıların, strateji uzmanlarının ve karar vericilerin gündemindedir. Bu hususta ABD'nin Başkanı Joe Biden, yeni bir Dünya düzeninin şekilleneceğini ve bu yeni Dünya düzenine ABD'nin liderlik etmesi gerektiğini söylemiştir. Pandemi ortaya çıktığında, Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkanı Xi Jinping, bundan böyle uluslararası topluluğun, insanlığı tek bir topluluk halinde görmesi gerektiğinin altını çizmiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan ise, Dünya düzeninin pandemi sonrası eskisi gibi olmayacağını, devlet kavramının günümüz ihtiyaçlarına göre yeniden şekilleneceğini vurgulamıştır.

Bu çalışma, geçmiş dönemlerdeki Dünya düzenlerini incelemekte, günümüzün değişiminin yönünü açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Türkiye'nin yeni ekonomik ve politik paradigmalarının sebepleri ve günümüz konjonktürüne adapte olma biçimi analiz edilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küreselleşme, Yeni Dünya Düzeni, Covid-19, Güvenlik

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ABSTRACT

Every age has its own phenomenon that shape the world order. In the medieval period, it was religion. In the enlightenment, it was science. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was the rise of nationalism. In our age, developments in communication (most notably the internet) and transportation make globalization a critical concept. Especially with the Covid-19 pandemic, the advantages and disadvantages of globalization have become a hot topic. Whether or not we are on the verge of a new world order is on the agenda of academicians, researchers, strategy experts and policymakers. The President of the USA, Joe Biden, said that there's going to be a new world order and his country has to lead it. When the pandemic broke out, Chinese President Xi Jinping highlighted that from now on, the international community has to see humanity as one community. Also, Türkiye's President, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, emphasized that the world order will not be the same after the pandemic and the notion of state will evolve accordingly to today's needs.

This study tries to explain different world orders in the past and the direction of the change in today's world. The reasons behind Türkiye's new economic and political paradigms and the way it adapts to today's conjuncture are analysed.

Keywords: Globalization, New World Order, Covid-19, Security

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i
ÖZET	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
Research Questions	2
CHAPTER 1. EVOLUTION OF THE WORLD ORDER.....	3
1.1. The Concert of Europe Era Order	6
1.2. Post-World War I Era Order	9
1.3. Cold War Era Order	10
1.4. Post-Cold War Era Order.....	14
CHAPTER 2. POST-COVID WORLD ORDER.....	18
2.1. Background	18
2.2. New Actors Challenging the State	18
2.3. Changing Roles of the States	21
2.4. Emergence of Multipolar World Order	22
2.5. Globalization.....	24
CHAPTER 3. TÜRKİYE IN THE POST-COVID WORLD ORDER	31

3.1. Background	31
3.2. Health Challenges	39
3.3. Economic Challenges	42
3.4. Increasing Importance of Soft Power	52
3.5. Security Notion	55
CONCLUSION	58
REFERENCES	62



LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. Türkiye's Response to the Pandemic in Terms of Health	39
Table 3.2. Vaccination Comparison Between Countries	41



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Nominal GDP Trends of India, Japan, China, and the USA-	15
Figure 2.1. Market Cap Comparison Between Countries and Corporations	20
Figure 2.2. Gini Index Between Countries and Within Countries	24
Figure 3.1. Covid-19 Deaths Rates Per Country	41
Figure 3.2. CPI graph of the USA.....	44
Figure 3.3. CPI Graph of the Euro Area	44
Figure 3.4. CPI graph of Türkiye.....	44
Figure 3.5. The surge in Global Food Prices After the Covid-19 Outbreak	46
Figure 3.6. GDP Comparison of the G20 Countries During the Covid-19 Pandemic..	47
Figure 3.7. U-Turn in Türkiye's Exports One Year After the Covid-19 Outbreak.....	48
Figure 3.8. Türkiye's Increasing Share in Global Exports.....	49
Figure 3.9 Türkiye's Aids During Covid-19	54

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPI: Core Price Index

EU: European Union

FETÖ: Fethullahçı Terör Örgütü- Fethullahist Terrorist Organisation

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

IMF: International Monetary Fund

ISIS: Islamic State and the Levant

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

PKK: Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê- Kurdistan Workers' Party

SDF: Syrian Democratic Forces

WHO: World Health Organization

YPG: Yekîneyên Parastina Gel- People's Defense Units

INTRODUCTION

In today's international order, globalization is one of the most important aspects of the world order. The term "global village" is commonly used to describe world order brought by globalization. In other words, the world has become a "smaller place" (Rosenau, 2005). It enormously affected the international system, bringing both many challenges and opportunities. Türkiye, which faced these challenges much earlier due to its unique conditions, had to adjust its policies. This dissertation tries to describe the road which led Türkiye to adjust its policies in the post-Covid-19 era.

Analysis of the world order provides helpful hints in understanding today's dynamics. While the specific factors that shape the order change in each era, different international relations theories claim to explain the "motives" of these changes. The first chapter begins with a discussion of two main international relations theories, realism and liberalism. Their concepts of world order are considerably different, as explained in the chapter. Analysis of the notion of "world order" and different world orders from the past help the reader to understand the dynamics of the current world order.

In the second chapter, global challenges that became obvious with the pandemic are discussed. The weaknesses and strengths of globalization are analysed. On the one hand, many of the trends in the post-Covid era can be traced back to the post-Cold War era, and most of these trends accelerated with Covid-19. On the other hand, Covid-19 brought new paradigms to the world order. This chapter attempts to analyse these changing trends and new paradigms in detail.

In the third chapter, Türkiye's response to Covid-19 and its position in the post-Covid era are discussed. Since the beginning of the pandemic, Türkiye has tried to reduce the spread of Covid-19 with measures like travel bans, lockdowns, mask mandatories, closing crowded places, etc. However, most of them had substantial economic impacts. Therefore, Türkiye fought on two main fronts: Economic slowdown and the spread of the virus. Moreover, soft power became an even more important agenda for Türkiye, and Türkiye's responses to the challenges have to be analysed from different perspectives in terms of the security notion. The way Türkiye proactively took measures during the pandemic, and adjustment of the state notion in accordance with the needs of today's world order are analysed.

Research Questions

In this study, I tried to analyse contemporary issues in international relations at the state and global level. The primary research question of this dissertation is: What factors prompted Türkiye to adjust its policies in the transformation period and in the post-Covid-19 era?

Also, these are the secondary research questions of this thesis:

- 1) What kind of opportunities and challenges does globalization bring to the post-Covid-19 era?
- 2) What are the crucial concepts that will bring sustainable peace in the future of the international system?
- 3) What are the weaknesses and strengths of different international relations theories in terms of explaining the current world order?

CHAPTER 1. EVOLUTION OF THE WORLD ORDER

In order to analyse the world order, firstly, the concept of world order has to be discussed. For Kissinger, a world order has to be based on two things: a set of commonly accepted rules that define the limits of permissible action and a balance of power that enforces restraint where rules break down, preventing one political unit from subjugating all others (Kissinger, 2014).

Also, different theories of international relations explain the concept of the world order differently. These theories also include some key terms that are useful to understand the incoming chapters. As famous economist John Maynard Keynes said, “Practical men who consider themselves above theory are usually listening to some dead scribbler from the past whose name they have long forgotten.” (Keynes, 1936). Traditionally, there have been two main theories in international relations: realism and liberalism.

For realists, the international system is shaped by a power struggle among states. According to realism, “The state is the main actor and sovereignty is its distinguishing trait.” Realists are skeptical about universal moral principles. They consider international relations to be rational (Tim Dunne, 2008).

According to realists, the world order is based on chaos and anarchy. Therefore, states are “on their own.” The ability to survive and dominate others are the most crucial goals for a state in this chaotic environment. There is no higher authority over states to impose order. Although there are international organizations like the United Nations, they can never change the power politics in the global system. Even in the United Nations, five major powers (USA,

Russia, China, Britain, France) have the veto power. Therefore, there is nothing called justice and moral principles in the international system, and states are always in a power struggle. Power is always dominant over “ideals” (Morgenthau, 1948). As a result, most realists believe that conflicts are more or less inevitable as power struggle always persists. Because of that, realists are usually considered “pessimistic” (Lecomte, 2013).

In order to defend the view that international order is based on anarchy, Hans Morgenthau, an influential classical realist of the 20th century, argued that state and human behaviour are comparable. As people are selfish and continuously seeking more power, the same applies to the states. However, while the “state” is the upper authority among people, there is no functional upper authority among states. Therefore, the international system is in anarchy, and states are inclined toward conflicts (Morgenthau, 1948).

Kenneth Waltz, an influential neorealist, brought new ideas to the concept of world order in his book “Theory of International Politics (1979).” His new theory is called both “structural realism” and “neorealism” because he emphasized the term “structure.” (Waltz, 1979). He argued that the structure of the international system gives a more accurate analysis than comparing state behaviour to human behaviour. Structure of the international system prompts all states to focus on preserving their own independence by forming coalitions, thus keeping the balance of power. Therefore, expansionism and seeking more power may not always result in more security. If a state pushes for maximum power, that will bring the same answer from other states as well; which would cause a “security dilemma.” In that situation, there would be security concerns for each side which would threaten the ultimate goal of every state: survival (Waltz, 1988). Rather than maximizing their power, the priority goal is maximizing security. Therefore, the world order is based on states’ attempts to maximize their security and strengthen their independence (Wagner, 2007). Moreover, he puts more emphasis on “economic power” compared to the classical realists (Waltz, 1979).

Neorealism is usually categorized into two: offensive realism and defensive realism (Ari, 2018). On the one hand, a defensive realist, Kenneth Waltz, puts more emphasis on security rather than power. Defensive realists do not assume that states have to be expansionist. On the other hand, according to Mearsheimer, an offensive realist, the nature of the international system is rather aggressive. States always seek more power and influence. Dominating other states with the ultimate goal of hegemony characterizes the world order according to him (Mearsheimer, 2018).

On the other hand, liberalism is an international relations theory that emphasizes principles like freedom, democracy, development, cooperation, self-determination, right to own property, etc. For example, Adam Smith argued that an “invisible hand” will always automatically connect self-interest with social benefits. Through individual self-interest, freedom of production and consumption; the best interest of society as a whole is fulfilled. The term “laissez-faire” is the term that describes this phenomenon (Smith, 2020). Moreover, moral values play an essential role in shaping the world order. For liberals, realism theory is a self-fulfilling prophecy as it is biased towards pessimism. Instead, they argue that common interests can be reached, and it is the best way for sustainable peace. Indeed, realism arguably gained more popularity during times of conflict, while liberalism gained more popularity during times of peace; at least when there was hope for it (Arıboğan, 2007).

Neoliberalism emerged during the 1970s and became influential especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union. It emphasizes that international organizations are crucial for cooperation between states, and states are losing their role as the “main actor” of the international system. Instead of states; international organizations, non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, etc. are getting more important in shaping the world order. While realists defend the view that the struggle for power (or security) will persist,

neoliberals argue that institutions like IMF, WTO, and World Bank will help to solve issues (Burchill, 2005).

Also, neoliberals argue that modern conjuncture supports liberal arguments. For example, Thucydides did not have to worry about global warming or global debt problem. However, these are the world's common problems that can only be solved with cooperation. Therefore, according to neoliberals, today's world order must be shaped with liberal values (Joseph Nye, 2014).

In terms of distribution of power between states, international relations put forward three different orders: unipolar, bipolar and multipolar world order. In the unipolar world order, there is one state dominating the international system. In the bipolar world order, there are two major powers and most of the other states are "satellite states" of one of them; which mean that most of the states politically and economically tie themselves to a major power. In the multipolar world order, there are more than two major powers that play a role in shaping the world order. In order to understand the term "world order", different eras have to be analysed with the emphasis on the factors that determined the world order in each era.

1.1. The Concert of Europe Era Order

The Concert of Europe was materialized in 1815, after the Napoleonic Wars, by Klemens von Metternich who was the Austrian Empire's foreign minister. The order established in the Congress of Vienna was the closest that Europe had come to universal governance since the collapse of Charlemagne's empire. It was based on a power balance between major powers with the goal of common interest. According to Metternich, differences must not be solved through wars. Instead, they must be settled by diplomacy between states (Kissinger, 2014).

As a result of Metternich's stance, and later Bismarck's diplomatic maneuvers, the period between 1815 and World War I was the most peaceful period in modern Europe. A balance between legitimacy and power could characterize the Congress of Vienna.

