Masterarbeit

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Turkey and

The Alliance of Civilization

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgement:

1. Motivation:

"Meaning of Civilization is, Urbanization, which is the adaptation to the city life and culture; the technical meaning of civilization is the term, the concrete of the culture and items of technical equipment."[1]

From the eastern literature; City means *"şehr"* and the other word for the same meaning is *"Medine".* Civilization means *"Medeniyet"* coming from the same root of the term *"Medine".* The term of the civilization is of the same root from Western literature. For example; during the time of the Roman civilization, there was a civil-law legal system for the citizens of Rome, which was the centre for Roman Empire. However, the citizens of Rome had an *"Ius Civile".* It provided the laws for the people who lived in the city. The provision is similar for both literatures. The term *"Medeniyet"* is used in Ottoman literature after the 19th century. Before this time period, the words *"imar", "ümran"* and *"ma'mur"* were popular. But I have to say that *"Civilization"* is better-termed for the Western Literature and *"Medeniyet"* for the Eastern/Islamic Literature. There was also a similar dilemma for this term as in the time of the Romans. Coincidentally, when Prophet Mohammed moved from Mekke to Medine, the city was then called *"Yesrib".* After the movement of the Prophet, it was called *"Medine"* which means the city where people live with the religion as a free thought.[2]

After World War II, Churchill said there was an *"Iron Curtain"* that divided Europe providing a balance for this situation. This balance has two sides; one side was the USSR and their effected countries which had a system of socialists, and the other side were the liberal democrats and developed countries which had a capitalist-type system. The Socialist East Bloc collapsed after the decline of the USSR.[3]

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[1] Sosyal Bilimler Ansiklopedisi, Risale Yayinlari, Istanbul 1991, Cilt 2, s.415.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Medeniyetler Catismasi, Samuel P. Huntington v.d., derleyen Murat Yilmaz, Vadi Yayinlari Ankara, 1995.

Since the end of the USSR, the world has grown to see USA as the new superior or super-power mainly due to United States' President George Bush (senior) stressing the *"New World Order"*. This meant there will be some unstable situations in the east bloc area while the USA and West bloc countries become systematically restructured accordingly.[4]

After this Process, there were also some theories like *"New World Order"*, for example; *"At the End of the History"*, *"Anarchy"*, *"World without Borders"*, *"Globalization"*, etc.

I will now turn to focus on the theory of *"at the End of the History"* from Francis Fukuyama. He said that modern liberalism won the conflict against other ideologies. According to this theory, the civilization which has grown and improved the ideology of modern liberalism is the best and should be the model or sample for the other ideologies and civilization. He also offered for the other civilizations, which are not of Western civilization, values for the solution from the model of *"modern liberalism"* which will have to be adopted by those countries who will want to survive along with the West.[5]

Moreover, the geography which is representative of the liberal ideology may pose some difficulty because he claims the problems were raised from the former ideology. For this section, in this sense, the colored people's poverty in USA is not a product of the liberal system or is not an inheritance of liberal democratic system but is a product of racism and slavery.[6]

Fukuyama asserted in the theory of *"The End of the History"*, liberalism is the best, and talks about the ideology of fascism and communism which defied liberalism. He states that fascism and communism had died, therefore asking whether there were any other alternative ideologies which would defy liberalism. [7]

In addition to this, he also accepts the unhappy situation on the individual person in the society of their liberal existence. He asks whether there is an alternative ideology to solve this unhappy individual personal situation. This raises the question, is there any solution to

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[4] Ibid. P 15.
[5] Medeniyetler Catismasi, Samuel P. Huntington v.d., derleyen Murat Yilmaz,Eskatalojilerin Sonu'ndan Catismanin devamina, Yasin Aktay, Vadi Yayinlari Ankara, 1995 P 464.
[6] Tarihin Sonu mu?, Francis Fukoyama v.d., derleyen Mustafa Aydin, Ertan Özensel, Vadi Yayinlari, 1995. P33.
[7] See Tarihin Sonu mu?, Vadi Yayinlari, Ankara, 1999

return the person to a condition of being happy and having the satisfaction of living in a happy society. He verifies the systems and the theology of Islam, in order to recommend an alternative for communism and the liberal democratic system in the political field.[8]

> *"It is true that Islam constitutes a systematic and coherent ideology, just like liberalism and communism, with its own code of morality and doctrine of political and social justice. The appeal of Islam is potentially universal, reaching out to all men as men, and just to members of a particular ethnic or national group."* [9]

Fukuyama however maintains that the doctrine from Islamic theology is not useful and meaningless for both a non-Muslim society and for non-Muslims who live in the Islamic world.

> *"Islam has indeed defeated liberal democracy in many parts of the Islamic world, posing a grave threat to liberal practices even in countries where it has not achieved political power directly. The end of the Cold War in Europe was followed immediately by a challenge to the West from Iraq, in which Islam was arguably a factor."*[10]

In this case I offer the example of the Ottoman Empire. During the time of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, in a non-Muslim society, the people in Greece, Bulgaria and in Hungary did not have any pressure about their religion, cultural attitude, and domestic movement. Non-Muslim people paid only an extra tax which was called "cizye". It was for the people from 14-75 years of age. The tax was also for the people who were not obligated to the military service for the Ottoman state. Under Ottoman rule these territories have been expanded and occupied for more than five hundred years. Five Hundred years is not a short amount of time for the occupational process for a state. Another sample region at the time of Ottoman Empire was the Middle East. Within the Middle East approximately the same conditions existed. Most people in this area had freedom of religion, lived within their

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[8] Ibid,P 41.
[9] Fukoyama, Francis: The End of The History and The Last Man,1992,New York,Penguin, P 45.
[10] Ibid, P. 46.

domestic and cultural conditions without threat from the state. The Muslim society was in dominance.

I will also focus on the theory written by Samuel Huntington known as the *"clash of Civilization"*. He claims during the "end of the history", there will be an increasing competition between national states and their conflict with each other and due to competition, globalization, ideologies and theories. However in this *"new world"*, struggle will not be on the field of economics or ideology but more importantly a struggle of cultures. In the end of the 18th century, R. R. Parliner said that *"the war between the king finished, war is beginning between the nations".*[11]

Civilization is defined as a cultural existence by Huntington. He claims that civilization is common in most nations which are in close proximity to each other. For example, western civilization included Europe and North America while Islam civilization included the Arabs, Turks and Malays.[12]

Huntington argues six reasons resulting in the clash of civilization. Firstly, is the 'difference' where there are differences between civilizations as in their history, language, culture, background and especially different opinions about religions.[13]

Secondly, the world is growing smaller day by day resulting in the fact that these civilizations will be known to each other. This effects the consciousness of the civilization to the person with the respective background. It means people will have to identify themselves with their own civilization and another civilization will be 'the other civilization' in their minds. Consequently, the people who are the members of the one particular civilization have a perspective that they themselves have found their identity while the other civilization has their own identity.[14]

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[11] Medeniyetler Catismasi, Samuel P. Huntington v.d., derleyen Murat Yilmaz, Vadi Yayinlari Ankara, 1995. P 23.
[12] Ibid. P 24.
[13] Ibid. P 25.
[14] Ibid. P 25.

The third reason is that people break off their national identity with the effects of modernization and they try to adapt the value of religions.[15]

Another reason of the clash is that the West plays a dominant role in economics, politics, etc. as opposed to the non-West countries which want to shape their system without the influence of non-West values. Before this century, the Elites from non- West area were studying at the universities in the West and these Elites had a vision which included western values. However, Elites from non-West area are domesticated and so far from the West.[16]

The fifth reason is the *"in which part beyond you"* was the key question for the discrimination of classes and ideologies. The answer to this question could vary depending on different people. However now, the key question is *"who are you"* and the answer to this will always be a definite one and is not up to the people's views. For example, the person can be of half French and half Arab origin and at the same time this person has also two citizenships. However, the difficulty is with the person who is half Catholic and half Muslim. It will not work for this person. [17]

You can also find a similar idea about the *"Clash of Civilization"* from Bernand Lewis who is an expert on the Middle-East;

Because of the following policies of governments, and to exceed the limit of affairs, we will face to the movement which is not less *"Clash of Civilization";* maybe it is not irrational but it is a historical reaction against our Inheritance of Judeo-Christian, secular existence and development of these both wings. [18]

These theories are affecting the policies of the dominant power's foreign policy around the world. And there is also a component theory which is called *"Alliance of Civilization".* I want to focus on this part on my thesis and I will try to answer the following questions: How did

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[15] Ibid. P 26.
[16] Huntington, Samuel P., Medeniyetler Catismasi : v.d., derleyen Murat Yilmaz, Vadi Yayinlari Ankara, 1995. P 26.
[17] Huntington, Samuel, The Clash if Civilization, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 72, no 3 Summer 1993
[18] Bernard Lewis, ,The Roots of Muslim Rage', The Atlantic Monthly, vol. 266, September 1990, p 60; Time, June 16, 1992, pp. 24-28

the movement of alliance exist in the past; in which level and what is the purpose for the future, thus, what does the movement of alliance want to achieve for the next decades.[19]

The Alliance of Civilization was a project established in 2005, with the initiative of the Government of Turkey and Spain. This Project was organized by the United Nations. It meant the governments of Spain and Turkey were co- chairs of this project. Former President of Portugal Jorge Sampaio was appointed as high Representative for the Alliance by the United Nations Secretary-General. The project of Alliance was supported by a community of 85 member states and an international organization.[20]

There is a High-level Group which includes eighteen experts formed by ex-Secretary-General Kofi Annan with the task of searching the roots of polarization between different cultures, ethnics, societies and backgrounds. The group offers a practical program of action to address the issue. High-level press reports supply analysis and look for a practical recommendation that forms the basis for the implementation project of the Alliance.[21]

In addition, the Alliance of Civilization project is a movement which covers the theoretical and practical planes and deals with cultural exchanges focusing on all civilizations and their relationships with each other.[22]

Alliance of Civilization is important for the membership of Turkey into the European Union too. The step or steps of both sides is or are the definition for the Civilizations and cultures so that they will have a chance to know each other more than ever before. This means the positive result of this movement of *"Alliance of Civilization"* will prepare a foundation where the relationship between Turkey and the European Union will be better off or at an advantage, otherwise cultures will be distant from each other or divide people and people cannot observe cultural partnership. [23]

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[19] See under the page http://www.unaoc.org , for more information.
[20] Kilinc, Ramazan: Turkey and the Alliance of Civilization: Norm adoption as a Surbival Strategy, Insigiht Turkey, Vol. 11 No 3 2009, P 60.
[21] http://www.unaoc.org/content/view/62/80/lang,english/02.09.2009/16.00
[22] Ibid.
[23] http://www.medeniyetlerittifaki.gov.tr/

2. Introduction:

To write about the Alliance of Civilizations would be a huge undertaking and would require many books. Even if all the books were written, the answer would still not be obvious, because the situation is too complex.

In order for a civilization to prepare for an alliance, the civilization must be at peace. There must be no conflicts within a society or a government controlling the society.

In order for the society to be at peace, the people within the society must be content and satisfied with the society as a whole. The people must be free, love life, be at liberty and they must pursue happiness in their minds and hearts. I call this a nation's *'inner peace'*. Without *'inner peace'* the struggles of a society will only create strife within the society. If struggles are of serious nature such as fighting over religions, or government rulers, or laws restricting freedoms and civil rights, then a society will never be content and any alliance formed will not be solid.

The second part of equation is to have a peaceful government operated by people who have the best interests of the society at heart. Every human is born with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The government must do whatever is possible to satisfy a society and not dictate to the society. The society must decide for themselves what is best for them. Of course there has to be basic rules, but in general, the governments should not control the thoughts and minds of the societies.

So now the governments must also have an "inner peace". They must be satisfied in what they are doing is the best for the people. The government will know immediately if the people are happy. If the society is happy then whatever the government is doing is the right thing. If the government is the type of government that tries to control the society, it will never be able to form an alliance with any other government or civilization. There will be so many conflicts between the society and the government that the alliance cannot continue because each civilization has different values and there can be no cooperation.

The civilizations must have *'inner peace'* both in their societies and their governments. Each civilization must believe that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is the single most important thing for every human. Once every person within a civilization believes in the basic fundamentals, the world will become a better place in which to live[24] *

3. Definition of Related Terms

3.1. Civilization

The word *"civilization"* comes from the Latin word *civilis*, which literally means *"city"*. A city is a form of human settlement dating back to the beginnings of ancient cultures. As stated in Webster's International Dictionary, civilization is

> *"an ideal state of human culture characterized by complete absence of barbarism and nonrational behaviour, optimum utilization of physical, cultural, spiritual, and human resources, and perfect adjustment of the individual within the social framework."*
> *(Webster's International Dictionary, 1993, p.413)*

In short, civilization can also be defined as the act of making a criminal process civil.

This meaning of civilization is probably influenced by the French word civilization. Civilization is also seemed as the opposite of barbarism. Braudel argues that in history, when civilizations are defeated or seem to be defeated, the conqueror is always a "barbarian". As an example, a barbarian to a Roman was anyone who was not Roman, to the Chinese people, anyone who is not Chinese.[25] Many examples can also be seen in history textbooks. In many resources, it is stated that the European colonization in the past was bringing 'civilization' to the barbarians and primitive peoples[26].

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[24] * Roger Stovers, Journalist in Wisconsin Dells, Wisconsin USA.
[25] Braund et al, 2006. Cambridge dictionary of classical civilization. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge,1979.
[26] Abid.

Civilization is a fact, a general, hidden and complex fact; very difficult to describe and to relate, but, which nonetheless because of its existence, has a right to be related to and described. It is possible to raise a great number of questions; it has been asked whether it is a good or an evil. Some people bitterly oppose civilization while others accept the fact. It can be asked whether it is a universal fact, whether there is a universal civilization of humanity, the destiny of a human being; whether the culture passed down from generation to generation of something which has never been lost, which must increase thus forming a larger mass and pass on to the end of time. Guizot defined civilization as *"the fact par excellence – the general and definitive fact"[27]*.

History is the history of civilizations. Historical civilizations can be extended through generations of civilizations from ancient Sumerian and Egyptian to Classical and Mesoamerican to Christian and Islamic civilizations. There are different perceptions among historians; on the other hand there is a broad agreement on central propositions concerning the nature, dynamics and the identity of civilizations. Huntington (2003) defined the first distinction among historians in the singular and plural form of the word 'civilization'. The idea of civilization in its narrow sense first developed in the 18th century in France. It was simply the opposite of barbarism. Primitive society was different from civilized society, as the latter was settled, civil, urban and literate. To be uncivilized was evil. In 19th century, Europeans developed another standard to name nations 'civilized'. For Europeans, non-European societies might be judged sufficiently 'civilized' to be accepted as members of European-dominated international system.[28] The second distinction was that a civilization was a cultural entity. However, Germans do not think that way. According to nineteenth century German thinkers', a civilization engages technology, mechanics and material factors. They also think that culture involves values, ideals, higher intellectual, artistic and moral qualities of a society. Thirdly, civilizations are comprehensive, meaning that none of their elements can be fully understood without reference to the surrounding civilization. Huntington goes on to say,

> *"A civilization is the broadest entity. Villages, regions, ethnic groups, nationalities, religious groups, all have distinct cultures at different levels of cultural heterogeneity. The culture of a village in southern Italy may be different from that of a village in northern Italy, but both will share in a common Italian*

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[27] Francois Guizot, 1997. The History of Civilization in Europe. England: Penguin Books.P 13.

