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Civilizational identity and intercivilizational relations against the backdrop of postsecularism

UDC 32

DOI <https://doi.org/10.24195/2414-9616.2021-3.2>

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The research aims to analyse the reasons and threats that caused the emergence of the civilization concept and assess how it menaces regions and states. Moreover, forms of civilizational relations are categorised, and which can be pursued in this context are examined. The article studies the problem of intercivilizational relations and civilizational identity problems in the light of growing postsecularism after the end of the cold war. The phenomenon of postsecularism has recently been used widely in political science and appraised as one of the main reasons that shaped the civilizational approach in international relations. On the other hand, resorts to civilizational identity in domestic policies have given a rise to intercivilizational aspects of international relations.

Methods. To achieve comprehensive results, the method of comparative analysis was used to identify secularistic and post secularist character of international relations. To appropriately analyse postsecularism and its challenges in modern international relation and the role of the civilizational approach in this new context, the method of system analysis was applied. Content analysis used to clarify forms of relations among civilizational and their possible impact on peace or clash and the application of sociological theories.

The scientific novelty of the article is studying the possible threats of the awakening of civilizational identity amid postmodernism and questioning theoretical approaches to intercivilizational relations to find the prospects of reducing confrontation.

The research concludes that, as cultures and states seeks new points of references to maintain their existence civilizations become an integral part of international politics. Mutual relations among the civilizations and promoting dialogue, especially, in political context, can help to prevent cultural confrontation.

Key words: civilization, dialogue, postsecularism, identity, security, peace.

Introduction. There were no adequate responses, in international relations theory, to the new world order that emerged in the 1990s, and more religious or ethnic approaches began to emerge, on which the theory of the clash of civilizations was based. The clash theory of civilizations was formed by the combination of the post-secular religious rise of the 1990s and the Cold War concept of "us versus them". In response to postsecularism, the development of dialogue among civilizations in political science and international relations was delayed.

Purpose and objectives. The concept of civilization resides in a central position in postmodern world politics as a manifestation of the problem of identity, and the phenomenon requires the formation of a new interpretation of racial, religious and cultural issues. In some cases, identity policies are attended by fundamentalist approaches by radical right-wing parties. The core objective of this article is to define the concept of civilization by principles of justice, such as the protection of community identity, respect for cultural diversity and the development of global multiculturalism.

Methodology and research methods. The article uses the method of comparative analysis to identify secularistic and post secularist character of international relations. To appropriately analyse postsecularism and its challenges in modern international relation, as well as the role of the civilizational approach in this new context the method of system analysis was applied. Content analysis used to clarify forms of relations among civilizational and their possible impact on

peace or clash, along with the application of sociological theories.

The scientific novelty of the article is studying the possible threats of the awakening of civilizational identity amid postmodernism and questioning theoretical approaches to intercivilizational relations to find the prospects of reducing confrontation. Thus, the research considers civilizational identity and relation issues interrelatedly. Moreover, the application of social theories into civilizational relations assists to understand complex issues in these interactions.

Review of the recent publications. The concept of dialogue among civilizations became more popular in the international arena with the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Seyed Mohammad Khatami speaking with that idea and the proclamation of 2001 as the Year of Dialogue among Civilizations at the UN session in autumn 1998. Pinar Bilgin points out, "The concept of intercivilizational dialogue presented by Khatami was aimed at the management of chaos and anarchy in the world and the search for harmony in world politics. Later, as a result of the threat posed by terrorism to international security, the concept of dialogue was revived to address the problem in this context" [4, p. 9].

Richard Falk, a professor at Princeton University in the United States, states that "intercivilizational dialogue is necessary not only for interpretation of the historical situation in the civilizational context but also to prevent the Westphalian war system from shifting to intercivilizational contexts [7, p. 311].

Another American philosopher, Fred Dallmayr, a professor at the University of Notre Dame, considers intercivilizational dialogue as a prospect for strengthening the development of friendly relations between nations and the development of a more stable world [5, p. 1; p. 17].

