THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY OF MODERN TURKEY: THE CONTEXT OF *ÜÇ TARZ-I SİYASET* (ISLAMISATION, MODERNIZATION AND NATIONALIZATION) BY YUSUF AKCURA

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ABSTRACT

This project examines the basic impacts the Late Ottoman and Modern Turkish Experience to European Union, especially Cultural and Religious Identity. If we want to foster and develop the spirit of democracy and pluralism in European Countries, we must analyze Turkish experience from the point of theories of political sociology because it is non members but want to join to EU as different cultural and religious traditions. It is known that, people show great interest on to the social, ethnicity and political problems so that will be discussed the formation of ethnic identities and ethnic groups in Modern Turkey as a construction of nations and nationalism. This issue i.e dialectical integrity between the human relations and religion relations is very important for European Countries especially for Crash of Civilizations. For this reason, we have to study the early forerunners of democracy in Modern Turkey, its influence of the early thinkers, such as Yusuf Akçura, who lived at the last period of Ottoman State and early period of Modern Turkey. The impact of this thinker on the history of Turkish modernization in particular will be analyzed. Then, the place of Nationalist and secularist Turkish thought in modern Islamic thought and its original contributions to EU, if there any, to the development of democracy will be discussed. The impact of Western Political Thought on this influential thinker also will be studies. So, I try to investigate the historical roots and impact of Western Democratically Thought on our political and social identity. So that, in this paper, it will be made by critical and rational reading of the political and sociological accumulation of construction of national identity in Modern Turkey; i.e. it will be discussed consciousness of Turkishness (Turkiyelilik) like a Europeans and Americans

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With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which kept Front Asia, Africa, the Balkans and Caucasus under management for six hundred years and which comprised very different languages, religions and races, the Turkish Nation established a state named Turkish Republic. Since the new administration's use of the political reference of the republic, Turkish society happened to be formed by Turkish citizens who have equal law and sovereignty unconditionally belonged to the Nation.[1]

In this point the biggest problem had its roots in acceptance of qualifying all the other people, who used to live under the Ottoman identity and had different languages, races and religions, also as "Turks". This conceptualization is the last of the *Three Political Style* which started in the Western thought by Philosophy of Enlightenment, had its peak point by French Revolution and was developed by the discussions on Identity-History and Globalization project of the Western civilization. With the teachings of "Ottomanism", "Islam(ism)" and "Turk(ism)", this had an important position in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire in the name of searching of cultural and political solutions, identity problems tried to be resolved. In this context, Yusuf Akçura's treatise called *Three Political Styles* (*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*) is a qualified work which summarizes Turkish Republic's project of creating a new national culture and a new race in its main lines.

Yusuf Akçura is a prominent intellectual who worked as a deputy and as the president of Turkish History Research Society for two terms, which were very important for determining the socio-political structure of the newly established Turkish republic. His article which was published in Cairo, in the newspaper *Türk*, four years before the declaration of the Second Constitutionalist Period (1904): "Three Types of Politics"[2] (Turkism, Ottomanism and Islamism) is among the important texts that make up the foundation philosophy of the Republic of Turkey.

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1 İnalcık Halil. "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Osmanlı", *Doğu Batı Düşünce Dergisi*, 2, 5: (1998-1999), 9-10. Especially to show that cultural heritage is maintained it is enough to remember that ITU (Istanbul Technical University) was established 227 years ago, Municipal Police was established 174 years ago; Darüşşafaka league was established 13 years; and the high school of the same league was established 127 years before. In addition, we know that Galatasaray High School was established in 1481, the First Artillery School was established in 1772. Sea Engineering school was established in 1773; first private Music School, Daru'l Musiki-i Osmani, was established in 1908; Ministry of Post was established in 1840, Gendarmerie Organization in 1839; The General Directorate of Security in 1909; Istanbul Chamber of Industry and Commerce in 1880; Dersaadet Attorney Association in 1878 and our first official newspaper Takvim-i Vakayi was published in 1831.