[28] Huntington, P., Samuel: The Clash of Civilizations, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 72, No 3, (Summer 1993), P. 22.

culture that distinguishes them from German villages. European communities, in turn, will share cultural features that distinguish them from Chinese or Hindu communities. Chinese, Hindus, and Westerners, however, are not part of any broader cultural entity. They constitute civilizations. A civilization is thus the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species. It is defined both by common objective elements, such as language, history, religion, customs, institutions, and by the subjective self identification of people."[29]

Being mortal, also having a long life is the fourth distinction; they evolve, adapt and endure. In fact, civilization is the longest story of all. All major civilizations in the world today are have either existed for a millennium or as in the example of Latin America, are the immediate offspring of another long-lived civilization.

Huntington defined the fifth distinction as the fact that civilizations are cultural and not political entities. Unlike political entities, civilizations do not maintain order, establish justice, collect taxes, fight wars, negotiate treaties, or do anything governments do. The final distinction is the identification of major civilizations in history and in the modern world today. Scholars often do not agree on the total number of civilizations that have existed in history.[30]

Huntington prescribed seven major civilizations in history. These are the Sinic, Japanese, Hindu, Islamic, Orthodox, Western and Latin American (and possibly African civilization).[31]

Sinic   All civilization scholars agree on the existence of a distinct single Chinese civilization. It dates back to at least 1500 B.C. or possibly a thousand years earlier. This civilization is sometimes named, 'Confucian'. The Chinese culture is something more than Confucianism; as Confucianism is just an important part of the Chinese civilization. The term 'sinic' covers the common culture of China and the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, communities very near China and the similar cultures in Vietnam and Korea.[32]

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[29] Huntington, Samuel, The Clash if Civilization, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 72, no 3 Summer 1993, P. 43.
[30] Ibid, P. 23.
[31] Ibid P. 40.
[32] Ibid P. 41.

Japanese   Although some thinkers put the Japanese and Chinese civilizations under one heading, that is the 'Far-Eastern civilizations', the Japanese culture is a distinct civilization arisen during the period between 100-400 A.D. The Chinese civilization is the seed of Japanese civilization.[33]

Hindu   A couple of civilizations have existed in Asia since at least 1500 B.C. These are generally defined as Indian, Indic, or Hindu. The word 'Hindu' is being preferred for the most recent civilization. Although India has a substantial number of Muslim people and several other smaller cultural minorities, it has continued being more than a religion or a social system; it is the core of Indian civilization.[34]

Islamic   A distinct Islamic civilization was recognized by all major scholars. Islamic originated in the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century A.D. After this date, Islam quickly spread throughout the world: Africa, South-East and Central-Asia and the Middle-East. Many distinct sub-civilizations like Arab, Turkic, Persian and Malay exist within Islam.

Orthodox   Many scholars distinguish a separate Orthodox civilization in Russia other than Western Christendom.

Western   Western civilization emerged about 700 or 800 A.D. It has three major units: Europe, North America and Latin America.

Latin American   Although Latin American civilization is the offspring of European civilization, it has developed differently from North America and Europe. Unlike Europe and North America, the Latin American civilization has a corporatist and authoritarian culture. Although North America and Europe have combined Catholic and Protestant cultures, Latin America has been only Catholic. Many other distinctions can be seen in Latin American civilization.[35]

These are the seven major civilizations that Huntington (2003) defined. He adds that most scholars do not accept an African civilization. He goes on,

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[33] Ibid P. 41.
[34] Ibid P. 42.
[35] Ibid P. 42-44.

"The North African continent and its East coast belong to Islamic civilization. Historically Ethiopia constituted a civilization of its own. Elsewhere European imperialism and settlements brought elements of Western civilization. In South Africa Dutch, French, and then English settlers created a multifragmented European culture. Most significantly, European imperialism brought Christianity to most of the continent south of the Sahara. Throughout Africa tribal identities are pervasive and intense, but Africans are also increasingly developing a sense of African identity, and conceivably sub-Saharan Africa could cohere into a distinct civilization, with South Africa possibly being its core state." [36]

Breasted argues that the civilization arose in the East and early Europe obtained it there. However, early Eastern languages perished and the ability to read them was lost many centuries ago. Besides, languages of Greece and Rome were never lost, like those of the ancient East. That is why the habit of regarding ancient history beginning with Greece has become so fixed, with changes not being easy. Moreover, the monuments and documents left by the ancient Eastern cultures are larger in number than those left by Greece and Rome together. Breasted goes on to say that the huge volume of the monuments and documents left by eastern cultures together with their complicated systems of writing has made it very difficult to recover and arrange the history of the East in form and language. He finally states that the leading religion of the world, the one which still dominates Western civilization today came to us out of the East[37].

Every Civilization on the world is different and has its own characteristic which differs from one another. For instance, the Greek civilization differs from the Roman; the Indian civilization differs from the Chinese and so forth. These differences are not only in their technological feats, but also in their intellectual and spiritual perfections. Thus, for example, the wisdom of the ancient Greek civilization crystallized in philosophy; and the Romans excelled in their wisdom of law. The situation is similar for the ancient Indic and Chinese; the ancient Indic wisdom was expressed in the *Veda* and *Arthasastra*, but ancient Chinese wisdom was enshrined in the Confucian Literature. On the other hand,

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[36] Huntington, Samuel, The Clash if Civilization, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 72, no 3 Summer 1993.P 47
[37] James, Henry Breasted: The Conquest of Civilization. USA: Harper & Brothers.1926.

Islamic civilization emerges from Islamic literature which covers a wide spectrum of subjects ranging from theology and literature of law, economy and politics.[38]

The word Civilization (also spelled as civilisation) was first heard of in the 18th century in Europe in France as Huntington said. This term came into literary use in the 19th century. Until the 19th century, Europeans did not have the word, Civilization. In the 14th century, the Islamic historian Ibn Khaldun was called *"father of sociology"* by some scientists. Thus the first book on Civilization was written by the Muslim scholar Ibn Khaldun long before the European invented the word "Civilization. His book on Civilization was known as Al Muqaddimah li-Kitab al-ibar. A civilized society has some abilities; it has a higher form of Religion, a well organized State, a system of law, city-life, a developed system of writing, etc.[39]

3.1.1. Civilization and Religion in Modern Thought

Many Muslim or non-Muslim scientists have presented the thesis that religion has had something to do with the rise and formation of civilization in the past. The scientists have said that *"Religion creates Civilization".* Professor Toynbee was of the opinion that "in the course of its evolution, a civilization produced, among other things, a Universal State and Higher form of Religion." Some other western scholars have believed that higher religions like Islam, Christianity, Judaism, etc, have influenced the development of Civilization. On the other hand, Thomas Berry who is an American professor was of the opinion that Oriental Civilizations, for instance, China and India, cannot be properly understood without reference to the higher religions of Asia. There are a lot of scholars who share this opinion on the inter-relation between religion and civilization. Professor Edward Sullivan, for example, emphasizes the role of religion in the formation of Islamic civilization as follows: *"Moslem civilization was the product of Moslem religion."*[40]

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[38] Muhammad Abdul Jabbar Beg.Two Lectures on Islamic Civilization. Malaysia: University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur.1983 P 13.
[39] Ibid. P.14.
[40] Ibid. P.15.

There is also another school from West wing which has a view on the relevance of religion to human civilization. This school is sceptical about the role of religion in the rise of civilization. These secular historians are Philip Ralph, Edward Burns, James Feibleman and others. Ralph and Burns are in particular the opponents of the theory of religious origins of Civilization. However another sceptical scholar James Feibleman reaches a dramatic conclusion that religion leads to culture, and culture to civilization, as the radius of influence widens.[41]

On the whole, there are more scholars as a supporter than the opponents of the thesis of religious origin of civilization. Hence, in this debate between the academic scholars on the positive or negative role of religion in the formation and progress of civilization, the sceptics are outnumbered by the believers of the positive role of religion in human civilization.[42]

3.1.2. Mesopotamian Civilization:

History begins in Sumer. Modern knowledge of the first 35,000 years of human life is based entirely on the archaeological record, for until only a little more than 5,000 years ago humans left behind many things but no words. Around 3200 B.C. however, in a region of Mesopotamia known as Sumer, the earliest forms of writing were invented and " *history began"* in the sense that words were recorded that help current scholars understand what men and women were doing.

Between 3500 and 3200 B.C., Mesopotamia, the land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, became the first civilized territory on the globe in the sense that its society and culture rested on the existence of the cities. We may call the historical period that ensued, lasting from about 3200 B.C. to about 2000 B.C. , the *"Sumerian era"* because the most advanced part of Mesopotamia was then its southernmost territory, Sumer, a region of mud-flats which was roughly the size of Massachusetts. During the first nine centuries of the Sumerian era, no unified government existed in Sumer; instead, the region was dotted

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[41] Ibid. P.17.
[42] Ibid. P 17.

with numerous independent city-states, the most important of which were Uruk, Ur, and Lagash. Another aspect about Sumer is the earliest known representation of the wheel dating from about 2600 B.C.

Sumerian priests did not live in the temples themselves but rather in adjacent structures that were part of the temple precincts. Also dwelling within the precincts were temple administrators, craftsmen and slaves. Since priests and administrators needed to learn cuneiform, temple precincts included schools for teaching it and for proffering other knowledge necessary for the priestly caste. These Sumerian schools were the earliest known schools in the history of human civilization.

3.2. Democracy

The word democracy comes from the Greek and literally means rule by the people. It is sometimes said that a democratic government originated in the city-states of ancient Greece and that democratic ideals have been handed down to us from that time. We took this word from Greek literature although the Greeks did not provide us with a model. The theory and practice of the Greeks were very difficult from those of modern democrats. *"The Greeks had little or no idea of the rights of the individual, an idea that tied up with the modern concept of democracy".[43]* Greeks accepted the right of political participation to only a small group of adult inhabitants of the city. When those accepted this right and could take political decisions, they voted on issues directly which is very different from the system of a representative government that has developed in the West in the past two centuries. *"Modern men",* assert Sartori, *"want another democracy, in the sense that their ideal of democracy is not at all the same as that of Greeks"[44].*

With reference to the Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilization, the word 'democracy' comes from the Greek words *demos* (people) and *kratos* (sovereign power). *Demokratia* means 'people-power' and had first come into use in around 508/7 B.C. (Braund et al,

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[43] Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy, Anthony H. Birch, Routledge, London and New York, 1995. P. 45
[44] Giovanni Sartori, The Theory of Democracy Revisited, Chatham 1987.P 279

2006). Birch (1993) opposes the idea that the democratic government originated in the city-states of ancient Greece and democratic ideals have come to us from that time. "The Greeks gave us the word, but did not provide us with a model", he asserts. (Birch 1993, p. 45)

3.2.1. Democratization:

14 Nations in the Third world were characterized as a democracy or polyarchy in the 70s. Most countries were rich and industrialized nations in the Western hemisphere. On the other hand communist and socialist countries in Eastern Europe, South-East Asia and some Latin American and African regions, traditional authoritarian rulers and military dictatorships also existed (Bergschlosser/ Kersting 1996).

Military dictatorships in Portugal, Greece and Spain collapsed in the 1970s. The Movement of democratization started with military withdrawal in Latin America. The wave of democratization was common in this region and gained impetus with the ending of the communist bloc (Huntington 1991). Huntington mentioned that the third wave of democratization did not finish with a reverse wave of democratic breakdown. In the era of the World Wars as well as the 1960s and 1970s reverse waves' effect the regimes resulting in the system of Communism and Fascism and thus spawned as a common entity in some other countries' regimes. The Breakdown was not evident at the end of the 20th century. Is this the predicted *"End of History?"* (Fukuyama 1992)

The fourth wave of democratization started at the beginning of this century with the exception that the non-strong democracies survived. Some countries which do not have a democratic system like China seem more and more open to the democratic opinion. On the other hand, the old autocratic regimes in the Middle East are still to follow traditional and often religious authoritarian rules (see Berg- Schlosser 2004). Also in some African countries, there are often problematic ways of nation-building which have not finished along with the breakdown of some dictatorship ethnic factions have led to civil war and segregated authoritarian sub-system.

I would like to propose an argument about nation-building in Europe. It is an evident example that Belgium has a problem with nation-building. Belgium does not have a proper and stable government at the moment and most of the people who are of Belgium citizenship want to be separated as two states. I am criticizing that the problematic way of nation-building is not a problem for some African countries but it poses to be a problem with some Western European countries.

3.2.2. Democratization and Institutional Design

Democracy is a special configuration of political Institutions. These consist of many more than traditional Aristotelian characteristics, the number of representations as rulers and orientation toward a common good. *"The condition of parliamentary or presidential systems, the division of power (Managing organ, Judgment, Parliament), the acceptance of majority or proportional electoral systems effects consolidation of the party system and the power structure within the political system" (Lijphart 1984; 1999d.)* The relations of the military under civilian rule and strong commitment of these forces were key elements for the consolidation of democracies. External factor also influence democratization. *"For example, the inclusions of new democracies into broader multi-level national networks such as economic unions made democratization und stabilization of new governments easier."*[45]

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[45] Democratization and Political Culture in Comparative Perspective, Norbert Kersting, Lasse Cronqvist (eds.)VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, P17.

3.2.3. Principles of Democracy

Democracy is a model which in society is made up of different configurations. The dominant kind of aspect of democracies may be seen in different concepts and models of democracy. (Schiller 1999) Pluralistic is a term that classical democratic theory focuses on. Legal democracy is a form of representation. According to Max Weber and Josef Schumpeter the model of democracy is characterized by elitist competitive elements.

"A deliberate democracy, with normative rigor applied to highly elaborated rational discourses also have elitist elements in this respect: De facto this often leads to political exclusion of broad of broad segments of the citizenry".[46] It can supply higher rationality but not broader democratic control. The high normative standard consist of empathy, tolerance of politics and powerful orientation to common consensus within reflective of society discourse but neglects the articulation of particular interests. It sometimes includes conflict with normative idea of individual self-determination. Participatory and pluralist democracies are in general focusing on the quantity of political engagement and not the quality of political participation.

The normative standards of democracy represent human rights and limitations of power. Robert Dahl focuses on broad participation, freedom of organization and political information as well as freedom of speech. Schiller (1999: 33) further developed the ideas of Robert Dahl (1981) and Dirk Berg-Schlosser (2000) and defined five principles of democracy.

- *The first addresses basic human rights which for individual citizens meant personal rights, legal protection and freedom of opinion. At the meso-level, freedom of organization focuses on protecting minorities. At the macro-level the division of*

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[46] Democratization and Political Culture in Comparative Perspective, Norbert Kersting, Lasse Cronqvist (eds.)VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, P17.

power, the rule of law and independence of the judiciary lead to limiting government power.

