

Liberation Movements, Creativity in the Spirituality and Propositions for Beyond: The Case of Turkey and the EU Discourse*

Özgürlük Hareketleri, Maneviyattaki Yaratıcılık ve Ötesi İçin Öneriler: Türkiye Örneği ve AB Söylemi

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Abstract

As different from the realist theories of international relations, this article takes spirituality as an indispensable part of one's identity, but as well of nations' and that of the international community. By its nature, it constitutes the bases of internal harmony which is a peaceful self existence that provides for a sense of justice, morality and liberation, the latter especially conditioning the spiritual experience. From those aspects, each liberation movement is as well spiritually experienced through a sense of liberation, justice and morality. On the other hand, as spirituality involves also inter-connectedness, each liberation movement would aim at its international recognition. Thus, the spiritual dimension is not limited to the individual level but develops further towards the national and international levels within an understanding of collective existence. Those factors point as well to the creativity in the spiritual element. On the other hand, as in liberation movements, Turkey's European Union discourse is as well in search

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for its positive recognition, including its spirituality. In this respect, the most important aspect in Turkey's relations with the EU at present is not of democratic nature as claimed, but of its belonging to a different era of spirituality, defining the "other". The article therefore concludes that it is not the spiritual aspect but spirituality taken as a cultural barrier, which is the essential blockage in Turkey's EU discourse. On the other hand, although spiritualities refer to different cultural eras, as different from spirituality, propositions for beyond of the article, insists that in the era of globalization, culture should necessarily be competitive force. Indeed, globalization necessitates competitiveness of cultures to be able to represent the different cultural standards on the same ground. Finally, the article underlines that the creativity in the spirituality would challenge the realist approaches of the current international system for a common world peace. Therefore, the spirituality should be treated as a much wider category than religions to open up for such a perspective.

Key Words: Spirituality, Creativity, Culture, Globalization, Turkey, European Union.

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Öz

Uluslararası ilişkilerdeki realist teorilerden farklı olarak, maneviyatın sadece bir kişinin kimlik tanımında değil, aynı zamanda milletler ve uluslararası toplum için de vazgeçilmez bir boyut olarak önemi açıktır. Maneviyat, doğası gereği, temelde huzurlu bir varlık olarak kişideki iç ahengin temeli ve aynı zamanda adalet, ahlak ve özgürlük kavramlarının da kaynağıdır ve özellikle özgürlük kavramı manevi bir deneyimin ön koşulu olmaktadır. Bu açıdan her bir özgürlük hareketi de adalet, ahlak ve özgürleşme algısı üzerinden manevi bir deneyimi ifade etmektedir. Diğer yandan, aynen maneviyatın aynı zamanda karşılıklı bağdaşıklığı gerektirmesi gibi, her bir özgürleşme hareketi de uluslararası boyutta tanınmayı arzulayacaktır. Dolayısıyla maneviyat boyutu bireyle kısıtlı kalmamakta, kolektif varoluş anlayışı içerisinde,

kişiden, ulusa ve oradan uluslararası düzeylere doğru bir gelişim ortaya koymaktadır. Maneviyattaki yaratıcı düşüncenin kaynaklandığı faktörlere de bunlardır. Diğer yandan, özgürlük hareketlerinde olduğu gibi, Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği söylemi de maneviyat unsurunu da içeren olumlu bir tanınma arayışındadır. Bu anlamda, Türkiye'nin AB ile ilişkilerinde mevcut en önemli boyut, öne sürüldüğü üzere demokrasi odaklı değil, fakat bu ülkenin, "öteki"nin tanımında farklı bir manevi alana dâhil olmasıdır. Dolayısıyla, makale, Türkiye'nin AB söyleminin tıkanmasındaki nedenin maneviyat boyutu değil, maneviyatın kültürel bir bariyer olarak alınmasında yattığı sonucuna varmaktadır. Diğer yandan, manevi olan aynı zamanda farklı kültürel alanlara referans gösterse de, makalenin ilerisi için önerileri kültürün özellikle de küreselleşme çağında zoraki olarak rekabet edebilir olması gerekliliği üzerinde durmaktadır. Gerçekten de, küreselleşme, kültürel standartların eşit bir zemin üzerinde temsili adına kültürlerin rekabet edebilirliğini gerektirmektedir. Nihayet, makale, maneviyattaki yaratıcılığın mevcut uluslararası sistemin realist yaklaşımlarını da ortak bir dünya barışı için değiştirmekteki gücünü vurgulamaktadır. Dolayısıyla, böyle bir perspektifi olanaklı kılmak için, maneviyat dinlerden çok daha geniş bir kategoride ele alınmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Maneviyat, yaratıcılık, kültür, küreselleşme, Türkiye, Avrupa Birliği.