2 Yusuf Akçura. *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991). For Yusuf Akçura's biography see Temir Ahmet, Yusuf Akçura (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1987). Also F. Oya Haklı, *Yusuf Akçura'nın Muasır Avurapa'da Siyasi ve İçtimai Fikirler ve Fikri Hareketler Adlı Eserinin Tahlili* (together with original and edited texts), unpublished M.A. Thesis, Hitit University, Çorum, 2001, 3-7.

Therefore, taking this work as the center, we will analyze the identity conceptions which were being developed late Ottoman period and early Republic period. At that time, like today, the problem was preventing the demographic dissolution, resulting from the political dissolution caused by the treaties Karlowitz (1699), Passarowitz (1718) and Berlin (1878), making different religious and racial elements exist together under the same political structure.[3] Indeed, in his article *Three Types of Politics*, Akçura presents a political expression of the Ottoman Empire which holds more than 30 sub-culture groups who live together at the same time preserving their own languages, customs, manners and religions. Analyzing the bottlenecks of *Three Types of Politics* and creating a new vision of identity means structuring a basis for the Republic of Turkey's pluralistic structure; the culture of living together regardless of the differences in language, religion and culture. And this is very important for Turkey whose main purpose is a full membership to European Union.

I. THREE STYLES OF POLITICS AS THE FINAL EXPRESSION OF OTTOMAN REFORMS

With its main lines *Three Types of Politics*, are the political models that propose 'Being bound to the state in three ways': Creating a union that composed of various peoples (Ottoman nation) living in Ottoman State; politically uniting Muslims under this state using Caliphate (Pan-Islamism); creating a political Turkism which is based on race.[4] It was very important to determine the functional means necessary for preventing the state from collapsing[5], fragmenting and to negotiate them, since especially within the framework of nationalization, internal and external relations were confused and it became necessary to make arrangements in order to ensure a harmony the 'new order of the world' constructed internationally in the Congress of Vienna in 1815.[6] So as the best analysis of these searches, *Three Types of Politics* sees 'history' as a living and changing thing and searches theoretic bases of the Ottoman State in order to see its effects on political and cultural structure of the Republic of Turkey.

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3 Yusuf Akçura. *Muasır Avrupa'da Siyasi ve İçtimai Fikirler ve Fikri Hareketler* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1339), 10.

4 Bernard Lewis. *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, trans. M. Kıratlı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 324.

5 Bahattin Yediyıldız. "Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset Paneli", *Ölümünün 50. Yılında Yusuf Akçura Sempozyumu Bildirileri,* Mart. 185, Ankara, 1987, 73. Also Yusuf Akçura, *Yeni Türk Devletinin Öncüleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1981), 146.

6 Akçura, *Muasır Avrupa,* op. cit., 6.

In short these three types of politics are attempts to found a state using nation-state as a model and they are shaped by three problems that Ottoman reformists faced and tried to solve. These are, the integration of non-Muslim groups within the nation-state; providing the same integration for the Muslim groups left out of the center; giving order to the mosaic structure of the state and making these 'various elements' living in 'national territory' integrate into this political system.[7]

Notice that these issues are important and urgent for that period because there was not any race of nation concepts in Ottoman before. Especially the emergence of identity issue is a result of system problems coming to existence in late 18th century.[8] Nationalization which started to show its face with the Second Siege of Vienne and accelerated with French revolution became a political program. Ottomanism is a concept developed to fill this gap and present a new life style and social order.

The historical background of "creating a new nation", regarding Ottoman-Turkey framework, take us back to 1821, the Serbian rebellion. From that day onwards, geopolitics and the changing conditions of the world made the state think that it was necessary to create a new nation on this land. The reformists tried to create an Ottoman nation and put great effort on that task. The Republic, on the other hand, evaluating the existing opportunities given by the history, retried creating a nation-state again and achieved it.[9] In this new experience, religion had a central position and even if they had a particular language and different cultures, people sharing the same religion and history weren't counted as minorities. So here, we can start examining Ottomanism, one of the three bounds of that state.

