

INSIGHT

T U R K E Y

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Muhittin Ataman
Social Sciences University of Ankara

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Mehmet Uğur Ekinci
SETA

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

İbrahim Efe
Kilis 7 Aralık University

ASSISTANT TO EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Gloria Shkurti Özdemir
SETA

Published by SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research

ADVISORY BOARD

Fahrettin Altun Turkish Presidency Directorate of Communications, **Gülnur Aybet** National Defense University, **Azmi Bishara** Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, **Ali Çarkoğlu** Koç University, **Burhanettin Duran** Ibn Haldun University, **Fawaz Gerges** London School of Economics, **Nurşin Ateşoğlu Güney** Bahçeşehir Cyprus University, **Farid Hafez** Salzburg University, **Şükrü Hanioglu** Princeton University, **Metin Heper** Bilkent University, **Kemal İnat** Sakarya University, **Aristotle Kallis** Keele University, **Fuat Keyman** Sabancı University, **Muqtedar Khan** University of Delaware, **Mustafa Kibaroglu** MEF University, **Malik Mufti** Tufts University, **Basheer M. Nafi** Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, **Ziya Öniş** Koç University, **Mesut Özcan** Turkish Diplomacy Academy, **Tobias Schumacher** College of Europe, **Dmitri Trenin** The Carnegie Moscow Center, **Ali Resul Usul** İstanbul Medipol University, **Ramazan Yıldırım** İstanbul University

Owner / Yayın Sahibi: Burhanettin Duran, on behalf of (adına) SET VAKFI İktisadi İşletmesi (2008) / ISSN 1302-177X

Managing Editor / Sorumlu Yazı İşleri Müdürü: Mehmet Nuri Altun

Printing House / Basım Yeri: Turkuvaz Haberleşme ve Yayıncılık A.Ş., Akpınar Mahallesi
Hasan Basri Caddesi, No: 4, Sancaktepe, İstanbul / Turkey • Tel: +90.216.585-9000

Yayın Türü ve Şekli: Yaygın Süreli Yayın / 3 Aylık-İngilizce

The views expressed therein, remain the sole responsibility of the authors; they do not represent the view of the Editorial Board or the SETA Foundation. All Rights Reserved.

Insight Turkey is a peer-reviewed journal indexed by the following databases and indexes: Bibliography of Asian Studies, Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO), EBSCO, Elsevier Bibliographic Databases, Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI), European Sources Online (ESO), GALE-Cengage, Gender Studies Database, Index Islamicus, International Bibliography of Book Reviews of Scholarly Literature in the Humanities and Social Sciences (IBR), International Bibliography of Periodical Literature in the Humanities and Social Sciences (IBZ), International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS), International Political Science Abstracts (IPSA), JSTOR, Lancaster Index to Defence and International Security Literature, Left Index, Middle East & Central Asian Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies, Scopus, Social Services Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, Worldwide Political Science Abstracts, World Affairs Online (WAO).

EDITORIAL OFFICE / YAYIN İDARE ADRESİ

Nenehatun Caddesi No: 66 GOP/Çankaya, 06700 Ankara/Turkey
Tel: +90.312.551-2100 • Fax: +90.312.551-2190
editor@insightturkey.com • www.insightturkey.com



Contents

SPRING 2020 • VOLUME 22 NO. 2

Editor's Note

4

COMMENTARIES

Start Small and Think Big to Rebuild the U.S.-Turkey Relationship

LUKE COFFEY

11

U.S.-Turkey Relations Endure Despite Crises

KADIR ÜSTÜN

23

The Post-COVID-19 Economic Recovery: U.S.-Turkey Commercial Ties that Bind

JENNIFER MIEL

33

Turkey's Position in the Libyan Crisis

EMRAH KEKİLLİ and BİLGEHAN ÖZTÜRK

53

Russia's Gas Price Discount for Bulgaria: The Problem of Imperial Economic Projects

DMITRY SHLAPENTOKH

63

ARTICLES

The Future of Global Great Power Competition after the Coronavirus

BURHANETTİN DURAN

79

Calling for a Reset in Turkish-American Relations in the post-COVID International Order