Introduction

This article aims at analyzing Turkey's European orientation as a part of a new consciousness for collective existence. However, although not being formally pronounced, the spiritual aspect in Turkey's EU discourse can easily be regarded as an invisible obstacle. Indeed, as Daniel Philipott notes, religion defines identities and

loyalties of communities,¹ which then can become the very political goals around which value conflicts indicating judgments of what is right and wrong finally reach to zero-sum issues.² On the other hand, religion associated with spiritual experience has also been source of,

*“laws and ideas that have provided civilization with cultural commitments to critical peace related values, including empathy, an openness to strangers, the suppression of unbridled ego and acquisitiveness, human rights, unilateral gestures of forgiveness and humility, interpersonal repentance and the acceptance of responsibility for past errors as a means of reconciliation, and the drive for social justice”*³

According to E. Korthals Altes, security in 21st century depends more on creating the conditions for peace than on concentrating on military means, the conditions of peace, underlining the importance of spirituality as regards relevance of transcendence.⁴ Hans Morgenthau agrees with Altes, defining religion as a relationship with transcendence which evolves from the level of the humankind’s relationship with himself, towards his fellow human beings and finally to the universe.⁵ In this sense, European Union has an important mission to promote and encourage world peace through the recognition of the spiritual against the egoist nation-state interests, although the

¹ Daniel Philpott, “Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion”, *American Political Science Review*, 2007, Vol. 103, No. 3, 505–525, p. 518.

² For further reading see, Luc Reyckler, “Religion and Conflict: Introduction: Towards a Religion of World Politics?”, *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 1997, Vol. 2, No. 1.

³ Mark Gopin, *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence and Peacemaking*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000, p. 13.

⁴ For further reading see, Edy Korthals Altes, “Spiritual Awakening: The Hidden Key to Peace and Security, Just and Sustainable Economics, A Responsible European Union” *Studies in Spirituality Supplement 16, Titus Brandsma Institute*, Peters, Leuven 2008.

⁵ See Hans Morgenthau and David Hein, “Essays on Lincoln’s Faith and Politics”, Kenneth W. Thompson (ed.), University Press of America, Lanham, 1983.

transcendence of collective egoism would be hard to achieve. This article therefore proposes that the recognition of the spiritual aspect would play an important role in the creation of international peace, in this respect according to Turkey's EU discourse a global mission.

However, when talking about the spirituality, some conceptual precisions are to be made, especially as regards the spirituality's relationship to religion and culture. In this sense, according to Linda Groff and Paul Smoker, a direct spiritual experience constitutes the internal, mystical esoteric part in all the world's religions while the external, socially learned, cultural dimension constitutes the exoteric part.⁶ Consequently, the relationship of religion to culture remains in its exoteric dimension. On the other hand, as regards the relationship of culture with international peace in general and the European Union in particular, culture is treated throughout the article as a dynamic force, especially in its relationship to globalization, which would lead (as defends Zhu Majie) to a multipolar world order.⁷

However, as regards the challenges of globalization, the EU identity, as long as Turkey finds itself excluded from it, represents a cultural response of closure, within the depiction of Judea-Christian values. This article treats therefore the question of Turkey's identity, both spiritually and culturally as regards its recognition, proposing that in the era of globalization, culture must be a contemporary force, while the spiritual aspect would provide the basis of getting connected to the experiences of "other(s)". Such aspect involves as well the spiritual creativity in liberation movements as regards to their need to get recognized beyond the national borders. Indeed, both liberation movements and Turkey's EU discourse are in need for their identity recognition. The reason for establishing such an analogy between

⁶ Linda Groff and Paul Smoker, *Spirituality, Religion, Culture and Peace: Exploring the Foundations For Inner-Outer Peace in the Twenty-First Century*, 15 September 2012, http://www.Gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijpas/Vol1_1/smoker.html.

⁷ Zhu Majie, *Contemporary Culture and International Relations*, 20 August 2012, http://www.crvp.org/book/Series03/III-20/chapter_i.html.

liberation movements and Turkey's EU discourse results again from the effort to generate creativity in thinking. In this sense, related with Turkey's EU discourse, it is proposed that a sense of liberation from Ottoman State tradition and European imperialism, for another based on the sovereignty of nation does not reduce the spiritual dimension accorded to its collective existence.

Consequently, this article consists of four parts. The first part entitled, "the role of spirituality in creative thinking and liberation movements" puts forward the spiritual creativity within the context of liberation movements. The second part is about "the particular importance of the case of Turkey and the spiritual". The third part is entitled "spirituality as a cultural barrier in Turkey's EU discourse". The fourth part is finally entitled "spirituality, culture and propositions for beyond".

The methodology used is more inductive than deductive, especially in dealing with the spiritual aspect first within the individual, further at the national and international levels. This is as well the case where a creative thinking regarding the spirituality is proposed, within a prospective approach. Yet, some parts of this article are descriptive having a historical approach to be able to treat concrete conditions of the given subject matter. This article, moreover benefits from an interdisciplinary approach.

The Role of Spirituality in Creative Thinking and Liberation Movements

Liberation movements may be cessationist and micro nationalist demanding the right to self-determination over a regional territory within a country, or fusionist demanding unification with a considered native territory. They may be on the other hand against colonialism and against the reign of a tyrant under whom an ethnical, religious or cultural community is oppressed. Liberation movements may also include simultaneous claims of nationalist and irredentist tendencies on the same given territory and a struggle against an absorbing political unity. In one particular case in history, liberation movements may concern the once well-established empires who are then submitted to

the nationalism of the diverse minorities they embrace. Turkey's war of independence, as the principal composing identity of the Ottoman Empire though it is not a cessationist movement, fits in this last category.

Overall, liberation movements may be defined as a struggle against the pressure applied on one nation by the imperialistic, irredentist or absorbing intentions under the oppression of both qualitative and quantitative factors. Precisely, qualitative factors such as race, religion and ethnicity and quantitative factors such as limited material resources create a crisis situation, which imposes a radical mobilization of that nation. In these conditions, for that nation, spiritual aspect becomes the reuniting glue for the affirmation of self, where its self-existence is denied by another estimation of its capacity for sovereignty or cultural and ideological labeling.