1. Ottomanism

Ottomanism emerged together with Constitutional Monarchy. The identity of Ottomanism which was a result of Hatt-ı Hümayun, signed by Sultan Abdülmecid in 1856, tried to constitute a political unity that would exceed any differences of religion, language or religious sect.[10] In this respect Ottomanism (Ittihad-ı Osmani) was the prevailing political wave, even the 'official ideology'. The purpose of this type of politics was to overcome the criticisms, forwarded to political class over the historic and cultural thematics of the 19th century, by including the subjects into the political class. This solution, which ensured that every single citizen in the country would be equal and 'Ottoman' regardless of differences like religion, language, race or social class, seemed very realistic at that time in a cosmopolitan empire.

In this system, the fundamental determinant 'religion factor' would only exist, as Sultan Mahmud II said, after entering into a mosque, church or synagogue. Akçura states that this model was backed by its samples in France or Sweden and its main point was ensuring the equality between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Ottoman Empire by assigning the same rights and responsibilities for everyone. Religion and race differences could be united representatively like in the case of the USA and a new nation Ottomanism could exist in a common land.[11]

This principle was the fundamental of Kanun-i Esasi, the constitution launched with the excessive efforts of Mithat Pasha in December 23, 1876. The objection was including the subjects in the ruling class, regardless of the differences in religion, language or religious sect, and ensuring the supervision of the common people in governance. Accordingly, the subjects who were planning to get apart from the state would have an opportunist bound with the state and share the common fate. This was the ideology produced during the reformist period in response to the French Revolution and any external pressure for the equality among people was out of question.[12]

Ottoman identity, the basis of which was established in Selim III[13] and Mahmut II periods in order to bring a centralized approach so that Ottoman Empire could catch up with modern, new type states, led to radical changes and new developments.[14] However, among non-Muslim

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7   Şerif Mardin. *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset: Makaleler 1*, eds. Mümtaz'er Türköne, Tuncay Önder (İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları, 1991), 40.

8   Timur Taner. *Osmanlı Kimliği* (İstanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1986), 115.

9   Mümtazer Türköne. "Cumhuriyetin Kamusal Alanı", *Doğu Batı Düşünce Dergisi*, 2 (1998-1999), 131.

10   The importance of this text is that is repetition of Hatt-ı Hümayun with some additions and that it emphasizes the quality of all the Ottoman subjects. Mustafa Erdoğan, *Türkiye'de Anayasalar ve Siyaset* (Ankara: Liberte Yayınları, 1999), 23ff. Feruz, op. cit., 114, 131; For Gülhane Hattı and Tanzimat-ı Hayriye texts see Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşid Paşa ve Tanzimat* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 164-190, 191-206.

11   Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, 19; also Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Osmanlıcılık" in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1986), 6: 1389-1391.

12   Ortaylı says that it is disputable that the equality status was given with the pressure from foreign countries because for Russia it was impossible to give Catholics, especially Jews those rights even in their own countries. If we pay attention to the fact that France wanted this only for the Catholics living in Ottoman Empire, we can see that not with pressure, but with president officers these changes was made. See Ortaylı İlber, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (Istanbul: Hil Yayınları, third ed. 1995), 82, 99, 214; Bilal Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Sisteminde Millet Sistemi* (Istanbul: Ağaç Yayınları, 1992), 90.

13   III Selim (1789-1807) was seen as the father of Ottoman-Turkish Westernization wave and representative for the general reforms inside the government. See Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı Toplum Yapısının Evrimi", trans. M. Özden, Fahri Unan, *Türkiye Günlüğü*, 11 (1990), 3.