MUSTAFA KİBAROĞLU

93

The United States-Backed Containment of Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean

ÇAĞATAY ÖZDEMİR

111

Post-Orientalism and Geopolitics: Three Debates that Inform Islam and U.S. Foreign Policy

M. A. MUQTEDAR KHAN

127

The Nexus of Leadership, Political Empowerment, and Social Mobilization: The Case of the July 15 Coup Attempt in Turkey

RASİM ÖZGÜR DÖNMEZ, KASIM TİMUR, and FATMA ARMAĞAN TEKE LLOYD

151

Social Media and Fake News in the Post-Truth Era: The Manipulation of Politics in the Election Process

TURGAY YERLİKAYA

177

Reinventing Hybridity in a Globalized Context: The Case of Turkish Soap Operas and Their Reception in Morocco

OUAFAA RAFI

197

REVIEW ARTICLE

The Persian Gulf Dilemma: United in the West, Divided in the Gulf

FURKAN HALİT YOLCU

221

BOOK REVIEWS

Turkey and Transatlantic Relations

SASHA TOPERICH and AYLIN ÜNVER NOI

Reviewed by Hüseyin Pusat Kıldış

229

Making the Arab World: Nasser, Qutb, and the Clash that Shaped the Middle East

FAWAZ A. GERGES

Reviewed by Ömer Şipal

241

From Empire to Republic: The Role of American Missionaries in US-Ottoman Empire Relations and Their Educational Legacy

HACER BAHAR

Reviewed by Mustafa Onur Yalçın

231

Islam Beyond Borders: The Umma in World Politics

JAMES PISCATORI and AMIN SAIKAL

Reviewed by Ravza Altuntaş-Çakır

244

Decentralisation and the Management of Ethnic Conflict: Lessons from the Republic of Macedonia

AISLING LYON

Reviewed by Büşra Dillioğlu

234

Sport, Politics and Society in the Middle East

DANYEL REICHE and TAMIR SOREK

Reviewed by Mehmet Akif Koç

247

The Theory of War and Peace: The Geophilosophy of Europe

OLEG BAZALUK

Reviewed by Birkan Ertoý

237

The Internal Protection Alternative in Refugee Law: Treaty Basis and Scope of Application under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and Its 1967 Protocol

JESSICA SCHULTZ

Reviewed by Esra Yıldız Üstün

250

Party Politics in the Western Balkans

VĚRA STOJAROVÁ and PETER EMERSON

Reviewed by Seçkin Arpalier

239

EDITOR'S NOTE

MUHITTIN ATAMAN

Turkey and the United States have been going through dramatic changes after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Both countries began to search for new political identities in the international system. With the end of ideological competition, the U.S. remained unchallenged for a while, and this has created an identity crisis for the U.S. With the beginning of the 21st century, especially with the September 11 attacks, the U.S. declared international terrorism as the new other of the Western world. Similarly, Turkey has adjusted its foreign policy orientation according to the post-Cold War realities. After the loosening of the Western alliance and the decline of U.S. superiority in the international system, Turkey began to follow a more assertive foreign policy in order to increase its role and autonomy in international politics.

While the relative power of the U.S. has been declining, Turkey's economic and political power has been rising. On the one hand, the U.S. does not perform the role of the global hegemon anymore. The U.S. government refuses to provide global public goods such as international security and free trade. As can be observed in its recognition of 'united Jerusalem' as the capital of Israel, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the annexation of the Golan Heights, the U.S. even does not abide by the principles of international law.

On the other hand, Turkey has been trying to improve its relations with different global and regional powers. In addition to its traditional Western allies, Turkey began to engage with other regions and continents including East Asia,

Africa, and Latin America. Turkey has been attempting to restructure its foreign policy into a more diversified and independent one. The more Turkey follows an independent foreign policy, the more it has been otherized by the Western countries, the U.S. in particular.