In such a contest, the creative thinking finds its resources in contrast to the external chaos, from an inward search of the spiritual harmony accorded to a group existence. This common group existence then leads to a new national formation, which at the last resort is meant to transcend the individual or group differences to evolve towards a collective consciousness. The energy needed for this task is much explosive as the contrast in between possibilities and resources and the creative thinking in liberation movements results in fact from survival strategies of the crisis times characterized by disorder, chaos and anarchy.

Here below, figure 1, demonstrates the two distinct ways to connect inner and outer peace, one through mythology and prayer, the other through spiritually-based nonviolence and meditation, although these two elements are not the only ways to connect or bridge inner and outer peace. Indeed, religion is not only individual it is also social and gives a sense of belonging to a community of believers, in reference to a transcendent source of truth, locating all believers within

an extended ontological setting.⁸ In this sense, spirituality is intrinsically linked to the transformation on the personal level, which then evolves outward, influencing peace on every level from the intrapersonal to the international.

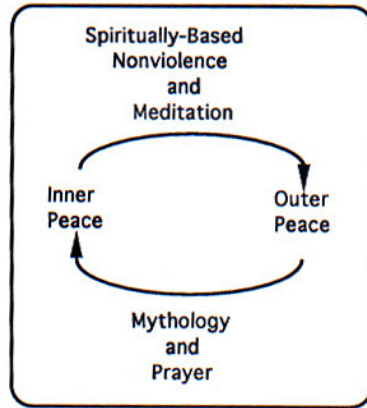


Figure 1: Some Linkages between Inner and Outer Peace⁹

On the other hand figure 2, argues that overall there has been a trend in peace research away from the traditional idea that peace is simply the absence of war towards a more holistic view. The holistic view is not about creating a world temple of religions, but it is useful to demonstrate how contemporary reality is interconnected. In this sense, the holistic view underlies the importance of interacting rather than the different parts of the whole system. In this sense, as regards

⁸ Kristian Berg Harpviken and Hanne Eggen Roislien, "Faithful Brokers? Potentials and Pitfalls of Religion in Peacemaking", *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 2008, Vol. 25, No. 3, 351–373, pp. 354–355.

⁹ Linda Groff and Paul Smoker, *Spirituality, Religion, Culture and Peace: Exploring the Foundations For Inner-Outer Peace in the Twenty-First Century*, 15 September 2012, http://www.Gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijpas/Vol1_1/smoker.html.

peace building, religion as associated to spirituality, offers both connectivity and holism, the latter underlining the ability to conceive transformation for the whole system.¹⁰

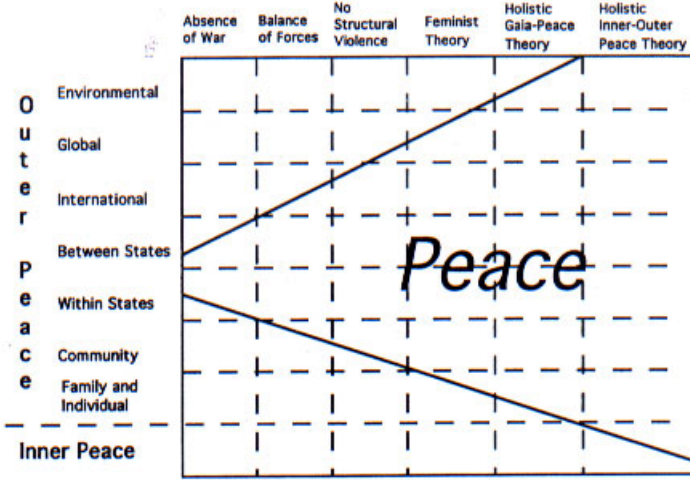


Figure 2: Six Concepts in the Evolution of Peace¹¹

As applied to liberation movements, given that holistic view, especially in support of inner-outer peace, it could be asserted that behind all liberation movements, there is in fact a spiritual dimension, which is more about morality, given the sense of invasion and injustice over an integrated community whose members hold a sentimental attachment for a given territory. Justice and morality are thus the ethical bases of the spirituality, which more than “what to fight

¹⁰ Daniel Philpott, *ibid.*, p. 20.

¹¹ Linda Groff and Paul Smoker, *Spirituality, Religion, Culture and Peace: Exploring the Foundations For Inner-Outer Peace in the Twenty-First Century*, 15 September 2012, http://www.Gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijpas/Vol1_1/smoker.html.

against” gives a reason to “what to fight for”. The idealization of a state of harmonious existence, then translates itself into the will to live together as a people under a national identity.

On the other hand be it national or international, creative thinking is necessarily inclusive, needs those new nations to relate to the other beyond any remaining mistrusts of the past. Therefore, at its final stage, such a collective consciousness would as well lead to a wider identification process, including the international community. The notion of collective existence is pushed even further to the level of the international society and a sense of it being an organic unity. In this context, the international society is given the same values of justice and morality, which are the values of diversity and equality.