14   Kemal Karpat. "Kimlik Sorununun Türkiye'de Tarihi, Sosyal ve İdeolojik Gelişmesi", *Türk Aydını ve Kimlik Sorunu*, ed. Sabahattin Şen (Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1995), 28. Also Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı Toplum

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communities who saw the Ottoman nation project as a trap of assimilation, this new state attempt, centering on religion and relying on the representation of various people in the same land, unfortunately couldn't be successful,[15] because Ottomans emphasized a geographic integration rather than a national and cultural integration. Since a common language and culture policy was not established, neither a successful combination of Muslims and non-Muslims was achieved nor such a policy could be pursued, after the autonomy given to non-Muslims.[16]

It is very important that Yusuf Akçura, who has a considerable knowledge of 19th century's political paradigms and Anatolia's geopolitical importance, states that it was a pointless effort to try to combine the 'nation' approach of reformists and the prevailing 'nation' concept of the time. Indeed, the Ottomans, who feared that they might lose their sovereignty, didn't adopted to that process and non-Muslim communities got in touch with Western countries and rebelled against the state to gain their autonomy.[17]

Mentioning the geopolitical status of the Anatolia, Akçura implies that Russia would not let this policy to be accomplished. After seizing Balkans; Russia aimed at combining Slavic-Orthodox Christians at North and South, and through Iraq reaching at Western Asia and the Mediterranean. And Europe wouldn't want a country that hosted the Crusades to maintain a pacifist policy like this since they identify the Ottoman Turks with Islam. Since what is important for them was to ensure that Ottoman was in constant dispute and disunion, they started to encourage non-Muslim communities to rebel with the excuse of having autonomy and freedom.[18] Instead of Ottomanism policy which was not accepted by internal or external factors, the state started two Ottoman identities project gradually.

2. Islamism

Seeing that Ottamanism was far from being successful, Abdülhamit II tried to constitute the unity of the state with Islamism. The key concept here is 'Caliphate' he tried to use this concept to unify the Muslim world under Ottoman Empire.[19] Since, Hatt-ı Hümayun constructed the basis of Christian rebellions by putting them under the patronage of European countries while aiming at giving them equal rights. It must be because he had seen this danger that, Abdülhamit used Islamism which supported Ottomanism psychologically and culturally. More accurately, since the concept of 'Ottoman Islamic Nation' which prevailed before his period didn't compensate the requirements of the time, he added some other missions to it.[20]

Abdülhamit used this concept in both external and internal politics with two faces rather than trying to unite all of the Muslims. Its use in internal politics was to unify people, especially the communities in periphery around the concept of 'Islamic State' so that these Muslim communities could enforce their sense of identity with political legitimacy. This type of commitment to the state can be called as *pre-nationalism*. In foreign policy, however, he tried to apply a realistic diplomacy balanced with interior Europe measures, against the colonial expansion policies of the U.K. in India, France in Algeria and Russia in North Caucasus and Central Asia. He tried to prepare the basis for this big territory reaching at Japan to turn its face to the East and set a reel-diplomatic balance with Germany, and so carried the competition with the U.K. into international area.[21]

According to Akçura, however, Islamism has no chance as a policy method because in the time of nationalism, religion would feed separation and hatred rather than providing a unity. Furthermore, one should not forget that mostly Muslim countries are under the hegemony of Christian countries and this would make it impossible for that kind of policy to be successful. 'So' says Akçura, 'Ottomanism and Islamism cannot be successful anymore, now it is time for the unity of Turks (*Tevhid-i Etrak*) for embracing Turkish style of a national politics.[22]

Ottomanism project failed to solve the problem. Islam dominated feelings of people, but its political reflection, Islamism, on the other hand, could have a limited success and as a result intellectuals who were educated in Western countries started to apply third type of politics to ensure the harmony with basic beliefs and the integration.

Yapısının Evrimi", op. cit., 36 and the following pages.

15 Lewis, op.cit., 217-218; Ercüment Kuran, "19.yy.da Milliyetçiliğin Türk Eliti Üzerindeki etkisi", *Ortodoğuda Modernleşme* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1995), 5.

16 Eryılmaz, op. cit., 104.

17 Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, 28-29. Cf. also Süleyman Seyfi Öğün, "Türk Politik Kültürünün Şekillenmesinde Tarihin Konumu", *Sosyal Bilimleri Yeniden Düşünmek Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1998), 190. See also Ercüment Kuran, "19.yy.da Milliyetçiliğin Türk Eliti", op. cit., 5.

