

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND CIVILIZATIONS (CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS AND DIALOGUE)

ULUSLARARASI POLİTİKA VE UYGARLIKLAR (UYGARLIKLAR ÇATIŞMASI VE DİYALOG)

السياسة الدولية والحضارات (صراع الحضارات والحوار)

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES
ORTADOĞU STRATEJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR MERKEZİ

مركز الشرق الأوسط للدراسات الاستراتيجية



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CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STRATEGIC STUDIES

History

In Turkey, the shortage of research on the Middle East grew more conspicuous than ever during the early 90's. Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) was established in January 1, 2009 in order to provide relevant information to the general public and to the foreign policy community. The institute underwent an intensive structuring process, beginning to concentrate exclusively on Middle affairs.

Outlook on the Middle Eastern World

It is certain that the Middle East harbors a variety of interconnected problems. However, neither the Middle East nor its people ought to be stigmatized by images with negative connotations. Given the strength of their populations, Middle Eastern states possess the potential to activate their inner dynamics in order to begin peaceful mobilizations for development. Respect for people's willingness to live together, respect for the sovereign right of states and respect for basic human rights and individual freedoms are the prerequisites for assuring peace and tranquility, both domestically and internationally. In this context, Turkey must continue to make constructive contributions to the establishment of regional stability and prosperity in its vicinity.

ORSAM's Think-Tank Research

ORSAM, provides the general public and decision-making organizations with enlightening information about international politics in order to promote a healthier understanding of international policy issues and to help them to adopt appropriate positions. In order to present effective solutions, ORSAM supports high quality research by intellectuals and researchers that are competent in a variety of disciplines. ORSAM's strong publishing capacity transmits meticulous analyses of regional developments and trends to the interested parties. With its web site, its books, reports, and periodicals, ORSAM supports the development of Middle Eastern literature on a national and international scale. ORSAM supports the development of Middle Eastern literature on a national and international scale. ORSAM facilitates the sharing of knowledge and ideas with the Turkish and international communities by inviting statesmen, bureaucrats, academics, strategists, businessmen, journalists, and NGO representatives to Turkey.

AMBASSADOR (R) Numan HAZAR

Born in 1945 in Tarsus, Turkey. Graduated in 1966 from the Diplomatic Section of the Faculty of Political Science, Ankara University. Entered in 1967 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Served in various diplomatic posts abroad: Second Secretary in Ottawa, Canada; First Secretary, in Nicosia, Cyprus; Counselor and First Counselor, in Washington, D.C., USA for two terms (seven years) ; Deputy Chief of Mission in New Delhi, India; Minister-Counselor, in Bonn, Germany; In Ankara, he served at the Office of the President of the Turkish Republic as well as Policy Planning, Cultural Affairs, Council of Europe Departments, Director General for Africa, East Asia and Pacific/Islamic Conference Organization (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). He was Ambassador to Lagos, Nigeria, Ambassador/Permanent Representative to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and later to UNESCO in Paris. He served as Ambassador/Diplomatic Adviser to the Minister of National Defense and later as Acting Chairman of the Inspection Board of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retired in 2010. Appointed by Turkey in 2011 as Turkish Member for the Economic Cooperation Organization's (ECO) Eminent Persons Group (EPG) in charge of restructuring the Organization with 10 member States (Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan) and elected as Chairman of the EPG. He is the author of three books in Turkish on "Turkish- African Relations", "International Politics and Civilizations", "Effects of Science and Technology on Civilizations and Foreign Policy-Diplomacy of Science and Technology" as well as various printed articles in Turkish, English, French and German on different international issues. He speaks French, German and English.

PRESENTATION

In early 1990's after American social scientist Professor Samuel P. Huntington put forward his thesis on the clash of civilizations, a global debate occurred on this subject emphasizing the dimension of civilizations in international relations. Nevertheless, many critics were directed against Huntington including those views that real causes of international conflicts could not be relegated to the clash of civilizations and that, as observed throughout history, they were based on various and complicated reasons. Even Professor Huntington was accused of creating a new enemy for the West after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, thus leading to a new climate of hostility between the Muslim and Christian Worlds.