The statesmen who assembled in Vienna were in a different situation compared to their predecessors who drafted the Peace of Westphalia. At the time of the Congress of Vienna, the European order was separated from the religious impetus. The subtle equilibrium of the Congress of Vienna system was threatened by the impact of three events: the rise of nationalism, the revolution of 1848, and the Crimean War (1853-1856).

The contrast between the Austrian Foreign Minister Klemens von Metternich and the Prussian Minister -President-later German chancellor- Otto von Bismarck illustrates the shift in emphasis of the European international order, from legitimacy to power in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Austria was vulnerable because of its central location in Europe. As the solution, Metternich tried to restore the universal idea of European society. According to Metternich: "The great axioms of political science derive from the recognition of the true interest of all states..." (Sofka, 2009).

On the contrary, Bismarck challenged all the established wisdom of his period. He argued: "Gratitude and confidence will not bring a single man into the field on our side, only fear will do that; if we use it cautiously and skilfully..." He defended that a new world order could be built by conservatives' appealing to nationalism. Opposite to Metternich's views, he argued that an order could be only based on power (Kissinger, 2014).

Bismarck saw an opportunity to form a German national state for the first time in history. British politician Disraeli said that the German unification of 1871 was "a greater political event than the French Revolution as the balance of power had been completely

destroyed.” (Stürmer, 2002). After the unification, Germany became a dominant country in Europe. Arguably, it became the most powerful state on the whole continent. After that, power calculations became the main issue in Europe. Legitimacy began losing its importance.

At the same time, Bismarck realized that a dominant country like Germany faced the risk of a coalition of other states; like the coalitions against Louis XIV in the eighteenth century and Napoleon in the nineteenth century. He thought it would always be better to be in the party of three between five major powers (Austria, Russia, Britain, Germany, and France). In order to achieve his goal, he formed partly overlapping and even conflicting alliances like an alliance with Austria and Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. That way, he encouraged other major powers to have friendly relations with Germany (except France, which was the “fixed” enemy) instead of forming an anti-German coalition. In short, Bismarck tried hard to avoid an all-out coalition against Germany.

As the Congress of Vienna was based on a divided Germany, Bismarck’s unification of Germany weakened the system. Also, as Germany and France became “fixed” enemies, the international system began losing its flexibility. The genius of the Congress of Vienna had been its fluidity and pragmatism. As the system started losing flexibility, it took a clever statesman like Bismarck to sustain equilibrium with counterbalancing commitments.

Unfortunately, the system was too dependent on Bismarck. After Bismarck’s forced departure in 1890, his system of overlapping alliances was maintained only tenuously. In 1891, The Reinsurance Treaty with Russia was not renewed because the new German administration believed it was not compatible with the Austrian Alliance. In fact, for Bismarck, that was precisely the goal. Not surprisingly, later, France and Russia began looking for an alliance; and the counterbalancing alliances were no longer the case.

Since the Congress of Vienna, there had been only one general European war: the Crimean War (1853-1856). By the turn of the twentieth century, military planners began to aim for total victory in an all-out war. The European order, seen after the Congress of Vienna as a great Newtonian clockwork of interlocking parts, had been replaced by the Darwinian world of the survival of the fittest (Kissinger, 2014).

1.2. Post-World War I Era Order

The Concert of Europe collapsed because of World War I. Following World War I; the Austrian Empire disappeared, Russia and Germany were excluded, and Britain began involving itself in European affairs primarily to resist an actual threat to the balance of power, rather than to pre-empt a potential threat.

After World War I, the president of the USA, Woodrow Wilson tried to form a new world order based on idealism. With his famous Fourteen Points, he tried to promote open diplomacy, end colonialism, and prevent further world wars by establishing the League of Nations. However, his attempts were challenged in many ways. The Treaty of Versailles in 1919 refused to accept Germany back into the European order. It was such a diplomatic failure that it was too punitive to allow a conciliation, and at the same time, too lenient to keep Germany from recovering. Once Germany began to challenge the order, only the involvement of the USA or France could stop them. Neither was forthcoming. On the one hand, French army and economy were too exhausted after the war. On the other hand, the United States, which entered the war even with public objections, was disappointed by the outcome of the war and decided to follow a more isolated policy.

After World War I, Woodrow Wilson managed to form an upper authority among states, the League of Nations. He even won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1919 for his role in forming the League of Nations. On paper, it should have prevented another world war

because the membership was universal, and the violation of peace was formally banned. However, ironically, its reputation was damaged when the Senate of the United States rejected to join the League of Nations. Its reputation was further damaged when the states realized it had no power whatsoever; there was no punishment for acting against the principles of the League of Nations. Major states like Japan, Italy, Soviet Union ignored the bans of the League of Nations. Japan attacked China in 1931, Italy attacked Abyssinia in 1935, and the Soviet Union attacked Finland in 1939. Military disarmament goals have failed, and an armament race between major powers began. Soon, another World War became unavoidable.

1.3. Cold War Era Order

When World War II broke out in 1939, it was evident that Wilson's ideals could not achieve peace. After World War II, victorious states came together to establish a new world order and the world was divided into two "camps": Western camp under the leadership of the USA and the Eastern camp under the leadership of the Soviet Union. The struggle between these two major powers is called "Cold War". Most of the states during that time tied themselves to one of these major powers, with economic and political pacts or agreements. On the one hand, NATO was the collective defense pact and OECD was the economic pact of the Western camp. On the other hand, Warsaw pact was the collective defense pact and COMECON was the economic pact of the Eastern camp. That way, major powers tried to increase their influence, and developing states tried to increase their security by getting nuclear protection and financial help from either the USA or the Soviet Union (NATO, 1978).

After World War II, Europe was no longer in a position to determine the world order. Until then, European powers had mainly shaped the world order. However, after World War II, each European country except Sweden and Switzerland had been exhausted by the war.

The West realized that they had to overcome Europe's historical divisions and only after that, a new peaceful world order would be possible. In 1949, the Western allies merged their occupation zones to create the Federal Republic of Germany. The Soviet Union turned its occupation zone into a socialist state and tied it by the Warsaw Pact. In the end, Germany was back in its position after the Westphalian Agreement and the Congress of Vienna era: A divided state which is far from being a dominant power in Europe.

Dividing Germany was just one step toward the new world order. The West needed more measures to keep the peaceful order. Therefore, a crucial concept that still shapes today's international system was taken into consideration: interdependence. The two historical rivals, France and Germany, decided to merge their economic power in 1952 by forming the "Coal and Steel Community." After that step, Germany and France no longer saw each other as enemies; but considered each other as economic partners (Kissinger, 2014).

Other steps towards interdependence were financial help to Greece and Türkiye with the Truman Doctrine in 1947, and to the European countries in 1948 with the Marshall Plan. Later, in 1949, the United States, for the first time in its history, signed an alliance during peacetime, together with its Western allies: NATO. These steps were necessary in terms of both economic and political interdependence. While the European states depended on the USA's economic and political power, the United States relied on its European allies in terms of containing the Soviet threat. By joining NATO, the European powers wanted the USA to consider them as an expansion of itself in case of an emergency. In other words, Europe accepted the leadership of the USA in return for accessing their nuclear protection (Rajan Menon, 2020).

Another important aspect of the Cold War era was the decisions taken at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. The conference aimed to shape the economic system of the post-

World War II era. Harry Dexter White, the senior U.S. Treasury department official, and John Maynard Keynes, the UK representative who was a famous economist and leader of both World Bank commission and the British delegation, were two key people at the Bretton Woods Conference. White wanted the world's governments to fix their currencies to the American dollar and the American dollar would be fixed to the gold. Notably, he only wanted the American dollar to have gold convertibility. If the American dollar became the dominant currency in the international system, the USA would be the only state in the world to have the privilege of setting its monetary policy; effectively controlling the global economy. However, he did not want the United States to be responsible for countries in financial trouble. Instead, an independent International Monetary Fund (IMF) would be established to regulate countries in crisis. On the other hand, Keynes argued that the Treaty of Versailles had failed because the United States ignored Europe's economic problems. The United States was the only country to emerge from World War II as a stronger country compared to the pre-war order. Therefore, the wise decision would be the United States of America's help to Europe; in order to restart the European economy. Otherwise, Europe would not be able to solve its problems, and political violence would emerge again. History would repeat itself. If the United States wanted the American dollar to be the "global" currency, it should take responsibility for reconstruction, according to Keynes (Steil, 2013). Decision-makers of the USA did not quite agree with Keynes. According to Cordell Hull, secretary of state of the United States, eliminating tariffs and any other government intervention was the key to European peace. Thanks to free trade, the speedy economic growth of Europe would eliminate the need for the support of the USA. However, by the 1940s, Keynes, even though he was a liberal, was no longer convinced that the "invisible hand" of free trade would solve all the economic problems in the world. He started to believe that some state intervention was needed to regulate the markets and bring back economic growth. But first, he had to convince the USA.

As the United States had the upper hand in the economy, completely eliminating the trade barriers would make their products dominant in the European markets. Keynes was afraid that such a scenario would make European economic recovery impossible. Therefore, he called for balanced trade. In the end, Keynes and Hull made an agreement. IMF was granted the power to re-establish the exchange rates in the case of persistent imbalances, but there would not be annual payments between surplus and deficit countries. Moreover, individual nations were granted authority to regulate the withdrawal of international capital. That way, developing countries would be able to combat economic crises (Carter, 2021).

As a result of the conference, the United States agreed to put 2.75 billion American dollars into both the World Bank and the IMF, which is nearly a third of the institutions' overall funding and more than double the amount given by the next-largest contributor. Keynes considered the result of the conference successful (Steil, 2013).

It can be concluded from the decisions taken from the conference that major powers believed laissez-faire destroyed more than it created. The statesmen agreed that state power had to be deployed, not constrained. However, the achievements of the Bretton Woods were not sustainable. The Soviet government decided not to ratify the accord, which did not help to tame the violence of the Cold War. Also, rising oil prices and the costs of the Vietnam War prompted the United States to borrow more money without any constraints. Therefore, in 1971, the president of the USA, Richard Nixon announced that their currency would float against other currencies instead of being fixed; and gold could be traded freely again. His announcement meant that the Bretton Woods System had effectively failed. Nevertheless, the Bretton Woods System showed that major democracies that came together could manage to establish a new prosperous economic paradigm for themselves for 25 years.

1.4. Post-Cold War Era Order

When Mikhail Gorbachev became head of the Soviet Union in 1985, he realized that the country's current economic and political system was not sustainable. He decided to make liberal reforms, namely perestroika (restructuring) for more financial freedom in order to improve efficiency and glasnost (openness) for more political freedom. At the same time, he tried to reduce political tensions with the West. He offered Ronald Reagan, the President of the USA, to reduce the number of nuclear weapons. He moved back the Soviet Army from Afghanistan. He allowed elections in the Soviet Union satellite states, and German people to cross the wall. In the end, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 made German unification possible. At the same time, Soviet satellite states collapsed. The nations of Eastern Europe, which had been suppressed for a long time, finally began to gain their independence.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the conjuncture in Europe has fundamentally changed. There was no longer a military threat to the liberal countries. NATO's expansion after the collapse of the Soviet Union was no longer primarily for security reasons but rather for "locking in" democratic gains.

The collapse of the Soviet Union also made the expansion of the European Union possible. That increased interdependence in the international system as the European Union limits the sovereignty of its member states. While limiting the state powers of its members, such as eliminating trade barriers and control of the currency, member states can mostly take independent political actions. Elections are also held independently. The result is a hybrid, constitutionally something between a state and a confederation.

World order until the Cold War had been predominantly in Europe's hands. European powers even controlled other continents by building colonies and justified their actions as "civilizing missions." However, a critical aspect of the post-Cold War era has been Asian

nations rising in wealth, power and confidence. That has been a long and challenging road for them. It took decades of war and turmoil for them to transform themselves. The rise of the “Asian Tigers” such as Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan, the Republic of Korea and Hong Kong became evident from the 1970s; which brought prosperity and economic dynamism to the region. Japan saw liberalizing reforms and adopted democracy. It built such an economy that surpassed many Western nations. In 1979, China also took liberalizing steps after the death of Chairman Mao Zedong. Under Deng Xiaoping, China opened up its economy to foreign investors and tried to benefit from globalization. Average wages rose sixfold between 1978 and 2005, while absolute poverty declined from 41% of the population to 5% from 1978 to 2001 (Hu Angang, 2003). Once a poor country, China has become the main driver of the global economy during the 21st century (Dunford, 2020).