- *The second principle of democracy concerns the openness of the power structure. Only with free access to political power and the media can the individual citizen contribute to political checks and balances and organizational pluralism. Limiting the term of office seems to be a crucial element for an open power structure.*

- *Political equality is the third principle and equally involves passive and active rights of voting. It implies equal possibilities for political groups and parties.*

- *Transparency is the fourth principle: A right for political education and freedom of information based on independent and critical media as a major source. Here, political control can be developed. The media is a part of society and provides one perspective of the political system. Transparent decision-making and properly documented administrative procedures should be provided by political institutions and brought into a rational discourse.*

- *Schiller's fifth principle of democracy, political efficiency, is new and surprising. Often it has been stated that a contradiction exists between democracy and efficiency (see Huntington/ Nelson 1976). This deals with the scarce resources and an economically efficient engagement within the political concept of democracy (Schiller 1999). He sees efficiency and effectiveness as not contradictory but rather as basic principles of democracy. Only with civic knowledge and competence based on high political interest, rational political participation and an effective aggregation of interest can a mobilization of political support and responsive effective decision-making be achieved. The contradicting argument is: a high level of participation leads to inefficient and non-rational decision-making. Here, Schiller argues that a responsible "empathetic" participation enhances the quality of political decisions and plays an important role of good governance.[47]*

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[47] Democratization and Political Culture in Comparative Perspective, Norbert Kersting, Lasse Cronqvist (eds.)VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, P18

3.2.4. Democratization Phases and Strategies

Democracy has a general normative concept but there are also some differences between democratic systems in different political systems. It means that there are different paths to democracy and that democratization is not a one way street. Developing economically can be an important issue because groups supporting and resisting the democratic transition are linked and connected in economic networks which work as cross-cutting factors.

"Young democracies face stabilization of the democratic system as their key challenge"[48]. David Easton, Samuel Huntington, Gabriel Almond and other political scientists focused on the aspect of political stability. The stability of democracy is also important for economic development and for democracy itself. However it became apparent that the reason for a powerful democratic system and its transition were different. After the process of state-building and nation-building, participation and distribution become important functions. Strong income disparities and high level of income fragmentation democracy could stabilize a society, while powerful economic growth led to broader affluence. There is a relation between a national's affluence and the likelihood and stability of democracies. Inflation and real economic growth are regarded as critical factors for breakdown of democracies. A pact or contract provided by a compromise between the different economic classes foster democracies which meant there is a social contract.

The effect of transition and stability seems to be less important for the survival of democracies. However, democratic systems may enhance the institutional setting and embrace democratic principles. Modernization, worldwide and reform processes result from institutional learning and comparative studies searching for best practices.

"Overall, democratic transition processes and stabilizing societal factors with different belief system, values and interests play an important role. In understanding path dependency and the process of democratization, closer analysis is required"[49]

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[48] Democratization and Political Culture in Comparative Perspective, Norbert Kersting, Lasse Cronqvist (eds.)VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, P19
[49] Democratization and Political Culture in Comparative Perspective, Norbert Kersting, Lasse Cronqvist (eds.)VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

4. Opponent Theory

4.1. Clash of Civilization:

After the Cold War period, with the existence of the new map of the world and the new world order theories, it would show us some evidential outstanding events. Let us go through some affairs of the world after the Cold War starting with the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq which was an act opposing the theory of *"Clash of the Civilization"*. Nevertheless, the theory of 'at the end of the world' written by Fukuyama and the theory of 'Clash of Civilizations' written by Huntington are the parts of a puzzle. I am asserting both theorists affected the US foreign affairs. We can see these effects in real life. After the decline of USSR, another pole and superpower of the world namely the USA stands alone. In consequence of this situation, some theories claimed the USA and its position were the best and there was no system like the USA likened to a liberal democracy. At the end of the history is a theory which includes the meaning of the end and satisfaction of the mankind. Therefore, because of this reason the people and the state could just be contented with their possessions. States are not allowed to change the privileges. According to this premise, Iraq is disallowed to occupy Kuwait. If it occupies, the USA as a superpower will have an intervention policy on it. The Gulf War was realized because of this idea. There were some arguments posed to the Secretary of Defense Colin Powell which was to stop the war around the boundaries of Iraq. Some elite groups in the USA favored abolishing Iraq's government which was then governed by Saddam Hussein.

'New World Order' does not separate the states which are from 'Free World or 'Communist Bloc' or 'Third World' but a new international system poses to be complicated and unclear thus resulting in ambiguous global policies.

4.2. Is the Problem of Israel-Palestine a Conflict between Civilizations?

4.2.1 Israel-Palestine Conflict and Rational Data:

The Oslo Agreement was signed between Palestine and Israel in Washington after the Cold War. The aim of this agreement is peace in this region. Moreover, the second stage of meeting held in 'Camp David' in July 2000 took place between the Prime Minister of Israel, Ehud Barak and the Palestinian chairman, Yasser Arafat. After this meeting, Sharon's operation to the "Mescid al Aksa" is the result of the unsuccessful attempt and also resulted in the beginning of the second Intifada. After the September 11th incident, an accord for the peace of this region was so far from the real policy. The year of 2002 was the year international public opinion was discussed on the agenda of USA and Iraq. The government of the USA considers Iraq a priority, and the reason the Israel–Palestine situation and an accord for the peace of the region is very important. However, if we want global peace and global power within the world, we have to treat the problem as a priority and an accord process should begin again. The Oslo Agreement is an experience for two sides. This conflict is different than the other conflicts which have two or multiple sides.[50]

This problem is not only the problem for Israel or for Palestine but it also affects and impacts other states throughout the world. It is necessary for the solution of this problem. There is also a wrong perspective where Israel and Palestine are viewed as national states. This is because while the Israeli side sits at the table for an agreement for the peace, they have the support of the power of lobby in the USA, the power of international media, the delinquency of European countries during and after the World War II. Their opponents, the Palestinian Authority on the other hand, are psychologically confused because their borders or boundaries have not yet defined.[51]

The international public opinion will not wait for the Palestinian Authority to solve or to settle this problem. In this region, there is a holy place for all three religions. Jerusalem is holy place for Christians, Muslims and Jews. This is why there is no chance for the

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[50] Davutoglu, Ahmet, Sönmez, Yunus, Kalayci, F., Ömer: Filistin Cikmazdan Cözüme, Küre yayinlari, 2003. P. 3.
[51] Ibid, P. 4.

Palestinian Authority to solve this problem on its own. The Palestinians feel resentment towards the international political system, the dominant imperfection of Islamic World, the undermining legitimacy from the Arab World. This real situation and responsibilities bore by the Palestinians are so different and so far from one another. According to this reason, the people who live on the Palestinian side bear a heavy–responsibility. Further, my hypothesis on this issue is and I would like to stress that the probable cause for such suicide bomb attacks that do happen is mainly due to their suffering and resentment. [52]

4.2.2. Peace Process in the Middle-East and the Effects of the Power to the Region

The peace process for the Middle-East first appeared at the end of the Cold War. This process was supported by the international platform. Oslo and Madrid accords had begun first in Europe and then the USA organized the process. The existence of peace process in the Middle-East coincided with legitimacy of the Arabs countries especially in politics for internal affairs. Israel was looking for legitimacy for international affairs. Therefore, the governments from Arabs countries and Israel needed and wanted this peace process for a better position in the world than ever before. International public opinion was of the view that Iran was against this process. However, Iran was thinking of a new vision for its foreign policy which is why Iran did not support the process. Turkey's position before was similar to that of their own relations with Syria and the PKK-terror organization, in that Turkey established a good relationship with Israel. Turkey's position with Israel is very important for the legitimacy of Israel in this region. [53]

The first step of the peace process is Eriha which was abandoned to the Palestinian side by Israel. The procedure was successfully carried out without a problem as both sides were satisfied with the result. Eriha was the small area for Israel and equality of this small thing is legitimacy of the state to the other regional countries. On the other hand, the Palestinians were also happy in the outcome of this process because it is the first

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[52] Ibid, P. 6.
[53] Davutoglu Ahmet: Yahudi Meselesi'nin Tarihi Dönüsümü ve Israil'in Yeni Stratejisi, Avrasya Dosyasi, 1994: 1/3, P. 87-99.

achievement after the 1940's and it can be as seen hope and a path back to their homeland.[54]

The second step of the process was the independent state for the Palestinians in Gaza and Westbank. However, this proved to be a harder task to achieve than what was done previously because, the issue was not only between Israel and Palestine but it was also between the Arabs and Israelis.

The third and most important issue of this process is Jerusalem. In this aspect, both sides have great difficulty because Jerusalem has a meaning of history and culture for each of them. For instance, the abandonment for Israel was not acceptable for legitimacy in the country and contradiction for the rules of the state and religion. It was the same meaning for the Palestinian side with the abandonment by Jerusalem. According to this aspect, Arafat who was the leader of the Palestinian Authority, refused to accept the decision and responded by relinquishing from the Camp David Process.[55]

Finally, the peace process for the Middle-East cannot be achieved without the assistance of the European Union and Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). The European Union can be a representative for the Christian world as with the OIC being a representative for their Muslim counterpart.[56]

Instability to this Peace Process is an advantage for Turkey which is not of Arab origin. Turkey is a candidate pending membership to the EU, holds a strategic partnership with USA and is also a member of NATO. All these elements assist Turkey in playing a prominent role in the international and global world be it in a political and or economical sense and especially in the Peace Process which would include USA, EU and OIC so that tackling such issues with them would be the best way to solve this problem in the future.[57]

Thus Jews and Muslims have a common enemy against right-wing Christian fundamentalism. Both Islam and Judaism have long served as Europe's *"other",* as a

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[54] Davutoglu, Ahmet, Sönmez, Yunus, Kalayci, F., Ömer: Filistin Cikmazdan Cözüme, Küre Yayinlari, 2003, P 9.
[55] Ibid, P. 10.
[56] Ibid, P. 12.
[57] Ibid, P. 13.

symbol for a distinct culture, religion and ethnicity. (European Commission and EUMC 2003: 103)

4.2.3. Interview from Middle- East

Interview with the Policemen

It was one evening in February 2008 when two policemen entered a hostel in Old Jerusalem. Willing to answer some of our questions, one of them seems to be very surprised as it was his first interview ever. The receptionist translates for us.

A: How old are you?
B: I am 28 years old.

A: And where exactly do you come from?
B: From the north of Israel.

A: Do you already have family?
B: I am engaged.

A: What do you do in your job as a policeman?
B: I am a tourist policeman. I help the visitors for example, if money is stolen and such.

A: What is your religion?
B: I am a Muslim.

A: What is it like to work in the Jewish Quarter?
B: Oh, everything is normal. There is no problem in the Jewish Quarter.

A: What is the difference between you and the soldiers out in the streets?

B: There are no soldiers in the streets. They are policemen too. Only the colour of their uniform is different. That is all.

A: What are the main problems you face in your work?
B: There are many problems between Jewish and Muslim people in the old city.

A: How come?
B: Ah, they don't understand each other very well because the Muslims don't speak good Hebrew.

We felt that our questions confused the policeman, so we changed the subject.

A: How about you and the Israeli policemen?
B: No problem, we work together.

A: What about your friends?
B: I have both Israeli and Arab friends- there are no differences between them.

A: What do you think about the Palestinians in the West Bank?
B: (looking very astonished) We are separated. Palestinians in the West Bank live their lives, we live our lives.

A: What do you have in common with them?
B: Well, they are human beings and we are human beings too.

A: What do you feel towards the Palestinians in the West Bank?
B: What should I feel? I feel okay.

A: What is peace for you?
B: There is no one who doesn't like peace, you know.

A: Are you satisfied with the situation here?
B: Of course there are problems.

A: How do you feel when you have to solve a conflict between Muslim and Jewish people?

B: (getting more and more irritated) I follow the rules, of course. There are laws we have to obey.

A: Do you speak Hebrew?

B: Of course I do. We spoke Hebrew in school.

A: So you had Israeli classmates?

B: Yes, I was in a mixed school.

A: What do you personally wish for the future?

B: First, I want to marry very soon. Then I want to be successful in my job. Like that.

A: What can be a peaceful solution for your country?

B: I think there should be two countries, and peace in both. I wish there would be peace in the world, not only in the Middle East.

After the interview the receptionist tells us that the policemen have been shocked at our questions which made them feel as if they had 'needles in their skin'. We are surprised because of the neutrality and generality of our questions. We finally find out that there has been a misunderstanding- the policeman is a Muslim but belongs to a minority within the Muslim population. He is Druze. As we were informed, the Druze community was accepted as an independent religious community in Israel in 1957. They regard themselves as Arab but (in Israel) not as Muslims. Moreover they behave as Israeli citizens and are loyal to the Israeli government. This loyalty also includes the participation in the military service, mostly as Israeli frontier guards. However, pressure from the Palestinian side to agree with the Palestinian Muslims increases continuously.

Interview with a refugee

We were in a Palestinian refugee camp in Bethlehem. As we knew a few people there, we were invited to a house to drink a cup of tea- a typical gesture of Arabic hospitality. On that occasion, we got to know one of our friend's brother who is 27 and he had just been released from an Israeli prison. While we were sitting in his room, he shared some of his experiences with us.

A: We heard from your brother that you have just got out of prison?
B: Yes, only two months ago.

A: Can we ask you, how long you have been to prison?
B: Of course you can. I have been in prison for 7 years.

A: Why?
B: (He hesitates).

A: Did you do any activities against Israel?
B: Of course I did.

On his computer we saw pictures of young Palestinian men with masks on their faces and heavy guns in their hands. Asking about the content of the song played in the background, a boy told us that it deals with Palestinian patriotism and the pride and honor it brings them to die for their country.

A: What does freedom mean to you?
B: That I can do what I want without being imprisoned.

A: What are you ready to do for freedom?
B: There is a saying in Arabic: If someone causes me any harm, I will return it on him.
Of course it is not nice to kill somebody, nobody wants to kill. But we have to defend ourselves. On the bed in the next room we saw a gun. Meanwhile the computer shows pictures of Hassan Nasrallah, terrorist activities and suicide bombers. The Palestinian

boys in the room were between the ages of 16 and 27 years. They were charming and funny, served us tea and we could smell their perfume in the air.

A: Do you have any Israeli friends?
B: I can't even imagine talking to them. I could not look into their eyes.

A: What about Israeli children?
B: I don't have anything against children but as soon as they become older and go to school, the Israeli thinking is put into their heads.

A: How do you feel about the Israelis?
B: (after an intense look) It is more than hate.

A: Did you change in prison?
B: Of course. I learned many good things, I developed my thinking.

We felt that obviously he did not want to talk about the good things he had learned in prison. Moreover, he did not mention any bad treatment done to him by the Israeli soldiers. Nevertheless, we recognize that his whole body is damaged. There are many scars on his face and one eye seems to be ruined- his look is not clear. He was very nervous and kept moving his feet up and down. We could not avoid feeling a sense of pity for him although he tries to present himself as cool, smoking one cigarette after the other.

A: We were told that you were released from prison one year earlier than sentenced?
B: That's true. They say it was because of a prisoner's exchange on the Israeli side. But I am not sure about that. I distrust them- maybe they are playing a trick on me.

A: Do you have any dreams or wishes concerning your future?
B: I want my land back. The Israelis took everything away from us. How can I build a house when I have no land?

A: What could a peaceful solution be in this conflict?
B: Palestine should become one nation as it was before 1948 (red.: before the foundation of Israel's nation), and before 1967.

In his room there were many cups. We heard that he had been a successful goalkeeper but ever since Israeli soldiers have shot his leg, he cannot even walk in a proper way anymore.

While leaving the house, we saw a picture of him taken before his imprisonment. The difference couldn't have been much bigger- was the smiling boy in the picture and the older-looking 27 year- old man in the room really the one and same person?