As Hazar indicates, the idea of clash of civilizations was mentioned years before Huntington, by a leading expert of the Middle East, Professor Bernard Lewis, within the context of the Middle East Problem. Even before Lewis, internationally acclaimed British Historian Arnold J. Toynbee, referred to a clash of civilizations as regards the Turkish War of Independence and the Turkish-Greek conflict. Nevertheless, interestingly, at that time Turkey and Greece were able to create between them a climate of dialogue.

Ambassador Hazar proposes for peace and stability in the world, that the priority should be given to the frozen conflicts which make the impression that they are conflicts between the civilizations. He also suggests that solutions should be found for those problems which concern the humanity as a whole.

He also supports the idea of dialogue between civilizations at all levels underlining its benefits.

Hazar expressed his views on the subject in a conference he gave in Dushanbe on 21 December 2012 at the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan on the invitation of the President of the Academy Mr Mahmadshe Ilolov. The Former and the First Foreign Minister of Kazakhstan and presently President of the Diplomatic Academy Tuleutai S. Suleimenov was also present at the Conference.

We hope that the views of Ambassador Hazar, on a presently actual issue, expressed in the light of his experiences in various international organizations, in particular, Council of Europe and UNESCO, through a historical perspective, will contribute to the studies to be carried out on the subject.

Hasan Kanbolat
ORSAM Director

By: *Numan Hazar*

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND CIVILIZATIONS (CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS AND DIALOGUE)

It is observed that the concept of civilizations has been emphasized more within the context of international relations. In particular, after American social scientist Professor Samuel P. Huntington put forward, at the beginning of 1990's, his thesis of clash of civilizations, the necessity of dialogue among civilizations or from time to time dialogue among cultures has begun to be underlined in international forums. This approach, was directed, in principle, towards the aim of finding solutions for the problems faced by today's world.

The thought of dialogue among cultures or civilizations is originated from this environment.

In the light of my observations I had when I served in international organizations closely interested and actively involved in the work in this field such as the

Council of Europe and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as Ambassador/Permanent Representative as well as my experiences during the last 25 years gained in the meetings, at various levels, of the international organizations in which I personally participated such as the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), NATO, the UN General Assembly, the UN Human Rights Commission and the Islamic Confer-



ence Organization, I believed that it would be beneficial to highlight views and thoughts concerning international politics and civilizations, and links between these two facts.

The concept of the clash of civilizations was referred to years before Samuel P. Huntington, by internationally acclaimed historian Professor Bernard Lewis, within the context of the Middle East Question.¹

In the light of all these, in order to understand today's international problems, their root causes and their extent as well as expectations related to the future, it would be possible to study situations and events of the past together with the problems and as a result of this, to make an assesment concerning the present international politics.

Within the context of past events, we could dwell on the relations and the contacts between the Moslem World and the Christian World, the rise of Islam, expansion of Islamic civilization and Crusades, geographic discoveries, emergence of industrial revolution in Europe, colonialism, imperialism, the rise of the West and its attainment of a dominant posture in international politics.

We can also say that a significant part of today's problems were emerged as linked to these events of the past.

As far as today's problems are concerned, we can mention in this context such problems as prejudices existing, in particular in Christian World against Islam, under-development and poverty, demographic explosion, migratory movements and several issues related to it, illegal migration, human trafficking (smuggling), drugs and arms trade, intolerance, xenophobia (particularly Islamophobia) and racism, all kinds of discrimination, international terrorism, problems linked to the fact

of globalization emerged particularly as a result of the development in the computer technology.

Among civilizations, there are mutual lack of confidence and divergence of views as well. For example, there is no agreement between the West and the Moslem World as regards democracy and human rights concepts, which developed and reached their supreme norms today in the West.

It is generally accepted that diverse international questions at present as well as in the past, have not been so simple to relegate them to the concept of the clash of civilizations and that to the contrary these questions have always had complex characters.

In the light of all these facts, I believe that it would be useful to encourage and continue all kinds of dialogue at various levels whether among civilizations or among religions, as exemplified in the activities of various international organizations.

It is also worth mentioning in this context that the concepts of civilization and culture are generally used, at the present time, synonymously.

There is no doubt, it would be appropriate, for ensuring international peace, security and stability, to give weight to the settlement of frozen conflicts which make, at first glance, the impression that they are originated from the clash of civilizations and on the other hand to focus on multilateral cooperation, leaving aside divergence of views and to attribute priority to the solution of the problems mentioned above concerning the humanity as whole.