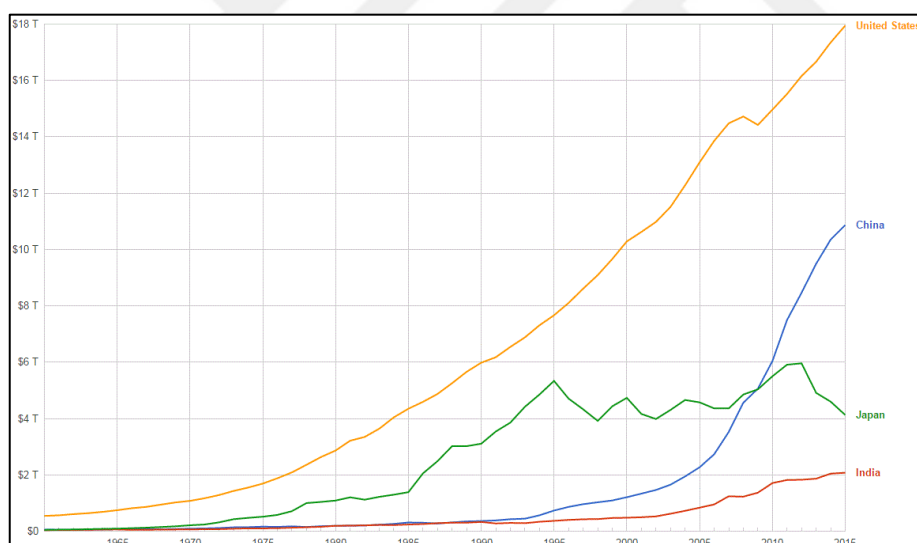


Figure 1.1 Nominal GDP Trends of India, Japan, China, and the USA-

(Source: BBC. 2019. China anniversary: How the country became the world's 'economic miracle')

In the graph of the nominal GDP trend from 1952 to 2015, the rapid increase since reform in the late 1970s is noteworthy.

Unlike in the Middle East, where many states threaten each other; in Asia, states that emerged from the colonial period mostly affirm one another's sovereignty and are committed to the non-interference principle in one another's domestic affairs.

Another aspect of the post-Cold War era has been the changes in the economic paradigms. After World War I and World War II, the governments decided that the goals of businesses and states could not be the same. Therefore, the states decided to take more active roles like more state investments in education, security, welfare service, justice, health, etc. These policies were called "Keynesian" after World War II, aiming for a "welfare state." With more state intervention, states managed to come out of deflation and achieved stable growth after World War II. However, after the fall of the Bretton Woods system; because of the rising oil prices and inflation, the global economy found itself in stagflation. That meant both prices were rising and the economic growth was decreasing (or stalling). As a response, Keynesian economic policies were questioned. Free market policies advocated by Milton Friedman gained attention. Major states introduced the "Washington Consensus", aiming for less state intervention and more free trade (Stiglitz, 2017). Therefore, until the Covid-19 crisis, the post-Cold War era's economic paradigm could be described as "laissez-faire"; at least, that was what major global powers and international institutions pushed for.

While the Cold War era can be considered as a bilateral world order; at the beginning of the post-Cold War era, liberals widely viewed the post-Cold War era as a unipolar world order led by the USA. For liberals, it was evident that "neoliberalism" was the only sustainable way in the international system and that democratic peace theory was working efficiently. Their most important evidence has been the enlargement of NATO and European Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO member states increased from 16 to 30. At the same time, European Union member states increased from 11 to 27 (EU, 2020). Although these were important steps toward neoliberal world order, neoliberal world order is

being challenged in the 21st century. Today, the leadership of the USA is being challenged, international organizations are being questioned and the Covid-19 pandemic even accelerated this situation.



CHAPTER 2.POST-COVID WORLD ORDER

2.1. Background

In order to analyse the post-Covid world order, the dynamics of the late 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century have to be discussed. In that sense, whether Covid-19 will bring a new world order or not has been an essential question. On the one hand, it is not accurate to consider Covid-19 as a completely game-changer in terms of world order. On the other hand, it is not sensible either to consider it as something that will leave the international system totally unchanged (Kurt, 2020). While Covid-19 will bring some new paradigms to the international system, the most likely scenario is that it will be mostly a catalyst in the already changing post-Cold War era trends. Therefore, an analysis of the post-Cold War era will shed light on the background of the post-Covid world order. Thus, the post-Cold War era, which was explained in the previous chapter, should be considered a “prelude” of the post-Covid world order.

2.2. New Actors Challenging the State

After World War II, the industrially advanced regions of the world were exhausted from the war; the underdeveloped parts were beginning their process of decolonization and redefining their identities (Bump, 2021). All needed cooperation rather than confrontation. Today, the previously underdeveloped parts of the world began challenging the USA, and the globalization process began challenging the notion of the state. Questioning the nation-states and leadership of the USA means that we might be on the verge of different world order. While questioning the nation-states means that the legitimacy of the current world order is in danger, questioning the leadership of the USA means that the balance of power of the

contemporary world order is in trouble. As mentioned above, legitimacy and balance of power are two essential concepts shaping the world order.

The nature of the state has been subject to attacks from different aspects. International organizations like the United Nations, NATO, European Union; non-governmental organizations like Amnesty International, Greenpeace, World Wildlife Fund; increased transparency that is resulting from advancing communication technologies like the Internet; and fast-growing multinational companies are threatening state sovereignty. Today, some companies are economically more significant than most of the states. For example, world's most valuable company, Saudi Arabia's oil company Aramco, is economically larger than most of the states. With its market value about 2 trillion American dollars, there are only seven states in the world that are economically larger than Aramco. Türkiye's most valuable company, Tüpraş, with its market value about 75 billion Turkish liras, is more valuable than tens of states like San Marino, Andorra, Central African Republic etc. (İstanbul Sanayi Odası, 2021).

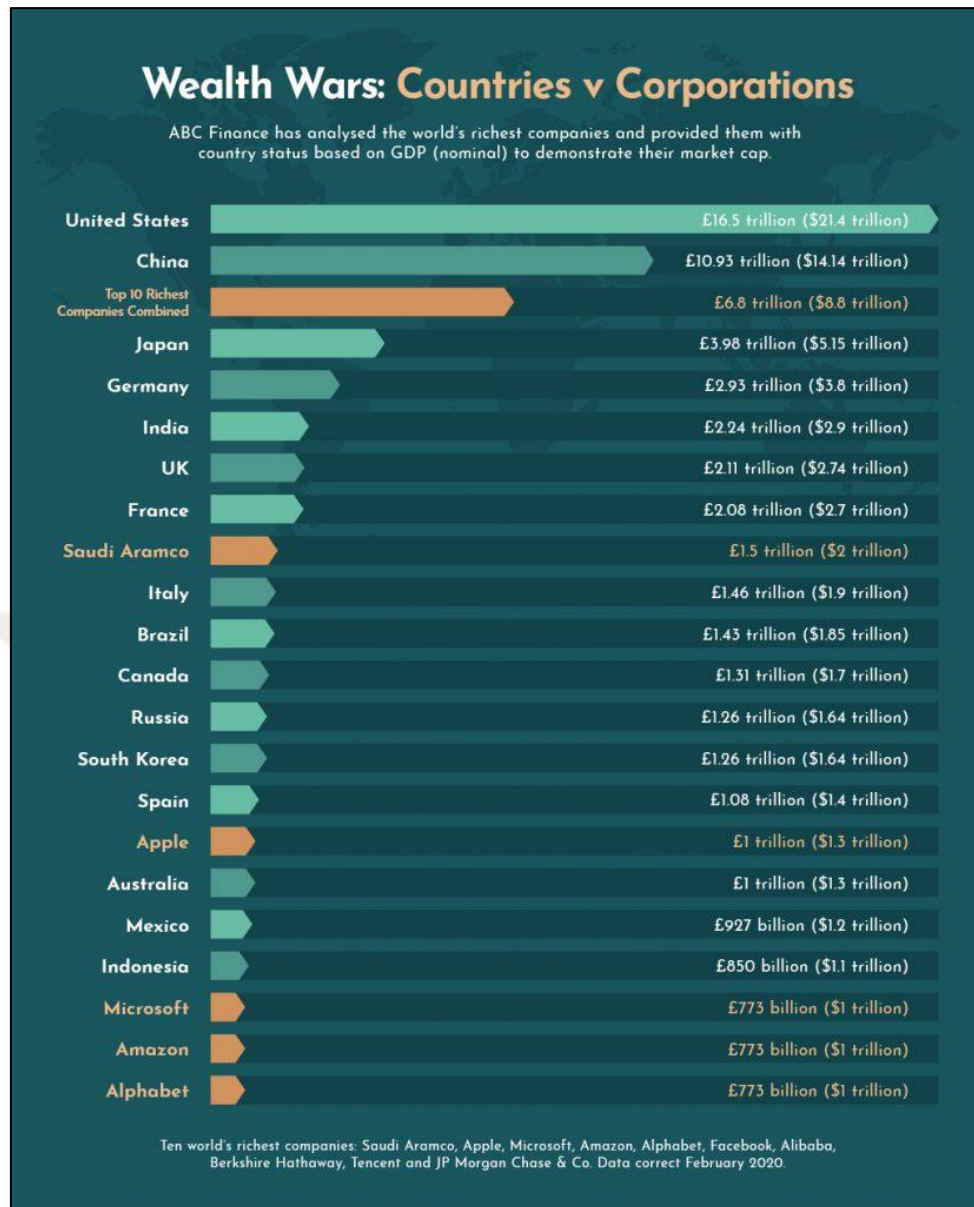


Figure 2.1. Market Cap Comparison Between Countries and Corporations

(Source: ABC Finance. 2020. Companies More Profitable Than Countries.)

The international economic system has become global, while the world's political structure has remained based on the nation-state. The global economic impetus is on removing obstacles to the flow of goods and capital. The international political system is still based mainly on contrasting ideas of world order and the reconciliation of concepts of national interest (Kissinger, 2014).

Also, with the help of globalization, terrorist organizations also began challenging the nation-states. The most important example is ISIS, which attempted to create a terror state in Iraq and Syria.

2.3. Changing Roles of the States

Immanuel Kant argues that if individuals can voluntarily limit their freedom by forming a higher authority called state, states can also limit their freedom and create a higher authority among states. Such a move will build a global peaceful system, making the international organizations much more functional. Therefore, it would be rational for states to cooperate rather than become involved in conflicts. Moreover, democracy and self-determination are important elements which encourage states to stay away from war (Kant, 1795).

Neoliberals argue that it would be harmful for a state to start an arms race, because in that case, each actor involved would lose. Instead, there are common principles in the world politics that are shaped by international organizations, non-governmental organizations etc. According to neoliberals, after the Cold War, the world had the chance to “test” the liberal arguments in real life. Therefore, liberalism had the opportunity to “empirically” prove its arguments. For example, neorealists argued that the Soviet threat was the catalyst of Western cooperation like NATO, EU etc. On the other hand, these organizations are still crucial today. Liberals argue that there are essential factors that make these organizations long-lasting. There is no hierarchy in these organizations and even though the USA is the leading force, that does not mean it is a hegemon. That is because these organizations were formed in accordance with democratic values; so that even a small member can veto the decisions of the major members (Doyle, 2011). Moreover, each member agreed to limit their independence for

sustainable peace and benefits of the interdependence, especially with the globalization process. Therefore, liberals attempt to refute the arguments of realists. They reject that the international system is based on chaos and anarchy; but rather argue that the international system is based on principles and mutual benefits with many different actors other than the state. They claim that the chaos only comes from illiberal and autocratic states, which threaten the peaceful nature of the liberal international system. Another liberal argument is that, unlike realists claim; it is not wise to consider the state a unitary unit. For example, a war may benefit the elites but harm the poor society in the state, so it is not sensible to claim that the states are unitary and rational actors.

In the past, perhaps it was economically and politically beneficial to be a totally self-sufficient country. Now, it is hard to argue that a state can compete in the international system without using the benefits of comparative advantages. On the other hand, recent crises showed the fragilities of the current model of globalization, which made governments and societies to question the current system.