Interview with a dancing group

On a Sunday evening I visited a dancing group in the suburbs of Jerusalem. It was a very unique one: young Israeli and Palestinian people danced together. The girls were all Israeli, while the boys were both Israeli and Palestinian. The social worker told me there is one rule: no politics. The young people don't talk about the conflict but concentrate on the dance.

As the Arab people in the new part of Jerusalem speak quite good Hebrew, the course takes place in Hebrew. The dancing teacher is 67 years but still incredibly fit. The whole atmosphere was warm and inviting as we watched the young people dance. During a short break we had the opportunity to talk to them and their answers were surprisingly candid.

Here an interview with S, a 15 year-old Israeli who dances with obvious enthusiasm.

A: Why are you part of this group?
B: I like dancing, really. It's a very special group, there are many cultures here. You know this kind of connection doesn't exist in many places.

A: What do your parents think about the dancing group?
B: Well, they say it's special, the dancing is beautiful. Of course in the beginning they were full of distrust.

A: And your friends?

B: They still don't like the idea...

A: What about yourself?

B: First, I was afraid, had many fears, but when I came here and saw the staff and how they work, I really liked it.

A: Do you have Arab friends outside of the group?

B: Oh, I have many contacts with Arabs outside of the group. We have friendships here, we come closer to each other in the group, you know, we spend a lot of time with each other. First we were afraid, but then we got used to it and we found out that in fact we are all nice people.

A: What happens when you leave this group at a certain age?

B: I definitely wish to continue in other dancing groups, more serious ones, I really want to progress further in my dancing.

A: What do people in your surroundings think about the dancing group?

B: Honestly, we cannot talk about it with our neighbors or the like; we really have to become more famous to do that, to make a change. Many people are shocked when they find out about our group. But it is amazing- you know that we have been to Paris for 1 ½ weeks, it was such a great feeling. We were completely disconnected with our friends and were with the group the whole time. I feel that we make something different, you know.

A: Are you guys also friends outside of the group?

B: Sure, I meet C (Palestinian dancer) outside; we go to the mall together or to the city. You know, in the end we are all human beings, not Arabs or Jews. And when being together you learn a lot about culture, religion and so on. A human being is able to believe in what he wants (all the dancers around him agree with him or nod their heads).

A: Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

B: I was born in Jerusalem, but my family comes from Georgia. I speak Hebrew, Russian, Georgian and French which I have learned in a private school. The funny thing is - because of the group I learn Arabic, slowly, word by word.

A: So there are many reasons to come here?
B: Yes, sure. I also try to move forward with my dancing talents. But on Sundays for example, we meet half an hour earlier to play games or just to talk.

A: Have you ever been to the West Bank?
B: Are you crazy? Do you think I want to die?

A: What do you think about peace in the future?
B: Maybe there will be peace one day, but I cannot imagine how, really. Here we feel different, but it's hard to imagine peace.

C: There is a lot of racism and therefore I feel really angry. The other day a Jewish guy gave me a lift to the old city and a policeman stopped him and said: Are you crazy? You take an Arab person with you?

D: I have danced in this group for 6 years, now I am one of the leaders. But in all these years I haven't seen any change. I mean there is a little change but it's not enough, it's not what I expected it to be.

When I drove back to the hostel, the boys were on the same bus with me. They were funny and talkative and we exchanged email addresses. They made fun of each other and I heard jokes all around me. Although S told me that he wants to leave this country later because of its strict rules and its government, I feel a little bit of hope for the first time during my trip. The dancers of this group are living examples of peace. Of strangers becoming friends.

Interview in a Bethlehem Baby Hospital with Mrs.Hiyam Awad Marzouqa

She is from Bethlehem, studied medicine in Germany, and has worked at the hospital for 17 years. Presently, Mrs. Marzouqa is the medical director of the hospital.

Q: What do you do in your spare time?
A: Here there are no proper facilities to enjoy life. We are always limited with thinking and movement. It is a general depression without enthusiasm. Going to church on Sunday is the only thing; otherwise I only visit my mom, my husband's mom. When I visit someone the only topic is politics and the situation. This is very depressing. So I stop visiting people often.

Q: What are your goals or goals in general for this hospital?
A: It started as a charitable hospital- we were for the poor and simple ones. Now through the closure we should become more professional because it is a burden to cross these borders. To have to complete all forms for permission etc. We are a neutral house for the baby and child. When I asked for help there are some donors for the education like me. My attitude is to motivate my team and to work with them. I cannot achieve this goal alone. I want to show them what we want to have in this future. There so many new ideas.

Q: What about you personally, how is your situation?
A: My family lives here. We have 2 sons and many relatives because I come from a Christian family of 7 children and my husband comes from a family of 7 children. Some people that live abroad come back and try to stay here, but most of them move away again. Those people that have relatives abroad move away. The Christian percentage here is getting very low. Everyone moves away.

Q: How is the interaction between people here?
A: The Palestinians are mostly Muslims. Christians are getting less and less. Interacting with the Jewish is not possible due to the wall. Jewish can come here but they don't because they have no insurance here. I would like to have more interaction. I need

permission to go to Jerusalem and for example when I have an appointment at 10:00 I get permission only from 8:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.

Q: What do you think about the situation here?
A: There are extremists on both sides. We don't care if there is a Palestine now or not! We are fed up with all this conflict! We just want to live. So the Hamas do not represent me.

Q: How do you see peace?
A: Peace for me is giving human beings the right to live in dignity without interfering with my faith. They decide where I should go and live- they took my land- and it's like my mistake that I was born here? There are peace plans but they are interfering with my faith.

Arafat was not to negotiate now. They are not giving fair chances. So they don't want to make peace.

Q: How do you see the future?
A: Future? "Black", I see no future. Good people are living- poor people are there and stay there. My kids grow up with the wall in front of their eyes. And the worst is: day by day I live and know that tomorrow and the next day will be worse than today like in Gaza.

The same is happening to us but only slowly. Yesterday: Fuel is not coming to Bethlehem any more. They are suffocating us slowly but surely.

About Peace, there is no peace without having justice. You cannot just take someone's land. This is occupation. Peace is there only for the occupier. We feel forgotten. When tourists come we are happy; there is somebody to see this. And tell about this.
Christians here are neutral. It's a pity that we are all leaving.

INTERVIEWS FROM JERUSALEM

First, we went into a few shops, but the people we met either would not give us any time or they could not speak English well.

Then we entered in a Bet-Shop, where we met a 50-60 year old man, sitting relaxed at a table, wearing a kippa and drinking tea.

A: Hello, do you have time for a short interview?

B: Hello. Yes, sit down. I have time, we don't work today.

After shortly introducing ourselves, we started a relaxed conversation. He gave us the permission to take notes and use the interview for the Middle-East.

A: What's your occupation?

B: I am an Installer here in Jerusalem.

A: Why don't you work today?

B: You see, because of the snow. Nobody works in Israel when it is snowing. So I sit here.

A: Do you have children?

B: Yes of course. They are 19, 15, 12 and 9 years old. My oldest son is in the army at the moment. He has to serve there for 3 years. How long is Army in Austria?

A: I explain to him the system in Austria.

B: In Israel we also have civil servants. They work in hospitals and other places, where it is necessary. Women also need to go to army for two years. But people who cannot unify their (orthodox Jewish) religious beliefs and the army service work for examples in army kitchens. (To provide kosher food for the soldiers)

A: Are you a native Israeli?

B: Yes. I was born in Jerusalem. My parents emigrated from Morocco. They came to Israel in 1951.

A: Do Arabic people sometimes come to this Bet-shop? Do you interact with Arabs?

B: Yes, some Arabs come here to bet. I worked with Arabic people too much. You can't trust Arabs. Once he experienced a suicide-attacker. This attacker was an 18 year-old boy. I can't understand that. With this action he gave up paradise with virgins. I am afraid of attacks - they make problems.

A: What do you usually do in free time, after work?

B: Most of the time, I am here. The owner of this shop is my cousin.

A: Do you celebrate Shabbat? How?

B: Of course, for Shabbat, even soldiers come home to celebrate the family. We celebrate Shabbat every Friday evening. On Shabbat nobody watches TV. My family tries to keep the tradition. It is good that children learn everything about the tradition in school. On Shabbat we pray first. Then we celebrate together with the family using bread, wine and other dishes. We have a big meal together because we are not allowed to cook anything on Shabbat. We prepare the meal the day before and keep it in a special heating place to keep warm.

A: By the way, is it possible to convert to Judaism?

B: It is but the person has to pass a test and they have to do Bar/Bat Mizwa.

A: What are your wishes for the future?

B: I want the situation to change for the better for my children. But in any case it is best to earn money. If you have money, you can do everything, even when the situation is difficult.

A: What do you think about the conflict? Is peace possible?

B: From my opinion the war started with Arafat. Israel would be a great country, without Arabs. If you give them one little finger, they want to have the whole hand. Some part wants peace, but other not. Israeli and Arabs cannot live together. They tried it for 2000 years. But there was war all the time. I think we can live in peace with anybody, but not with Arabs. You can see that already in the holy books. Both originate from Abraham, but Israeli follow Isaac and Arabs Ishmael, who were rivals.

This week (Feb. 2008) two brothers at the age of 8 and 19 got hurt by war. They had to amputate one of the legs. Doctors are still fighting for the leg of the other.

He mentions that Arabs want their houses but it would have been better, if they had stayed. He did not want to return what the situation was in 1967. 5 missiles were shot into the Israeli country.

A: How would you react if your children would like to leave Israel?
B: If my children want to leave Israel and live somewhere else, it's ok. But for me Israel is the best place to live.

A: Are you worried of your son, who is in the army now?
B: Yes, of course I am worried. But it is like that. I was there, too. I had to serve in the army every year until my 45th birthday for about 20-30 days. I get a break from my employer to join the army.

A: Have you ever been to Palestine?
B: Once I have been to a Palestinian (sic!) place. I have been to Lebanon. But for 15 years we aren't allowed to go to Palestine.

Interview……..

Then we went along the street and saw the shop, where we had bought some orange juice the day before. There we met 2 young girls about our age. It was a relaxed and funny conversation. We told each other some things from our lives. In that way we found out their opinions.

They are cousins, both Christians.
Maria is 18 years old and lives in Jerusalem, her cousin Anni is also the same age and lives in Haifa, and stayed with her cousin for holidays.

Anni says that in Haifa there is peace between religions and ethnic groups.

Both they don't like Israel – because of the war.

Anni's grandparents came from Lebanon to Israel. But they didn't know the rest of their backgrounds.

Anni doesn't have to go to the army. Out of fun, she said she would like to go because of the sexy boys there. But in any case she was going off to study next year.

Maria's boyfriend had to serve in the army. He was a fighter stationed in Gaza. Maria was happy as long as her boyfriend stayed in contact with her.

Anni's vision for the future is that she wants to go to Italy. She stayed there for some time with her family, because her father had to work there. Her brother is now in Spain.

They don't know a lot and don't think much about the conflict. They don't have any Arabic friends in Jerusalem. Arabs are unfriendly, impolite and weird even if they buy something in the shop. They told us that in Jerusalem, Muslim Arabs hated Christian Arabs. But in Haifa they don't have problems like that. Anni has Arabian friends in her hometown, she doesn't have any problems with them, but in Jerusalem the situation is different.

Maria says she hates Israel, but she loves Jerusalem. It's her hometown. Maria learned Hebrew in a Jewish school, so she can speak Hebrew. Anni went to a French school operated by the nunnery.

We asked them for their definition of peace/salam: They answered that in Jerusalem, there would never be peace. The groups hate each other, both Israeli and Arabs want the land. But only Jews and Muslims hate each other. Christians don't have problems with them.

Anni has a Christian boyfriend. But Maria's boyfriend is Jewish. It's no problem if they are only dating casually. But if they wanted to get married, they would have problems.

They told us about their experiences with Arabs. They said Arabians were stupid and rude, they would come on to anyone and they would say stupid things.

They don't have any problems with soldiers, they are afraid of suicide-attackers, so they see the soldiers as security. They were very serious when they told us that two years ago, such attacks occurred nearly every week. They don't go to the Old City because they are

afraid of the possibility of fights. Anni believes that Arabs are like that because of the Israelis. But Maria doesn't agree. Hence, they got into a discussion. It was apparent their discussion was very common and that they had discussed the subject previously.

During the conversation we noticed an interesting thing. They treated the customers, who came inside the shop differently. We asked what the reason was for that. And they explained to us that they can see if the person is Christian or Muslim. They can see that because of their clothes, their behavior and their looks. (When I turned to look after that, I could see that this is right. I could differentiate between an Arab and an Israeli too).

It's typical that Israelis shout.

Anni goes to church every Sunday, Maria only on her holidays. But it's a little difficult, because in the one town the weekend is from Friday to Saturday, in Haifa the weekend is Friday and Sunday. The mass is either in Saturday evening or Sunday morning in the monastery.

They both want to study. Anni wants to study statistics, Maria wants to study psychology. They want to get out of Israel but Anni's boyfriend doesn't want her to leave, so she reluctantly stays.
Finally Maria told us that she had a brother and 2 sisters.
Then we had to go, because the time was over.

Interview with salesmen

Before the interview: we started with a normal conversation of asking (where to go?) and the interviewee asked all three of us to enter his shop. He found 3 chairs for us to sit and offered that he was willing to take part in the interview without any kind of hesitation or compulsion. We sought his anonymity and explained the purpose of the research and what we were going to do with the information which would be collected from him. He was

assured that his information will be protected with confidentiality. He agreed to be interviewed without any compulsion and intimidation.

Interviewee: shop/stall owner, male, 24 yrs-old, a family of 6 brothers, 3 sisters in Bethany.

Dome of the Rock- Israeli police prevent non-Muslims from entering into the Dome of Rock. Trading within the Dome is very bad because Israeli (normally) tour guides encourage foreign tourists to shop in the Jewish area telling the tourists that the Palestine area is quite dangerous. (Interview was frequently interrupted by the friends and shop visitors; however, interviewee was happy to continue the interview without feeling any interruptions). In recent days, business had been poor. A few days of very month the business is good, but the majority of the time business is poor. I have to be here in the shop even though business is poor. The lack of business is not caused by the rain or problems with the tourists. Competition from the two stalls that opened in the market has affected the business. Trading starts early- business varies from day to day. The shop was closed for 4 years during Intifada. Before Intifada trade was very good.

He had one Israeli friend, he met occasionally, but they had no contact during intifada. Trust issues had broken the relationship during Intifada. The friend would no longer come to the house. They were arrested in early hours of the morning during an altercation.
My friend has no problem with meetings now. My friend is happy to meet up during peaceful times. Peace is very much sought, but not possible in the current situation. Palestinians from Ramallah, Jenin, and Gaza cannot travel freely.

An Israeli ID means that travel is permitted, but this would not be the case if a Palestine ID is shown. (He showed his ID- blue ID).

Dispute over previous business premises - taken by Israeli-French origin businessman. Interviewee's father who had legal papers to the property. The dispute was to be resolved through the legal process and in court (SHE). He spent lots of money for this legal procedure. The Israeli owner refused and later withdrew from the case, but the land dispute was not settled. Israelis are ready to pay huge amounts of money (which may be higher than the value of the land) to get the land and the shop, but we refused to accept

the money. Interviewee did not want to give up these premises because he considered the site to be holy even if it was not profitable.