18 Akçura, *Üç Tasrı Siyaset*, 29-32.

19 Şükrü Hanioğlu. "Osmanlıcılık" in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Ansiklopedisi*, op. cit., 1393, Andre Miquel, *Doğuşundan Günümüze İslâm ve Medeniyeti,* ed. Ahmet Fidan (Istanbul: Birleşik Yayınları, 1991), 1: 521.

20 Mümtaz'er Türköne. "Kürt Kimliği: Çözüm Nerede?", *Türkiye Günlüğü*, 33 (1995), 32.

21 Davudoğlu, op. cit., 886-87; Mardin, *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset,* 41, 186.

22 Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*, p.31-33. For Akçura's definitions of nation and nationalism see *Muasır Avrupa*, 3.

3. Turkism

It is important to keep in mind that while reformists were trying to create an Ottoman identity disregarding language, religion, race differences and failed, there were two approaches to nationalism in West. According to Akçura, one of them was *contractual nationalization*, which was developed under the influence of enlightenment philosophy and constituted by voluntary participation of citizens who are equal before the law, like France. The other is *nationalism based on past, product of a common history, a natural race/nation approach*, which was adopted by German and Russia. In the first case since there is a contractual structure, nation is a group of people who take part in the common contract that decide to leave the government to the general will of power. Nationalism is not a natural sign and is composed by historical facts. People are not born as a member of a group, but they become members of a democratic nation voluntarily.

This approach constructs the fundamentals of the Human Rights Declaration. Now, nation is a unit that demands the right of self-manage and has it. The purpose is to melt the nation into citizenship. The second one, however, is based on romance because there is a tradition rooted in the past. The unity of race and language is the privilege. Akçura declares that according to this approach, every race is a nation and this is supported by history and language researches. And this type of approach has a wider expansion on the world than the nations defined by free will. It is out of question to have a voluntary participation.[23]

Indeed after 19th century onwards, regarding the discussion of how to create a nation, relying on race-religion basis, 'Nation is first and foremost an action of nationalization' principle is privileged.[24] As a result, the intellectuals who thought this wasn't enough to have a soil and and state and be permanent, started to emphasize that a structure where 'a Turkish nation relied on the unity of race' was compulsory. In other words, political Turkism, ie Turkism for a political stand was first emphasized by intellectuals like Yusuf Akçura, Ahmet Ağayef, Ziya Gökalp, Mehmet Fuat Köprülüzade, Hüseyinzade Ali, Semsettin (Günaltay). These intellectuals came together and found Turkish Unity Association (Türk Birliği Derneği), Turkish Society Association (Türk Derneği Cemiyeti), Turkish Country Association (Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti), Turkish Hearth Association (Türk Ocağı Cemiyeti) and published magazines like *Genç Kalemler (Young Pens)* and *Bilgi (Information).*[25] With these works, they

tried to give back the excitement of a pure life and pure joy to the Turks who had forgotten their past.[26]

To ensure this it is necessary to create a phenomenon out of Turkism and to evaluate the original conditions of the relationship between the concrete social base that is the fundamental of Turkism and the consciousness of being Turk. If this is not accomplished, a Turkish history can only be written ethnically and the value of this history will be far from belonging to us, rather it will be a value assigned by Western ideology.[27] For example, it will be impossible to discriminate the differences between patriotism, which is a royalty to the state, and national identity, which is the sense of belonging to a national group. And the result of this will be, like the case in Sweden, knowing and respecting the national group you belong to and not feeling the need for respecting the state[28].