2.4. Emergence of Multipolar World Order

Developing countries have been challenging the unipolar world order led by the United States; which perhaps marks the beginning of multipolar world order (Rush Doshi, 2020). Developing countries' share of the world trade and influence in the international system have been increasing (IMF, 2000; The Conversation, 2021). Globalization is the most important catalyst for this process. However, it's mutually beneficial for the trade partners. For example, if the world followed protectionist policies, many workers in the developing countries would have been unemployed. On the other hand, in today's world, many workers in the developing countries are working for multinational companies. In fact, many of those companies are economically larger than most developing countries. Also, companies in the

developing countries would have been deprived of research&development in a protectionist world order. Yet, in today's world, those companies benefit from technology transfer. Moreover, a successful student from a developing country may get a scholarship in a developed country's university and later become a CEO of a multinational country. Therefore, globalization helped prosperity to spread all over the world, decreased the gap between the developed and the developing countries; even the average life expectancy rose in each continent. On the other hand, this conjuncture creates a dream scenario for multinational companies. They get tax incentives from governments thanks to their influential positions, they find cheap workforce everywhere in the world, they have access to the whole world market, they can easily transfer their capital and they can borrow money with affordable loans. As a result, since 1995, the top 1% have captured nearly 20 times more of global wealth than the bottom 50% of the society. Unfortunately, the trend is getting worse. More alarmingly, the wealth of the world's ten wealthiest people has doubled since the pandemic has begun. Billions of people suffer due to the over-consumption by the wealthiest people that are driving today's climate crisis, with the emissions of the top 1% double that of the bottom 50% of humanity combined. As the solution, Oxfam suggests different measures like wealth tax, climate tax, antitrust regulations, and setting legal standards to protect workers' rights to unionize and strike (Oxfam, 2022).

This graph is critical to understand the conjuncture of the 21st century international system.

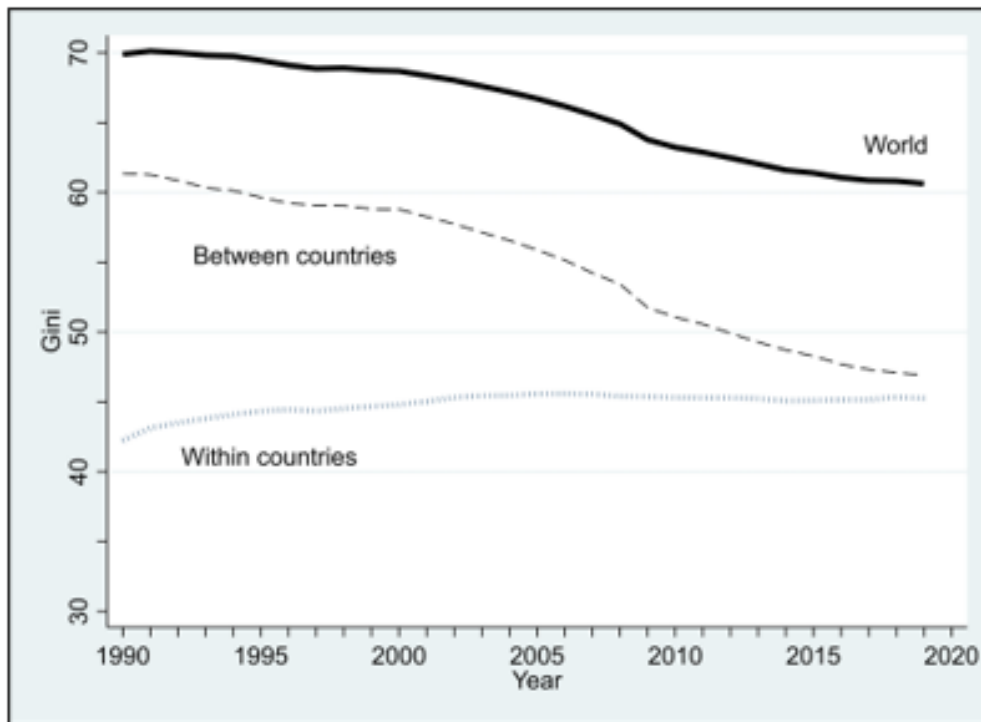


Figure 2.2. Gini Index Between Countries and Within Countries

(Source: The Conversation. 2021. Global Inequality May Be Falling but the Gap between Haves and Have-Nots Not Growing.)

2.5. Globalization

Globalization is an important phenomenon in the 21st century for various reasons. As Joseph Nye notes, “The world is shrinking. The Mayflower took three months to cross the Atlantic. In 1924, Charles Lindbergh’s flight took 33 hours. Fifty years later, the Concorde did it in three hours. Ballistic missiles can do it in 30 minutes. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a transatlantic flight cost one-third of what it did in 1950, and a call from New York to London cost only a small percentage of what it did at mid-century. Global Internet communications are nearly instantaneous, and transmission costs are negligible.” Indeed, since 1945, cross-continental carriage costs have shrunk by %50. Air transportation costs have shrunk by %80. Cross-continental communication costs have shrunk by %99 (Joseph

Nye, 2014). As Marshall McLuhan mentioned in his book “Explorations in Communication,” the whole world has become a “global village.” (Marshall McLuhan, 1960). He used such a term because global communication all over the world has become both quicker and cheaper.

Such changes in the global communication undoubtedly have an enormous effect on the international system among the states. Most notably, “interdependence” has become a critical aspect between states. “Comparative advantages” is a serious reason for countries to cooperate in the modern times.

On the other hand, Covid-19 showed the fragilities of the current model of globalization. “One of the things this crisis has taught us is that we are dangerously overdependent on a global supply chain” said Peter Navarro, a top administration economic adviser, from behind the podium in the White House’s briefing room. Indeed, the last decade has already shown the fragility of the globalized economic system. For example, the 2008 financial crisis was the product of an interconnected banking system with risky financial products, and it was poorly regulated both at global and national levels (Altman, 2009). The system was problematic because so many firms were too big to fail. When some of the key suppliers became bottlenecks, systemic risks increased dramatically- just as we have witnessed during the pandemic. History shows that during crises, nationalism and protectionism become prominent. During the Covid-19 crisis, it was no different. Many states began implementing protectionist policies which in turn increased inequalities and ethical problems globally (Tisdall, 2020). As a result, while some states began giving 4th dose to their citizens, some states could not even provide the 1st shots.

These fragilities raised concerns about globalization. Therefore, the possible consequences of the reversal of globalization must be analysed. For example, inflation would surge if low-cost producer countries such as China, India, and Thailand are taken away from

the supply. The surge in inflation would hit household purchasing power globally. Also, for the workers in the low-cost producer countries, that would mean unemployment or a lower paying job. Developing countries would no longer benefit from technology transfer, and the developed countries would no longer benefit from low-cost production. It would be a lose-lose situation. Growth would decrease, and inflation would increase; thereby recession or stagflation risk would be serious (Philipp Carlsson-Szlezak, 2020).

Also, global warming is an issue that needs cooperation between states (Moon, 2020). If the global warming trend continues, that would mean disaster for the whole world (Netburn, 2018). Again, an issue like this cannot be solved with the effort of a single state.

Another point that supports globalization is technological developments in the military, which make major states to stay away from wars. In terms of the military, weapons have become capable of destroying humanity in today's world. Before the nuclear age, the advantages of military conflict were considered more convincing than its disadvantages. A state could gain territory with limited losses. Then, the aggressor state would be able to collect taxes from more people and reach more resources like gold, silver, etc. Today, the scenario is much different. Apart from weapon technology being much more dangerous, international pressure would play a significant role and international organizations like the United Nations would impose sanctions on the aggressor state. Moreover, as it is much easier to reach the weapons, guerilla warfare would have serious impacts if it has the support of the local population. Also, today's production level needs "new consumers." Instead of fighting with other nations, making them your "customers" of your domestic products is more feasible (Angell, 2015). Therefore, today's dynamics are much different compared to previous eras.

Also, many of the current issues are impossible to solve with the use of the military force. Issues like global warming, pandemic, and rising inequality cannot be solved with military measures.

Moreover, terrorism has become a global problem. For example, the fight against terrorist organizations which are active on different continents like ISIS cannot succeed without international cooperation. Today, because of guerrilla warfare and asymmetric war; the stability of the international system is being threatened.

Keeping the current model of globalization and reversal of globalization would both bring serious consequences. Globalization's current problem results from market forces and will not be solved by economic nationalism or simply returning to the old system of globalization (Mare, 2020). Instead, Covid-19 crisis is an opportunity to re-evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of globalization and fix the weak sides. The safety and prosperity of humankind depend on it.

As financial crises during the globalization era and Covid-19 showed the system's fragility, going back to business as usual would keep the problem the same as before. If the old approach is kept, companies will keep making supply chains fragile to maximize efficiency. Most probably, such a scenario would end in even bigger crises.

As Barry Lynn argued, it will require a new model of antitrust. Regulators have to realize that monopolies create failures in times of crises. At the same time, judges must consider both the national security and economic consequences of their decisions. Monopoly only makes the economy less adaptable and more vulnerable (Lynn, 2012).

A more in-depth analysis shows that globalization is not harmful itself. Rather than abandoning it, a better-applied version of globalization is needed for the international system. With better information, in some cases states will have the right to limit their exposure to the

world economy and minimize their vulnerabilities. Rather than decoupling, and applying high national tariffs; states must recouple, identify bottlenecks together and create more robust global supply relationships based on mutual benefit.

Covid-19 pandemic exposed the weaknesses of the current system. However, the problem is not necessarily globalization itself and considering there are many incentives for each side; there's no going back. However, the states must be more powerful, especially regarding security problems, which caused them to fail in the Covid-19 pandemic.

Covid-19 crisis showed the world that globalization could not automatically fix everything. Although in a decreasing trend, the gap between developed and developing countries is still too big, pointing to many ethical problems in the international system (Scott, 2006). For example, while developed countries enjoyed an excessive amount of ventilators, people in Africa were dying because of a lack of ventilators.

As mentioned above, liberals argue that mutual benefit and cooperation among states are needed for humanity's development. Liberals argue that protectionism was the reason for wars in the past. For example, after international trade took a hit in 1929, most states decided to follow protectionist policies which caused World War II. As a result, neoliberals came up with the "democratic peace theory". It takes its roots in German philosopher Immanuel Kant's views. According to Kant, democracies are more peaceful than autocracies by their nature. As presidents have to care about society's concerns in order to be re-elected, they have to act in more peaceful manner in foreign policy. After the wars, the "winners" in the state are usually only the elite ones. On the other hand, most people either lose their lives, get wounded or live in misery on the battlefields (Kant, 1795).

According to Kant:

- 1) States must have republican constitutions.

2)International law must obey a higher authority than states.

3)“World citizenship” must be applied globally. Individuals must be able to travel freely worldwide, regardless of their nation. Therefore, each society will have common global values, and there will be less motivation to conquer other countries.

All these principles are crucial, and without even one of them, peace would not be sustainable. Zakaria argues that while democracy is interested in how the government is elected, liberalism is interested in the goals of the government. That is how he came up with the term “Illiberal democracy” (Zakaria, 1997). In the case of illiberal democracy, such a state cannot be a part of the democratic peace theory.

According to Michael Doyle, three conditions must be met in order to tell that a country is governed by a democratic regime (Doyle, 2011):

1)Ruling elite must be elected in free and just elections.

2)The state must follow universal liberal norms like personal liberty, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, etc. Therefore, if a regime respects human rights, it has to act transparently in its foreign policy.

3)According to Doyle, recent conjuncture in international relations even strengthened the liberal theory. Because of “comparative advantages”, states must coordinate with each other for maximum benefit. That makes free trade an essential element in today’s international system.

On the one hand, realists argue that comparative advantages are not enough to convince the states to cooperate. As the states seek to be the strongest in the international system, they must aim for absolute advantages to be convinced to cooperate with another state. On the other hand, for liberals, globalization’s comparative advantages are so

convincing that; seeking absolute advantage would only bring chaos between states. That would cause a self-fulfilling prophecy (Deudney and Ikenberry, 1999).

While globalization brings various problems that needs to be addressed, it should be noted that globalization is a fact in the era of science, information and technology. Therefore, if the global actors try to stay away from globalization, that would be unrealistic in the 21st century. Instead, the international system must find ways to make globalization mutually beneficial for the whole world.



CHAPTER 3. TÜRKİYE IN THE POST-COVID WORLD ORDER

3.1. Background

In the previous chapters, changing trends in the world order have been discussed. It is hard to think that, Türkiye, being a G20 and a NATO country, would not be affected by shifts in the world order. Moreover, Türkiye is a “bridge” between the west and the east, and its geopolitical importance makes it more sensitive to global developments; including the threat of terrorism. As a result, Türkiye’s unique challenges prompted it to adjust its policies much earlier than the other states. Türkiye fastened the pace of its policy adjustment with the challenges posed by Covid-19. However, as the policy changes have already begun before the pandemic, it is crucial to understand the dynamics of the pre-pandemic situation. In that sense, an analysis of Türkiye’s challenges before the pandemic will shed light on Türkiye’s policy adaptation in the post-Covid era. Therefore, it could be stated that Türkiye had a “transition period” before the pandemic, as its post-Covid policies had already begun to be shaped at that time (Bayraktar, 2021).