Even with a 'Travel ID', it is extremely difficult to travel to places like Gaza and Ramallah. Travel is permitted within Jordan. He never travelled to Gaza. Their family members are in those places. "I would like to make a meeting with them".
"Peace is not impossible but Palestinians must be able to travel freely and worship in Al-Aksa mosque without any restrictions from the government". The interviewee repeated the same sentence more than once. "It is our land".

"Look (this word was repeated a number of times), during tense situations, only people who are over 45 years of age are allowed to enter the mosque on Friday". Interviewee opines that the situation is deliberately created by the Israeli government when Israel takes military action in Palestine. For example; Thursday is deliberately picked because Israel knows that Friday is the busiest day in the mosque. Movements are restricted and tense situations are then created by the Israeli authority.

"We have no problem with the Christian friends. They have also some shops here. We have no problem with the friendships with them, whatsoever the case with them. They also face the same problem as we do. Israelis and Americans have caused problem in our holy land".
Interviewee attended school until 12 years, and then helped his father in the stall (the present shop).

His father and mother were not formally educated, but his sister is attending in AbuDei University undertaking a Journalism course. A friend at a Hebrew university will be leaving very soon because of the discrimination he faces. The rector has made frequent anti-Arab remarks.

Arab Israelis have greater rights and freedom. Our interviewee is proud to be a Palestinian but has a problem with Israeli ID card. He has to tell the authorities he is Israeli rather than Palestinian in order to be able to travel freely and have complete freedom and citizenship. "I cannot take such citizenship, if I do; we will lose one from our community".

There are two categories of cards and those with Israeli ID have much greater freedoms. Others merely have a travel ID. Our ID's are frequently checked to determine if we are involved in any kind of anti Israeli activities. They have a special computer system to check our details.

5. Alliance of Civilization:

5.1. About the Alliance of Civilization:

The idea of inter – civilizational dialogue on a global area first emerged in the 1990's after the publication of " clash of Civilizations" figures such as Bernard Lewis, Daniel Pipes and Samuel Huntington. These figures concluded that conflict would be among civilizations, especially among Islam and Western Civilizations.[58] In the middle 90's, different international actors had different initiatives with which to cope. The idea of the clash of civilizations created an alternative discourse of dialogue. In November 1998, UN General Assembly adopted a resolution proclaiming 2001 as " the UN Year of Dialogue among Civilizations". The UN involvement in inter- civilizational dialogue activities increased significantly after the September 11 terrorist attacts on the World Trade Center. In November 2001 (after the World Trade Center attack), the UN General Assembly passed a resolution entitled " Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilization" to specify an action plan for the promotion of dialogue among civilizations.[59]

After this period, Spanish Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapetero, who came to power with landslide victory in March 2004, called for the creation of the Alliance of Civilization (AoC) at the General Assembly of the United Nations in September 2004.[60] International public opinion welcomed this idea and a Group of Friends, composed mostly of UN member states, was founded to support the initiative in November 2004.[61] Turkey became active in the initiative after Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan agreed to Zapatero's offer to co- sponsor the AoC initiative in June 2005. UN Secretary- General

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[58] Lewis, Bernard: The roots of Muslim Rage, the Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 266, No 3 (1990), P. 47-60.
[59] See under, http://www.un.org/documents/ares566e.pdf , 13.09.2009, 14.21.
[60] http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/59/statements/spaeng040921.pdf , 13.09.2009, 15.00.
[61] http://www.unaoc.org/content/view/115/174/lang,english , 13.09.2009, 12.00.

Kofi Annan announced the launch of the AoC initiative with a statement at the United Nations Headquarters.[62] After this step, Annan led the establishment of a High- Level Group to prepare an action plan and guide its implementation. Several well- known experts from different parts of world constituted this group.[63]

This group was also to explore the roots of polarization between cultures and backgrounds of today. They provided a practical program of action to address the issue. High- level Group published the report which supplied analysis and put forward practical advice.

Ex- President of Portigal, Jorge Sampaio was appointed as the High Representative for the Alliance of Civilization on the 26 April 2007.

Secretariat of the Alliance of Civilization is based in New York because this project is a part of the UNO. States, civil society groups, regional organization and international organization, foundation are all partnership of the Alliance of Civilization.[64]

The Alliance of Civilization has a specific authority and it is important to illuminate the aim and the field of its activities. The Alliance of Civilization has a global area underpinned by a global perspective under the United Nation initiative. This perspective is a view between Western and Muslim societies.

On the political ground, the Alliance of Civilization has a main purpose which is to simplify the action of connection with religious, political, media and civil society personalities. These connections would be realized to effect the influence in advancing the Alliance of Civilization's issues.

The supporter of this project claimed that the Alliance does not intend to make a "third way"or a shortcut into ongoing negotiating processes in a range of political fields. Most importantly the Alliance intends to duplicate or parallel existing political channels. On the other hand, the Alliance will not have any operation at the level of political decision making processes themselves, but will have an action like upstream or downstream, in order to

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[62] http://www.un.org/News/Press//docs/2005/sgsm10004.doc.htm , 13.09.2009, 16.30.
[63] http://www.un.org/News/Press//docs/2005/sgsm10073.doc.htm , 13.09.2009, 16.35.
[64] http://www.unaoc.org / 02.05.2009/16.00

help develop the situation for greater knowledge and understanding between decision makers coming from different part of the world and different cultural and religious background. In this line, the High Representative can advance specific political initiatives with the recommendation of the High- level Group's Report.[65]

The Alliance seeks to support, maintain and fortify active collaboration and information sharing with related initiatives, particularly those within the United Nations system whose interaction and coordination should be strengthened, like Dialogue Among Civilization and Tripartite Forum on international Cooperation for Peace. In fact, the main focus of the Alliance will be to develop partnership with States, civil society groups, international organizations and some sector bodies which share this vision, mission and issues of the Alliance. The purpose of Alliance is not to replace any initiative, programs or projects already being executed by UN agencies, Member States, Intergovernmental agencies, foundations, corporation, or civil society organizations. Nor is the Alliance aimed at competing with them.[66]

In this section,

> „special attention should be given to those UN agencies whose work is relevant to the Alliance, namely the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as well as other international organizations and regional bodies, including the European Union (UE), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe (CoE), the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the League of Arab States, the Islamic Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO), United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) and the World Tourism Organization (UNTWO)".[67]

In this step where the High Representative, after careful attention, deems it favorable and useable for the Alliance of Civilization to develop a new project in order to advance its aim and issues, the Alliance will search to do so in partnership with other relevant agencies and organizations. But, the Alliance does not search, as its main function, or take on the full development of projects on the ground. The Alliance is also not designed to run its own

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[65] http://www.unaoc.org/content/view/63/79/lang,english /04.05.2009/ 10.00
[66] http://www.unaoc.org/repository/implementation_plan.pdf /10.05.2009/ 12.00
[67] http://www.unaoc.org/repository/implementation_plan.pdf

self set of programs. The Alliance must first contribute in the adaption and enlargement of existing efforts. The Alliance will work with partners as situations presents opportunities as well as challenges. There is a section in the "Alliance of Civilization Implementation Plan" about this topic;

The challenges involve working cooperatively towards a common goal, without forsaking the independence, mandates, and priorities of individual partners. The opportunities entail learning from one another and evolving accordingly. Such partnerships seek to produce a multiplier effect by advancing better coordination between projects, capitalizing on the comparative advantages of each partner, and generating greater visibility based on the sharing of common goals. The commitment of partners should be threefold: to act toward the benefit of all; to encourage effective collaborative action; and to develop a vision for the future.[68]

The Alliance which by nature is a flexible and small structure will have full advantage in the United Nations system. The Alliance will have a programmatic and results oriented line. This line starts with yearly reports on the activities of the Alliance and the report will be presented by the High Representative to the Secretary- General. The Final step will be when the General- Secretary transmits the message to the General Assembly.

Now, the project of the Alliance of Civilization is still in its early states. However, the project will be developed by the coordinators assigned by Spain and Turkey. Supporters said that;

"The forthcoming years will be mainly devoted to the development of effective governance for the Alliance, resource mobilization, partnership building, implementation of internal and external information and communication mechanisms, as well as advocacy in order to promote the Alliance".[69]

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[68] Alliance of Civilizations Implementation Plan
[69] Alliance of Civilizations Implementation Plan

5.2. Mission Statement of the Alliance of Civilization

Alliance is an initiative of the UN Secretary- General and its aim is to improve understanding and cooperative relations between nations and people who are from different parts of the world and have different cultures and different religious backgrounds. It is against the forces of extremism. For this connection, *„Alliance of Civilization is supported by a Group of Friends- a community of over 85 member countries and international organizations and bodies"[70]*

Alliance supports building a bridge between cultures and communities and this bridge is to be built by government, international and relational organizations, civil society groups, associations, and institutions. It means, all governmental and non- governmental organizations will be working with together.

The function of the Alliance, in these capacities will be to:

- Connect people and organizations devoted to promoting understanding between communities by the bridge builder.
- Minimize polarization between nations and civilizations.
- Promote respect and understanding between cultures and its advocate. Provide a calm condition between nations and people who have cultural and religious tensions.
- Provide an academic access for cooperation. It is for member states, institutions, organizations etc.

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[70] http://www.unaoc.org/content/view/39/187/lang,english 10.05.2009 /11.00

5.3. Objectives for the Alliance

Under the recommendations of the Alliance of Civilization high- Level Group Report, Alliance has to a network with its partnerships which are States, International organizations, and civil society groups. All these governmental and non-governmental institutions share the goals of the Alliance of Civilizations.

"Develop, support, and highlight projects that promote understanding and reconciliation among cultures globally and, in particular, between Muslim and Western societies"[71]. These steps should be connected the four primary field of the action of the Alliance. These are Migration, Media, Youth and Education.

Dialogue and relation between groups which difference part of the world can act as force of moderation.

6. Turkey in the concept of the Alliance

When we think of Turkey's geographical position, we can see it is within or in the middle of the catchment area, resting on two continents, the European and the Asian Further, if Turkey adds its historical background to this advantage, it will bridge the gaps between the East and West, the North and South.

If you view Turkey from the East, it will be a part of the West. Turkey's effort for membership in the EU is an example for this hypothesis. If you look at the Turkey from the West, Turkey seems to be a continuation from the East. There are several reasons which, should be taken into account here. Turkey is a secular state although 99 percent of its population is Muslim. Her historical background includes the renowned Ottoman Empire. With this background, Turkey and its institutions on state affairs have been afforded with vast experience that includes both multi-cultural and cosmopolitan aspects. If you look to the North, you will see a state which is member of NATO and a state that has adapted

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[71] http://www.unaoc.org/content/view/29/83/lang,english /12.05.2009 /13.30

democracy as a system. And if you have a perspective from the South, you can see also, a continuation of the North with a gross national product. These are all affirmative factors which determine the strategic and geographical importance of Turkey.

Before reviewing the role of Turkey in the 'Alliance of Civilization', we should look at the issues with a common point of view. The 19th Century became a European century, the 20th Century became an Atlantic century, and the 21th Century which we are living in now is the deponent of motions out of the Continents of Europe and Atlantic. These Civilizations which developed from different parts of the world and especially out of these two continents have movement which advanced themselves with non-Western arguments. This situation is advantageous to the Western culture because it will be richer. It will also be advantageous for mankind who will have more experience with the multi-cultural attitudes. However, the development of these differences resulted in some trouble which have led to theories like 'Clash of Civilization' thus influencing the world to practice such theories and ideas.

Turkey's role in the project of the *"Alliance of Civilization"* has been one of the foreign policy steps of the modern time. The aim of which has been to show the contribution of Turkey towards an understanding between West and East. Turkish authorities have tried to use this initiative as a foreign policy tool and have aimed to benefit from this project in their position for EU membership. The support of UN for this joint-initiative between Spain and Turkey has contributed to the efforts of Turkey. These kinds of steps show us its capacity to combine eastern and western characteristics where Turkey has also called for reforms in the Muslim World. For instance, Abdullah Gül in a speech at the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) Meeting of Foreign Ministers in Tehran on 28-30 May 2003 referred to the backwardness and problems of the Islamic world and argued that instead of blaming others, several reforms should be carried out to overcome these problems and that the reforms should come from within the Islamic world. Later, Foreign Minister Gül said that the response of the politicians and intellectuals to the proposal of Turkey were very positive.[72] In addition to the calls for reform in the Islamic world, Turkey also played a positive role in the crisis related to the cartoons portraying Prophet Mohammed in Denmark.

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[72] Gül, „New Horizons in Turkish Foreign Policy", 22 May 2004.

Within the last five years visits from foreign officials such as the Presidents, Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers have increased drastically in frequency. Turkish officials have paid attention to communicating and maintaining contact with the neighboring countries in relation to the *"null problems with the neighbors"* policy. However, the visits have not been limited to neighboring countries. In order to get support for Turkey's candidature for the 2009-2010 UN Security Council membership; statesmen have visited several other countries or states in East-Asia and Africa, meeting their respective leaders and government officials.

The Alliance of Civilization is a view which focuses on the common sense of mankind and that goes against of the Clash of Civilization, a theory written by Samuel Huntington. Moreover, the project of the Alliance and Turkey's position will develop historical consciousness. This process is beneficial for Turkey. On the other hand, this process will not only support a political action but also, provide a ground of academic philosophy which should continue for a long time. This project will provide a consensus for Turkey and the states surrounding Turkey. Spain will be an important organizing partner.

The world in which we live in today must achieve certain common goals in the international system through participation of dialogues and such. The plan will not work with a system that depends on control and balance. [73]

6.1. The Effect of Turkey in the Movement of Alliance

After the development of a multi-cultural state by the Ottomans, Turkey had a good relationship with the countries within the Middle- East. There was a balance of politics for Turkey. In 1930, Turkey established relationships with Egypt and Iraq. Turkey and Iraq were established by the "Sadabat Pakti" which anticipated peace for the region. After establishing the peace agreement between Turkey and Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan joined this group. However, it was not clear at the beginning whether or not the Arab states and Turkey had good or bad diplomatic correspondence. During World War I, the Arabs were provoked by countries from the West, especially England and France which affected the

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[73] Davutoglu, Ahmet, Küresel Bunalim, Küre, 2002. P. 199.

Arabs who lived in the Middle-East. There was civil commotion, rebellion and especially infidelity against the Ottoman state. After the War, there was no settlement between the Ottoman states. The Arabs immigrated because of the rush into the "national state" which had been formed. At that time, there were a lot of big and little states established in this area. However, relationships between both sides proved to be unstable. On the other hand, there is a 'pact' between Turkey and Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Lebanon etc. to live side by side in peace. Turkey's policy perspective would be wider than before and this positive effect resulted in good relationships with Turkey. After these positive developments, the respective states established some good relationships in the political or economical sense. We can first see that in the Turkey and Syria relationships. Also, the Turkish and Iranian situation stands out. If we look with a wider perspective, we can see Turkey's position on the conflicted regions namely, Israel-Palestine in which I believe Turkey could play a strategic role in achieving peace.

In addition, within the last 7 years, the interest of the public opinion in foreign policy has increased a great deal. Foreign policy issues like Cyprus, Iraq and the EU are constantly debated domestically. The reason for this development may not only be a result of the importance of these foreign policy issues for the Turkish public opinion but also related to the disappearance of foreign-domestic distinction as seen in the case of several EU members and candidates. As a result of this development, foreign policy issues became much more politicized and public interest in these issues has influenced the governments to embrace the ideas and opinions from the public into utmost consideration.