In this perspective, a prospective capacity for all nations is needed based on the awareness for the future as the shaping force of the present and excluding egocentric judgments in States’ behaviors. Such a perspective needs, before all, working on a common sense of global responsibility, which is about combining on an egalitarian ground the new and the old tendencies of cultural representations. This global responsibility is as well that of the ability to reproduce culture on global standards, which means the effort for any culture to catch contemporariness to prevent frontiers between different cultural zones.

To conclude, all liberation movements have a dual character to assure their authenticity and autonomy claimed in relation to the other(s) but they hold as well a universal dimension depending on the need to be considered a sovereign part of the international community. The authentic character of Turkish liberation movement involves the rupture from the multinational theocratic order of the Ottoman Empire whose dissolution is unpreventable since the nineteenth century. As to the universal character of Turkish liberation movement, it implies a rupture from the imperialism of the European continent by an independence war, but wants to be recognized as part of it within a new understanding of the universality of Western civilization.

The Particular Importance of the Case of Turkey and the Spirituality

Following the First World War, western powers impose a mandatory charge on the Ottoman Empire, now restricted to a piece of Minor Asian territory. In this context, the general mobilization during the Turkish liberation/independence war (1919-1922), does not only seek a rupture from the previous political and economic dependency on European powers, but also, the establishment of a new political community based on the notions of nation-state and the republic; and if it did not, it would have failed under the circumstances of disorder and anarchy. In those conditions, during the independence war, the spirituality becomes the reuniting glue in raising nation's consciousness.

The particular importance of Turkish case results therefore from an observation from two sides. It is the unique example among the defeated states of the First World War to succeed within a few years, in the formation of a nation-state by conducting a liberation war, but even more important is Turkey's being the unique country belonging to Islamic spirituality era in establishing a secular democracy which is a revolutionary attempt to end the Ottoman divine spirituality. From both aspects, Turkish experience becomes exemplary in other nations' aspirations for national sovereignty especially in those whose populations are predominantly Muslim, whether in Asia or in Africa. Also, as Turkey is the first Muslim country to be a candidate to the European Union, Turkish case becomes a laboratory of the long lasting debate concerning the compatibility of Islam and democracy.

Kemal Atatürk, the national leader, has observed in this respect that the fall of the Ottoman Empire resulted essentially from staying far from Europe's cultural, scientific, political and economic evolutions,¹² and accepted one unique world of civilization, which is common to all

¹² Mehmet Gönübol and Ömer Kürçüoğlu, (1985). "A General Look at Turkish Foreign Policy during the Period of Atatürk", *Turkish Review*, 1985, Vol. 26, No. 42, 15-40, p. 35.

nations. In this context, the importance of Kemalist revolution through which secular republican Turkey is born, remains in its quality to be the first movement of a Muslim country, which sees civilization in its entirety and in that direction mobilizes the state and society.¹³ The Kemalist claim on western civilization's universality depends on the universality of science and involves a new consciousness for collective existence within the group of European nations.

On the other hand, after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the state monopoly over the official Islam through the Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*), within the exceptional case of Turkey, refuses any composition below or above the nation, meaning both on the spiritual state and on the sectarian formations. Thus although the secularism of the republic, does not seem to be determinant in leaving Islam spirituality as some in opposition would proclaim,¹⁴ it tries "to prevent the formation of an autonomous Islamist intelligentsia to interpret it in such a way as to produce a political ideology out of it".¹⁵ As in an under-developed social structure there is some sort of an industry of fundamentalism,¹⁶ the question is as well the passage from under-development to a developed nation, by reinforcing the social structure to become an industrialized country.

At the same time, the sphere of spirituality is now left to the individual's free choice, in other words, religion is now taken as personal consciousness, opposing the mediation of spiritual leaders and thus creating a very appropriate environment for a contemporary state restructuring.¹⁷ Consequently, the principle of national sovereignty

¹³ Suna Kili, *Türk Devrim Tarihi*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 402.

¹⁴ Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye* – 2. E., İstanbul, 1983, p. 459.

¹⁵ Hakan Yılmaz, (2007). "İslam, Sovereignty and Democracy: A Turkish View", *The Middle East Journal*, 2007, Vol. 61, No. 3, 477–493, pp. 489–490.

¹⁶ Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *ibid.*, p. 218.

¹⁷ Anıl Çeçen, *Kemalizm*, Fark, Ankara, 2006, p. 129.

replaces religious or divine sovereignty, with the new notion of “nation” as the new ethical society,¹⁸ in which an individual would find his/her true identity and the real meaning of his/her life.¹⁹ The transition to a secular republican order represents a major transformation in the social structure, which saves the individual from the collective oppression of the Islamic community, for a public life organized on a new source of legitimacy based on national sovereignty, representing as well the transition from community to society.²⁰

However, although Turkey represents a successful example of the nation-state ideology, Turkey’s European Union discourse, which initially starts in 1959, becomes parallel with the spirituality more and more integrated in Turkish domestic politics. In fact, with the transition to multi-party system and democracy, the spirituality becomes an integral part of the liberal conservative tendencies of the Turkish political and economic scenes. In the end, a spiritual society together with the political centralization of the once peripheral culture whose spirituality is an integrated part of their identity, define the actual Turkish society. Such development certainly challenges the Kemalist proposition of Western universality but it proposes at the same time a new creative discourse of the compatibility of Muslim spirituality with the Jeudo-Christian European identity.

