



Journal of Politics and Development

ISSN 2632-4911

Volume 11 ■ Number 1 ■ Winter 2021

the rest: journal of politics and development

Previously published as Journal of Global analysis (JGA)

Editors-in-Chief:

Ozgur TUFEKCI, Assoc. Prof. | CESRAN International, UK

Rahman DAG, Assoc. Prof. | CESRAN International, UK

Associate Editors:

Alper Tolga BULUT, Assist. Prof. | CESRAN International, UK

Alessia CHIRIATTI, Dr | CESRAN International, UK

Assistant Editors:

Ceren Hakyemez | CESRAN International, UK

Ekrem Ok | CESRAN International, UK

Editorial Board

Sener AKTURK, Assoc. Prof. | Koç University, Turkey

Enrique ALBEROLA, Prof. | Banco de España, Spain

Mustafa AYDIN, Prof. | Kadir Has University, Turkey

Ian BACHE, Prof. | University of Sheffield, UK

Kee-Hong BAE, Prof. | York University, Canada

Mark BASSIN, Prof. | Sodertorn University, Sweden

Alexander BELLAMY, Prof. | Uni. of Queensland, Australia

Richard BELLAMY, Prof. | Uni. College London, UK

Andreas BIELER, Prof. | University of Nottingham, UK

Pinar BILGIN, Prof. | Bilkent University, Turkey

Ken BOOTH, Prof. | Aberystwyth University, UK

Stephen CHAN, Prof. | SOAS, University of London, UK

Nazli CHOUCRI, Prof. | MIT, USA

Judith CLIFTON, Prof. | Universidad de Cantabria, Spain

John M. DUNN, Prof. | University of Cambridge, UK

Kevin DUNN, Prof. | Hobart and William Smith Colleges, USA

Can ERBIL, Assoc. Prof. | Boston College, USA

Stephen Van EVERA, Prof. | MIT, USA

Marc FLEURBAEY, Prof. | Princeton University, USA

Bulent GOKAY, Prof. | Keele University, UK

Ayla GOL, Prof. | Nottingham University, UK

Stefano GUZZINI, Prof. | Uppsala Universitet, Sweden

David HELD, Prof. | London Sch. of Economics, LSE, UK

Tony HERON, Prof. | University of York, UK

Raymond HINNEBUSCH, Prof. | Uni. of St Andrews, UK

John M. HOBSON, Prof. | University of Sheffield, UK

Michael KENNY, Prof. | University of Sheffield, UK

Cécile LABORDE, Prof. | University College London, UK

Scott LUCAS, Prof. | University of Birmingham, UK

Kalypto NICOLAIDIS, Prof. | University of Oxford, UK

Ziya ONIS, Prof. | Koc University, Turkey

Alp OZERDEM, Prof. | George Mason University, USA

Danny QUAAH, Prof. | London School of Economics, UK

José Gabriel PALMA, Prof. | Cambridge University, UK

Jenik RADON, Prof. | Columbia University, USA

Oliver RICHMOND, Prof. | University of Manchester, UK

Ibrahim SIRKECI, Prof. | Regent's College London, UK

Ian TAYLOR, Prof. | University of St Andrews, UK

Ali WATSON, Prof. | University of St Andrews, UK

Brian WHITE, Prof. | University of Sheffield, UK

Stefan WOLFF, Prof. | University of Birmingham, UK

Birol YESILADA, Prof. | Portland State University, USA

Hakan YILMAZKUDAY, Assoc. Prof. | Florida International University, USA

The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development is published on behalf of the Centre for Strategic Research and Analysis (CESRAN) as an academic e-journal. The articles are brought into use via the website of the journal (<https://therestjournal.com/>). CESRAN and the Editors of The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development do not expect that readers of the review will sympathise with all the sentiments they find, for some of our writers will flatly disagree with others. It does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in any article, which appears in The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development.

** The surnames are listed in alphabetical order.*

the rest: journal of politics and development

Previously published as Journal of Global analysis (JGA)

INDEXING & ABSTRACTING

- Academic Index
- Bielefeld Academic Search Engine (BASE)
- Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO)
- Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ)
- EBSCO Publishing Inc.
- EconLit
- EconPapers
- Genamics JournalSeek
- IDEAS
- Index Islamicus
- Infomine
- 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 Relations and Security Network (ISN)
- Lancaster Index to Defence & International Security Literature
- Peace Palace Library
- Research Papers in Economics (RePEc)
- Social Sciences Information Space (SOCIONET)
- Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