The movements of Turkish foreign policy in the post-Cold War era before the EU candidature are grouped in general terms. First, Turkish actions focused on the protection of Turkey from the surrounding instabilities and the control and prevention of instabilities. Turkey tried to get the actions of the international community incongruent to the priorities of Turkish foreign policy. Secondly, certain activities consisted of long-term efforts for the establishment of an international order that would replace the existing regional instabilities.

Under the first section, Turkey was actively involved in efforts for the solution of the regional problems in the Balkans and the Caucasus. Regarding the dispute between Azerbaijan and Armenia in the Caucasus and the problems in the former Yugoslavia. Despite the demands for unilateral actions, Turkey acted along with the international

community. During these crises, Turkey demanded that the international community play a more active role in the solution of these problems.

Under the second section, Turkey's activities can be grouped as making contributions to the establishment of a system composed of several organizations in Europe, contributions to stability by promoting economic solidarity, enhancing the relations with the former Soviet republics and participation in the humanitarian aid initiatives.[74] Turkey's contribution to these movements continued after the EU candidature. In this period Turkey participated in peace-making and peace-enforcing operations in Somalia, Bosnia- Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo and Georgia. Turkey assumed the command of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan and contributed more than 1000 troops between June 2002 and February 2003. Turkey assumed the command of the International Security Assistance Force IV between February and August 2005. Turkey's contribution to these kinds of movement has not been limited to the confines of the framework of the United Nation. Participation of Turkey was also evident in the Balkan UN's KFOR (Kosovo Force) and UNMIK (UN police Mission in Kosovo) and the European Union's Police Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina and the EU- led Police Mission "Proxima" in Macedonia.

The role of Turkey in the global world politics since the 1990s has been a functional one with participation in peace making situation and as the steady face of the eastern world. Although such as a role compliments the need of the western alliance, Turkey should also develop its own long term strategy. Further, it continues to play the functional role in future trans-Atlantic relations. Turkey's active involvement in the neighboring regions in the last five years may constitute the early signs of its own strategy.

Otherwise, with respect to the EU candidature and the developments, Turkey's involvement in the Middle-East and increasing relation with the regional countries is sometimes interpreted by some segments of society as a part of the secret agenda of the government in foreign policy affairs. Relations with Muslim states in the Middle-East; Syria, Iran and also with states in the Gulf and elsewhere, are seen as parts of this agenda. The government has legitimized this contact with arguments of economic interdependence and good neighborly relations.

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[74] Kemal Kirisci, Uluslararasi Sistemdeki Degismeler ve Türk Dis Politikasinin Yeni Yönelimleri, Türk Dis Politikasinin Analizi, edited by Faruk Sönmezoglu (Istanbul: Der, 1998), p.618

There are officially two main objectives of Turkish foreign policy for the future. The first purpose is to make Turkey an integral part of European Union. Secondly, Turkey plans proactively to pursue the goal of helping to create an environment of security, stability, prosperity, friendship and cooperation all around itself. Turkey's contribution will affect Europe, the Balkans, the Middle-East, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean and Central-Asia positively. Turkey is also planning to increase relations with Latin America and Africa.

6.2. Background of the Turkish Foreign Policy:

Turkey had a neutral foreign policy in the aftermath of WWII and became a part of the western alliance. The main factor for this change was the perception of the communist threat to Turkey's security. Russia wanted a Communist regime in Turkey. Consequently, security concerns dominated Turkish foreign policy in this period and Turkey's policy towards the Middle-East was also influenced by this situation. Turkey wanted to play a role as a leadership state for the countries of the Middle-East and as a representative for the western side. However, Turkey made a mistake and failed to realize another important development in this period. They could not develop relations with the newly independent countries. Later, Arab states were against the Turkish position as a leadership state. They criticized Turkey for being a part of imperialism.

Turkey voted in the General Assembly of the United Nations on 30 October 1947 against the division of Palestine because of the fears regarding the region.[75] Turkey perceived it as a deception and increased a secret threat of communism. Even though Turkey opposed the division of the Palestinian Authority and acted neutral during War of 1948. Turkey became a member of the Palestine Conciliation Commission after the war. Turkey still stood by a neutral policy and argued that the situation could be solved peacefully. At the end of the 1940's, the reason behind the policy of Turkey against Israel was the USSR support for the establishment of Israel and the migration of an important number of populations from USSR to Israel. However, Turkey believed there was no possibility of

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[75] Gencer Özcan, Türkiye- Israil Iliskileri 50. Yilina Girerken, in Türk Dis politikasinin Analizi, edited by Faruk Sönmezoglu (Istanbul: Der,1998), p. 159

Israel becoming a communist state. Turkey recognized and proclaimed Israel a state and it was the first Muslim country to do so. On the other side, USA was against the communist bloc, which meant Turkey and Greece were supported by the USA known as the Truman Doctrine. Turkey wanted to become a member of NATO. According to this condition, Turkey and Israel had good relationship. The US supported both Israel and Turkey in becoming members of the western organization. At the end of the perception of threat from USSR, Turkey and Israel became regional partners as a result of global alliance formation.

At that time, Turkey's foreign policy was western-oriented. Governments in Turkey had a view that their situation was very important geographically because Turkey was a bridge between the East and West. In relation to that, Turkey was a part of a Baghdad-pact against the communist movement. However, Turkey and her Arab neighbors were in conflict because of the Soviet Union. Turkish elite thought that the representative for the Middle-East countries posed risks and that Turkey should refrain from intervening. During World War I, relationships with the Arabs and Arabs' revolt were not a positive memory.

At the end of the World War II, instability began in the area and continued with the establishment of the Israel. After the colonial period, imperial policies of European countries like the UK and France began to surface. Some states were established as independent, in some states the regime changed. The competition between the two countries for the Middle-East was also one of the determining factors that dominated politics in the region.

On the other hand, Israel was recognized by Turkey and for this recognition, the relationship between the Arab countries and Turkey started becoming problematic. Some political scientists argued that the Turkish government made a mistake and the reason of this mistake was the non-existence for a clearly-defined Middle-East policy for and by the Government of Turkey.

6.3. Turkish Middle-East Policy in the 1990s:

Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East changed which the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the main threat to Turkey's security ended. The main reason was the Soviet threat for Turkey and Western alliance was diminished. Turkish foreign policy reflected the global change of the time.

The end of the Cold War changed the situation of foreign policy making in the every part of the world but the changes in Turkey were dramatic. Bi-polar structure was also the reason for chaos. The end of the ideological conflict between the two blocs resulted in the resurgence of historical and cultural factors in foreign policy in every part of the world. In the case of Turkey, this was especially obvious with the instabilities surrounding its environment like the Middle-East, the Balkans and the Caucasus. Although it was not simple to adapt to the new reality of international relations for any country, similar problems in the nearby environment made this issue more difficult for Turkey. The developments in domestic politics also called for serious decision-making simultaneously with regard to the foreign policy in this period.

During this period, Turkey saw the issues in the region like the Israeli-Palestinian problems and the oil crises within the general framework of Eastern and Western blocs. During the economic movement for instance, during the critical time with the West, Turkey had to increase its interest in this area. At the same time, it was a state policy that provided a good relationship with the western camp.

The end of the Cold War, also ended the bi-polar period, Turkey started to follow a more diversified foreign policy toward its neighboring regions. The Middle-East did not accept this development and Turkey's active involvement in the Middle-East affairs was labeled by some social scientists and scholars as 'Neo-Ottomanism'. The Gulf War was a main turning point in the Turkish foreign policy. It became a dilemma for Turkey that the state's active non-involvement policy during the Iran-Iraq war had turned into an active involvement policy because of the interventions in parts of northern-Iraq, problems with Syria and its strategic cooperation with Israel.[76]

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[76] Davutoglu, Ahmet, Stratejik Derinlik, p. 397.

In the 1990s, Turkey's foreign policy in the Middle-East was dominated by security concerns. There were several factors limiting foreign policy options of Turkey in this field. The United States' policy in the Middle East, its relationship with Israel and the difficulties with other countries caused by Turkey's relation with Israel and general instability in this region. However, the main reason was security. The role of the army increased in foreign policy decisions made by Turkey. Turkey's security problems legitimized the role of the army and limited the initiatives of the government to the diversity of this option. During this decade, the political instabilities of the weak coalition government and the successive economic crises prevented a stable policy. Moreover, threat perception legitimized the role of the military in the formation of foreign policy. However, up until the capture of Öcalan (Head the Terror Organization of PKK) in 1999, security concerns mostly dominated Turkish politics. Hence, there was a 'non-authority' condition in Northern Iraq. The reasons were because of the Iran-Iraq War, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent Gulf War. Iraqi forces did not control Northern Iraq enabling the PKK to use this region for its terrorist operations against Turkey.

6.3.1. Relations with Syria

The Turkey and Syria relationship focused on security and water issues during the 1990s. In this period, Turkey's most problematic relations in the region were with Syria. In 1987, Özal and Assad made an agreement that Syria stating that Syria should not support the PKK terrorists' organization. Syria's support had increased after 1995. There were several reasons Turkey hardened its policy toward Syria in these years. For example, Syria's increasing support of the PKK, the situation of Hatay where Syria claimed that Hatay was not a part of Turkey. Syria and Turkey also had water problems. An agreement with Greece permitted Greek war planes to enter Syrian airspace in case of a problem. In 1996, Turkey and Israel had an agreement on military training and defense cooperation. Syria did not accept this deal and thus its cooperation with Greece and Armenia increased. At the same time the Arab and Muslim world were against this alliance.

Some joint-initiatives between Turkey, Syria and Iran in 1993-1994 were formed to combat groups that were hostile to the security. The venture improved economic relations between

Turkey and Syria. However, the failed core issues like the water problem and the PKK were not resolved. The main problem between Syria and Turkey was the support for the PKK. This setback would end in 1998 when Turkey threatened Syria with military action. Iran and Egypt began intense diplomatic activity in order to eliminate the possibility of direct armed conflict. After this they came to the solution that Öcalan was to leave Syria and the PKK camps in this state were closed. The agreement signed between the two countries concerned mostly security issues. With the agreement, Syria first accepted the PKK as a terrorist organization and also agreed to the following issues; the PKK leader should leave Syria, to arrest PKK militants active in Syria and dissolve the PKK camps there, stop providing support to PKK and prohibit them from using Syrian soil to gain a strategic position which would enable their attacks on and against Turkey. Finally, to extend cooperation to Turkey against the PKK well into the future.[77]

After the agreement which was on based military and politics, the economic relationship between the two countries was affected.. Syria's President Hafez Assad died in 2000 and his son, Bashar Assad became the president of Syria. Turkish President, Ahmet Necdet Sezer went to Syria to attend the funeral of Hafez Assad. It was the first foreign visit of his presidential period. This warm relation between Turkey and Syria improved and became obvious during the late Iraqi Crisis in 2003. The relationship between Syria and the US was really problematic and this situation effected and improved the relationship with Turkey. These meetings were not only between officials. The relations among the people of these two neighboring countries developed and trade levels increased. After 1999, it became a new era in foreign-relations between Turkey and Syria.[78]

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[77] Aykan, Mahmut Bali, The Turkish- Syrian Crisis of October 1998: A Turkish View, Middle East Policy 6, no. 4, (June 1999): 1744- 189.
[78] Hale, William: Turkey and the Middle East in the ‚new Era', Insight Turkey, Vol. 11 No 3 2009, Summer, P. 151-153.

6.3.2 Relations with Iran

Relations with Iran in 1990s were affected by issues which related to ideological differences. Iran supported the PKK. Iran began to follow a pragmatic foreign policy after the death of Khomeini. However, there were some groups in Iran who wanted a more assertive foreign policy similar to Khomeini's rule. There were some problems between these two countries when Iran was accused of supporting some political suicides in Turkey in the early 1990s. For this reason, there was a short break-down in foreign relations between the two countries. After the new government under Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz came to power in 1997, the normal government relations resumed.

The two countries also had another problem which was related the PKK issue. Although there were periodic security agreements, the Turkish were concerned with the application of the agreements. This situation was similar to Syria and Turkey. However, Iran was worried about the developments in northern Iraq. Subsequently, these three countries cooperated their efforts to eliminate the possibility of a Kurdish state. Turkey's ideas for northern Iraq coincided with Iran's; there was a competition between them in regard to Central Asia too. In the beginning of 1990's, there was an expectation in the former Soviet territories of Central Asia. There would be a fierce competition between the countries to export their styles of government to the newly independent states. Turkey's vision was affected by the western style and strongly supported by the US. These newly independent states not only continued their relationships with Russia, but they also had a balanced approach in their foreign politics.

On the other hand, Turkey and Iran had an interest that protected their states from the statues existing within the satellites of Russia. As for their economic relations, Turkey and Iran have witnessed an increase in the amount of trade. In 1996, both countries signed an agreement with regard to the natural gas pipeline. The construction of this pipeline has materialized and has been supplying Turkey with three billion cubic meters of natural gas annually.

The invasion of Iraq and issues related with Iran's nuclear problems have been two important factors concerning Turkey and Iran in the last couple of years. It is known that

Turkey is not satisfied with Iran's desire to have a nuclear program and possible nuclear arsenal. However, Turkey has also played a facilitator role in the diplomatic efforts between Iran and USA to reach a peaceful solution to the problems related to Iran's nuclear program. As I have said before, Iran also does not accept the Kurdish State in the northern Iraq and has cooperated with Turkey in the struggle against the PKK for this reason.

7. Summary & Conclusion

This work is a case study that has its focus on the Civilizations and the Clash or Alliance of civilization that has been in existent in one time or another throughout the world. It includes also my main research question. As I have said, I will try to find an answer to the question; "is there any possibility for the civilizations to live together"?

In the field of this work, I have prepared a definition chapter and I have explained some terms about my thesis. First of all is the term "civilization" and I will try to write the following questions' answer?
What is civilization?

Must a civilization have an experience or a period to be consistence?
How many civilizations are there in the world? And what was the situation in the past and what will the situation be in the future?
As it is known, the first history of civilization in the world was the Mesopotamian.

Other terms of this section is 'democracy' and 'liberal democracy'. Definition of democracy and liberal democracy are necessary for this work, because of the world situation today. The superior wing of the world, the USA, claims that democracy is the best type of governing system. According to this, some scholar like Francis Fukuyama stressed that

'liberal democracy' is the best. With this system the West-secular system is superior and mankind will not improve themselves because of the "end of the world"[79].

The chapter of 'opponent theories' in this work is about theories of the opposite side of the "Alliance of Civilization". The first opponent theory is the "end of the world" by Francis Fukuyama and second one is the "Clash of Civilization" by Samuel Huntington.

I have tried to focus on the theory of Clash of Civilization which was written by Samuel Huntington in 1990s. In addition to this topic, I claim that in the Middle-East, especially in the region of Israel-Palestine is a clash which includes civilization. This seems to be the labor-theory. I have been to the respective areas to study and gain some experiences about the people who live with the conflict. I have been to Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, El-Halil, Beytül Lahm, Bethany, Ramallah etc. In my thesis as I have mentioned, there are some interviews with people who are from Palestine and Israel. I have also stressed on the peace process and historical development for peace regarding the Israel- Palestine conflict.