In fact, democracy is the most apparent aspect of Turkey’s EU discourse, which starts around early 1960s, but it is the development towards a spiritual society, which creates the most important, yet tacit and problematic dimension in such a discourse. In short, the actual Turkish case depends on Turkey’s historical experience in constructing a Muslim democracy, which today makes the Turkish case of

¹⁸ The term “nation” during the Ottoman Empire, has indicated different religious minorities. This notion acquires a new sense, within the Turkish nation-state, thanks to the Young Ottomans whose one of the efforts was to create modern senses from the ancient notions.

¹⁹ Hakan Yılmaz, *ibid.*, pp. 485–486.

²⁰ Ali Yaşar Sarıbay, *Postmodernite, Sivil Toplum ve İslam*, İletişim, İstanbul, 1995, p. 178.

particular importance. Briefly, because of spirituality taken as a cultural barrier in the framework of a Muslim society, the logic of “us–them” divide, resulting from the spiritual field, is determinant in the overall response to Turkey’s European Union discourse. This aspect is to be examined in the next section.

Spirituality as a Cultural Barrier in Turkey’s EU Discourse

After the Second World War, European nations initiated a gradual process of economic integration, leading finally after the end of the Cold War to an even more integrated political formation with the January 1993 Maastricht Treaty. In this process, the Eastern European countries that were once part of the Warsaw Pact against NATO forces were to be considered in the framework of the EU’s enlargement processes and the notion of a politically integrated Europe that Turkey faces became even more challenging. Especially following the 1980 military coup, Turkey’s effort to regenerate the frozen relations with the EU in 1987, trusting on her strategic importance for the US, did not receive a positive response. Indeed, Turkey’s strategic importance for the US in the aftermath of the Second World War in facing up the communist threat next door pushed Turkey’s domestic issues at the back stage. In short, through a discourse of “transition to democracy”,²¹ the US took Turkey’s strategic importance beyond its domestic problems of civil-military relations or social insurgencies.

A latent development was Ankara’s entering the customs union with the EU in 1995, but the message of the Luxembourg Summit in 1997 was not promising: Turkey, by her religion, culture, geography and history belonged to another value system. The level of relationship, that Turkey hopes to establish with this continent even after the opening of the negotiations for membership on October 3, 2005 remains far behind expectations.

In fact, the most pronounced aspect of the Turkish-European Union relations is of a political nature depending on the question of

²¹ İhsan D. Dağı, *İnsan Hakları, Küresel Siyaset ve Türkiye*, Boyut, İstanbul, 2000, p. 110.

democracy, but as different from the US, Turkey's process to adhere to the EU, indicates a structural dimension. The most important aspect in Turkey-EU relationship results therefore from the cultural field taken as a structural barrier. Especially after September 11 attacks which caused the perception of Islam as a terrorist movement, the role that culture and within it the spirituality plays showed the importance of dealing with the question of the new East-West confrontation around culture.

In fact, culture participates to the concept of European identity and even if on the legal platform, this aspect is not defined, Turkey's state of being a qualified "European state" causes as much interrogation.²² Indeed, although the political and economic criteria (part of Copenhagen criteria) are largely developed, any reference to the cultural criteria is lacking and furthermore vague, which explains why the cultural question is only tacitly mentioned.²³ Thus, in the case of Turkey, the respect of law and human rights, etc., which are the fundamentals of European identity, do not alone seem sufficient to attribute her automatically the "European" state quality.²⁴ Precisely, the real barrier is cultural; precisely Turkey's being a big Muslim country.

Such attitude is in fact the continuation of the idea that there is not a civilization, which would not be based on the spirituality. For most of the Europeans, Christianity is an important part of European identity, whose manifestation is clear in the EU's relations with Turkey. Especially according to the conservative point of view that is the majority in Europe, every definition of Europe as a Judeo - Christian tradition depending on the Greek-Latin heritage excludes Turkey, but also Albania, Kosovo and the Bosnian Muslims. From this

²² B. F. Levy, "Elargissement et Culture: Le Cas Turc (Enlargement and Culture: The Turkish Case)", T. Cao-Huy and A. Fenet (eds.), *La Coexistence, Enjeu Européen (The Coexistence, European Stake)*, PUF, Amiens, publication date unknown, 118-126, p. 122.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-126.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

point of view, Turkey's ambition to adhere to the EU is an attempt to empty Europe from all its cultural and spiritual references of the classical and Christian periods.²⁵

In fact, this point of view is about the fear of the imprecise and rapid development of Islamic spirituality both on the social and political levels because of the continuous development of Turkish demography. For those who fear Turkey's Muslim character, Islam when in minority is moderated, but once it becomes majority, it becomes more and more intolerant and impossible to treat, because of the structural character of Islam due to its particular essence.²⁶ The negative image of Islam in Europe is perpetuated by education, popular culture, by economic reasons and the migratory pressure.²⁷ Therefore, today, it can easily be said that cultural considerations associated with the spiritual aspect, constitute the most important mechanism of resistance in Turkey-EU relations. Turkey's EU accession is thus mostly seen as strategic in providing the stability of the European continent in the periphery, including the containment of Islamic fundamentalism.

However, Turkey's adherence to the EU demands a common future within the same cultural era of nations where Turkey's natural place would not be disputed. Given her historical ties with Europe during the ongoing process of her modernization and her adherence in western diplomacy since the nineteenth century, Turkey, today with her places in both the European Council, NATO and the Islamic Conference Organization, proposes that her role as a bridge between

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²⁵ C. Remond, *Contre la Turquie en Europe (Against Turkey in Europe)*, 25 November 2002, <http://www.conscience-politique.org>.