I have also published a book (in Turkish) on the subject in which I emphasized various in-

puts reflecting my studies conducted in the light of my experiences in international organizations.²

After this introduction, I want to underline the fact that, indeed, during recent years, there is a lot of talk about dialogue. It is referred to a dialogue among civilizations, a dialogue among cultures and a dialogue among religions.

First of all there is a need to clarify certain concepts. The concept of civilization is large. It comprises everything created by a society. We can roughly characterize as civilization all material and intangible things and values accomplished from the very early times of the humanity. We observe that material elements of the civilization had the purpose to ensure the survival and a better life for human beings in an effort to dominate the nature. In realizing this, there is no denying that various techniques, science and technology have played a predominant role. When we look around what we see, such as airplanes, ships, trains,

cities, buildings, ports, airports, highways and railways linking countries one to another, bridges over big rivers or maritime areas, agricultural fields and industrial complexes, all these are developed in evolution throughout history thanks to science and technology.

It is also observed an evolution throughout history as regards the technology of arms and weaponry used by the armies. This is also related to the level of development of a civilization.

There is also an intangible aspect of the civilization which is also developed in evolution throughout history such as fine arts (painting, sculpture, architecture, musics), literature, philosophy, governance, law, science and technology, transition of societies from the nomadic life to sedentary life, religion and language. These intangible elements of the civilization are generally called as culture. Nevertheless, at present, social scientists identify both civilization and culture as the same concept.



For practical reasons civilizations existing in today's world are divided mainly on the basis of religion. Indeed, in certain periods of history, religion and civilization are considered synonymously. However, at present, religion is reflected, in principle, as one of the elements of the civilization or the culture. There exists the concept of Christian Civilization, Islamic Civilization, Buddhist Civilization and Hindu Civilization. On the other hand, it is customary to say German Civilization, French Civilization, Indian Civilization, American Civilization, Chinese Civilization, Arab Civilization, Persian Civilization and Culture, Turkish Civilization and Culture, Russian Civilization, Greek Civilization, Hellenistic Culture and Civilization, Orthodox or Byzantine Culture and Civilization.

In the sense of religion, the Civilization comprised in the history various populations which adopted not only shared beliefs, practices and characteristics, but also social, economic and political organization of the society and cultural values as well. This was historically the case for the Islamic Civilization, since the Abbaside Empire represented as a whole the totality of Muslim World for five centuries. According to Samuel Huntington, Islamic Civilization has also different sub-civilizations such as Arab, Persian, Turkish and Malay civilizations.

Here we have to add an important point. Despite the existence of various civilizations and cultures, we can also talk about a universal civilization, the elements of which are shared by all civilizations. Technology, sciences, certain political institutions, economic and social systems as well as many values are of that nature.

As far as the dialogue is concerned, taking into account various cultures, civilizations and religions, we have to find a common lan-

guage in order to realize a harmony, peace and stability in the world.

A while ago I referred to a host of problems and challenges faced presently by the humanity as a whole. These problems and challenges are also threatening, by their very nature, the peace and stability in the world. Thus, the dialogue is necessary in order to eliminate those problems and challenges threatening the humanity, by leaving aside all diverging perceptions in an effort aimed at reaching common approaches. It is also necessary to do whatever is possible for the human dimension of the process of globalization in order to alleviate its adverse effects. To this end, all societies must cooperate. In my opinion, dialogue is necessary in every fields more than ever.

The thesis of clash of civilization was put forth in 1993 by the American social scientist Samuel P. Huntington in an article appeared in the "Foreign Affairs" Magazine entitled "The Clash of Civilizations".³ Later, his views were explained in detail in a book on the same subject, "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of a New World Order".⁴ Huntington, referred to various civilizations in today's world such as Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Islamic, Western, Latin American, Orthodox and Buddhist Civilizations. Basically, he alleged that after the end of the Soviet Union, the future wars will be between civilizations and he mentioned some cases or issues as examples. Several critics were directed against his views, taking into consideration the fact that major wars in history were not between the civilizations such as the First and the Second World Wars and root causes of the wars can be explained with various reasons rather than a clash of civilizations. He was also accused of an effort to create deliberately a new enemy for the West after the end of the Soviet Union. This new enemy was Islam. Nevertheless, his views caused serious repercussions and gave way to a global debate.