Security issues were the main reason for Türkiye to adjust its policies before the pandemic and that trend continued with Covid-19. While military threats posed important challenges for Türkiye, its security challenges were not limited to the military. ISIS terrorism, coup d’etat attempt by FETÖ, renewed PKK terrorism with the end of the peace process, speculative currency attacks, the refugee issue, Syrian War, disagreements with its Western partners, difficulties in European Union membership process were some of the important factors that posed challenge to Türkiye.

Today, terrorism is a global problem. For Türkiye, it is an even more important issue because of its strategic location. From realist thinkers to liberal thinkers, almost all theorists argue that terrorism will be an important subject in the international system for a while. Even though neoliberal thinker Francis Fukuyama believed in “End of the History” after the collapse of the Soviet Union, he still argued that terrorism will be on the agenda of the world. By saying “End of the History”, he meant that the power politics have ended. There will be no more wars between major states, because from now on, each major state will follow liberal principles. However, he emphasized that it does not mean terrorism will come to an end (Fukuyama, 1992).

FETÖ (Fethullahçı Terör Örgütü) is an attempted parallel state structure that is responsible for the 15 July 2016 coup d'état attempt. After it was formed in the early 1970s, the leader of the organization, Fethullah Gülen, spent all his energy to enlarge the organization's network. Unlike other terror organizations, it did not try to gather arms and power “by force.” Rather than that, the main goal of FETÖ was to infiltrate critical state institutions and thereby; reach power and arms “legally.” The organization's philosophy is to do anything to reach the goal; no matter illegal or unethical, as long as it serves the organization. These include unlawful wiretappings, distorted investigations, fabricated evidence, bribes, blackmail, assassination, etc. FETÖ is accused of crimes like the assassination of journalist Necip Hablemitoğlu, journalist Hrant Dink, Russian ambassador Andrey Karlov, ASELSAN employees; Ergenekon and Sledgehammer cases, 17-25 December 2013 illegal tape leaks, even cooperating with PKK, and most noteworthy, 15 July 2016 coup d'état attempt (Gemici, 2019).

Before the coup d'état attempt, FETÖ members did everything to mask their terrorism. However, after the coup d'état attempt, it became apparent that they are a terrorist organization that used force to remove the elected government. Before the coup d'état

attempt, many of the crimes mentioned above were hidden by FETÖ because FETÖ member judges and prosecutors manipulated Türkiye's justice. After 15 July 2016, FETÖ member civil servants were removed from their positions; from police officers to soldiers, judges, prosecutors etc. Only after that, FETÖ crimes in the past were revealed. For example, FETÖ blamed so-called Ergenekon and Balyoz members for ASELSAN assassinations. A FETÖ member police officer killed Andrey Karlov to prevent Türkiye-Russia relations from normalizing. These are only a few examples of the long list of FETÖ terrorism in Türkiye (Gemici, 2019).

On July 15, 2016; FETÖ attempted to remove the elected government with the so-called Peace at Home Council. They took over TRT headquarters and claimed to be Kemalists, in order to hide their real goals. That day, FETÖ members attacked civilians, who rushed to the streets in order to defend democracy; bombed Türkiye's Parliament, seized Bosphorus Bridge, and attempted to detain Türkiye's government members. With the help of the civilians that rushed to the streets and the loyalists in the Army of Türkiye, the coup d'état attempt failed.

After the failed coup d'état attempt, Türkiye removed FETÖ members from their civil servant positions, appointed trustees to the FETÖ-linked companies, declared a state of emergency, and finally, adjusted its foreign policy to follow more proactive policies (like aiming to bring FETÖ members living abroad to Türkiye's justice).

Türkiye has claimed that some foreign states supported the coup, especially the Western powers and the United Arab Emirates. According to the government officials, Türkiye's new independent economic and political paradigms were considered as a "threat" by the Western powers. As a result, they aimed a West dependent state with the help of FETÖ coup (Yürekli, 2020). Notably, European Union did not issue a declaration until the coup was

totally defeated. Also, the State of Secretary of the USA, John Kerry, did not show his support for the elected government or include any condemnation for the coup attempt in his commentary during the coup attempt. Instead, he simply called for “stability, peace, continuity” (Ataman, 2016).

Another front of anti-terrorism is against PKK. Türkiye’s fight against PKK has a long history. PKK was formed in 1978, and its first insurgency against Türkiye was in 1984. Initially, PKK announced its goal as creating an independent Kurdish state but later shifted towards autonomy and increased rights for Kurds in Türkiye. Its ideology is based on Marxism-Leninism and separatist ethnonationalism.

Because of PKK, more than forty thousand people have lost their lives since 1984, including many civilians. While claiming to be defending Kurdish rights, PKK systematically targets Kurdish civilians, claiming they are collaborating with the government and not supporting the “Kurdish cause.” Therefore, one of the main aims of PKK is to prevent the participation of Türkiye’s citizens of Kurdish origin. By preventing their integration into the society, they try to be able to brainwash Kurdish citizens and therefore gain more members.

PKK does not differentiate between military and civilian targets. Its main targets include police, soldiers, tourists, Kurdish civilians who do not support their terrorism. PKK also attacks diplomatic and consular facilities. Moreover, PKK is involved in extortion, arms smuggling, and drug trafficking.

There were several breaking points in the history of PKK. One of them is the collapse of the Soviet Union. Until that time, the Soviet Union was PKK’s one of the main supporters. PKK’s leader Abdullah Öcalan even stayed in Syria, which was heavily dependent on the Soviet Union. Syria was a safe haven for Öcalan until 1998, even after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. When Türkiye threatened Syria over its support for terrorism, the

Syrian government had to force Öcalan to leave. Only a few months later, he was taken from Kenya to Türkiye by the National Intelligence Organization of Türkiye, and since 1998, he has been serving a lifetime prison in Türkiye.

More recently, PKK gained attention during the Syrian Civil War. As mentioned above, along with the many benefits it brought to the international system, globalization also allowed terrorist organizations to be more influential, and PKK is not an exception. At first, PKK was able to gather heavy weapons that were abandoned by the Syrian regime. Even worse, later, both Western forces and Russia made major policy errors and began arming PKK intentionally. With the help of the power vacuum in Syria, PKK recruited militias with widespread disinformation and even gained sympathy from other states. PKK's Syrian branch named itself YPG (People's Defense Units- Yekîneyên Parastina Gel) and later SDF (Syrian Democratic Forces). According to the head of US special forces, Army General Raymond Thomas, that was to "soothe" Türkiye's discomfort over support of PKK and to be able to help the terrorist group legally; as PKK is on the terrorist list of many Western powers (Hernandez, 2017).

Western powers and Russia claimed they were arming PKK (aka YPG or SDF) as part of their anti-ISIS agenda. However, only to be expected, PKK began using these weapons against targets in Türkiye. That brought new challenges to Türkiye. The first one was the political challenges. Instead of Türkiye, a NATO member, Türkiye's Western partners opted for PKK-affiliated terrorist groups for anti-ISIS operations. The second one was the security challenges. PKK-affiliated groups became Türkiye's neighbour by gaining territories in Syria and, with the Western arms, began targeting Türkiye.

Türkiye began conducting military operations against PKK after the terrorist organization killed two police members on 22 June 2015. That day, PKK-affiliated HPG

announced that they killed two police officers “in response to Suruç bombings” and that these two police officers were “linked to ISIS.” The peace progress between Türkiye and PKK has effectively ended after this terrorist attack. Understandably, this attack was proclaimed as *casus belli* (cause for war) by Türkiye’s government. After the military operations, the Army of Türkiye took control of the areas that PKK militants self-claimed as autonomous regions. At the same time, the Air Forces of Türkiye hit the targets in Iraq. Measures were taken by the government and the army to re-establish state authority in areas that were affected by PKK terrorism (Köse, 2017).

With the Syrian Civil War, PKK terrorism emerged in a different form. At first, the Western powers armed the Free Syrian Army in order to topple the Assad regime. Later, because of the power vacuum in Syria, many different terrorist groups emerged. At the same time, the Free Syrian Army was incapable of toppling the Russian-backed Assad regime and ISIS. Even more concerningly, some factions of the Free Syrian Army joined ISIS. As ISIS became a global threat, Western powers’ focus became anti-ISIS operations, instead of toppling the Assad regime. The West tried to find a more “capable” and “trustworthy” partner but made a major policy error and opted for PKK (aka YPG or SDF) to fight against ISIS. Since 2015, many Western countries have been economically, militarily, and politically supporting PKK and its affiliates in Syria.

A terror state in Syria, near its borders, was unacceptable for Türkiye. In addition to the operations inside Türkiye and Iraq, the Army of Türkiye executed three separate operations against PKK in Syria (one of the operations was both against PKK and ISIS), which will be briefly explained later in this chapter.

Another terrorist organization that threatened Türkiye, named ISIS, was founded by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi in 1999. Until 2014, it was relatively unknown to the public. When it

was able to capture Mosul from Iraqi forces in 2014, it gained public attention. After that, the organization quickly captured different areas in Iraq and Syria. ISIS conducted attacks on both the Syrian government, the Free Syrian Army and the so-called Syrian Democratic Forces in Syria. The group is well known for its execution videos of both soldiers and civilians including journalists and aid workers; in the name of “jihad.”

ISIS also spread disinformation among communities in Türkiye, and the organization also had members in Türkiye that were taking Türkiye’s nationals to Syria with the goal of “jihad.” By cherry-picking Quranic verses and hadiths (also using fabricated hadiths), the terrorist organization tried to “rationalize” its crimes and brainwash its members (and potential members).

In 2014, the terrorist organization became a neighbour of Türkiye by gaining control of some parts of the Türkiye-Syria border. The same year, ISIS began attacking Türkiye. Notably, on 11 June 2014, ISIS captured the consulate of Türkiye and held its 49 people staff hostage during its takeover of Mosul. Later, Türkiye was able to bring them back through negotiations.

In 2015 and 2016 ISIS targeted Türkiye regularly like Istanbul attacks on 6 January 2015, 12 January 2016, 19 March 2016; Suruç bomb attack on 20 July 2015, rocket attacks on Kilis in March, April and May 2016, Türkiye’s Bashiqa camp attack on 6 January 2016. These attacks became so dangerous that, also with the fact that the SDF was gaining more territories in Syria, Türkiye decided to conduct a military operation in Syria, Operation Euphrates Shield. In total, Türkiye conducted three military operations against terrorism in Syria: Operation Euphrates Shield, Operation Olive Branch, Operation Peace Spring; along with Operation Claw-Lock in Iraq. Operation Euphrates Shield was carried out in 2016-2017 against the SDF and ISIS. After the operation, SDF was prevented from connecting the

cantons, and Türkiye removed ISIS from its borders. Operation Olive Branch was an operation carried out in 2018 against SDF. After the operation, the Armed Forces of Türkiye and the Syrian National Army captured the entire Afrin District. Operation Peace Spring was an operation carried out in 2019 against SDF. After the operation, the Armed Forces of Türkiye, the Syrian National Army, and their allies captured an area of 4,820 square kilometers including Ras al-Ayn, Tell Abyad, Manajer, Suluk, Mabrouka. Operation Claw-Lock has been going on since April 2022 against PKK in Iraq. The objective of the operation is to prevent a major attack by PKK.

In terms of security diplomacy, as a NATO member, Türkiye asked for cooperation with its partners against terrorism and in terms of security issues in general. In order to increase its air security, Türkiye asked for Patriots from the USA. When the USA rejected it, Türkiye decided to buy S-400 air defense systems from Russia instead (Bensaid, 2020).

In order to increase its border security, Türkiye asked its Western partners to stop arming PKK-affiliated terrorist organizations in Syria. As Western forces kept arming the terrorists and rejected selling weapons to Türkiye, Türkiye decided to invest in domestic weapons and conducted operations against terrorists in Iraq, Syria, and inside its borders.

The international community also refused to bear responsibility for the refugee issue. As a result, Türkiye is the country with the most refugees. In 2019, President Erdoğan announced that Türkiye had spent more than 37 billion dollars for refugees (İletişim Başkanlığı, 2019).

During the transition period, Türkiye also faced economic challenges from different fronts. Türkiye witnessed a speculative currency attack during the Pastor Brunson crisis. The USA openly attacked Türkiye's economy to interfere Türkiye's justice. After that, TCMB raised interest rates to strengthen the Turkish Lira but that resulted in slower economic

growth. That lesson showed Türkiye that economic attacks can be used as a political tool and Türkiye's responses have to aim for longer goals instead of attracting hot money; at the same time, it must not be overly interdependent on its "partners." This view was even more strengthened when many Western countries like the USA, Germany, France Sweden, Canada put an embargo on Türkiye after its anti-PKK operations in Syria and after Türkiye's support to Azerbaijan during the 2020 Nagorno-Karabakh war (Reuters, 2021; Hacaoğlu, 2022).