TABLE OF CONTENTS

RESEARCH ARTICLES

- 6** **The Impact of Jihadist Propaganda in the Russian Language: Analysis of Kavkazcenter**
By Giuliano Bifulchi
- 16** **Domestic Politics and Regional Dynamics in Turkey's Geopolitical Approach to Middle East Between 2002-2019**
By Billy Agwanda
- 30** **Foreign Direct Investment, Gross Domestic Product, and Export Nexus in Turkey: Autoregressive Distributed Lag Bounds Model and Granger Causality Approach**
By Bayram Güngör
- 44** **Power Transition in the South China Sea Challenges for Regional Peace**
By Suman Naz & Muhammad Rizwan

BOOK REVIEWS

- 53** *Robert Irwin*
Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography *By Oktay F. Tanrısever*
- 56** *Julian A. Zelizer*
The Presidency of Barack Obama: A First Historical Assessment
By Efe Savaş
- 59** *Richard Pomfret*
The Central Asian Economies in the Twenty-First Century: Paving a New Silk Road
By Özge Söylemez
- 62** *Bruce Katz and Jennifer Bradley*
The Metropolitan Revolution: How Cities and Metros are Fixing our Broken Politics and Fragile Economy
By Emrah Atar

International Think-tank www.cesran.org
Consultancy
Research Institute

CESRAN International is headquartered in the UK
CESRAN International is a member of the United Nations Academic Impact (UNAI)

CESRAN International is a think-tank specialising on international relations in general, and global peace, conflict and development related issues and challenges.

The main business objective/function is that we provide expertise at an international level to a wide range of policy making actors such as national governments and international organisations. CESRAN with its provisions of academic and semi-academic publications, journals and a fully-functioning website has already become a focal point of expertise on strategic research and analysis with regards to global security and peace. The Centre is particularly unique in being able to bring together wide variety of expertise from different countries and academic disciplines.

The main activities that CESRAN undertakes are providing consultancy services and advice to public and private enterprises, organising international conferences and publishing academic material.

Some of CESRAN's current publications are:

- The Rest: Journal of Politics and Development (biannual, peer reviewed)
www.therestjournal.com
- Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security (biannual, peer reviewed)
- Political Reflection Magazine (quarterly) www.politicalreflectionmagazine.com
- CESRAN Paper Series
- CESRAN Policy Brief
- Turkey Focus Policy Brief

CESRAN International also organises an annual international conference since 2014, called **International Conference on Eurasian Politics and Society (IEPAS)**
www.eurasianpoliticsandsociety.org

- **Ranked among the top 150 International think tanks**

BOOK REVIEW

Robert Irwin

Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography

(Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018, ISBN: 978-0-691-17466-2, 267 pp., \$ 29.95)

Ibn Khaldun (Wali al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun) who lived between 1332 and 1406 has been one of the greatest intellectuals in human history. He clearly deserves this reputation because his ideas, especially those in his *opus magnum* the *Muqaddimah* (Introduction), constitute remarkable contributions to our understanding of history, sociology, economics and international relations, among many other fields of social inquiry. Not surprisingly, there are numerous scholarly works in many languages about Ibn Khaldun’s life, ideas, as well as the impact of his ideas on the development of various social science disciplines.

Robert Irwin’s *Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography* is a noteworthy contribution to this ever-growing literature about Ibn Khaldun’s life, ideas and scholarly influence. Irwin is a renowned British historian, novelist, and writer. He is a Senior Research Associate at the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University as well as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature in the United Kingdom. Irwin got this book published from one of the top publishers of the academic world - the Princeton University Press. In other words, this short background information is sufficient to demonstrate that both the author and the publisher of this book are highly respected in the academic world. Not surprisingly, the book was already received very positively by various reviewers around the world.

In this very well-written book, Robert Irwin’s main aim is not to provide an authoritative account of Ibn Khaldun’s contributions to various social disciplines or to offer a novel interpretation of his publications. His core objective is to contextualize his ideas and scholarly works by exploring them in connection with the turning points in Ibn Khaldun’s own personal life, the challenges of the historical period in which he lived as well as the characteristics of his own belief system and the dominant worldviews of the North

African and the Andalusian Arab societies in late fourteenth century.

Throughout the book, Robert Irwin puts forward the following argument: the existing academic literature on Ibn Khaldun tends to distort the historically and culturally specific character of Ibn Khaldun’s ideas as they are largely abstracted from their fourteenth century specific historical and cultural context and deemed valid universally irrespective of their historically and culturally specific time- and space-bounded character. Irwin claims that Islamic belief system as well as the socio-economic and cultural life of the historical period in which Ibn Khaldun lived had shaped his life, ideas and publications considerably. Therefore, it is incorrect to treat Ibn Khaldun’s ideas and publications which are products of the medieval Islamic world as modern ideas and publications establishing the groundwork for the emergence of modern social science disciplines from historiography to economics from sociology to cultural studies.

