Models of European Civil Society

CGS Studies

Edited by

Ralph Schattkowsky and Miloš Řezník

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Managing editor

Adam Jarosz

Models of European Civil Society:

Transnational Perspectives on Forming Modern Societies

Edited by

Adam Jarosz and Katarzyna Kącka

This Volume is dedicated to Professor Ralph Schattkowsky on the occasion of his 65th birthday

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T<small>ABULA GRATULATORIA</small>

Dear Professor Ralph Schattkowsky,

On the occasion of the jubilee we would like to congratulate you on your valuable scientific achievements and express our gratitude for the common projects and tutoring students. We would like to wish you the best of health, joy and creativity. Good luck in your further scientific work!

Best Wishes!

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INTRODUCTION

ADAM JAROSZ AND KATARZYNA KĄCKA

Never doubt in what you do.
If you doubt, you will lose.

Ralph Schattkowsky

The following volume is devoted to the issues of European models of civil societies. Civil society is understood as a society of conscious and self-organised citizens who are active in the public sphere, and can form different organisations and associations for this purpose. They are independent from the state and their activities are focused on supporting the state, or by filling the gap in the areas where the state is not able or fails to act. They also control the state and politics, and in extreme cases actively oppose it (civil disobedience).

Modern societies have undergone many dynamic changes and developments. In recent decades, what can be observed is a conflict between tradition and modernisation, or better said consumerism, as Benjamin Barber outlined it in his book "Jihad vs. McWorld." On one hand, globalisation processes and the dynamic development of new technologies have contributed to the ongoing unification of social structures, lifestyles, the types of work people do and the way they spend their free time, but also democratisation has developed very similar ways of associating and public activities. Another factor is the consumerist approach, which is also the reason for the unilateralisation of social norms and values. Most developed countries have achieved a political and economic system bringing welfare, economic development, and a high standard of living, but also the spreading of ideas, social norms and liberal values. Democracy, the rule of law, freedom and equality, was the foundation for the modern European, or Western, societies. In the European case, integration has also brought about the ongoing unilateralisation. This is especially visible in the new member states of Central Europe, which have been adopting institutional patterns, technology, social norms, trends and ways of living from their Western counterparts, especially during the transformation process.

On the other hand, the societies with rich and long-lasting histories do not want to give up their traditional values, customs, believes and religions. Exaggerated consumerism combined with the over-economisation of people's lives has brought Western and European societies to a deep crisis of values and family as a basic cell of a society, identity, religion, the role of the state in the social life. The concepts of economic neoliberalism, or Francis Fukuyama's "End of History"—understood that the liberal democracy is the best and final stage of state order and that no other will be invented—brought a feeling of complacency among Western and European elites and politicians. The outcome of this has become the willingness to maintain the state of the art and not bring about further development, and most of all clear the orientation for the future for the people. Politics have become reactive and not proactive, and de-ideologised to the extent that some have started using the term "post-politics," wherein there are no clear divisions and cleavages among mayor parties, along with a blurred ideological background and a disappearing political dispute understood in a positive way, i.e. as a confrontation of opposing ideas, visions and concepts.

This crisis has been especially visible in confrontation with new challenges on a scale never before observed. Massive migration from the parts of the world which have culturally different values and social norms, mostly arising from the economic backgrounds of the poor south to the rich north, has brought forth questions of the coherence of the societies. The crisis of the family—of marriage and relationships—firstly has brought about demographic problems and the ongoing depopulation of aboriginal Europeans, and secondly is destructive for the whole social structure, especially when confronting the migrants from cultures where traditionally they have large families. A lack of identity causes the disorientation of units in terms of belonging, but also contributes to deculturalization and the struggle for having and keeping specific customs and norms of behaviour. This also undermines the ideas of the nation (in its positive community meaning), the common good and interest, concentrating on individuals and bringing them to an egoistic way of doing things. The secularisation of not only the public sphere but also private lives first creates a spiritual vacuum which confirms the consumerist approach and spreading of foreign and alien ideas in the European culture. Secondly, it destroys the foundations of European culture, which was mainly based on Christianity and its values. Finally, the reduced role of the state in social life could be seen in the economic crisis of 2008, which violated the basics of economic systems and brought about recession and many social problems.

All this shows that Europe is at a turning point in its' modern history. The sudden but steady growth of support for radical, but most of all very conservative forces, addressing the issues of maintaining national communities, limiting massive migration, and referring to traditional, Christian values, seems to be a counter-reaction of society to this deepening crisis. It also shows that Europe and the West need strong leadership as never before, followed by a well organised and most of all active state, bringing society and community together, rebuilding the national community and respecting the rights of minorities (religious, sexual, national, etc.), but at the same time firmly setting the borders of not only legal norms but also cultural ones. This refers to the economy as well, where the state has to regulate and find a balance between freedom of the market and overwhelming protectionism, as inactivism is definitely not possible anymore. Also, tensions in the international sphere (such as the Ukrainian crisis and the unstable situation in the Middle East) have shown that the state, being able to make legal regulations, disposing military force and legal violence apparatus, cannot be replaced by anything else in bringing about wealth, stability, protecting the rights of people and regulating economic and social processes.