3.2. Health Challenges

On December 10, 2019, China announced that it had identified a new virus named Covid-19 in the city of Wuhan. After neighbouring countries reported their own cases, it was clear that Covid-19 was spreading all over the world. As a result, The World Health Organization (WHO) declared a global emergency on 30 January 2020. Soon after neighbouring countries reported their own cases, and it was clear that the virus had already spread all over the world. The World Health Organization (WHO) declared a global emergency on 30 January 2020. Soon after, the WHO had to declare the coronavirus outbreak a pandemic on 11 March 2020 as the spread of the virus accelerated. World has transformed rapidly with the pandemic. States had to respond to the pandemic outbreak at the expense of economic stability. Many measures were taken from travel bans to closure of schools and businesses. Türkiye is not an exception and Türkiye's government quickly acted to limit the spread of the outbreak (Bayraktar, 2021).

Table 3.1. Türkiye's Response to the Pandemic in Terms of Health

(Source: Journal of Preventive Medicine and Public Health. 2020. The Effectiveness of Community-Based Social Distancing for Mitigating the Spread of the COVID-19 Pandemic in Turkey)

Mar 13	Extensive travel and transportation restrictions
Mar 15	Closing crowded places temporary; The last group came from Umrah and was quarantined in dorms
Mar 16	Stopped community religious activities such as Friday prayers; Decided to delay effective surgical and dental operations
Mar 17	The no. of countries with flight bans increased to 20
Mar 19	Sports leagues were delayed such as football, basketball, handball, volleyball; The no. of COVID-19 test centers increased to 18
Mar 21	A lockdown was imposed for those over 65 y old; The no. of countries with flight bans increased to 68; Restaurants were allowed to serve only takeaway food.
Mar 22	Flexible working hours were implemented in public utilities
Mar 24	The capacity of public transport decreased to 50%; Social distancing was introduced between passengers
Mar 27	The sale of non-essential items at markets was forbidden; Stands were organized at 3 m distances
Mar 28	Traveling among cities by bus or plane was subject to permission; Foreign flights were stopped
Apr 1	An additional circular was issued for markets and entrances and exits of markets were placed under control
Apr 4	A lockdown for those under 20 y old was implemented; Entry and exit bans were imposed for 30 metropolises; Mask-wearing was made mandatory in workplaces and markets
Apr 10	Lockdown of all people in the country for 2 d as of 24:00.
Apr 18	Renewal of entry and exit bans for 30 metropolises

While trying to limit the spread of the virus, Türkiye also tried to improve its capacity of healthcare. Atatürk Airport, which was not being actively used, was turned into a pandemic hospital. Another pandemic hospital was built by the restoration of an Ottoman-era hospital.

Intensive care units of the existing hospitals were increased. Domestic ventilators were produced. With the help of such measures, even before the vaccination was available, Türkiye's death rates were relatively low especially compared to most other countries (John Hopkins University, 2020). Türkiye's younger population also played a role in low death rates.

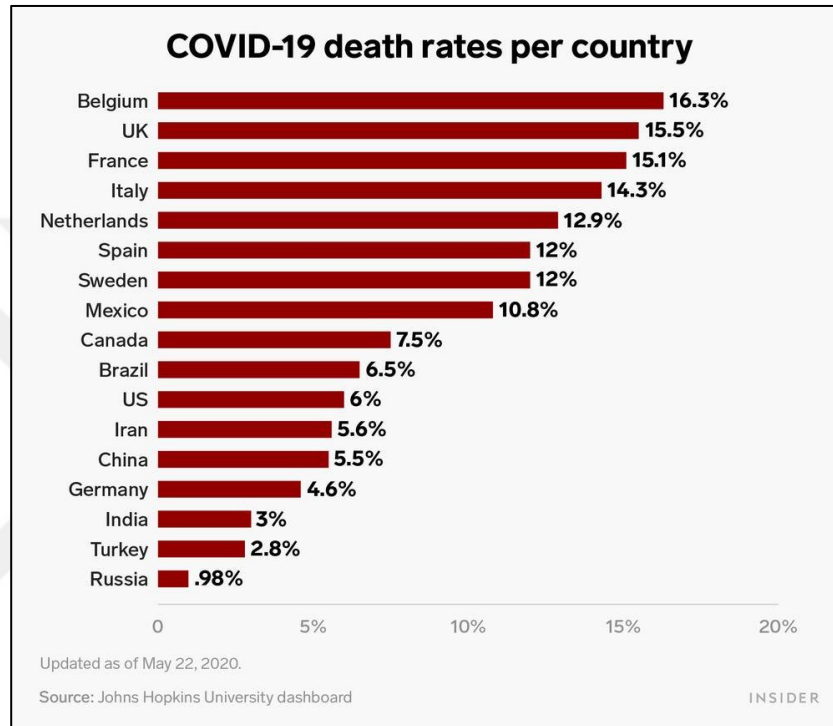


Figure 3.1. Covid-19 Deaths Rates Per Country

(Source: John Hopkins University. 2020. Mortality Analyses)

Beginning in January 2021, Türkiye was able to start its vaccination campaign. When Türkiye managed to vaccinate its half of the population in June 2021, it was the 6th most vaccinated country in the world regarding the number of vaccinated citizens.

Table 3.2. Vaccination Comparison Between Countries

(Source: Ourworldindata. 2021. Coronavirus Vaccinations)

USA	85,008,094
China	52,500,000
UK	22,392,883
India	19,040,175
Brazil	10,390,842
Türkiye	9,871,101
Israel	8,564,190
Russia	7,500,000
Germany	7,082,562
U.A.E	6,235,316

Türkiye's healthcare has been a major shield for Türkiye, as it can be seen in the Covid-19 cases/deaths ratio. Combined with the young population, this can be a positive factor in encouraging both domestic and foreign investors to move their investments to Türkiye. Also, Türkiye's domestic vaccine shows the capabilities of Türkiye in terms of healthcare. Furthermore, in December 2021, Türkiye began vaccinating its population with its domestic vaccine "Turkovac.". As a result, Türkiye's Covid-19 death rates fell to lower levels compared to beginning of the pandemic, which is %0,6 as of 2022 (WHO, 2022). All of these developments also bring a positive image worldwide and combined with the recent lira devaluation, the healthcare sector have a massive potential for international patients.

3.3. Economic Challenges

As the states took measures to limit the spread of the virus, it resulted in economic recession worldwide. According to IMF, World's GDP shrank by %3,1 in 2020 (IMF, 2022). That resulted in increased poorness and unemployment worldwide. Negative GDP outputs from Europe and the USA also affected Türkiye, along with hit in tourism. Also, supply bottlenecks caused by lockdowns caused higher energy prices which was another negative

development for Türkiye. Therefore, Türkiye faced challenges caused by the pandemic and the global conjuncture at the same time: Lockdowns, decreased exports, decreased tourism revenues, increased energy import prices. Türkiye's government determined these challenges and tried to find responses accordingly.

In March 2020, Türkiye launched a 21-point stimulus package (Economic Stability Shield) to tackle the coronavirus pandemic. A year later, the package reached 638 billion liras, almost %13 of the GDP (KPMG, 2020). These include budget measures, loan guarantees, loan service deferrals, tax deferrals for businesses, equity injections into public banks, and short-term work schemes. Value Added Tax (VAT) has also been reduced on certain goods from 18 percent to 1 percent. New home loan rates were lowered to %0.64 per month and new car loan rates were reduced to %0.49 per month. The policy rate was cut to as low as %8.25 (Daily Sabah, 2020). Both the Türkiye's government and the Central Bank of Türkiye worked together to alleviate the impacts caused by Covid-19 in terms of both monetary and fiscal policy.

Türkiye's inflation rate hit %73.50 in May 2022, the highest in the last 24 years (TÜİK, 2022). This is a potential risk for Türkiye's economic security and inequality problem; therefore, its roots must be analysed. First of all, whether it is a global risk or a risk that is related specifically to Türkiye has to be understood. Just like every country, Türkiye faced many struggles during the pandemic. While some of these are common worldwide, some of these problems are specific to Türkiye (or affected Türkiye more than other countries). The United States and Europe are among the barometers of the global economy, so their inflation charts give an idea about the situation.

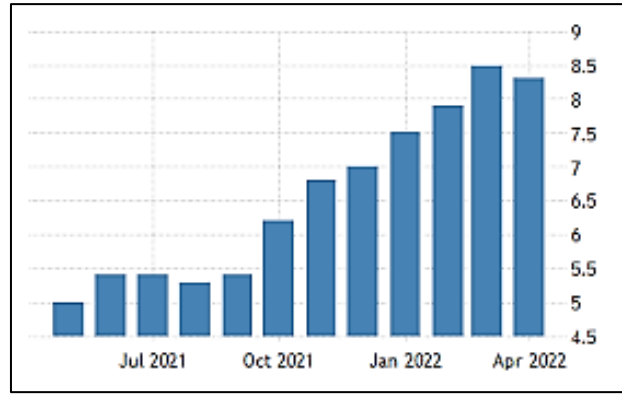


Figure 3.2. CPI graph of the USA

(Source: Trading Economics. 2022. Inflation Rate.)

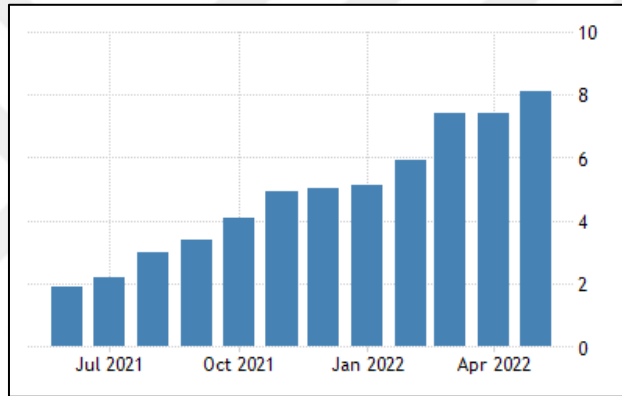


Figure 3.3. CPI Graph of the Euro Area

(Source: Trading Economics. 2022. Inflation Rate.)

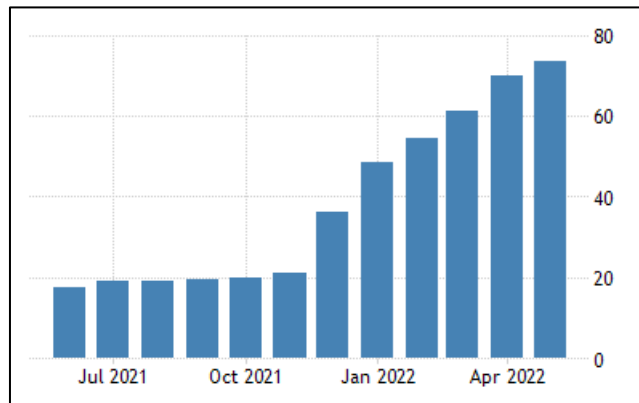


Figure 3.4. CPI graph of Türkiye

(Source: Trading Economics. 2022. Inflation Rate.)

On the one hand, these charts tell us that inflation is a common phenomenon in the post-Covid Era. On the other hand, Türkiye has been suffering more from inflation than others. Therefore, it is possible to say that inflation is caused both by internal and external reasons. Some of the external reasons are global supply chain bottlenecks caused by lockdowns and bankruptcies; rising commodity, dairy and raw material prices worldwide (Carosa, 2021). Also, demand has been high in 2022. In 2020, hardly anyone was spending money due to Covid-19. Now that the economy is back open, people are spending and traveling and, as such, there is a bottleneck with very high demand. Therefore, the supply cannot catch up with the demand in the current situation. There are internal factors like loose monetary policy as well, because Türkiye opted for a different economic paradigm at the expense of rising inflation.

For Türkiye, rising energy prices are especially problematic as it is an oil and natural gas importer country. However, Türkiye has been trying to lessen its energy dependency by exploring natural gas in the Black Sea and Mediterranean Sea, increasing the role of renewable energy, electric vehicle project (TOGG), etc. Also, some of these concerns related to inflation will probably be transitory in the long term as market forces will balance supply and demand at some point. Still, when inflation stays at such levels, it makes Türkiye vulnerable to economic shocks. Even if inflation will return to “normal” levels in the long term, it poses a risk for Türkiye’s economic security in the short and medium term.