Before Huntington, a well-known scholar of Islam and the Middle East Bernard Lewis mentioned the idea of clash of civilization within the context of Middle Eastern Conflict in 1957 in a paper he presented to a Conference at Johns Hopkins University⁵ and later in his book “The Middle East and the West” published in 1964.⁶

Even before Bernard Lewis, internationally well-known British Historian Arnold J. Toynbee referred to a clash of civilizations within the context of the Turkish-Greek War of 1919-1922 in his book “The Western Question in Greece and Turkey, A study in the Contact of Civilisations” published in 1922. He said, on the subject, that “The fundamental truth was that a number of Near Eastern Christians and Middle Eastern Moslems were bearing the brunt of one particular clash in a vital interaction between civilisations”⁷

After the end of the war and years later, Turkey and Greece, they were able to create, between them, a climate of mutual confidence, peace and friendship. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who led the Turkish Independence War de-

clared that the basic tenet of the Turkish Foreign Policy was “Peace at Home, Peace in the World”. Indeed, a climate of mutual dialogue was created between the two countries, by leaving aside the memories of tragic events of the past. As a matter of fact, the Prime Minister of Greece during the First World War, Eleftherios Venizelos who was behind the idea of the landing of Greek armed forces in the Turkish mainland, nominated Atatürk for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1934.⁸

The idea of dialogue is not new in international relations. As far as the dialogue among religions is concerned, it goes back to 1964. As a matter of fact, the Vatican established that year “the Pontifical Council for Inter-religious Dialogue” aimed at a better understanding, tolerance and respect for other religions. Various Popes also referred to the importance of interreligious dialogue. Nevertheless some statements of the Pope Benedict XVI humilitaing Islam, publication of the cartoons of Muhammad the Prophet of Islam depicting him as terrorist and films denigrating Moslems caused strong reactions in the Moslem World. These incidents can never be



helpful for a constructive dialogue between the Christian and Moslem Worlds. On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that an interreligious dialogue can only be carried out between men of religion. Here the difficulty is that in contrast to Christianity Islam has neither clergy nor an authority that represents Islam as a whole. Also, one can not expect from the other side to change its belief because of the dialogue. Nevertheless, such a dialogue would be useful for a mutual understanding.

In international organizations the idea of dialogue was taken into consideration as early as in 1980's to contribute to peace and stability in the world. In various activities of UNESCO the idea of dialogue was emphasized. In 1990's right after the thesis of the clash of civilizations put forth by Samuel P. Huntington, several international organizations reacted to this idea proposing dialogue between cultures and civilizations. As matter of fact, in 1998 the United Nations General Assembly adopted a Resolution declaring 2001 as the Year of Dialogue among Civilizations refer-

ring also to the fact the 1995 was also adopted as the Year of International Tolerance. On the other hand, UNESCO adopted in 2001 a Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. These efforts are based on various concerns prevailing in the world such as intolerance, xenophobia, problems arising from the non-respect of human rights and the difficulties of migrant communities in industrial countries. In the aftermath of terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 in New York and Washington, the UN General Assembly condemned terrorism in strongest terms and urged international cooperation to combat terrorism. At a later stage, the General Assembly adopted on 21 November 2001 "the Global Agenda for Dialogue among Civilizations". The Resolution contained a host of measures for that purpose. UNESCO was given by the General Assembly a key role to promote dialogue among cultures and civilizations.

In 2005, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the Convention on the Protection and the Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions which emphasizes, inter alia, the significance of the dialogue.



Other international organizations also attached importance to the dialogue. The Islamic Conference Organization, as of 1990's, organized various meetings in order to promote dialogue and took actively various initiatives within the UN General Assembly.

The European Union, the Council of Europe and the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) were also actively involved in various events regarding the dialogue among civilizations.

Some countries have played significant roles on the subject. Turkey, for example has a very particular position in that respect being a country with a majority of Moslem population and on the other hand, a member of Western institutions, which adopted Western values in the political, social and economic life. In 2001 after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, Turkey organized in Istanbul, at the level of Foreign Ministers, "a Joint Forum between the Islamic Conference Organization and the European Union" which produced the Istanbul Declaration adopting several measures for dialogue, peace, stability and better understanding. Nevertheless, the Follow-up meeting of the Joint Forum could not be realised in 2004 because of the Greek and Greek Cypriot opposition against the participation of the Turkish Cypriots.