²⁶ Audric Orcelliande, *La Turquie et l'Europe (Turkey and Europe)*, 20 December 2002, <http://www.conscience-politique.org>.

²⁷ W. A. Shadid and P. S. Van Koningsveld, (1991). "Blaming the System or Blaming the Victim? Structural Barriers Facing Muslims in Western Europe", W. A. Shadid and P. S. Van Koningsveld (eds.), *Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe*, Kok Pharos, Hollandes, 1991, pp. 11–12.

the two cultures and continents is indispensable. Indeed, between Europe, the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia, Turkey confirms the affirmation of collective existence of a heterogeneous complex of identities around a number of certain common principles and values. In this respect, she does not neglect her culture between East and West, but the real question here is the relation of culture to the spirituality, which is analyzed in the following section.

Spirituality, Culture and Propositions for Beyond

Spirituality is a necessary dimension of one's individual identity but is different from culture. While the spirituality takes its force from the divine influence in each person and is thus unchallenged, culture develops along with the political, ideological and economic structures. Culture is thus a transforming force together with the evolution of economic sub-structure and socio-political super-structures. In fact, the spirituality might develop in relation to culture, regarding its ceremonial practices constituting the social aspect of the spirituality, but spirituality is something, which sees its self-realization more on the level of sensations of the individual, than on the level of a concrete practice or environment.

In this sense, associating the spirituality with culture provides only a partial and visible aspect of it because the spiritual field, which is personal, does not depend on any of the social, economic or ideological forces that culture is linked with. Therefore, it is wrong to say since the spirituality is unchallenged, culture is also perceived as an unchallenged and given factor. On the other hand, given the original dynamism in each culture, culture is not static data but is a transforming force.

In this respect, although there are societies where culture is taken as unchallenged, the cultural dimension constitutes the most serious structural aspect in the era of global economic transformation. The effort to prevent the infiltration of considered foreign culture in national borders becomes then an effort to prevent the foreign cultural content that can disrupt the domestic order, because the domestic scene is far from being contemporariness with the forces of global culture.

Indeed, in the case where culture is taken as a natural dimension of states' right to national sovereignty, which is an unquestioned norm according to international law, cultural norms draw new borders among nations because they remain far behind contemporariness. In an era where technology makes border only a fictional reality, the meaning of borders, remains structurally cultural due to the lack of competitiveness, but most importantly due to biased perception of the culture as a static data resulting from the principle of national sovereignty.

In this sense, the contemporariness of any culture not to fear the infiltration of any foreign content must depend on its ability to recreate itself, where the question becomes more than overcoming under development, that of under developed culture. It is as well to mention that during the process of recreating culture, the inspiring forces of the spiritual dimension does not prevent the composition of a rational society, and a rational society does not mean the diminution of the spirituality.

In this sense, the guiding principle in Turkey's role to be a bridge between East and West must depend on her ability to filter out of those two areas, the transforming cultural dimension. This position is as much of value as the world is now more and more polarized around religious and cultural credentials. However, up until the Arab spring, it could be observed that Turkey's relationship with the countries of her region has remained more dependent on economic, political and strategic alliances that are always fragile enough, given that most of the nations that Turkey is in relation were those under the authoritarian administration of certain oligarchies.

The Arab spring has in this sense, been about the positive accommodation of the Arab Islam with the globalization process, especially as regards the democratic interpretation of the Islam in coherence with the universal values.²⁸ The perspective provided by the

²⁸ For further reading on the Arab spring, see Fouad Nohra "La Pensée Politique Arabe Moderne et l'Exigence Démocratique ou l'Europe Libérale Comme Miroir de la

Arab spring, permits Turkey to assume an even more important role on the international scene. Accordingly, a creative approach in Turkey's relationship to those countries and the EU, must include more efforts for the development of the cultural dimension as an inclusive and contemporary force, to reduce conflict and if she is to create a difference in EU's perception.

On the other hand, the EU is certainly not a society but an organization regrouping various states which represent various societies and even the Judea-Christian era as the common heritage of Europeans is problematic enough, not only for the different groups who do not share the same religious and historical background but also for Europeans themselves, given the schism between Catholic and Orthodox churches followed by Protestantism.²⁹ In the same way, there is not a singular European identity, but only a plurality of European identities that reconstruct one another by a constant confrontation in the process of politics of identity.³⁰ In this respect, there is not a unique European culture but a Western Christian cultural era. However, as far as culture is bound to remain a static data, it would mean the refusal of any civilizational interaction.

In this context, the propositions far beyond in Turkey's EU discourse concern the ability to recreate culture as a creative force, resulting from a peaceful state of harmony found in the person's interior world that is in search for dignity. Such perspective defines in fact the pacifist nature of the spirituality, which constitutes the highest

Référence Islamique (Modern Arab Political Thought and the Democratic Need or Liberal Europe As Mirror of the Islamic Reference)" *Vers Un Monde Nouveau, Mélanges, Textes et Documents Offerts Au Professeur Edmond Jouve (Towards A New World, Mixte Textes and Documents Offered to Professor Edmond Jouve)*, Tome 1, Ch. 3, Editions Bruylant, Bruxelles, 2010.