Civil society is an important factor in a well-functioning state and crucial for developing a real, active and conscious community, which is able to control the state and its' servants. Even more importantly, when the state fails to react to negative developments or leaders misuse their power to enforce it in fulfilling its duties, and in the most radical, or dramatic cases to replace it or change the governors. Democratic order gives the society enough tools to do this and the internet, social media and other new means of communication improve the level of self-organisation and shorten the time for potential reactions.

This book is the seventh volume of the Copernicus Graduate School Studies. It has an interdisciplinary character and brings diverse approaches to the relations between politics and society. The aim of the authors is not to exhaust the whole topic but to bring forward some studies related to the civil society, both in the historical but also present perspective. It is divided into five parts. The first part covers selected issues in the historical perspective, but also very significant topics of the historical and remembrance policies. The second part focuses on inclusion and exclusion as factors of modern societies, and the third part considers the topic of transitional justice and creating norms in times of change. The fourth part contains studies on civil society in the local perspective and the last part presents an analysis of issues concerning tradition and innovation.

The Life and Work of Professor Ralph Schattkowsky

The volume is dedicated to Professor Ralph Schattkowsky on the occasion of his 65th birthday. He is a German professor who has spent nearly 20 years working in Poland and contributing to the German-Polish and European dialogue through common research projects and scientific events, which have brought together many generations of scientists and students from Germany, Poland and other countries.

Ralph Schattkowsky was born on December 10, 1953 in Parchim (Mecklenburg-Pomerania, Germany) into the family of a Pastor, Horst Schattkowsky, and his wife Lotte. He went to primary school in the Hagenow County in the times of the German Democratic Republic. He finished his secondary education in 1972 in the secondary school in Boizenburg an der Elbe. After that he studied history at the University of Rostock in 1973. He finished his studies ahead of schedule in 1977, writing his master's thesis under the guidance of professor Gerhard Heitz about German agricultural history in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. In the same year he started his work at the University of Rostock as an assistant where he worked until 1993. In 1978, he joined the German-Polish Relations research group under the guidance of professor Johannes Kalisch, and undertook additional studies in Poland.

In 1983 Ralph Schattkowsky defended his dissertation about the cooperation of German and Polish communists in the interwar period in Upper Silesia. In 1987 he gained his *facultas docendi* grade as a university teacher. In 1991 he gained his habilitation grade on the topic of German-Polish relations in the years 1918/19–25, between the end of the First World War and the re-establishment of the Polish state and Locarno Treaties.

Between 1993 and 1998 he was private professor [*Privatdozent*] at the University of Rostock. In 1998 he was nominated as associate professor for modern European history and the history of Eastern Europe at the University of Rostock. Since 2001 he has been a visiting professor at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland, and in 2003 he started work as a university professor there. In 2009 he obtained from the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczyński the title of full professor, which is the highest academic rank in Poland. In the same year he became the head of the Department of History of International Relations at the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies.

In the years 2008–14 he was a long-term lecturer [*Langzeitdozent*] of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). He also realised research projects financed by: the Volkswagen Foundation, the Robert

Bosch Foundation, the German Research Foundation (DFG), the Foundation for German-Polish Cooperation and the German-Polish Scientific Foundation.

During his academic career, Professor Ralph Schattkowsky has worked on different topics related to modern history. The first important field of expertise was the history of German-Polish relations in the interwar period which started with the defeat of Germany and its' allies and the establishment of the new German state—the Weimar Republic. As a result of the Great War the independent Polish state was re-established, together with other Central European states like Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. This created a new situation in Europe, and German-Polish relations came to a new phase of relations between two independent states that had no defined border and with conflict at almost point on the potential borderline. Additionally, in Germany, Poland was perceived as a seasonal state [*Saisonstaat*], and for German elites it was only a matter of time before it did not exist anymore. The realisation of the Treaty of Versailles meant for Germany the separation of the province of East Prussia through the Polish Pomeranian corridor (West Prussia), and the city of Gdańsk, one of the most important harbours in this part of the Baltic Sea, became a free city belonging to neither Germany nor Poland. In Greater Poland (the Province of Posen), Polish activists started a military uprising against retreating Germans to secure the province for Poland. In Upper Silesia the plebiscite was announced, but after an unsuccessful result on the Polish side three uprisings were also organised here. After fights and clashes, the region was divided between Germany and Poland. A similar plebiscite was organised in parts of East Prussia. In this region there were no tensions and most of the areas remained German. The violent beginning was a starting point for further tensions and difficult relations, with many unsolved problems, such as: recognition of the border by Germany, access to the harbour of Gdańsk by Poland, the issue of national minorities (and *Optanten*), and a customs war. These dynamic but also interesting times and processes were analysed by Ralph Schattkowsky in his book. He also devoted other numerous studies and smaller contributions to other more specific issues in this field, including the position of Poland and Eastern Europe in the European security system in the interwar period.