Although the theses of secularism and modernization prevailed after the Cold War, empirical research conducted in the 2000s showed that religion was still a major factor in shaping identity and lifestyles in various parts of the world. Such facts are considered by many as the fall of secularism and the dawn of postsecularism in world politics [1, p. 2]. According to the "secularization theory" that has widely been referred since the 1950s and 1960s, modernization should have weakened the role of religion in both society and the minds of individuals. Although this idea was somewhat justified, the role of religious or religious-based institutions in social life and political discourse has not been lost. Secularism, which is mainly formed in Western and Northern Europe, forms a global elite culture, and with the rise of religious fundamentalism (fanatical religious currents), antagonism against this cultural group also begin to emerge. Peter Berger comments that "fundamentalism has its roots in American Protestantism, and when adopted by other religions, some of its features make it destructive" [1, p. 6–10].

A German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas also notes that while scrutinising the modern public consciousness, it is clear that the current conflicts have religious roots. Problems related to the religious factor are reflected in both domestic policy (the problem of migrants and refugees) and foreign policy (interstate and interregional relations). Another issue mentioned by Habermas is that although it is accepted that religion influences the foreign policy of many subjects, including state and non-state actors, it is clear that the norms and rules in the current world order have limited opportunities to address these issues [3, p. 1100]. Civilizations in turn are the most unique associations in which religious and cultural features represented.

Some American political scientists, such as Daniel Pipes and Samuel Huntington, described desecularization as both an internal and external threat to the United States. These events also led to the rise of neoconservatism in American political science. In Western science, the end of secularism is seen as a return to medieval religious violence. In this case, many, such as Pipes and Huntington, warn of future clashes and urge the West to increase its power. At the same time, a group of political philosophers like Habermas urges to think of alternative post-secular approaches because secularism is unable to respond to global challenges [3, p. 1100–1101].

Hence, with the downfall of secularism, new views on the post-secular world order begin

to emerge, and the problem of the relations of civilizations appeared, or, as S. Huntington puts it had always existed, but came to the fore recently. At the same time, intercivilizational dialogue is becoming one of the main tools for the formation of peaceful and cooperative relations in the post-secular world, involving both governmental and non-governmental actors in the process.

Results of the research. «The Clash of Civilizations?» the original article published by Samuel Huntington on the 1993 issue of Foreign Affairs journal stirred up the already tense situation which was formed up by rising nationalist approaches following the fall of communism. Huntington argued that the clash of civilizations is caused by the confrontation of cultural systems in the West, East, and Asia, and future world order will be determined by this confrontation more than ideology. One of Huntington's main claims was that cultural self-awareness was growing and that states and peoples developing their relations mainly based on cultural and religious compatibility [8].

Huntington expands his theory in his book "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order" stating: «The central theme of this book is that culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world» [9, p. 20].

Intercivilizational relations were the main topic of discussions in the international arena following the Cold War. In this context, the views of Bernard Lewis, Samuel Huntington, Alexander Dugin led to the classification of the issue of civilization as more of a confrontation.

One of the main conditions for ensuring global peace in modern times is to accept that the world is made up of different civilizations and to build world politics on the dialogue among civilizations. Looking at the different approaches to dialogue among civilizations, it is clear that in the context of globalization, civilizations see dialogue as the only way to preserve their cultural identities, lifestyles and socio-political institutions. Relations among civilizations are complex and multifaceted. To identify the potentials and boundaries of these relationships, we need to apply several theories to the context. Since the relations of civilization are essentially a part of socio-political relations, the application of sociological theories can help to better understand the problem.

According to Ludwig von Bertalanffy, author of the «General System Theory», autonomy and integrity are the basic principles of human evolution [2, p. 69–71]. This process manifests itself both in individual and socio-cultural relations, e.g., among different groups. Bertalanffy shows that the process of evolution is not only due to differences, but also that there must be a suitable and effective relation-

ship amongst the different components of the system [2, p. 70]. Jay Early applies Bertalanffy's "General system theory" to social relations and shows that the diversity of a social system is made up of interaction between the different types of subsystems [6, p. 296–298]. The autonomy principle is an important factor as diversity in social relations, but it is less noticeable. In his book, «Changing Human Culture: Social Evolution and the Planetary Crisis», Jay Early states that "there is a movement towards a higher degree of freedom than collective energy in evolution". Arthur Koestler also confirms this idea as below: "Although we usually find ourselves in a complex and high hierarchy, we are free, changeable and unpredictable in strategic choices" [6, p. 300–301].