On the one hand, this issue is related to the economic security problem. On the other hand, it is also related to food security, health security and political security. As Gini index availability is currently limited for the post-Covid era, the analysis is mainly based on assumptions. It is estimated that the Gini coefficient will be badly affected because of the surge in global food prices (World Population Review, 2021). As food prices take more percentage of the expenditures of the people with lower income levels, the worldwide rise of food prices deepens the inequality. While it is a global problem, it poses a more significant threat to developing countries like Türkiye because of their lower per capita income levels than developed countries.

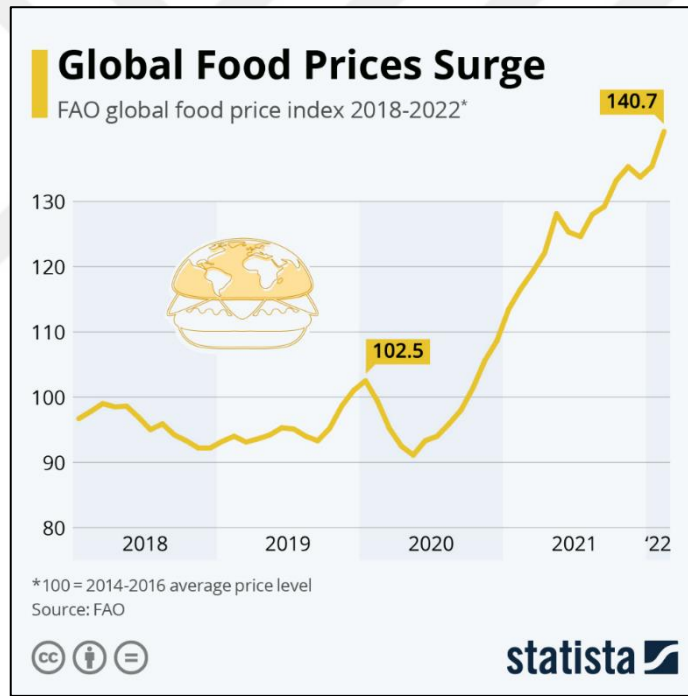


Figure 3.5. The surge in Global Food Prices After the Covid-19 Outbreak

(Source: Statista. 2022. Global Food Prices Surge.)

As mentioned before, Türkiye took unprecedented steps to battle the impacts of Covid-19. However, these steps are also signs of Türkiye's policy adjustment. In that sense, Türkiye also decided to follow a new economic paradigm. By cutting rates to much lower

than the inflation rate, giving cheap credits (especially to the exporters), by allowing the lira to depreciate, Türkiye is aiming for these goals:

- 1) Lowering borrowing costs of the firms
- 2) Attracting foreign direct investment instead of hot money (with the help of lira depreciation, government incentives, young population etc.)
- 3) Reducing imports so that companies of Türkiye would be more competitive in the domestic market and at the same time more competitive in the international market with the help of the lower value of the lira.
- 4) Encouraging investors to make more investments with their capital, instead of holding the capital in bank accounts.

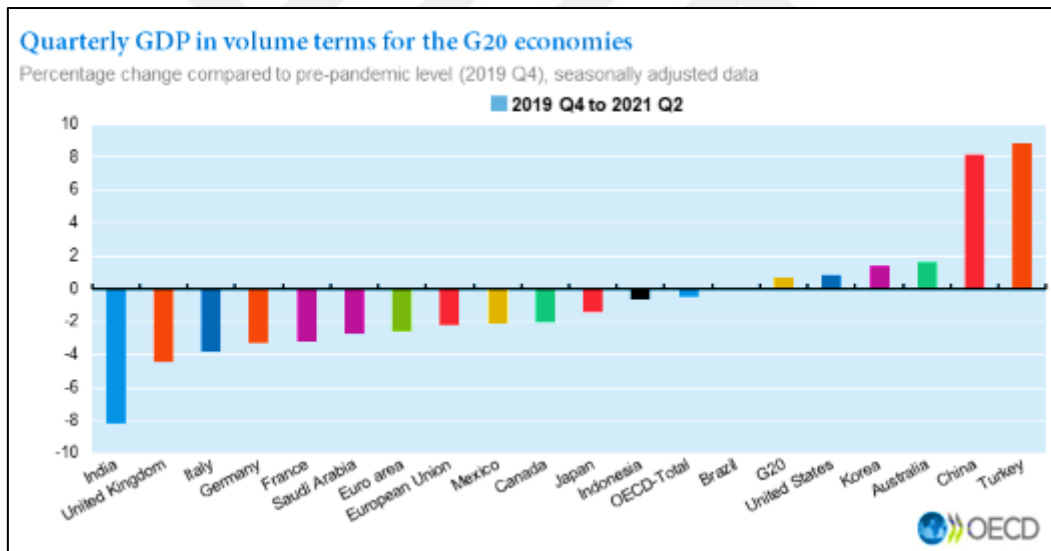
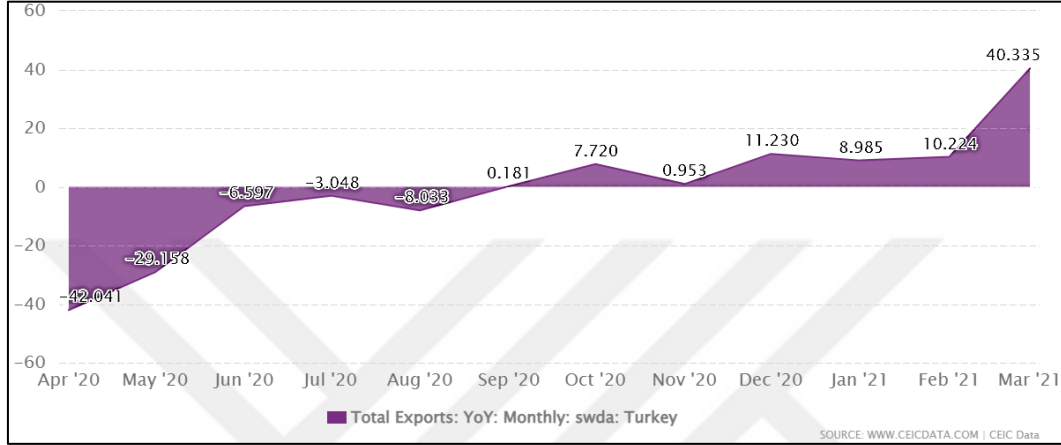


Figure 3.6. GDP Comparison of the G20 Countries During the Covid-19 Pandemic

(Source: OECD. 2021. GDP Growth Second Quarter)

Türkiye's economy grew by %1,8 even in the pandemic-hit 2020 year (Reuters, 2021). As seen in the graph above, Türkiye's post-Covid economic recovery has been one of the fastest in the world (OECD, 2021). One can say these were achieved by the credit boom with cheap borrowing costs. While this is partially true, that is the only one side of the story.



Another side of the story is exports, as seen in these charts:

Figure 3.7. U-Turn in Türkiye's Exports One Year After the Covid-19 Outbreak

(Source: Ceic Data. 2021. Turkey-Total Exports)

This chart shows that Türkiye's exports almost recovered just one year after Türkiye reported its first Covid-19 case. Even better, 2021 was the year Türkiye surpassed the %1 share in global exports for the first time (Anadolu Ajansı, 2021). Türkiye's biggest companies Tüpraş and THY's market values surpassed many states worldwide.

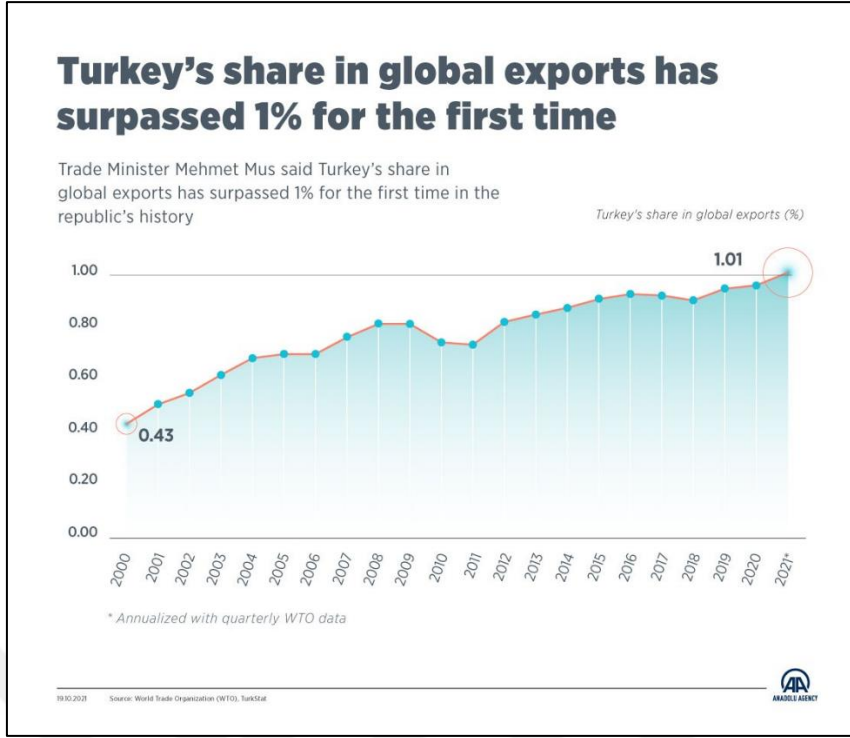


Figure 3.8. Türkiye's Increasing Share in Global Exports

(Source: Anadolu Ajansı. 2021. Turkey's GDP Growth 'Praiseworthy': Business World)

Türkiye has been aiming to adapt its new economic model for today's needs. In the new economic model, Türkiye no longer aims for a "hot money flow" that can be easily used as an "economic weapon." Türkiye realized that if it did not gain economic independence, it would not be able to act independently in terms of politics. Therefore, economic and political actions must be in cooperation. Türkiye's new economic model is based on long-term goals: increasing exports, domestic value-added products; reducing unemployment, current deficit and financing costs by cutting interest rates. Also, "KKM (Kur Korumalı Mevduat) was introduced by Turkish authorities to reduce the country's dependence on foreign currencies (Çalışkan, 2021). The new paradigm about the economy has been aiming to achieve economic security with a sustainable economic independence program, rather than short-term gains.

Coming to environmental security, Türkiye's journey of producing energy from solar power started at just 40 megawatts (MW) in 2014. It has now reached 7,816 megawatts, according to data compiled from the Energy and Natural Resources Ministry. Türkiye's solar capacity was 249 MW in 2015, which increased to 833 MW just a year later. 1,149 MW of installed capacity was added in 2021 alone. The projection in the IEA's annual Renewable Market Report last month showed the country's renewable capacity growing by over 26 gigawatts (GW), or 53%, during the 2021-26 period, with solar and wind accounting for 80% of the expansion (Daily Sabah, 2022)

Türkiye also signed the Paris Agreement in 2016, highlighting its commitment to fight against global warming. The Green Deal Action Plan, prepared by the Ministry of Trade and approved with the Presidential Circular numbered 2021/15 ("Action Plan"), is a roadmap aiming to support green transformation in all relevant policy areas. That is important because the future of the energy market is the green economy. Therefore, Türkiye will be able to attract more foreign direct investment, thus reducing the current deficit. At the same time, Türkiye's geographic location is suitable for wind and solar energy. That will reduce Türkiye's energy dependency on fossil fuels.

Following this suit, Türkiye's government incentivized investors for an electronic car project. As a result; Anadolu Group, BMC Turkey, Kök Group, Turkcell, Zorlu Holding, and TOBB came together for an electric car project called "TOGG." The project will make Türkiye both less dependent on fossil fuels and imported cars.

At the same time, Türkiye's new political paradigm also follows this suit. Türkiye realized that its energy dependency has been threatening its economic independence because it makes Türkiye's economy vulnerable to the value of the American Dollar and energy market fluctuations. That needed political actions to be resolved. As a result, Türkiye signed

an Exclusive Economic Zone deal with Libya in 2019. Also, Türkiye has been searching for natural gas in the Black Sea with “Yavuz”, “Fatih”, and “Kanuni” ships since 2018.