Another chapter of my work is the Project of "Alliance of Civilization". Firstly, it is explained as a UNO project; this process started in 2005 by Annan who is the former General-Secretary of UNO. Turkey and Spain organized this project making Spain and Turkey as co-chairs too. However, I also think of 'alliance' as having a general meaning. Turkey's relationship with Middle-East countries like Syria, Iran and Israel- Palestine proves to be an important factor. Turkey wants to join the European Union. I claim that, this condition is an opportunity for both sides. There are several reasons for this situation. Firstly, Turkey is an interactive country and has improved itself recently. EU has also a power with its system of governing, law; institutions etc. and when these two sides have an agreement to collaborate, there will be a greater power for the peace.

Turkey is familiar with the AoC initiative as a facilitating factor in its relations with the EU.[80] After 9/11, Turkey emphasized its possible role within the EU in constructing a dialogue between Western and Eastern worlds. After Turkey became a co- sponsor of the AoC

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[79] The book was published by Fukuyama in 1992.
[80] See: Atak, Sevgi, Turan Ömer: Clash, Dialogue, Alliance: The Civilization Discourse in Turkey – EU Relations, Paper Presented at the Annual Convention International Studies Association, February 28- March 3, 2007, Chicago, II.

initiative, Turkey made several references to mediator role in various international meetings. Some international policy makers argued that The EU needed Turkey to become a truly global power. Prime Minister of Turkey's words were: "Europe cannot be a world power without the Alliance of Civilization". Turkey, by putting its Muslim and secular identities on the bargaining table, presented itself as leverage for the EU in increasing the EU' global profile in the Muslim world, especially the Middle East. Turkey Prime Minister Erdogan's words summarize this situation: If the EU is not a Christian club, this has to be proven. What do we gain by adding 99% Muslim Turkey to the EU? You gain a bridge between the EU and the 1.5 billion- strong Islamic world. An alliance of civilization will start.[81]

In addition, as I said, Spain is the other section in this project. I have enclosed a paper regarding the national plan of Spain for 2008.

Finally, I would like to stress here that; some people think there are some conflict areas in the world right now. Some scholars think the same. Civilization will conflict because of the differences. But all civilizations can live in the same society. I have an example for this situation. Ottoman was a state which had strong presence in the Balkans and the Middle-East. I have a photograph which was taken in Budapest, Hungary showing a memorial tomb in the centre of the city; it belonged to the last governor of Ottoman Empire. His name is Abdurrahman Abdi Arnavut Pasa. On the gravestone there read a sentence; "here is the last governor of Buda which was the state of 145 years- sovereignty Ottomans. He died near this area on the 2nd of September in the afternoon (age 70), he was a hero enemy."

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[81] Turkey's Future Lies in EU, says Blair, The Guardian, 30 September 2006.

145 YILLIK
TÜRK EGEMENLİĞİ...
SON BUDA VALİSİ
ABDURRAHMAN ABDI ARNAVUT
PAŞA
BU YERİN YAKININDA
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ÖĞLEDEN SONRA
YAŞAMININ 70. YILINDA
MAKTUL DÜŞTÜ.
KAHRAMAN DÜŞMANDI,
RAHAT UYUSUN!

A 145 ÉVES
TÖRÖK HÓDOLTSÁG
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HŐS ELLENFÉL VOLT BÉKESSÉG VELE!

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9. Report

(National Plan of Spain for Alliance of Civilization)

National Plan of Spain for Alliance of Civilization

1. Background

On 14 July 2005, the UN Secretary-General formally launched the Alliance of Civilizations. This project, presented by the President of the Spanish Government to the Organization's General Assembly on 21 September 2004, became, as of that date, a United Nations initiative. Around it, a Group of Friends has taken shape, which supports it politically and is made up today of over eighty countries and international organizations. Thus, its universal nature has become firmly established.

The President of the Government's original proposal was based on the evidence of the urgent need to bridge the gap that is opening up between the Western world and the Arab and Muslim world. It also responded to the principles of international ethics underpinning the Government's foreign policy: the commitment to international legality, full respect for human rights without any gender discrimination and resolute support for the multilateralism that is represented by the United Nations.

In 2005, Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General, set up a High-Level Group with the mandate to analyse the causes of the current polarization between societies and cultures. In its Report, the Group made a series of political recommendations aimed at addressing a threat that might endanger international peace and stability, and proposed a body of practical measures - in the fields of youth, education, the media and migration - to contribute to that purpose. These measures should be materialized in the implementation phase that is beginning now. The High-Level Group also recommended that the Secretary-General appoint a High Representative for the Alliance of Civilizations, and that an Alliance Forum be held, bringing together governments, international organizations and civil society.

The Spanish Government has offered to host the Forum. It will be held for the first time in Madrid on 15 and 16 January 2008. Last 26 April, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed as High Representative Dr. Jorge Sampaio, who, in June, presented the Alliance Action Plan for 2007-2009, and in September, proposed to the members of the

Group of Friends the drawing up of National Strategies and Partnership Charters in relation with the Alliance.

2. The National Plan

Due to historical, geographic and cultural reasons, and due to inescapable reasons of security, political coherence, and because Spain is the country where this initiative was born and whose President of the Government is co-sponsoring it, together with the Prime Minister of Turkey, the Government has considered it appropriate to provide a positive response to the High Representative's invitation and, in this vein, proceeded to draw up a National Plan for the Alliance of Civilizations.

Aware of its responsibility in taking on this commitment, the Government intends to translate, on a national scale, the specific goals of the Alliance, including them both in its foreign and cooperation policy and in the whole of its domestic policies. The intention is to frame these policies within a strategic vision, to promote existing policies, design new ones and fill any possible gaps, providing ali of them with greater visibility and making them, if possible, a source of inspiration and a stimulus for what is already being done or can be done in future by Public Administration as a whole and by civil society. With this Plan, the Government also expects Spain to play its rightful role as an example, in line with the ethical principles inspiring its discourse.

To achieve these goals, the Government has valuable instruments at its disposal. Casa Africa, Casa America, Casa Arabe, Casa Asia and Casa Sefarad- Israel are called upon to contribute resolutely to this collective purpose, together with the Real Insîituto Elcano, the Instituto Cervantes, the Instituto Europeo del Mediterrâneo, the Fundaciön Carolina, the Foundation Pluralism Convivencia and the Fundacion Tres Culturas.

3. Spheres of activity

The Spanish Action Plan is balanced and will be implemented, within the framework of full respect for human rights and full equality between men and women, in the four aforementioned priority spheres of action: youth, education, the media and migration. The principles and goals it is based on are the very ones that are paramount in the High-Level Group Report and in the Action Plan proposed by the High Representative.

1. The globalization of youth movements offers new possibilities for action, in order to promote their exchanges, foster better mutual understanding and contacts between different cultures and traditions, and enhance their participation in the economy through a consensus-based youth employment strategy.

2. Education systems must prepare youth as regards the respect for human rights, the appreciation of diversity and full gender equality, as well as to address the challenge of an interdependent world. It is necessary to instill values related to solidarity and respect for others; to provide a world-encompassing, civic-minded, peace-oriented, global and transcultural education; an education for employment. Exchange programmes should be developed and promoted, and the role of the media, of new technologies and of young people's access to the Internet should be reassessed

3. İt is essential to coordinate strategies, on a national, regional and international levels, in order to address the causes and the consequences of the possible responses to the phenomenon of current migratory movements. We need concerted actions in recipient countries that underline the benefits of immigration, the implementation of projects against discrimination and the support of immigrants' associations, the schooling for their children and the promotion of civic education programmes.

4. It is necessary to promote the responsible use of the media and to combat programmes that fuel hostile, violent or discriminatory perceptions and stereotypes. The Internet and other media play a decisive role in this task. Schools of journalism should foster a better understanding of international reality, especially in the spheres where religion and politics overlap. Contents that contribute to improving intercultural understanding should be promoted.

4. Financing, coordinator and follow-up mechanism

The National Plan should be understood as one conceived for the medium and long term, and, therefore, it must be sustainable in time. It will be reviewed two years after its implementation. It will have the necessary financial resources to provide incentives for concrete projects promoted by civil society. A Coordinator will take on the task of providing unity of criteria to government action, and will be the contact point both in Spain and with regard to the Secretariat of the Alliance of Civilizations and those responsible for the National Plans that may be set up abroad. To carry out these duties, the Coordinator will be provided with the corresponding infrastructure.

5. List of actions

1. Aimed at promoting mutual understanding and appreciation for diversity

1. Fostering the teaching of the principles and values of the Alliance of Civilizations, within the framework of the basic competences to be attained by students by the end of their obligatory schooling, and of a globalizing and transcultural vision of human relations; restoring the values of humanistic training.

2. Strengthening cooperation projects whose development objectives coincide with the principles and objectives of the Alliance of Civilizations, and planning a series of specific grants for young people from priority cooperation countries, aimed at activities of this nature.

3. Promoting exchanges with students of both genders, particularly with those from the Arab world, continuing current programmes with those from Ibero-America, and defining a grant programme for university students, especially aimed at those from the Maghreb.

4. A training plan for Spanish Arabists. Signing an agreement with the Mohammed V University in Rabat to support Moroccan Hispanists.

5. The teaching of minority religions in schools will continue, in line with the Cooperation Agreements with the Federation of Evangelical Religious Organizations, the Federation of Jewish Communities and the Islamic Commission, and, if appropriate, with those that may be signed in future with other religious denominations. More intensive teaching, in the sphere of pre-university and university education, of issues concerning religious and cultural plurality; implementation of teacher-training programmes for teachers of religion and for teachers in general, on issues concerning religious and cultural plurality.

6. Promoting an academic training plan for the religious staff of minority denominations that have a Cooperation Agreement with the State, as well as a grant programme for such training.

7. Creating an Annual Intercultural Capital Award for the outstanding Spanish city in this field.

8. The Resource Centre for Cultural Diversity will proceed to disseminate the values of the Alliance by publishing educational material, and it will cooperate to this purpose with the other Public Administrations.

9. Actions aimed at including the Alliance in the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and in the celebration of European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008.

10. Greater collaboration with the Euro-Med Permanent University Forum with the aim of consolidating cooperation in this area of research and higher education.

11. Creating new thematic routes, in line with the Ouetzal Route model.

12. Preparing a programme of subsidies for research projects and complementary actions, based on the principles and goals of the Alliance of Civilizations. This framework will include joint projects carried out by specialists from Spain and the Maghreb countries, particularly concerning the history of their bilateral relations.

13. Making use of the Youth and Development University as a global forum for young student leaders.

14. Extending the Intercultural Encounters Programme to secondary schools in countries of the southern rim of the Mediterranean.

15. Creating a Volunteer Corps of the Alliance of Civilizations.

16. Contributing to the World Youth Solidarity Fund.

17. Restoring the façade of the Sarajevo Library.

18. Action Plan as set out in the Ibero-American Cultural Charter.

2. Aimed at promoting civic values and a culture of peace

1. Fostering actions in favor of Education for Peace, by increasing the subsidies granted to projects that best fit the aims of the Alliance. Implementing a campaign to translate works by classical Christian, Jewish and Muslim authors that advocated behaviors based on principles similar to those promoted by the Alliance, as well as fostering translations into Arabic of works of a similar orientation by Spanish authors.
2. Promoting activities related to conflict prevention, peace building and supporting non-violence; reinforcing the activities carried out within the framework of the goal of expanding freedom and cultural capacities.
3. A set of actions aimed at improving peaceful coexistence and security within schools.

4. Organizing and promoting seminars and meetings on issues related to democracy, human rights and the role of religion in modern society. Strengthening bibliographic and documentary archives concerning cultures and religions.

5. Using sport as an instrument for the development of solidarity and for the construction of peace and security in conflict zones where the Armed Forces are taking part in Peacekeeping Operations; actions with respect to Spanish sports bodies, aimed at

obtaining their disinterested support for the principles and goals of the Alliance of Civilizations.

6. Developing the National Action Plan for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No. 1325 (2000), on Women, Peace and Security.

7. Through the Menendez Peiayo International University, and within the framework of the UN network of university centres, setting up a University Institute focused on training and research in areas related to the Alliance of Civilizations.

8. Together with the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco, promoting the project for the University of the Two Kings, to be located in Tetuan, intended to consolidate a space for dialogue and for Euro-Mediterranean cooperation.

9. Intensifying the activities of the Euro-Arab Foundation of Higher Studies, based in Granada, to strengthen the bridges of understanding and intercultural cooperation among different cultures and civilizations.

10. Focusing the Intolerantesanonimos.com (Intolerants anonymous.com) campaign on the precepts of the Alliance of Civilizations.

11. Creating, through the Foundation for Pluralism and Coexistence, an Observatory of Cultural and Religious Pluralism in Spain.

3. Aimed at improving the integration and capacities of immigrants, with particular regard to youth.

1. Implementing the 2008-2011 Strategic Plan for Equal Opportunities between Men and Women.

2. Drawing up agreements for assistance and cooperation with countries of origin and transit of migratory flows.

3. Drawing up a coordinated programme of grants for immigrants to obtain training in professional skills and in scientific disciplines, together with grants for postgraduate studies.

4. Designing and implementing a set of measures aimed at preventing the exploitation of immigrants, in any sector of public and social life, and at eliminating practices that may demean their dignity and thus be considered prejudicial to public order.

5. Favoring the incorporation of immigrants into trade union structures and supporting the associational endeavors of immigrants with respect to promoting civic education programmes.

6. Capacity building for immigrant women, in order to encourage their participation and leadership within their respective communities and within Spanish society in general.

7. Adopting specific measures, especially within the sphere of education, aimed at favouring the integration of the children of immigrants, by developing inclusive policies to enable the equality of opportunities in a diversified society.

8. Creating training plans in collaboration with the Spanish Federation of Municipalities and Provinces, aimed at mayors and city councilors, in accordance with "Religious pluralism and society" courses.

9. Reinforcing mediation, within Autonomous Communities and Local Entities, as a procedure for crisis and conflict resolution, and drawing up guidelines on good practices.

10. Constituting permanent working groups with countries of origin of immigration, with the aim of centralizing the implementation of the measures set out in the National Plan.

11. Promoting the Ibero-American Convention on the Rights of Youth and its extension to other areas, with a view to the signing of a World Convention on the Rights of Youth; incorporating the values of the Alliance of Civilizations into the Ibero-American Plan for Youth Cooperation and Integration.

12. Including an "Alliance of Civilizations" line in the Inter ministerial Plan for Youth, and drawing up (by the Institute for Youth and the Institute for Women) of action plans in accordance with the principles and goals of this initiative.

13. Designing an employment plan aimed at young immigrants, enhancing and prioritizing the Emancipation Programme for Young People and extending it to other immigrant sectors.

14. Providing funding for a project to internationalize the network of Youth Spaces for Creation.

15. Programme for teaching and applying Communication and Information Technologies, using the Internet and promoting Media Literacy.

16. Integration of young immigrants in the Programme for Young Aid Workers and extension of this programme to areas in which action is taken within the framework of the Alliance of Civilizations.

17. Intensification and possibly extension of the Comprehensive Strategic Plan for the protection of vulnerable young people, especially those belonging to transnational families.