These criteria can be applied to intercivilizational relations on a larger scale. Thus, civilizations, as associations with different cultural, social, political and economic structures, ensure the diversity of a single human civilization. As a result, the preservation of cultural diversity is essential for the future development and evolution of mankind. However, the processes of globalization, which was perceived as a one-way and one-dimensional process after the Cold War, and which took place mainly under the dominance of the West, are seen as a threat to cultural diversity in the world [10, p. 13]. Globalization by covering the political, economic, social, technological and cultural spheres affect all the features of the diversity and autonomy of a civilization.

Another effect of globalization is the development of information and communication technologies, which leads to deterritorialization (separation of social, political and cultural practices from their place of origin or society) and the loss of traditional ties between cultural groups [10, p. 14]. There are three theoretical approaches to intercivilizational relations: cultural assimilation, cultural exchange and cultural application [10, p. 39]. The predominance of these forms of influence varies depending on historical conditions and the capabilities of the interrelated civilizations.

In modern times, however, there has been a form of communication in intercivilizational relations that cannot be assessed from a single point of view, which we can term as cultural influence. In the context of the development of modern communication technologies, such an impact occurs so rapidly and in such a mutual form that it is impossible to identify the active and passive parts of the process. Thoughts on Western dominance, globalization and the creation of a unified world civilization after the Cold War can also be defined in this context. However, as relations intensifies, these relations also began to be perceived as cultural applications which in turn strengthens the civilizational identity.

Conclusions. The issues of modern civilizational and national identity emerged long after Hegel's

conception of individual identity - with the collapse of the Berlin Wall and with the end of the problem of ideological identity in world politics. Hence, the dialogue of civilizations is important for the recognition and development of this cultural identity. As globalization threatens cultural communities, the strengthening role and independence of non-state actors also threaten states. As a result, the phenomenon of civilization is becoming increasingly important, both culturally and politically. In this context, cultures (as subgroups of civilizations) and states find new points of reference to maintain their existence. What is more, civilizations also become part of international politics in some way which poses a risk of mass clashes. Thus, the civilizational and the relations among civilization are becoming the greatest carriers of the risk of a new global crisis.

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Цивілізаційна ідентичність і міжцивілізаційні відносини на тлі постсекуляризму

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Мета дослідження – проаналізувати причини і загрози, що призвели до появи цивілізаційної концепції, і оцінити, як вона загрожує регіонам і державам. Стаття досліджує проблему міжцивілізаційних відносин і проблеми цивілізаційної ідентичності у світлі зростаючого постсекуляризму після закінчення холодної війни. Феномен постсекуляризму останнім часом широко використовується в політичній науці й оцінюється як одна з основних причин, що сформували цивілізаційний підхід у міжнародних відносинах. З іншого боку, удавання цивілізаційної ідентичності у внутрішній політиці породило міжцивілізаційні аспекти міжнародних відносин. Більше того, форми цивілізаційних відносин класифікуються і розглядаються в цьому контексті. Для досягнення всебічних результатів метод порівняльного аналізу був використаний для виявлення секулярістичного і постсекулярістського характеру міжнародних відносин.

Методи. Для належного аналізу постсекуляризму і його викликів у сучасних міжнародних відносинах і ролі цивілізаційного підходу в цьому новому контексті був застосований метод системного аналізу. Змістовний аналіз використовується для з'ясування форм відносин між цивілізаційними і їх можливого впливу на світ або зіткнення і застосування соціологічних теорій.

Наукова новизна статті вивчає можливі загрози пробудження цивілізаційної ідентичності в умовах постмодернізму і ставить під сумнів теоретичні підходи до міжцивілізаційних відносин із метою пошуку перспектив зменшення конфронтації.

Робляться висновки, що в міру того, як культури і держави шукають нові точки відліку для збереження свого існування, цивілізації стають невід'ємною частиною міжнародної політики. Взаємини між цивілізаціями і сприяння діалогу, особливо в політичному контексті, можуть допомогти запобігти культурному протистоянню.

Ключові слова: цивілізація, діалог, постсекуляризм, ідентичність, безпека, мир.