This book is remarkable not only in terms of its scholarly content and thought-provoking argument, but also in terms of its writing style. As a novelist and literary writer, Robert Irwin uses his literary writing skills masterfully so that the reader enjoys reading such a condensed book about very complex issues of historiography, culture as well as socio-economic and political life of the fourteenth century without any difficulty in understanding or boredom at all. The Preface of the book explains Robert Irwin’s justification for writing his own intellectual biography of Ibn Khaldun. Robert Irwin also provides a very useful Chronology marking major events in the extraordinary life Ibn Khaldun from his birth on 27 May 1332 to his death on 17 March 1406. Needless to say, both of these introductory sections of book make it easier to follow the flow of Robert Irwin’s argumentation in the main body of this book.

Robert Irwin's *Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography* is divided into eleven chapters: The first chapter (Ibn Khaldun among the Ruins) outlines the influence of the devastating effects of the Black Death and failed governments on the historical evolution of settled and nomadic communities and his desire to reflect on the God's judgement about the problems of the prevailing socio-political order. The second chapter (The Game of Thrones in Fourteenth-Century North Africa) explores the protracted conflicts over the reunification of the lands which were previously ruled by the Almohad Empire in the thirteenth century. The third chapter (The Nomads, Their Virtues, and Their Place in History) presents Ibn Khaldun's understanding of the nomadic societies and the importance of Ibn Khaldun's conception of *asabiyya* for understanding the importance of tribal loyalty as an engine of social change in nomadic societies.

Having described the socio-historical context in which Ibn Khaldun's ideas came into existence, in the first three chapters, Robert Irwin examines Ibn Khaldun's *opus magnum* the *Muqaddimah* (Introduction) in Chapter Four (Underpinning the Methodology of the *Muqaddima*: Philosophy, Theology, and Jurisprudence). In this chapter, Robert Irwin notes that Ibn Khaldun emphasizes the value of jurisprudence as a response to the limitations of the intellectual debates in favor of either philosophy or theology which characterized the medieval thinking in the Middle East and North African region. As a renowned historian of the Mamluks, Robert Irwin devotes the fifth chapter (Ibn Khaldun's Sojourn among the Mamluks in Egypt) to Ibn Khaldun's life in Cairo as a Chief Qadi and his encounters with Tamerlane in Syria during the final years of his life.

Irwin explores the mentality of Ibn Khaldun in Chapter Six (The Sufi Mystic), Chapter Seven (Messages from the Dark Side), Chapter Eight (Economics before Economics Had Been Invented) and Chapter Nine (What Ibn Khaldun Did for a Living: Teaching and Writing). In these four chapters, Irwin describes Ibn Khaldun's mentality as essentially subjectivist in terms of his commitment to the Sufism and his inclination to magic and superstition as well as his respect for the uses of rhetoric, poetry and oral teaching despite the fact that his ideas contributed to the objectivist labour theory of value which is central to the Marxist studies of political economy.

In the remaining two chapters – Chapter Ten (The Strange Afterlife of the *Muqaddima*) and Chapter

Eleven (Ending Up), Irwin concludes the book by explaining how Orientalists, colonialists and nationalists have distorted Ibn Khaldun's ideas in order to provide justification for their modernist ideas and by characterizing Ibn Khaldun as a very successful example of medieval Muslim thinkers.

Although Robert Irwin is largely careful in taking a balanced approach to Ibn Khaldun and his ideas as well as publications by situating them in their own historical and cultural context, Irwin's labelling of Ibn Khaldun and his ideas in terms of their strictly medieval and pre-modern character may be interpreted as his neglect of the universal character of Ibn Khaldun's ideas which might have influenced modern thinkers in the same way as the ideas of many medieval thinkers in Europe have shaped the emergence of modern science and philosophy. In other words, Irwin's assessment of Ibn Khaldun may be used to ignore the crucial contributions of Ibn Khaldun to the emergence and development of various social science disciplines from Sociology and Cultural Studies to Political Economy. The fact that Ibn Khaldun's conceptualization of socio-political change is not based on causal explanations following the Aristotelian tradition, cannot be used to discredit the scientific character of his scholarly works. To the contrary, Ibn Khaldun's conceptualizations have still been considered scientific by various post-positivist schools of thought in several social science disciplines.

In a nutshell, Robert Irwin's *Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography* is a noteworthy contribution to the academic literature about Ibn Khaldun's life, ideas and influence. I would like to recommend this book to all researchers and students specializing in various branches of social science from history and sociology to international relations.

Prof. Dr. Oktay F. Tanrısever
Middle East Technical University, Turkey
oktay@metu.edu.tr

IEPAS2021

8th Annual Conference on Eurasian Politics & Society

23-24 September 2021 | Lisbon (Portugal)

Call for Papers 2021

Abstract Submission Deadline	01 July
Registration Deadline	01 August
Program Announcement	15 August

www.eurasianpoliticsandsociety.org

iepas@cesran.org

