

EUROPEAN UNION: DECIDE OR PERISH

**The major risks the
European Union
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Editors: Jan Berting, Silvo Devetak,
Hüsamettin Inaç, Christiane Villain-Gandossi

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(Jan Berting, Silvo Devetak, Hüsamettin Inaç,
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INTRODUCTION

Jan Berting

The Gloomy Future of the European Union

Presently it is difficult not to be overwhelmed by the persistent view that the future of the European Union is gloomy and very much menaced by the strong rise of political movements that reject the idea of a European future in which the European Union plays a pivotal role. The United Kingdom left the European Union - Brexit and in several countries of the European Union political movements are developing that seems to prepare to follow that British example.

Many citizens in the European nations were already during a long time aware that the European Union is characterized by a strong and persistent democratic deficit. Many important changes were introduced without a really democratic discussion. The European citizens were confronted with a rapid geographical enlargement of the European Union, motivated primarily by the idea of the enlargement of the internal European market. As such, the political leadership acted as if the process of modernization was a process without choice: our future was seen as dependent upon the conception of modernization as a one-way road.

Increasingly, many European citizens became abhorred by this one-way modernization that only offered societies to adjust themselves to this "inevitable" future. But instead of rejecting this determinism and starting a coherent search for collective roads before us, many citizens rejected this option and turned towards a past that never was. They re-invented their national identity; they wanted a return towards their national frontiers, towards their national currency and towards their "original" population. At the same time, we witnessed a rise of popularity of other types of collectivistic thinking that emphasizes diversity of the population as shown by ethnic diversity and other types of minorities.¹

As we already remarked above, since the last two decades of the twentieth century we are almost daily informed by the mass media that modernization marches on and that we have to accept this development as inevitable. In most cases the media reproduce the many statements of politicians, presidents of the boards of multinationals, economists and bankers who state that we have to adjust ourselves to this inevitable global development. The general tone of such statements is optimistic, reassuring and uncritical. The future will be one of progress. There is one important condition: we have to remove all the constraints that the development of these global markets encounters. Of course, this will produce temporary turbulences, but by adapting our societies to this development, all of us will finally be better off.

¹ See: *Manière de voir. Le Monde diplomatique, L'Engrenage Identitaire. Ethnicité. Minorités. Diversité. April-May 2017.*

The development of global markets is in itself part of our reality. It is a process that started at the end of the 15th century, with Europe as its radiant point. However, we must not forget that in the beginning of the 21st century, most economic exchanges are not yet taking place within this open and global economy, but are part of national and regional markets. Nevertheless, globalization is certainly expanding rapidly.

Although globalization itself is a real process, the concept of modernization also refers to a *powerful modern ideology*. It is a shared or collective representation that "explains" the mechanisms of economic and social change and, moreover, the direction of these developments. This ideology of modernization has deep roots in the history of the West, but it became the dominant way of thinking in economic and political thought since the eighties of the last century. It is now presented in many political and economic debates as the only rational way of looking at our world: there is no alternative.

Europe and the European Union do not only have to deal with this modernization, and even more so with the ideology of modernization, but also with the rise of anti-individualist and even anti-democratic tendencies which are, partly at least, a reaction against important changes in modern societies. As we already remarked, the message of the ideology of modernization is "the unavoidable adaptation of society to the exigencies of the process of modernization".

This message does *not* present us with a model of the (future) society, in which Europe's specificity has its proper place. Society, in this idea of progress, seems to be, on the one hand, a residue, a "traditional" leftover of the process of modernization or globalization, a residue that must certainly not hinder the march of modernization and, on the other hand, "more of the same": individualism, mobility, individual achievement and reward, a rising standard of living - that is more opportunities for consumption and individual liberties. Nothing is said about the nature of the social relations, of the democratic quality of life, of the opportunities to make *collective choices* that forge, to a certain extent, our common future. Nothing comes to the fore that pertains to new and persistent risks, including important political risks that the processes of modernization may harbor.

In this ideological "universalistic" culture, old and new ghosts emerge which show their sometimes hideous faces. With this remark we refer to the rising tide of claims of the leaders of certain movements and groups for respect of their ethnic, religious or cultural identities. The problem here is not the claim for the right to be different, claims that can be associated in several cases with an opposition to the standardizing effects of modernization. The less attractive, sometimes even hideous, side is represented by claims for respect of *exclusive* collective identities and for claims to have a share of the state's collective means on that basis. In the ideological context of the present society, the debates on the multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious

society produce in many respects a model of society that is fundamentally anti-individualist and anti-democratic.

We should not forget that this type of reactions was also frequent in the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century. Think about the many discussions on the inevitable disappearance of traditional society in front of the process of modernization, or on the necessities to conserve at least part of the traditional heritage. We all know which disasters were produced by the choice of many citizens for extremely nationalist political regimes.