²⁹ For further reading, see Luk Bouckaert and Joehanan Eynikel (eds.), *Imagine Europe: The Search for European Identity and Spirituality*, Garant Uitgevers, Antwerpen Apeldoorn, 2009.

³⁰ Iver B. Neumann, "Avrupa Kimliği, AB Genişlemesi ve Entegrasyon / Dışlama Bağıntısı", *Avrasya Dosyası*, 1999, Vol. 5, No. 4, 6-21, p. 6.

stake in an individual's state of mind, not only to connect with his/her inner self, but also to be able to develop an insight for, have empathy and connect further with the considered other(s). It is then proposed that such a peaceful existence of harmony is as well the case if we are to establish the co-existence of nations on an equal platform, under the principles of justice and morality as new sources of international community. A creative role for Turkey both in her region, in Europe and beyond, is thus proposed over the importance of representation of the spirituality as a peaceful methodology to relate to other cultures whose validity would depend different from the spirituality, in its recreation along with the forces of globalization.

Conclusion

The rediscovery of Turkish national identity is based on the search for a new source of legitimacy based on nation and national will to replace God's will, in rupturing with the Ottoman spiritual universality. This perspective then leads to a new consciousness for collective existence around the European continent and explains why the Turkish case still remains of major importance, given the problematic nature of the compatibility of Muslim spirituality and the possibility of creating a European culture in such a society.

Precisely, Turkey's belonging to another spiritual area than that of Western nations generates a threat perception, because the spirituality associated with culture taken as a static data, becomes the major aspect of the mechanism of resistance. However, although the spirituality and culture are both dynamic forces in them-selves, different from spirituality, culture must be taken into consideration with the transformation of political and economic structures. In this perspective, especially given the current era of globalization; where the economic borders become nearly fictional, cultural barriers which are in fact linked with under developed political and economic capabilities, define the new borders. It is thus a must that cultures evolve towards the understanding of reaching global contemporariness for their long-term evolutions.

The "declaration on the role of religion in the promotion of a culture of peace" by UNESCO in 1994, recognizes that "each culture

represents a universe in itself and yet it is not closed”.³¹ It is therefore indicated that, unless pluralism and respect for diversity is recognized, no harmony, which is at the very core of peace, is possible.³²

Such a perspective underlies the pacifist nature of the spiritual field as it is originally based on an inner harmony, to be able to connect with the “other” beyond frontiers. Especially for Turkey in her role of bridging East-West civilizations, thus looking for a global identity, the peaceful affirmation of the spirituality on all the individual, domestic and international levels would be an objective to reach. Such an affirmation while permitting a sense of liberation on all those levels, explains also the spiritual aspect in liberation movements, which takes its force from a sense of justice and morality against the oppression of the “Other(s)”. The othering of Turkish identity has defined throughout the history of the European spiritual frontiers.

However, the creativity in the spirituality is necessarily inclusive because it permits personal and group levels’ wider appreciation of one collective world. The co-existence of different cultures would then be based on their contemporary recreation, taking for objective mutual understanding and empathy in relating to the other. Those aspects define once again the creativity in the spirituality depending on its ability to get connected to the experience(s) of other(s) which is a prior condition of international peace. In this sense as in liberation movements, Turkey’s historical experience is about its self-recognition within a larger European era of international co-existence. Such affirmation needs Turkey’s EU discourse to get valorized beyond the security issues of real politics. Finally, the valorization of Turkey’s EU discourse necessitates further research concerning how the spiritual aspect in peace building could concretely be put into action, within the local characteristics of religions.

³¹ UNESCO, *Declaration on the Role of Religion in the Promotion of A Culture of Peace*, the Centre UNESCO of Catalunya, Barcelona, December 1994, provided by UNESCO Culture of Peace Program, Paris, France.

³² *Ibid.*

Özet

Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliğine olan ilişkisini incelemekte maneviyat boyutu çoğu zaman kültürle iç içe geçmiş olarak yansımış, birleşmiş bir Avrupa Projesiyle arasındaki bariyerde saklı bir sorunsal haline gelmiştir. Asıl sorunun demokrasi boyutu olduğu ileri sürülse de, maneviyat bağlamında din faktörü bugüne kadar temel tartışma alanını oluşturmaktadır. Türk ulusu için maneviyat ve din boyutları toplumsal yapıda gittikçe görünürlük kazanarak bugüne kadar gelmişlerdir. Bu anlamda adeta manevi bir Türk toplumundan bahsetmek olanaklıdır. Diğer yandan Türkiye'nin temsil ettiği örnek durum, başarıyla süregelen bir ulus-devlet projesini ve demokrasiyi, Müslüman kimliği içerisinde içselleştirebilmiş olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır.

Yine de bu makalenin açığa vurduğu, Türkiye'nin "Avrupalı" olması için ön koşulun manevi boyutta tıkandığıdır. Oysa maneviyatın sanılanın aksine uluslararası alanda ve devletlerarası ilişkilerde yaratabileceği, karşılıklı bir kolektif bilinç üzerine kurulu, realist diplomasiden farklı, yeni bir barışçıl düzeni inşa etmekteki gücü makalenin temel vurgusudur. Bunun üzerine Türkiye'nin AB söylemi bugüne kadarki söylemlerden farklı olarak maneviyat boyutu içerisinde incelenmekte ve bu boyutun bir engel olmadığı ve kültürler arası ilişkilerde ne şekilde bir olanak olarak sunulabileceği anlatılmaktadır. Bunun yanında gelecekte daha ötesi için getirilen önerilerde, kültür konusu ile maneviyat karşılaştırılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda maneviyat ve dinin aksine, kültürlerin evrimleşen ve rekabet edebilir nitelikleriyle küreselleşmenin motor gücün oluşturdukları tezi işlenmektedir.