Eventually, the longtime Turkish-American partnership began to be questioned. Bilateral relations of the two formal allies have been going through troubled times. The Turkish-U.S. alliance or strategic partnership has been questioned by different issues such as the purchase of S-400 missiles, the American financial and military support for YPG/PKK, the protection of FETÖ ringleader in Pennsylvania, and the U.S. cooperation with the anti-Turkey bloc in the Middle East. Pro-Israeli lobbies in Washington D.C. have abandoned their traditional pro-Turkey stance especially when Turkey and Israel began to confront in the Middle East. Furthermore, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia have bought most of the American lobbies to mobilize the Congress and the White House against Turkey. Finally, these lobbies have openly mobilized support from the American authorities to support FETÖ and PKK/PYD/YPG against Turkey, which has led to the increase of anti-American feelings in Turkey.

Nowadays, there are significant differences in Turkish and American foreign policies, with their perspectives of the Middle East and the global system being quite different, in some cases opposing. At the regional level, while the U.S. supports the authoritarian regimes of the region, Turkey has been supporting the mainstream popular movements. As in the Syrian and Libyan crises, the U.S. does not support Turkey even in its confrontation with the Russian Federation, the main 'other' of the NATO alliance. At the global level, the U.S. is not happy with the system that has been established in the wake of the Second World War, yet it is not offering any alternative. However, Turkey asks for the transformation and reformation of the global system to make it more inclusive and representative.

All these differences have led to simmering tensions and mutual mistrust and created an atmosphere to question the entire bilateral relationship and the seventy-year long alliance. The two countries are unable to align their counter-terrorism strategies due to the U.S. instrumentalization of one terrorist group in its struggle against another. It becomes more and more difficult for a confused U.S., which has been following a unilateral global policy, and a Turkey, which has been trying to change its position in the international hierarchy, to coordinate their relations.

As both countries are going through hard times and transitory periods, it will take time for them to adjust themselves to new global realities. Ultimately, they will have to redefine their foreign policies according to their strategic priori-

ties. Considering that it is not the rise of Turkey, but that of China and Russia which threatens the American global hegemony, the U.S. will eventually have to rethink its stern anti-Turkish stance in the Middle East.

This issue of *Insight Turkey* brings to its readers six papers touching upon this ever-changing Turkey-U.S. relationship. Three commentaries and three articles focusing on Turkey-U.S. relations are worth reading to better understand the main issues, challenges, as well as opportunities under the light of recent conjunctures. These pieces concentrate on differing perspectives of the two countries, especially in the last decade, and the interdependence between them.

Luke Coffey presents a new perspective about Turkey-U.S. relations, which after decades of cooperation, is at an all-time low. Emphasizing the importance of hard work, persistence, and comprehension of the various policy disputes, he encourages policymakers to “start small and think big to rebuild this relationship,” which once was a cornerstone of the success of NATO. Coffey maintains that the two countries will continue to matter for one another for a foreseeable future.

Kadir Üstun provides a comprehensive analysis on how Turkey-U.S. relations have been able to survive despite years of strategic feuds and diverging interests. He asserts that both actors seem to have learned how to compartmentalize most bilateral and international issues and tensions. Üstun also points out that as Turkey and the U.S. have disengaged from “inorganic” channels in their bilateral relations, they now have a healthier, even if more conflictual, relationship. However, U.S. policies in the Syrian crisis, such as supporting the PKK/PYD/YPG, have damaged the mutual bonds.

Jennifer Miel’s commentary provides a timely analysis for Turkey-U.S. relations, which once were led by defense and security ties but have become a keystone of economic affairs. Miel examines the economic and commercial opportunities in key sectors for the United States and Turkey during and after the COVID-19 pandemic. She argues that both states can benefit mutually from a more robust collaboration in relatively less notable sectors such as healthcare, the digital economy, and finance.

In addition to these three commentaries, this issue includes three research articles focusing on Turkish-U.S. relations, as well as their foreign policies, under the COVID-19 pandemic. Burhanettin Duran sheds light on the on-going great power competition and argues that the pandemic will not establish a new international system, but will certainly affect it by creating a global instability where states will invest in self-sufficiency and redefine their strategic areas. As the main topics that will define the future of the international system, Duran

draws particular attention to the decline of U.S. hegemony, the challenging policies of China, the U.S.-China relations, and the EU's deepening crisis.

