

## Civilizational Imagination in Russian and Turkish Geopolitics

### Summary

Recently, we have seen the strengthening of civilizational and imperial civilizational formations, and in politics and geopolitics, arguments for the difference between civilizations based on civilizational and cultural heritage are increasingly heard. The actualization of the heritage of civilizations, and with it the civilizational imagination, was determined by the growing opposition to the power of globalization, which homogenizes and hybridizes world diversity, and to the related vision of a unipolar world. The heritage of civilizations in geopolitics is increasingly being used to consolidate the vision of a multipolar world and, with it, to establish a significant place for itself in international relations. The civilizational imagination, supported and promoted by the civilizational heritage, is becoming an important geopolitical factor that is beginning to shape relations between China, Russia, Turkey, the United States and the European Union. In the world politics of the last decades, in one way or another, we see the ideas of the interactions of civilizations and their development expressed by Samuel Huntington, which foresaw the increase of civilizational conflicts. He formulated the basic principles that underpin the approach to the post-Cold War world order. His ideas work in one way or another are reflected in the Turkish and Russian geopolitics.

The author of the study, drawing attention to the significance of cultural and especially religious factors raised by Huntington for civilizational events and the interaction of civilizations, examines the peculiarities of Russian and Turkish civilizational and

geopolitical discourse. Linked to these discourses is the current geopolitics of the political elites of these countries – emphasizing the uniqueness of both civilizations by raising their civilizational role they try to strengthen their civilizational foundations through political means and stress; the importance of cultural things in the face of the tendencies of unifying globalization and narrow-minded modernization. In the development of civilizations, in terms of their self-creation and relations with other civilizations, the worldview of civilization, civilizational self-awareness, and self-consciousness are paramount. Russian discourse is characterized by an anti-Western and anti-European attitude of Eurasian messianic civilizational distinctiveness, while Turkish is characterized by the imitation of imperial Islamic heritage.

The peculiarities of Russian civilizational as well as geopolitical discourse are developed by discussing the ideas of Nikolai Danilevsky and Alexander Dugin. Dugin's geopolitical deliberations and ideas of new Euro-Asianism are resonating not only in various European countries, but also in Turkey. The studies and political activities of Ahmet Davutoglu, a prominent researcher on globalization and civilizations, and his work in the Government are considered to be central to the development of Turkish civilizational discourse and the policies based on it. Both discourses are linked by an orientation towards a multipolar, multi-civilizational world and the growing demand in international politics for a new world order in line with such a world. The author outlines the importance of religious and artistic heritage for civilizational imagination and states that the religious heritage of imperial civilizations is always embodied in artistic forms and artistic practices, which, in turn, always have a religious feature.

The novel *My name is red* of Nobel Prize winner Orhan Pamuk is considered as an artistic expression of the Turkish civilizational imagination that helps to understand the spread of neo-Ottoman

ideology and ideas in the field of culture, while this ideology becomes the political and geopolitical instrument that forms a new Turkish identity. In this novel the image of the „collision“ between Islam and Western civilizations is revealed. Pamuk is showing how artistically contemplated history becomes an important tool for strengthening the current civilizational imagination, which also has a huge religious dimension. In the face of these increasingly geopolitical and civilizational discourses affecting global power relations, some of the ideas prevailing in the European Union that underpin the political will to build a post-national European, cosmopolitan community are also discussed. However, European discourse is based on the principles of secularism, legal norms of understanding and development of democracy, ideology of multiculturalism and genderism, and thus lacks a cultural civilizational as well as a religious rooted heritage that brings people and cultures together in a civilizational community.

**Keywords:** civilization, civilizational imagination, cosmopolitanism, discourse, empire, Europe, geopolitics, multipolar world, Pamuk, Russia, Turkey.