4. Aimed at the promotion and dissemination of the Alliance of Civilizations initiative

1. Establishing a permanent mechanism for the inter ministerial coordination of awareness-raising campaigns of a general nature, and creating surveys on the social perception of the principles that inspire the Alliance of Civilizations and on the impact of the measures implemented to achieve it. With the aim of optimizing this objective, educational materials will be created and distributed, and specific publishing initiatives taken so that the Alliance of Civilizations may be better known.

2. Promoting research and study projects related to the values of the Alliance, together with education and awareness-raising initiatives concerning the Millennium Development Goals, aimed at primary and secondary schoolchildren.

3. With the aim of boosting cooperation and the coordination of action taken by civil society in this sphere, and in particular in the fields of awareness-raising, civic participation and intercultural dialogue, action will be taken to set up a Network of Organizations for the Promotion of the values and principles that inspire the Alliance of Civilizations.

4. Incorporation in the UNESCO/Spain Trust Fund for Development Cooperation of a multidisciplinary line of credit in the context of the goals of the Alliance. Promotion and financial support of the UNESCO- approved International Network on Religions and Mediation.

5. Introducing into training courses for national police forces matters related to questions concerning cultural diversity, inter culturality, tolerance and respect for human rights. To this purpose, preparing Guidelines on Best Practices and Recommendations. With the same aim, preparing Codes of Best Practices for healthcare personnel, for prison workers and for business managers.

6. The promotion and dissemination by Spanish educational institutions abroad (the Instituto Cervantes, and culture and education sections) of the nature and goals of the Alliance of Civilizations.

7. The active presence of the Alliance in the activities to be developed both in Spain and in international fora.

8. Organizing the 2009 Alliance of Civilizations International Conference: challenges and opportunities.

9. Inclusion of materials in the study programmes of Information Science schools to enable greater knowledge of international reality; promotion of Media Literacy.

10. Preparing a Guide for Treatment in the Media of questions related to the issues addressed by the Alliance of Civilizations and, jointly with RTVE (the Spanish public broadcasting corporation), of a plan to disseminate the values of cultural diversity, tolerance and of peaceful conflict resolution. Extension of the right of access to RTVE in order to expand the cultural content of programmes related to diversity.

11. Supporting the production or joint production of films and TV series that promote the values espoused by the Alliance of Civilizations.[82]

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[82]http://www.pnac.es/VERSI%C3%93N+%C3%8DNTEGRA+DEL+PLAN+NACIONAL/PNAC+english+version.htm
28.08.2008. 20.00

10. Report

REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS
NATIONAL STRATEGY

I. INTRODUCTION

Turkey, being conscious of its cultural heritage of peaceful coexistence and being an insider to the Cultures, traditions and institutions of the West for nearly two centuries, is in a unique position to understand the significance of dialogue among civilizations and to apprehend the dire consequences that may result from the absence of tolerance and understanding among cultures. This is why the Alliance of Civilizations, initiated by the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Spanish Prime Minister Mr. José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, and launched by the UN Secretary-General Mr. Kofi Annanas a UN project in 2005, has been adopted wholeheartedly in Turkey.

The High Level Group of the Alliance of Civilizations, co-chaired by Minister of State Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın, and by the former General Director of UNESCO Mr. Federico Mayor, fulfilled the mandate given to them and issued a Report in Istanbul in November 2006. The Report, with its keen analyses, rich content and concrete recommendations is considered a landmark document, particularly with respect to its emphasis on an action-driven approach to prevent conflicts, reduce tension, and increase dialogue and cooperation among civilizations. The Alliance is rightfully regarded as the peace project of the 21th century.

The UN Secretary-General Mr. Ban Ki-moon's commitment to the project, his appointment of the former President of Portugal Mr. Jorge Sampaio as the High Representative of the Alliance of Civilizations, and last but not least the increasing support of the Group of Friends, make us highly optimistic about the current success and future potential of our initiative.

The problems that challenge us today are of a complex nature; hence the strategies that we develop must match their complexity. Like in many other situations, the best way to achieve alliance among cultures is through multiple strategies: initiating immediate cooperation when possible, appealing to the strength of arguments when needed, and providing various incentives to make cooperation preferable when appropriate. Complex and multifaceted though it is, our strategy is a strategy of action, not of mere thought or talks. We consider inertia or indifference towards problems that are undermining peaceful

relations among nations as the worst possible approach. Thus the initial engagement with these problems begins with a proper cognitive and emotive reaction. However, the current situation of the world requires from us to do more and to join our efforts in unison for the common good as it was indicated frequently and amply in the HLG Report of the Alliance of Civilizations. An example of good practice at the international level was provided in 2006 in a joint effort by the Turkish and Spanish Prime Ministers, who published the article "A Call for Respect and Calm" in handling the cartoon crisis. To increase the number of these kinds of cooperative efforts is one of the main objectives of Turkey's National Strategy.

The successful completion of Turkey's full accession into the European Union, which has been underway since 1963, will be a good example of the Alliance of Civilizations and of the coexistence of communities and individuals from different religions and cultures in a milieu of peace and tolerance.

In order to realize the objectives of the Alliance of Civilizations, peace and cooperation among individuals and nations should first be seen as a public good for the benefit of all. Wars and conflicts are not, and should not, be seen as necessary steps of human progress; their decline in number, scope and effect will only give way to our hopes for a peaceful future for humanity. Peace and cooperation must be perceived as the normative ground upon which human relations develop and human potential flourishes. This change of perception requires a major restructuring of our thoughts and beliefs towards relations among individuals, societies, institutions, nations and cultures. In sum, what is needed is a passionate heart, a firm resolution, a new mindset. To provide for all three together in a coherent way, our national strategy aims to realize projects and activities toward the values and goals of the Alliance of Civilizations. The key concepts that guide our strategy and motivate our actions are pluralism and diversity, friendship and cooperation, dialogue and understanding, and respect for human dignity and gender equality.

Pluralism and Diversity: Although diversity can create difficulties, it can also be a rich resource for solutions to the problems that we are facing today. Many consider diversity to be the real engine behind social progress. A lack of diversity can even be seen as the cause of stagnation that affects many societies. Diversity and pluralism require cognitive skills that promote different ways of perceiving and interpreting problems and generating a

wide range of solutions for them. Diverse groups and societies outperform homogeneous ones. People with different cultural backgrounds are more likely to see the world differently and to have fresh perspectives on important matters in life. Human progress depends as much on our ability to turn our differences into advantages as it does on our readiness to deal with new problems. A diverse society is also more likely to have talented individuals who lead their communities to safe shores in troubled times. Diversity is beneficent when there is a coherent structure upon which diverse opinions, interests and acts can converge. When individuals are constantly competing against each other, and perpetually trying to undo what others achieve, diversity has little to offer.

Friendship and Cooperation: Cooperation and friendship among cultures proceeds in different dimensions. In some cases, a valid norm is sufficient for cooperation and in others; face-saving concerns might be a strong incentive for individuals or groups to work together. At times, concerns about being left out or being isolated may also motivate cooperation. However, unlike cooperation between two individuals through reciprocal relations, alliance among cultures can require carefully formed incentives and commonly shared values. Cooperation itself does not necessarily carry an objective value, since two individuals or groups may cooperate to the detriment of a third one. The perspective of this potential third party has to be built into the general structure of our strategies. In our strategy, participation for the common good is the rule.

Dialogue and Understanding: There are various well known methods to be applied for problems that arise in the area of intercultural-relations, and these methods include negotiation, conflict resolution and mediation. Dialogue is an approach which is related to these methods, but less clearly defined. This can be taken as an advantage since dialogue, being more flexible; can be easily adapted to each specific situation. Furthermore, dialogue requires cooperation at the minimum level without which the participants could not even carry out their interaction. Dialogue and the processes that are conducive to it are therefore the main tools with which we may begin to work on issues that emerge out of our differences in values, beliefs and acts.

There are several criteria that test genuine inter-cultural communication. Deepening one's knowledge about one's own culture and cultivating an appreciation for other cultures come first. Moreover, without the critical skills necessary for evaluating constantly changing information, dialogue is unlikely to progress very far. Finally, dialogue entails an ethical

stance through which our interactions cast off their habitual routine and transform into a significant relation. These criteria do not only make dialogue possible but also constitute the basics without which no long term relation can last.

Respect for Human Dignity and Gender Equality: During various stages of policy making, planning, evaluation and implementation, respect for human dignity and gender equality will form the focal point that defines our activities. Disagreements are the brute facts of life. We often disagree not only in our tastes but even in our perceptions of facts, and, more importantly, in our choices of ethical norms. Some norms, however, are too valuable to be a subject for negotiation. Our strategy is based on respect for human dignity, gender equality, freedom, tolerance, and the democratic governance that lets these values function fully in a pluralistic society.

II. STRUCTURE

A. AoC NATIONAL COORDINATION COMMITTEE

In order to realize the National Strategy of the Alliance of Civilizations in its entirety and to secure coordination among the relevant Ministries, institutions and non-governmental organizations, an AoC National Coordination Committee will be established and its director and members will be appointed by the Prime Minister. The National Coordination Committee, which will operate under the guidance of Minister of State, Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın, will organize regular meetings during 2008 – 2009 and prepare an annual report to be presented to the Prime Ministry regarding the developments in the area of Alliance of Civilizations. The projects included in the National Strategy will be implemented by the relevant Ministries. The National Coordination Committee will consist of the representatives from the following Ministries.

Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın)	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of State (Mr. Murat Basesgioglu)	Ministry of National Education
Ministry of State (Mrs. Nimet Çubukçu)	Ministry of Labor and Social Security
Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. M. Said Yazıcıoglu)	Ministry of Culture and Tourism
Ministry of Interior Affairs	Ministry of Environment and Forestry

B. GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Since a significant number of the Members of the Grand National Assembly are already involved with various activities and projects that come under the umbrella of intercultural dialogue, the National Coordination Committee will work closely with them to coordinate various efforts and maximize their outcome.

C. MUNICIPALITIES AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The National Coordination Committee will cooperate with the municipalities and local authorities so that the main objectives of the Alliance are reflected in their social policies, and secure the involvement of individuals and groups at the community level.

D. CIVIL SOCIETY AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

As recommended in the High Level Group Report, the National Coordination Committee will aim to secure the involvement of national and international organizations and civil society groups in the projects and activities of the Alliance of Civilizations. Among these organizations are UNESCO, UNDP, OSCE, OIC, IRCICA, Anna Lind Euro-Mediterranean Foundation, TIKA, TESEV, SETA, TOBB, TUSIAD, and MUSIAD. In implementing the AoC projects concerning the youth, the National Coordination Committee will seek the cooperation of national and international youth organizations such as the Youth for the Alliance of Civilizations Initiative.

E. PROCESSES

The Projects included in the National Strategy will implemented at three levels: (a) new projects will be initiated, such as organizing meetings, publishing articles and books, and establishing centre for cultural dialogue at the universities; (b) support will be provided for the ongoing projects that are active toward the objectives of the AoC, such as the projects that are listed below and are currently implemented by the Ministries and NGOs; and finally (c) a dialogue perspective will be injected into the existing projects that are likely to adapt some of their aims and content to the general aims of the Alliance. (To prevent repetition, the projects under the responsibility of more than one Ministry are mentioned only once.)

Ministry of State

Prof.Dr.Mehmet Aydin

No	Project	Explanation	Implementing Ministries and Institutions	Date
01	**Turkish Modernization from the Perspective of the Alliance of Civilizations**	- A conference will be held on Turkish Modernization, as an example in pursuance of the objectives, contained in the report of the High Level Group, of encouraging Muslim societies to contribute to global developments and to promote dialogue within this framework	Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın) Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA)	2009
02	**Conference on Atatürk's Vision on Culture and Civilization**	- A conference will be held on Atatürk's thoughts on culture and civilization, in view of the principles and objectives of the Alliance of Civilizations.	Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın) Atatürk Research Centre	2008
03	**Cross-civilizational Dialogue and Cultural Enrichment: Conference on the role of the Media**	- A conference will be held, with the participation of the international press members and other experts, to examine the role to be played by the media in the Alliance of Civilizations.	Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın) Directorate-General of Press and Information (BYEGM)	2008
04	**Conference on the Alliance of Civilizations in view of Scientific Developments**	- A conference will be held to examine the concepts of science and civilizations and to study the risks and advantages of scientific developments, in view of the contents and aims of the Alliance of Civilizations.	Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın) Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBITAK)	2009

05	**Conference on Islamic Civilization and Pax Otomana**	-The contribution of the Islamic Civilization and Ottoman practices to the culture of peace and co-existence will be explored from the perspective of the Alliance of Civilizations.	Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın) Turkish Historical Society	2009
06	**Scholarship**	- Scholarships will be made available to students and academicians seeking to conduct research in the field of the Alliance of Civilizations, inter-cultural dialogue, conflict prevention and conflict resolution.	Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın) TÜBITAK, TÜBA	2008-2009
07	**Academic Publications Board for the Alliance of Civilizations**	- A board will be established, comprising academicians with an interest in the Alliance of Civilizations and expertise in history, philosophy, theology, anthropology or other related fields, in order to act in a consultative capacity with respect to publications.	Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın) Academic Publications Board	2008-2009
08	**Monographs and Translations on the Alliance of Civilizations**	- Monographs will commissioned on the Alliance of Civilizations and on crossfertilization between the Islamic and Western Civilizations both in Turkish and English. Within the framework of the Alliance's objectives, an anthology of articles in Turkish and other languages, which are published in various journals and frequently-quoted, will be published. Introductory works on inter-cultural dialogue and its objectives will be published for the general public.	Ministry of State (Prof. Dr. Mehmet Aydın) Academic Publications Board	2008-2009

83

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83 http://www.medeniyetlerittifaki.org.tr/raporlar/mi_ulusal_plan.pdf /12.05.2009/ 11.00

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name: Mevlüt
Surname: BULUT
Date of Birth: 17.01.1981
Place of Birth: Konya/Turkey
Nationality: Turkish

EDUCATION:

2008- Erasmus (Exchange) Student at the University of Istanbul Faculty of Law.

2001-2008: Political Science at the Vienna University as a Master Degree.

2007- Faculty of Law at the University of Vienna.

2000-2001: Preparation to the language of German.

1999-2000: Prep class for the English at the Yeditepe University in Istanbul.

1996-1999: Selcuklu Anatolian Imam Hatip High School in Konya.

EXPERIENCES:

2001-2002: **Wonder**; Union to Students Pump Priming and Activities . I have taken office time of the establish process and I was the Vice-President in the department of Foreign Affairs.

2005-2006: **WSI** (Wonder Language Centre) I have been given the position of an organizer.

2006-**Politic-all:** *Centre For Social and Political Studies*; This Union is a part of social department as a researching centre in the academics area. I am an establishment member manager and at the same time given the position as a president.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE:

ENGLISH: Advance
GERMAN: Advance
ARABIC: Middle level

STUDY TRAVEL:

USA:

Wisconsin (3 Month) 2007 Summer Season
New York City (1 Month) 2007 Summer Season

Israel:

Organization of Service for Peace – European Meet in Middle East.
In Jerusalem, Ramallah, El Halil, Beyt Lahm, Bethany, Tel Aviv in Winter Season 2008.

Turkey:

I was an exchange student at the University of Istanbul department of Law. I studied Constitutional Law, Obligation Law, Commercial Law, Civil Law and Comparative Roman Law.