Kültürler bu nitelikleriyle küreselleşme içerisinde ortak bir yaşam alanı yaratılmasında rekabet unsuruna dayanmakta, rekabet edemeyen kültürlerin geri kalmışlıkları sosyoekonomik ve siyasal geri kalmışlıkla yakından ilişkilendirilmektedir. Diğer yandan, farklı dini tercihlerin de, ortak bir maneviyat boyutunda birleşebileceği tezi işlenmektedir. Diğer bir deyişle, dinlerin üzerinde birleştiği ortak değerler sistemi, her şeyden önce, dinlerin birbirlerini dışlamaksızın, ortak bir paydada buluşabileceği ortak bir bilinç geliştirmekte, ön planda olmalıdır. Bu anlamda dini ve maneviyatı incelerken aşkınlık

boyutu içerisinde bireylerdeki iç barışın, bireyin dışında da bir dış barış oluşturmaktaki rolü önemlidir. Bu aşkınlık boyutu aynı zamanda egoist devlet çıkarlarını değil, toplumlar arası barışı incelemektedir. Dolayısıyla Türkiye'nin AB söyleminde din bir engel olmaktan çıkacak ve umulmadık bir şekilde toplumlar arası ilişkilerde “ötekiyle” ve onun deneyimiyle bağ kurmakta yardımcı olacaktır.

İşte tam da bu noktada, maneviyatın yaratıcı düşüncede aslında hiç de azımsanmayacak rolleri, özellikle onun dışlayıcı değil, tam aksine bütün dinleri kapsayıcı bir güç olarak önemi makalenin ana temasıdır. Bu bağlamda maneviyattaki yaratıcılık, duygudaşlık kurmak, diğerinin deneyimini anlamak ve kapsayıcılık rolleri içerisinde barışçıl niteliğinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Türkiye AB ilişkileri bugüne kadar hiçbir zaman maneviyatı ön plana alan bir söylemle incelenmemiş, maneviyat boyutunun barışçıl niteliği neredeyse hiç telaffuz edilmemiştir. Bağımsızlık mücadelesi veren dünya üzerindeki çeşitli özgürlük hareketlerinde de bu bağlamda maneviyat hep bir kurtarıcı olmuştur. Başlangıçtaki ulus kimliğine dayalı özgürlük talepleri, daha sonra dış dünya tarafından tanınmakta gösterdikleri çaba söz konusu olduğunda, aslında maneviyat boyutunda zaten var olan iç ve dış barış arayışını işaret etmektedir.

Makalenin Avrupa Birliği projesi kapsamında özellikle Türkiye örneğinden hareketle, maneviyattaki yaratıcılığı incelemesinin var olan literatüre katkısı aşikârdır, zira bugüne kadar hep bir kısır döngü olduğu öne sürülen Türkiye'nin AB söylemi, bu söylemde maneviyatı ve dini dışlamayan bakış açısıyla, Türkiye'ye atfettiği rolde, bu ülkeyi birleşmiş bir Avrupa Birliği projesi idealinde, kenara değil, merkez noktaya oturtmaktadır. Bu anlamda Türkiye'nin AB'ye bağımlı taraf olmadığı, küresel barış söz konusu olduğunda, AB'nin böyle bir ülkeye duyacağı gereksinim Türkiye'nin AB söylemini önceki tezlerden farklı olarak adeta özgülleştirmektedir.

Makalede, Türkiye'nin AB söyleminin özgürlük hareketleriyle karşılaştırılmasında, yukarıda belirtilen “özgürleşme” algısı rol oynamakla beraber, böyle bir karşılaştırmaya gidilmesinin asıl amacı aynen özgürlük hareketlerinde olduğu gibi Türkiye'nin AB söyleminin de, Türkiye ve AB olmak üzere, tarafların birbirlerinin tarihi

deneyimlerini karşılıklı tanımları üzerine kurulu olmasıdır. Diğer yandan özgürlük hareketlerindeki ortak bir toplum projesi gerçekleştirmek amacını kapsayan maneviyattaki yaratıcılık, aşkın niteliği gereği, ortak bir küresel dünya projesi yaratmakta kullanıldığı ölçüde, kültürler de birbirine karşıt değil fakat birbirleriyle rekabet edebilir olacaklardır.

Küreselleşmenin kültürler için gerektirdiği “rekabet edebilirlik” kıstası, maneviyatı kültürden ayıran en önemli boyut olarak, bu makalenin ilerisi için temel önerilerindendir; zira böylece kültürler eşit bir küresel zeminde karşılaşma olanağı bulacak ve etkileşim içerisine gireceklerdir. Bu çerçevede, kültürler arası barışçıl ilişkilerde, maneviyat boyutunun bir “diğeriyle” duygudaşlık kurmaktaki rolünün altı çizilidir. Bu da maneviyattaki yaratıcılığın kaynaklandığı nokta olarak, makalenin geleceğe yönelik önerileri arasındadır.

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