Akçura in a way tries to create this phenomenon. In his Turkism project, the purpose is the harmony of two groups, one pure Turk and one Turkified. Perhaps in this context Ottomanism, ie the Turkification of a group who are not Turks, but committed to the state with Islamic bound (Muslim-Turk). Another point is the Turkification / consciousness raising of a group who is deprived of national conscience. The 'Turkish Unity project has 3 steps. These are: First, the Turks in Ottoman Empire should be united. The racial bound comes first, because though there are not very much non-Muslims, there are much more non-Turks. Secondly, the Turkification of Muslim groups who are not Turk, but became Turk to some extent. Finally, the project will be concluded with the Turkification of the groups who have not adapted to Turkism yet.[29]

This last step, consciousness raising for those who are deprived from national conscience, with the expression of E. Z. Karal is really interesting[30] because for nearly 80 years this process is continues and the problem still exists. This is probably because of the lack of a concrete

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Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), 101; cf. also Ercüment Kuran, "Yusuf Akçura'nın Tarihciliği", *Ölümünün Ellinci Yılında Yusuf Akçura Sempozyumu (11-12 Mart.1985) Bildirileri* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştirma Enstitüsü, 1987), 5.

26 Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset,* p.34; In this context it should be explained that the work which affected the born of turkism in Ottoman was belonged to Leon Cahun'a (1989) He is a good writer but not a Turkolog, his effect on Turkish intellectuals should be looked for in the timing. See Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Kimliği* (Istanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1986), 112.

27 Timur, op. cit., 116.

28 Will Kymlicka. "*Çok Kültürlü Yurttaşlık, Azınlık Haklarının Liberal Teorisi,* trans. Abdullah Yılmaz (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1995), 42.

29 Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset,* 33.

30 Karal, Enver Ziya, Preface, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset,* 8.

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23 Akçura, *Muasır Avurapa,* 10. See Nuri Bilgin, *Sosyal Bilimlerin Kavşağında Kimlik Sorunu* (Izmir: Ege Yayınları, 1994), 13-14.

24 İlber Ortaylı. *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı,* op. cit., 51-53; Bilgin, op. cit., 58.

25 Lewis, op. cit., 341 ; Hanioğlu, op. cit., 1391-1392 and İlhan Tekeli, Selim İlkin, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda*

analysis, as Akçura suggests. The concepts Turkism and Unity of Turks, Islamism and Unity of the Islamic groups were confused. That one of them is implemented inside does not mean that it should be implemented outside, as well. Since working for a pure Turkism divides the Muslim population into two as Turks and non-Turks. The society weakens, loses power, disputes begin.[31] Then what is important is to see three types of politics as three principles of commitment to the state and behave accordingly.

II. THREE TYPES OF POLITICS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

The political preference of the new government has been republic. When we think that historically republicanism goes back to Reformist Period (1839-1956) and Constitutional Monarchy (1876) we can see that this preference is only natural. Especially, after Constitutional Law II, when the unity of jurisprudence was constituted, an assembly was recreated and education was disseminated; the road for new Republic of Turkey was paved in a way.

In this context the new state, believed that it was possible to reconstruct ethics and society in a scientific and objective way and constitute a 'scientific society' in republican approach and all of the existing social orders could be transformed according to this scientific society project. In republican government we the members of Union and Progress were active. These people had many features of modern Western republics with their general administrative, dogmatic rationalist, nationalist, legist and positivist views and with their features like militer, oligarchic, elitist, imposing, isolating, constructivist en most importantly turning their back to history they adapted a type of government pertained to us.[32]

In this case, with Immanuel Wallenstein's words,[33] in this context how can we overcome the universalist / republican system building paradox of the state which suggests the purest particularistic / nationalist first and foremost and sees the nation state as the main unite to organize the culture? In order to determine the basis for the philosophy of republican politics, it is necessary to remember the plenary /universal and singular / historical discussion in the history of philosophy. Because in the final analysis, *Republicanism* is the reflection of universalism in modern politics. Historicist political understanding claims that this view is fiction and didn't take place in history.[34]

Historicism asks us to create our mentality, values, and rules; also to determine how we experience our different identities in the time of conflict and the way we construct our future on our own. Moreover, it says that we should do this by paying attention to the values and principles of central societies and taking advantages of them. For this, it is important to pay attention to the bounds of a society with its past which are continuous and to the 'tradition' to create the 'new' ones.[35] Therefore, it is impossible to create a new society and history by moving away from history/past radically. Every 'new', by developing an attitude to the 'old', interpreting it in a peculiar way and settling accounts with the past, includes something from it. Because, actually these attitudes and accounts mean being in relation with the 'old'.[36]