In 2004, Spanish Prime Minister Luis Rodriguez Zapatero and his Turkish Counterpart Recep Tayyip Erdoğan co-sponsored the initiative of "the Alliance of Civilizations" within the context of the United Nations. The Alliance of Civilizations under the co-chairmanship of Zapatero and Erdoğan is very much active, carrying out at the present time various projects with the participation of most of the UN member states.

Iran, Algeria and some Western European countries as well as other regional organizations also supported the idea of dialogue and organized various events.

All these efforts are aimed at contributing to the peace and stability, tolerance and understanding in the world and they are very much sincere. Despite this fact, we should now take a look at existing obstacles on the way of a dialogue among cultures or civilizations.

Presently, some conflicts give impression that Huntington was right and he could be justified in his views of clash of civilizations. For example, Middle Eastern conflict and Palestinian Question, Cyprus issue, Nagorno-Karabagh question and illegal occupation of 20% of the national territory of Azerbaijan by Armenia and Kashmir problem have, in appearance, inherent characters of clashes between civilizations. These are ossified or frozen conflicts, since there exists unconditional support by the West to one of the parties whether or not it is right. Because, this party belongs to the Christian world or Western and judeo-christian civilization. The other party involved in the conflict belongs to the Moslem world. According to the view of or impression given by the West, these conflicts should be resolved, in conformity with the views and the interests of the side which belongs to the Western, Judeo-Christian Civilization. Obviously, the end-result is that these problems become frozen, constituting threats for the regional and international peace and stability, since justice, equality and equity are not taken into account.

In fact, these conflicts are not between civilizations, taking into consideration the fact the Turkish Cypriots for example are not supported in their struggle by all Muslim countries. The same is true for the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Azerbaijan

is not fully supported by the whole Muslim World including its neighbour Iran which has excellent relations with Armenia.

On the other hand some views from the West as the one put forth by Huntington are considered as threatening and dangerous aimed at driving wedges between the Moslem and the Christian Worlds, indicating also the existence of an unsurmountable gap between these two worlds.

There are obviously other obstacles on the way of a healthy dialogue among civilizations. Prejudices and intolerance are root causes of xenophobia and racism. To identify Islam and terrorism is not related only to the prejudices but also to the lack of information. For that reason, the dialogue will undoubtedly pave the way to a better mutual understanding between the peoples.

Nevertheless, prejudices can not be the only reason for misunderstandings between the civilizations. They can not constitute either obstacles for harmony between peoples and cultures. There are other factors which are causing difficulties for a good harmony between the peoples of the world. There are plenty of problems in the World today which may threaten in future the global peace and stability. It is not possible to focus only on one part of a large mosaic and to neglect to see the whole picture as a whole. For example, when democracy and human rights are defended or corruption and bad-governance are criticised, it is often neglected or forgotten to take into consideration the level of economic and social development of a society. The developed world must recognize that they reached the present stage of democracy and the economic and social development at the end of painstaking efforts and a very long historical process. The US President Obama also said that one should be sceptical of those who believe

that the US can single-handedly liberate the countries from the tyranny, since, he added, democracy is a result of a local awakening.⁹

I should also remind the fact that, when democracy and human rights are put on the agenda by the West, in most of the developing or Moslem countries there is always a strong reaction. They consider these efforts of the West as an initiative to destabilise their countries, British historian Eric Hobsbawm calls this policy of the West as the imperialism of human rights. Hobsbawm also says the following:

“The diffusion of values and institutions can hardly ever be brought by a sudden imposition from outside force, unless conditions are already present locally which make them adaptable and their introduction acceptable. Democracy and Western values and human rights are not like technological importations whose benefits are immediately obvious and will be adopted in the same manner by all who can use them and afford them...”¹⁰

At a time when there is always a reference to the globalization and even regional and global economic integration, the noble and sublime concept of human rights can not be used for political and economic interests in order to divide and to destabilise the countries on the basis of their ethnic particularities.

In addition to cultural and religious obstacles on the way of harmony and dialogue between the peoples of the world, there are other obstacles originating from the economic and social development.