In his article, Mustafa Kibaroglu focuses on the prospects of Turkish-U.S. relations in the post-COVID international order. He specifically discusses if this pandemic would grant a favorable environment for Turkey and the United States to reset their relations in order to accommodate themselves better to the new realities in international politics.

Çağatay Özdemir's article focuses on Turkey's position and reactions within the framework of the international competition over natural gas and oil in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the middle of the balance-of-power politics in the region, Turkey is being isolated through unilateral actions and guided alliances. Describing the situation as a U.S.-backed containment of Turkey, Özdemir examines the formation of the anti-Turkish bloc and discusses its possible repercussions in Turkish foreign policy.

Besides the pieces covering Turkey-U.S. relations, this issue also includes a number of commentaries and articles covering different issues relating to Turkey, the Middle East, and international politics. In their analysis on Turkey's current position and policy in Libya, Emrah Kekilli and Bilgehan Öztürk present the grounds for and nature of Turkey's increasing cooperation with Libya's Government of National Accord (GNA). They also claim that Turkey's support to the GNA has changed the dynamics in the conflict in Libya.

The commentary by Dmitry Shlapentokh examines Russia's gas price discount for Bulgaria. The author links the discount to frequently unfavorable circumstances for Gazprom's operations in Europe in general, and in Bulgaria in particular. This commentary highlights that with the emerging alternatives to Russian gas, Bulgaria was able to negotiate with Russia for a more favorable price in obtaining natural gas.

In his article, M. A. Muqtadar Khan argues that a post-orientalist discussion has arisen over the past few decades to challenge the dominance of orientalism on Western foreign policy thinking towards Islam and the Muslim. Discussing the geostrategic views of Bernard Lewis, Edward Said, and John Esposito, Khan concludes that while post-orientalism has triumphed in the academic literature, the orientalist perspective still dominates the policy sphere and continues to shape American foreign policy.

Using a rich theoretical literature on leadership and political empowerment, the article by Kasım Timur and Rasim Özgür Dönmez offers an analysis of the mutually empowering relations between Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his followers. In order to illustrate how leaders and followers influ-

ence each other in times of political crisis, as a case study, the article examines how Erdoğan's charismatic leadership galvanized his followers during the July 15 coup attempt in Turkey, and how his followers' support has further empowered Erdoğan as a leader.

In recent years, the use of social media discourse has shifted from having a positive effect on democratization to a tool threatening democracy. In this regard, Turgay Yerlikaya focuses on how virtual social networks affect socio-political life, particularly how networks such as *Facebook* and *Twitter* can shape electoral preferences during election times through manipulative content and fake news.

The last article of the issue examines the impact of soap operas as a multi-faceted phenomenon that, as a product of cultural hybridization, can also contribute to cultural hybridization wherever they are broadcasted. In her case study, Ouafaa Rafi examines Turkish soap operas watched in Morocco and discusses the encompassing dynamics at stake when it comes to cultural influence and interaction.

This issue of *Insight Turkey* aims to present the current situation of the Turkish-American relations and to provide to its readers with a general framework of important events and developments in Turkey and its surrounding regions. We hope that this issue contributes to a better understanding of these crucial issues. ■

More than 74,000 companies have INVESTED IN TÜRKİYE



how about you?

average annual real
GDP growth rate

5.3 %

2003-2019

13th largest
economy in
the world

GDP at PPP prices, 2018

more than

804,000

university graduates
per year

average annual real GDP
growth rate forecast in OECD

5.2%

2015-2025

\$753 billion
of GDP at
current prices
2019

83.15 million

of population
with half under the age of 32.4

INVEST IN TÜRKİYE

The Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Investment Office, the official investment advisory body of Türkiye, is a knowledge center for foreign direct investments and a solution partner for the global business community at all stages of investments. It provides customized guidance and qualified consulting before, during, and after entry into Türkiye.