Another leap was in the defense industry. With the national technology move, the domestic production of critical technologies in the defense industry and the rate of domestic product use rose from 20 percent to 70 percent; compared to twenty years ago. The target rate of domestic products is 75 percent in 2023. These national technology moves in the defense industry include domestic unmanned combat aerial vehicle TB2 Bayraktar, domestic armored personnel carriers like Cobra, Akrep, Kirpi; domestic howitzer T-155 Fırtına, domestic tank Altay (planned mass production in 2023), domestic helicopter Gökbeş (planned mass production in 2023), domestic jet TAI TF-X (planned first flight in 2025-2026). Defense industry exports also increased significantly. There are nearly 700 projects with a financial value of 75 billion dollars, led by the Defense Industry Directorate (Türkiye İhracatçıları Meclisi, 2020).

With the help of all these efforts, even during the pandemic, foreign direct investments (FDI) surged 81% in 2021 year-over-year last year to \$14.2 billion, according to Burak Dağlıoğlu, the head of the Presidency Investment Office (Daily Sabah, 2022).

While Türkiye’s new economic and political suits played a major role in these successes, Türkiye’s geopolitics also played an important role. It can be said that Türkiye’s geopolitical advantage is not something new. However, as energy prices are rising recently, arguably, it is getting more critical. For example, it is no longer as profitable as it used to be for a company to produce in China and transfer the products to Europe. Instead, it is becoming more profitable to produce directly in Türkiye. (Ergin, 2021)

While geopolitics is an important opportunity for Türkiye during Covid-19, tourism poses a significant challenge for Türkiye during Covid-19. Tourism plays a vital role in

Türkiye's economy. In 2016, tourism's direct and indirect contribution to Türkiye was up to %12.9 of Türkiye's total economy (Turkish Plastics Magazine, 2018). In 2020, Türkiye's tourism income reduced from 51.9 billion dollars to 15.8 billion dollars. However, with the vaccines and Türkiye's safe tourism policies, in 2021, tourism income came close to the income of 2019. As of June 2022, Covid-19 cases and deaths have been sharply reducing both in Türkiye and in the world. With the milder Omicron variant, it can be assumed that from 2022 onwards, tourism will be in a much stronger place in Türkiye. Therefore, Türkiye's tourism hit was most probably limited to two years. However, as it is impossible to determine how the pandemic situation will evolve, tourism income is always a risk.

3.4. Increasing Importance of Soft Power

Neoliberal thinker Joseph Nye came up with new terms in order to be able to understand the conjuncture of international politics in today's world: Hard power, soft power, smart power (Nye, 2009).

Hard power is the ability to reach goals through coercive actions or threats, usually military. Military power, economic strength, population, territory, natural resources etc. are essential factors for determining hard power. For example, in 2003, the George Bush administration used hard power to topple Saddam's regime in Iraq.

Soft power is the ability to "shape" others by "influencing" them without using offensive power or threat. It is the ability to affect others with your public image and credibility in order to obtain the results you want. According to Nye: "You can affect their behaviour in three main ways: threats of coercion ('sticks'); inducements or payments ('carrots'); and attraction and persuasion that makes others want what you want (soft power). Soft power is rarely sufficient to achieve objectives, but if you use hard power without attraction, you will have to spend more on carrots and sticks." (Nye, 2020).

He also rationalizes soft power and criticizes Trump's policies by saying, "If you have the slogan "America First," it means everybody else comes second. Telling others they're second is not the best way to go about attraction. Nobody's going to say that a president should not promote the national interest. It is a question of whether and how he defines and expresses that national interest. You can define national interest in a far-sighted way so that it is in the interest of others as well. The classic case is the Marshall Plan, after World War II. The United States gave aid to Europe because it wanted to prevent Europe from becoming communist and tipping the balance of power toward the Soviet Union. But it also created enormous amounts of goodwill among Western Europeans who grew up seeing the benefits of a friendship with a country that defined its self-interest in a farsighted way. It was good for us and good for its beneficiaries." (Nye, *Hard Power's Essential Soft Side*, 2017).

The collapse of the Berlin Wall can give another example of soft power. According to Nye: "When the Berlin Wall finally collapsed, it was destroyed not by an artillery barrage but by hammers and bulldozers wielded by those who had lost faith in communism." (Nye, 2009).

Smart power is the ability to combine both hard power and soft power. Nye gives an example: "Take, for example, terrorism. We could not use soft power effectively to persuade the Taliban government to give up the sites they used for Al Qaeda and we had to use force, hard power, against the Taliban government. But when it comes to the broader question of winning over the hearts and minds of the mainstream Muslims so that the hardliners cannot recruit them, the situation requires soft power. When we used our hard power in Iraq, we essentially made ourselves look like a bully and an occupier which undercut our soft power." (Nye, Harvard Kennedy School Insight Interview, 2008).

In today's international system there are no longer direct military conflicts between major power as that would be too dangerous because of nuclear weapons. Also, there are

3.5. Security Notion

The United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report of 1994 introduces the concept of human security, which focuses on the people. According to the UNDP, there are seven dimensions of security (United Nations, 1994):

- 1) Economic Security – unemployment, job insecurity, income inequality, inflation, underdeveloped social security and homelessness.
- 2) Food Security – the problems of physical and economic access to food;
- 3) Health Security – threats to life and health and inadequate access to health services
- 4) Environmental Security – the degradation of ecosystems, pollution of water, air and soil;
- 5) Personal Security – physical violence, war, discrimination, domestic violence, child abuse;
- 6) Community Security – ethnic tensions and violent conflicts;
- 7) Political Security – state repression and violation of human rights

However, as we enter a “digitalized world” cyber security is also getting more important.

Moreover, in order to analyse Türkiye’s security notion, Copenhagen School’s views on security have to be analysed. According to Barry Buzan, security is not limited to the military. He pointed out that security has five sectors that are linked to each other. Therefore, all sectors of security have to be achieved (Buzan, 1997).

- 1) Military

- 2) Political
- 3) Economic
- 4) Societal
- 5) Environmental

In the event of a military threat, a state may not be able to achieve its most fundamental responsibility of protecting its citizens and borders. Türkiye's response against terrorist organizations like FETÖ, PKK and ISIS is an important example of military security.

The political threat would be very dangerous as the state is, itself, a political entity; a political threat to weaken that entity can be considered on par with a military threat. They can take the form of competition amongst ideologies, or an attack on the nation itself. Türkiye's response against FETÖ terrorism, an attempted parallel-state organization, aims to ensure political security. Türkiye removed FETÖ member civil servants, purged FETÖ out of state bureaucracy to answer political threats. On the other hand, lack of democracy without an inclusive governance is also a political risk itself. Türkiye's democracy scores have been trending lower for almost a decade; according to Freedom House (Freedom House, 2022). Therefore, while keeping the bureaucracy safe from terrorist organizations; Türkiye's policymakers have to implement more inclusive policies to reduce political risks.

Economic threats might be even more challenging to cope with as it is usually more difficult to determine exact problems and solutions. Even more critically, economic problems also affect other types of threats. For example, economic strength is crucial to having a strong army. Also, political threats usually emerge in case of financial crises. Türkiye's new policies aiming to reduce the current deficit is an example of Türkiye's response against economic threats.

Social security focuses on a society's ability to persist in its own culture. Societal threats are about identity and the balance (or lack thereof) found within any state. Weak states are often ill-equipped to deal with differences in identity and culture. Türkiye focuses on social security both in Türkiye and both outside Türkiye in terms of Turkic communities with organizations such as the Turkish Language Association (TDK), Turkish Historical Society (TTK) and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB).

Environmental security has recently gained more attention with global warming, pollution, ozone layer depletion, etc. With the growing investments in renewable energy and sustainable development, the international community has become more sensitive to this issue. Türkiye's green energy investment policy is a crucial element of environmental security. Also, some of Türkiye's moves aim at more than one security issue. For example, the national technology move is both related to military and economic security.

CONCLUSION

The world has become such a “global village” that a return from globalization is no longer a feasible idea. On the one hand, globalization has helped spread prosperity; increased average life expectancy, transparency and political freedom globally. On the other hand, the economic and political independence of the states has reduced; terrorism and global warming have become global issues, multinational companies gained many privileges, and it has become harder for states to follow their traditional responsibilities. That resulted in questioning the nation-state in the 21st century. While realists argue that the nation-state will always be the most critical entity in the international system, liberals argue that the states will get weaker; and international organizations, non-governmental organizations, multinational companies, etc. will become more influential.

Covid-19 pandemic prompted the international system to re-evaluate the state. The international organizations, the non-governmental organizations and the companies will not bear the same responsibilities as the state. While it is true that the states are no longer the sole critical entity in the international system, it is hard to imagine any other entity that can replace the state. This tells us that states will still be a crucial entity in international relations, but the position of the states will not be the same as it was in the previous centuries. Technological developments, especially in communication and transportation, are impossible to ignore. Therefore, the states have to adapt to the new world order.

Türkiye, which had been facing challenges even before the pandemic, realized the need for a change in the state notion much earlier than the other states. Indeed, with the globalization process, the fight against terrorism has changed worldwide. With the spread of technology, it has become easier for terrorists to gather lethal weapons, carry out attacks in different continents and spread propaganda of themselves. With the globalization process,

terrorist organizations found it much easier to attack Türkiye. That required a strong response from the Türkiye's state authority. With the increasing economic interdependence, Türkiye's economy was attacked by its Western "partners" during critical times like Andrew Brunson crisis, Türkiye's operations against terror organizations etc. That also required a strong response from the Türkiye's state authority, prompting Türkiye to adjust its policies.

Türkiye has to follow principled set of policies which are in accordance with universal values, but at the same time these policies have to be suitable for Türkiye's national interests. As mentioned in the previous chapters, there is no "formula" that is guaranteed to succeed for every country and in every period of time. An economic paradigm that worked for a Western country may not work for an Asian country, or an international relations theory that manages to explain a period of time in the history may not successfully explain today's reality. For example, the rising inequality in the world is a bigger issue for Türkiye compared to other countries. Resarches showed that poor families in the poorer regions are at more risk of being manipulated from the terrorist organizations. Captured PKK members confessed that the terrorist organization accused Türkiye's state as the reason of poorness, which turned out to be an influential propaganda amongst them. Therefore, Türkiye is more sensitive to economic inequalities, so Türkiye must not only aim for economic growth, but it must aim for an equally distributed economic growth. Such an economic policy can only be achieved by political independence. That is another reason that Türkiye's new economic and political paradigms have to aim for the same goals and complete each other.

In today's world, characteristics of a developed country are their ability to grow with their own technology and research&development policies, having a sustainable growth path and meeting basic needs of all the layers of the society. Today, most of the developed states follow Keynesian welfare state policies. Moreover, these states are relatively more stable during crises. As a developing country, Türkiye's policy shifts have to aim these goals.

Rather than inviting hot money to the country with short-sighted policies, a more long-term approach is increasing productivity and export rates, benefitting from technology transfers and foreign direct investments, can solve the current deficit problem. In this era, digitalization is one of the best tools to make these goals possible. Otherwise, it was shown that the developing countries which were too late to adapt digitalization were left behind in the globalization process, resulting in low economic growth compared to the other states.

Napoleon said that "History is a set of lies that people have agreed upon." In this sense, international relations theories have been more or less affected by the ideologies of the thinkers or politicians. For example, Wilson's "idealist" views were perhaps "realist" arguments to defend the USA's dominant position in the post-World War I order. Hans Morgenthau's "realism" was perhaps the best way to consolidate the Western countries against communist states. Therefore, there is no "grand theory" in international relations theories. Although they are very useful to understand patterns of politics and to shape policies, they have to be independently used for each specific country, time period and conjuncture. However, these policies have to respect universal values; otherwise, realpolitik will bring continuous chaos to the international system.

On the one hand, from realist perspective, it is difficult to explain mutual beneficial organizations like the NATO and the European Union even after the end of the Cold War. The Western powers tried to create a peaceful system based on interdependence and democracy; and globalization has been helping this process because comparative advantages have never been such important and wars between major countries have never been such dangerous. Moreover, it is no longer feasible to "conquer" nations as it will lower the prosperity of them. In the time of "production boom", it is no longer beneficial to "lose" your potential "customers." On the other hand, wars are much more expensive to finance, and more

human losses are inevitable because of advancements in the war industry. Therefore, Türkiye has to adjust its policies while keeping all these things in mind.

It is clear that trying to reverse the process of globalization and liberalization will do more harm than good. However, as the Covid-19 pandemic showed the world, Türkiye realized much earlier that the responsibilities of the state cannot be ignored. Instead, the state notion have to be recalibrated in accordance with the globalization process and liberal values; but at the same time, it has to be ready to respond challenges because no other unit in the international system can compensate the absence of state authority. Therefore, Türkiye has to aim to get ready for the post-pandemic world order with its new economic and political paradigms that are aimed to meet today's international system's needs.

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