This point is very important, because in general Turkish modernization is presented as the one which breaks all bounds with the old and the most radical one of the non-western modernization attempts. For instance, Seyfi Öğün says that new government which prioritizes the liberalization of the people from all traditional authority wants to construct an identity on 'an empty ground which hasn't been occupied before'.[37]

1. 'Turkey Citizenship' as a New Design of Identity

Can we reread the Ottoman experience which aims to create 'a new Ottoman state nationalism or patriotism' relying on a common past, putting a common future ideal into practice and making all citizens equal in terms of rights and duties regardless of race, religion and language, in the frame of intercultural interaction?[38] If we can develop the notion of Turkey Citizenship, one of the identity policies of Ottoman,[39] in the meaning of a superordinate national identity, we can avoid the mistake of falling into western-centered universalistic determinism which tries to melt away the cultural difference by denying and defying them in one model, so that we can keep different cultures alive. Rather than a notion of 'Turkey

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31 Yusuf Akçura. *Yeni Türk Devletinin Öncüleri*, ed. Nejat Sefercioğlu (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981), 149-150.

32 Doğan Özlem. "Tarihsellik ve Cumhuriyet", *Felsefe Dünyası*, 28 (1998), 13.

33 Immanuel Wallerstein. "Ulusal ve Evrensel: Dünya Kültürü Diye Bir Şey Olabilir mi?" in *Kültür, Küreselleşme ve Dünya Sistemi*, ed. Anthony D. King, trans. Ümit Hüsrev Yolsal and Gülcan Seçkin (Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, 1998), 121.

34 Özlem, op. cit., 9.

35 Özlem, op. cit., 14.

36 Özlem, op. cit., 14-15.

37 Ibid, 47-48.

38 Cengiz Güleç. *Türkiye'de Kültürel Kimlik Krizi* (Ankara: V Yayınları, 1992), 24. Cf. İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı,* op. cit., 99.

39 Mevlüt Uyanık. *Bir Üst Kimlik Tasarımı Olarak Türkiyelilik* (İstanbul: Metropol Yayınevi, 2003). Also Ahmet Turan Alkan, op. cit., 198.

Citizenship' in terms of origin, this word means that everyone who lives in Turkish Republic and feels belong to this country has a right to citizenship. With agreement and participation a prominent common life style is aimed by means of language, culture, believes and values which arise from a common past.

Actually, the notion of Turkey Citizenship, on the contrary to the presentation of ethnicity as a minority policy of imperialism aiming to split the country; is the prioritization of the experience of Seljuk-Ottoman and Turkish Republic in Anatolia which is at the heart of the world in terms of politics and economy. It is a construction of a big Eurasian project by Turkish Republic as the political and cultural successor of Ottoman Empire and an attempt of producing new policies with other Turkish States and the countries in the region which can reconstruct the international balance policies; rather than disregarding the Turkish people outside Anatolia.

III. THE IMPORTANCE OF TURKEY CITIZENSHIP AS A NEW CONCEPT OF IDENTITY IN EUROPEAN UNION PROCESS

The developments and changes going under the name of globalization in the line of political economy and to negotiate the cultural transformations raised by these changes have gained importance. For the resolution of cultural identity problems and social cohesion in Turkey with the rapid developments in European Union Process, it is necessary to inquire into integration problems of Turks living in abroad. Because, the analysis of globalization and local integration process of Turkey, a member of international organizations like UN, IMF, NATO, OECD, IBRD, which started at 1959 and gained speed in 1999 with declaration as European Union "candidate country" will be possible only with comparative analyses.

The progress in information technology closed the distances between countries and societies and developed the interaction in parallel. The globalization of the people depends on cultural agreements which are directly related to economic and political agreements. Therefore, the interchange of material things, the internationalization of politics and the globalization of symbolic values are points that need to be emphasized.