In our time, we are confronted with the same type of discussions and with similar ways of (collective) behavior in relation with "tradition" versus "modernity", albeit that now these discussions are even more confused than in the past, among other things as a consequence of the rise of "post-modern" thinking.

This brings us to the next step. It can be argued that we live in an open society in which political, intellectual and moral leadership will react in time to these massive threats. Can we be confident that this will happen? At present the quasi-totality of the visible leadership seems to be swallowed by the ideology of modernization or globalization and treats the "dissidents" as being "irrational" or "utopian". We can observe daily that society is deeply disturbed. This is not only a consequence of a lack of leadership as such, but also of the profoundly changing social structure of modern Western societies. The role of the responsible citizen has become marginal on the national level. On the level of the European Union the citizen does not exist at all in the participative sense. The European citizens are only confronted with the outcomes of (international) negotiations which lack in most cases all transparency and to which they are assumed to comply. There is a tremendous democratic deficit, both on the national and the European levels.

In this period the further development of the EU stagnates very evidently. This stagnation is caused by the major problems which we will outline in the following pages. In the first Chapter we start with a discussion about two pivotal concepts in this field: Modernity and modernization. And this Chapter is followed by a series of Chapters that analyses the confused relations between "individualism" and "collectivism", a reanalysis of the concepts of modernity and modernization and the concept of innovation. This analysis is followed by a discussion about modernization and the future of Europe and of the European Union. This followed by a discussion about the ring-dance of societal representations. And of course, we have to return to the problems of national identities.

The Second part of the book – Chapters VIII-XI – has a different character. There is the contribution of Christiane Villain-Gandossi about the pivotal role of risks in the development of the European Union. In continuation Silvo Devetak considered three integral problems which the European Union is confronted with: first, the deficiencies of the human integration that could

put in danger the foundations of the EU, second, the necessity to improve the EU role in building up the European security and stability order, and third, the shortcomings of the EU policy toward the Western Balkans, which is of paramount importance for the EU security and strategic interests.

In the Third part of the book – Chapters XII-XIV – Hüsamettin Inaç explains: first, the transformation of the Turkish identity during the westernization process, second, the identity problems of Turkey during the integration process of the European Union and, finally, the Turkish foreign policy orientation towards Syria in the modernization period.

At the end of the book we summarized the conclusions and recommendations.

Jan Berting



Prof. Emeritus Dr. Jan Berting studied, after his military service, political and social sciences at the University of Amsterdam. Between 1959 and 1962 he was a researcher at the Dutch telecommunication Services in The Hague. In 1962 he became research-fellow in the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at the University of Amsterdam.

In 1968 he defended at this University his thesis, entitled *In het brede maatschappelijke midden* (Between high and low in society). The research on which this thesis was based was the analysis of the occupational positions of middle-level administrative employees and of their ideas about their (future) occupational career in nine large private and state enterprises.

In 1966 he was appointed at the same University as a professor in general sociology and methodology. In 1968 he was appointed at the State University of Groningen, in the Faculty of Social Sciences, as a professor in theoretical sociology. Some years later he accepted a professorship at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam (Sociology and the history of sociology. In 1988 this chair was changed into sociology and social policy, with special reference to technological changes.

Berting has been, during a long time, a member of the Dutch National UNESCO Commission and participated as such to a number of UNESCO's general conferences. Moreover, he participated to a number of specialized Unesco Conferences in the domain of Human Rights. Berting was also a member, on behalf of the Ministry of Education, of the Board of the European Co-ordination Centre for Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences, since 1972 until the end of this center after the political transformations of 1989. This Centre had as its major mission to set up research projects in which re-

searchers from the Two Europe's were participating. He was engaged in several research projects of the Centre in the field of labor relations, technological developments, and stereotypes.

He was the dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Faculty of Social Sciences during three periods.

He was chairman of SISWO, Universities' Joint Institute for Co-ordination of Research in the Social Sciences at Amsterdam, chairman of the Dutch Sociological and Anthropological Association, member and vice-president of the Scientific Council of NIAS, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and the Social Sciences in Wassenaar: member of the Dutch Research Council, member of the Academic Council, member of the Belgium Science Council (for political and social sciences).

His works comprise 25 books, 120 contributions to edited books, some 60 articles in scientific journals and, moreover, 55 official reports. These works are, of course, related to Berting's major research interests: 1) theoretical sociology; 2) international comparative research; 3) societal problems and social policy; 4) social inequality and social mobility; 5) technology and societal transformation; 6) human rights; 7) collective representations (including stereotypes of the "Other") in combination with 1, 2, and 6).

Since 1995, Jan Berting is living in France, in Marseille-Port Frioul, a new situation that adds, again, to his European experience.