A just world order is an indisputable ideal. Nevertheless, in the face of the present economic and social order prevailing in the world, the idea of dialogue alone proposed by the international organizations is not suffi-

cient. There is no doubt, dialogue among cultures and civilizations is to be supported at all levels. In addition to that, the world community should recognize for the interests of the mankind, all existing and common problems of the humanity and find solutions to them.

I referred previously to several problems faced by the humanity as a whole. According to the UN Statistics, the World population will be 8 918,7 billion in 2050. The developed countries will have 1 219,7 billion and the population in the developing countries will be 7 699,0 billion. Presently, again according to the UN statistics, 3 billion people out of total world population of 6,5 billion are living with a daily income of less than one dollar.

As regards the effects of the globalization, developing countries contribute more to the enrichment of the developed world. In view

of this fact, it would be appropriate to adopt a strategy to diminish adverse effects of the globalization and to maximise positive repercussions of it.

Naturally there is also an imbalance, in having an access to information and technology. We should also add that 20% of the world population has 85% of the world incomes. In the course of the last 30 years the process of globalization caused an imbalance of income among the peoples in the world, thus deteriorating more the existing state of affairs as indicated in the reports of the World Bank.

The process of globalization is inevitable. Nevertheless, there is a necessity to focus on the benefits and positive aspects of this process which also requires pluralism and cultural diversity. Adverse social effects of the



globalization were criticised by sociologists and philosophers such as Pierre Bourdieu, Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. In conclusion, the social dimension of the globalization merits a significant attention.

In case peaceful solutions are not proposed for the present global problems, it will not unfortunately be possible to eliminate threats caused by the international terrorism, illegal migration and drug traffic. Therefore developed countries have to spend efforts in order to find solutions to present global problems. Otherwise, these threats arising from the underdevelopment and the poverty will be directed against them. The developed countries can not remain idle in their ivory towers.

In this context, another important issue we have to underline is the fact that the quality education is necessary for the elimination of fanaticism. In this area UNESCO has a special role to play.

On the other hand, there are problems and injustices in international trade. The developed countries exert pressures on other countries for the elimination of obstacles on the way of the free international trade, also suggesting privatization and liberalization. Nevertheless, developed countries have a tendency to preserve their advantages. Thus, they leave aside or disregard the advantages of the developing countries in international economic and commercial relations such as textiles, agriculture and services, also emphasizing intellectual property rights. While developing countries are proposed to eliminate all obstacles in international trade, they face, in their exports, several hurdles and obstacles due to measures of protection applied by the developed countries. Therefore, a just world order is a must, without that, the dialogue among cultures

and civilizations can not play the role expected from it. The developed countries should also help those countries with heavy burden of debts. Without all these, a democratic system based on human rights and the rule of law can not be realized. Due to this state of affairs, it is necessary to pay serious attention to the critics directed against the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

As mentioned above, the settlement of the frozen international conflicts such as the Palestine and Middle East Question, the Cyprus problem, the Karabagh issue and illegal occupation of Azeri territories and the Kashmir issue, will greatly contribute to the dialogue between peoples with greatest positive repercussions on the peace and stability in the World.

Dialogue is an unavoidable phenomenon which takes its source from the history. There was always a place for exchange and dialogue among peoples, cultures and civilizations despite the existence of conflicts. We can say the same thing for globalization. There have always been contacts and trade between Europe and Asia in particular China and India. Historical silk road is reminiscent of this reality. After the new maritime routes were found and following geographic discoveries, in particular European settlement in North and South Americas, globalization gained a new momentum. In today's world technological progress has accelerated this process. According to the French historian Fernand Braudel, the Western Europe, just by chance, was in possession of all geographic, geopolitical, ideological and human elements of an infrastructure for such a great élan of the West. Nevertheless, at the present time, the superiority of the West is gradually and relatively

decreasing in the face of the new emerging economies in Asia such as China and India, also Brasil, Russia and some other emerging economies in the World.

In conclusion, we can say that the dialogue is always useful. But we should keep in mind

existing political, economic and cultural obstacles and difficulties.

Nevertheless, I believe, the humanity has a maturity to put an end to all these problems which require plenty of time and painstaking efforts.

ENDNOTES

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