This point is important because the globalization is to see the world as a whole and to position you accordingly. That is to say that the developments in telecommunication has

created a large world economy but at the same time the shared parts got smaller also the owner of these parts got more power. Although the developments in science and technology foresaw more stable structure in the world, the contrary happened. New politics are started to be developed to keep the situation stable.

When a power which can control the world in terms of production, consumption and administration tries to make sharing easier with free information under the name of globalization, it raises social problems like inequality, unemployment and exclusion.

1. The Crisis of Legitimacy and Representation of Nation State in Globalization

Globalization is a process which makes to keep social policy difficult for nation state so that it is about to turn into offices which run the business of global capital. The problem is to identify nation state with 'Social State'. Especially the limitation of the sovereignty area of the nation state by supranational process which emerged with the globalization of the economy leads to this result. This is because; the international corporations and markets which are very powerful give themselves the right of intervention in national area. And to this, when the process inside of the nation state; namely downsizing of the state, privatization, discredit to public sector, attempts to diminish centralism is added, the classical functions of the nation state reduce.

These reforms relying on new liberal ideology resulted in consolidation of local units (with ethnical, economical, cultural aspects). This crisis actually is not the crisis of state, economy and identity but the legitimacy and representation crisis of nation state, national economy and national identity. This is because; the discourse of 'state sovereignty' which is put into privileged position in nation state always brings the crisis of legitimacy into the question. Besides, the crisis of the states which make national market and state-led productions rather than global productions and prioritize the national bourgeoisie defending 'national development' can be resolved only with the analysis of the international experiences which keep different races, religions and languages together.

2. A Supranational Approach To The Citizenship

The concept of national state and a supranational approach to the citizenship should be developed against especially centering the military and political power on one point, paradoxically localizing of new world system and emerging of alternative economic-cultural power centers. Especially for our country, most of our citizens live abroad, their relation with

the country is limited with days of rest whose gaps lengthen increasingly, ordeal they experience on roads and bureaucracy make these gaps lengthen more. The way of developing the relation with the country and the state should be the idea of structuring. No matter when, where and which countries' citizen, the way of the same ideal depth and serenity (pulsate for the country and its people) should be investigated. In this sense, right along with the question of how can we provide togetherness of our citizens whose language, religion and race is different in an upper identity, it is important to provide relation for people who have different citizenships but are Turkey oriented. We can provide this ideal togetherness if we can read globalization, which is pluralist in terms of religious structures and identities and is in the side of democracy and market economy, with local contents.

As a result of globalization which defines economic-political changes and transformations in the world, investigation about universalization (globalization) of symbolic (local) values becomes compulsory. Because *globalization* revives supranational locations as new political locations instead of parliaments in which policy is carried out and benefit struggle is continued among ethnic, cultural, religious or economic groups. In this regard, possible contribution of the people who are "American", "English", "French" but Turkish oriented to the new political and economic awareness which is constructed within the frame of Haberman's concept of "a constitutional patriotism". In addition to this, Turkey is a secular state that has an experience of westernization/modernization, so Turkey's possibility of occurrence of pluralist, surrounding and inclusive democracy especially in Islam world should be strengthen.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This means that developing the soul of democracy and pluralism more and more in Eurasia. In order to do this, the sociopolitical developments in the last period of Ottoman Empire and in the first period of modern Turkey should be followed closely. In this sense, it is important to read Yusuf Akçura's Three Types of Politics which are pan-Islamism, Turkism and Ottomanism as a new cultural upper identity.

I think that, by reading Anatolia's sociological and political deposition in constructing national identity critically, coping with social, ethnic and political problems creates harmony among human and religious relationships if a dialectic assent can be provided among them, and this is important for AB countries, because the West (American and European Union)

tries to embody a lot of languages, religions and cultures as a "nation/society" and present them as a cultural wealth. We, as well, should investigate Turkish communities living in western countries, their personality and identities' situation against assimilation and integration and also we should produce solution suggestion to new situations and relation problems in the light of new data.