Silvo Devetak



Professor Emeritus, Dr Silvo Devetak is a full professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Maribor, Slovenia; he is the President of the ISCOMET - Institute for Ethnic and Regional Studies (Maribor, Slovenia) and of the ISCOMET NGO, which enjoys a participatory status with the Council of Europe. In 1997 he received from the government of the Republic of Slovenia the nomination "Ambassador of Science of the Republic of Slovenia". In 2016 he became a Professor Emeritus of the University of Maribor. He is a lecturer at several post-graduate programs of European universities and invited as a key-speaker to different international gatherings, discussions and events. His bibliography includes more than 567 units. Since 1999 he was the coordinator of numerous academic and other international TEMPUS / Erasmus and other projects that are being co-financed by the EU and dedicated to the elimination of discrimination, improvement of the EU relations with Eastern Europe and the Balkans and other topics. As an expert he collaborated with the CLRAE of the Council of Europe, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, European Community resp. Union. He was a member of the think tank group of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere. As a nominee of Secretary General, Mr. Walter Schwimmer, he was a member of the Council of Europe consultative group on cross-border cooperation in Europe. He acted as a special envoy of the Council of Europe for assessment and development of the cross-border cooperation between Turkey and Georgia (2004), Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria (2005) and Albania, Greece and Macedonia (2005). Before dedicating himself fully to academic work he was in the Federal Secretariat for External Relations of Yugoslavia a Special counselor to the minister for minorities, borders issues and Balkan cooperation (1974-79), expert and negotiator for conclusion of the Osimo treaty regulating the border between Yugoslavia and Italy (1970-75), for two terms the member of the UN Committee for racial discrimination (1976-84) and director of the

Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana (1980-88). For his collaboration in the final regulation of the border between Italy and Yugoslavia he was awarded with one of the highest Italian orders.

Hüsamettin İnaç



Prof. Dr. Hüsamettin İnaç was born in Uşak (located very close to İzmir) and has graduated from Marmara University International Relations Department in 1997. After completing his master in Sociology and Anthropology Department of the same university with the thesis "Sociological Comparison of Marx and Pareto" he wrote a PhD thesis entitled as "Identity Problems of Turkey during the EU Integration Process" and graduated from Marmara University European Community Institute in 2002. Prof. Dr. İnaç who studied at the Dumlupınar University in the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences between 1998-2009, left when he was appointed as the Secretary General for Zafer (Northern Aegean as former name) Regional Development Agency covering Kütahya, Afyon, Manisa and Uşak cities in order to use his theoretical knowledge on the practical scope of economic development and regional growth for a year. Professor Hüsamettin İnaç is still working in Dumlupınar University Political Science and International Relations Department since 2010 by focusing on the theory of international relations, foreign policy, Turkey-EU relations, political sociology, national/ethnic identity issues and international organizations. Prof. İnaç is the research and planning coordinator of a local think tank institution named as GRTC (Global Research Thinking Center) and he is the author of 11 books.

Prof. Dr. İnaç has been appointed as the professor and head of the Political Sciences and International Relations department on August 2013. Since April 2015 he is the dean of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences.

Christiane Villain-Gandossi



Dr. Christiane Villain-Gandossi a poursuivi toute sa carrière au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), comme ingénieur, puis comme directeur de recherche aux Universités de Paris-Sorbonne et d'Aix-en-Provence. Docteur d'Etat ès-lettres de l'Université de Paris IV, elle est également diplômée de langue italienne de l'Université de Perugia, docteur en histoire économique, diplômée de l'Ecole des langues orientales vivantes, et également de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes (section philologie et histoire) Paris-Sorbonne, au sein de laquelle elle a assumé une charge de conférence.

Détachée du CNRS, de 1981 à 1991, elle a été membre de l'*Institute for advanced studies (School of Historical Studies)* à l'Université de Princeton, New Jersey USA, et directeur-adjoint au « Centre européen de recherches et de documentation en sciences sociales » à Vienne en Autriche, sous l'égide de l'UNESCO.

Ses travaux dans le domaine de l'histoire maritime - en particulier médiévale - ont été conduits selon les critères d'une multiple démarche: celle de l'historien des techniques, celle du linguiste (élaboration d'un *Glossaire nautique*), celle du sémiologue avec l'analyse des représentations figurées du navire médiéval.

Sa connaissance des langues turque et italienne lui ont permis de se spécialiser dans l'étude des relations diplomatiques et commerciales entre les pays du bassin oriental et occidental de la Méditerranée, principalement au XVIe siècle.

Dans le domaine des recherches comparatives transnationales en sciences sociales conduites auprès du Centre de Vienne, elle a dirigé et publié les résultats de projets de recherche portant sur le concept d'Europe, sur l'analyse lexicosémantique de l'Acte Final d'Helsinki, sur l'analyse historique du concept de risque, sur les stéréotypes dans les relations Nord/Sud. A la lumière des

résultats acquis au travers de ces recherches comparatives transnationales, elle a pu focaliser des recherches sur des problèmes de nature théorique: méthodologie de l'analyse comparative, interdisciplinarité dans les sciences sociales (ontologie, épistémologie et méthodologie des nouvelles interfaces), théorie des systèmes complexes, étude de l'élément sémantique dans la méthodologie des sciences sociales.