The second field of research was the issue of nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the processes of nation-building and creation of modern nations. His main focus was the region of West Prussia, which originally belonged to the Polish state from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries as a part of the state of Teutonic Knights, and then a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until 1772. In the

first partition of Poland it was overtaken by Prussia. This way, it was traditionally determined by the German and Polish culture, where Germans and Poles lived together in harmony. The second part of the nineteenth century saw the creation of modern nations in Europe. This process was especially interesting in multi-ethnic Central Europe, where many bigger and smaller nations existed or where divided between different states which were superpowers, playing key roles in the European political "concert." Schattkowsky's focus was on the processes of spreading the national ideas from the elites to the masses, along with their mobilisation, inclusion and exclusion of individuals and groups to or from a national community, as well as the issue of religion as a factor of identity creation, together with churches as institutions influencing and spreading not only truths of faith but also national ideas. In the case of West Prussia, the confession was a crucial factor in self-identification (as Pole-Catholic or German-Protestant). The book by Schattkowsky and devoted to these issues contains similar case studies of the multi-ethnic Austrian provinces of Galicia and Bukowina, and gives a comparative perspective. He also devoted other studies to the issues of nation building in the regional context and the relation between civil society and nation, and how the national issue corresponds with the idea of civil society in the modern times and in a united Europe. The aspect he developed more deeply was that of remembrance as a factor of identity building.

Schattkowsky's most recent scientific project is an analysis of the Polish Eastern European studies in interwar Poland. After the Union of Lublin in 1569 and the foundation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Poland expanded eastwards, not only in the territorial sense but also in the political and, most of all, cultural senses. The foundation of the new state, one of the strongest in Europe, determined the situation in this part of Europe and was the beginning of a rivalry over the Ruthenian lands of Eastern Europe with the growing Russian Empire. Finally, Poland lost that rivalry after numerous wars in the seventeenth century and establishing a system of noble democracy which proved to be completely inefficient and which blocked social and economic modernisation, especially in the époque of absolutism. Gradually, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth became a Russian protectorate and finally disappeared from the map at the end of the eighteenth century. After that, Poles never gave up in their efforts to regain their own independent state and organised numerous uprisings and other activities. In the late nineteenth century, when modern nations were created, two main ideas appeared towards the future Poland and its' relations with the former Eastern Territories. The Jagiellonian-federative of Józef Piłsudski

stated that Poland needs to help Belarusians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians build their own states in close relation to Poland and the Piast-integral project of Romand Dmowski, which assumed uniting those lands where Poles were the ethnic majority and remaining in alliance with Russia as the Slavic brotherhood. After the re-establishment of the Polish state and a successful war against the Bolsheviks, Poland managed to conquer parts of its' former Eastern Territories, but the concept of founding independent states between the Soviet Union and Poland failed. For these reasons, Polish relations with Russia and the Soviet Union, the situation of nations in the western part of the Soviet Union, their independence and national movements (as well as the Prometheism concept) were very important issues for Polish politicians, researchers, journalists and the general public. In no other country in Europe was the public discourse on Russia, Bolshevism and the East so intense as in Poland, so in this context it is essential to present the achievements, concepts and ideas of the main authors, institutions and their works, especially because they fulfilled the highest standards of research and set the trends in thinking about these issues on the international scale in their times.

Schattkowsky also contributed to developing German-Polish scientific dialogue, which was extended to other nationalities. He organised numerous international conferences, seminars and summer schools on the topics important for both Germans and Poles. He also tutored young scientists in their early careers and working on their PhD theses, whom he transferred wisdom, knowledge, passion and advice. Among these are Dr Adam Jarosz, an active scientist who deals with local self-government and urban policy in the comparative perspective, Dr Krzysztof Olszewski, who deals with the history of international relations and serves as a professional diplomat, and Dr Patryk Wawrzyński, a scholar who works on the issues of remembrance and historical policy.

For his contribution to the German-Polish and European dialogue and his research on the common history, Professor Schattkowsky was awarded the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland, which is given to non-Polish citizens who have rendered a great service to Poland.

Copernicus Graduate School

Schattkowsky's most important project, which combined scientific research and the education of young and talented scientists, is the Copernicus Graduate School,[1] which is the first project of its type in

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[1] The website of the project is www.cgs.umk.pl.

Poland. The CGS is a mobile international network of young scientists who work on research subjects towards a PhD. Internationally acknowledged scientists who are members of the school as its fellows are responsible for the graduates. They carry out a structured doctorate program through common research, education and communication, with the aim of improving the chances for the academic careers of the members and participants.

Research

The CGS has a thematic profile and makes possible the interdisciplinary access to the key subject areas of social sciences research. The fields of work of the fellows and doctoral thesis are integrated into the thematic orientation of the graduate school. The thematic profile can change cyclically. The fellows form a research group that works on the subject from various perspectives and presents it internationally. Their research work is an essential basis for establishing the graduate school as an excellence initiative.

Education

The doctoral candidate of the graduate school completes an education program worked out and realised by the fellows. This program contains consultations and agreements with the tutors, common seminars, conferences, workshops and summer schools. The CGS supports its members in participating in international conferences, gives opportunities to publish research results and takes care of scholarships. The work with third-party funds is an integrate part of the education. The education program of the CGS has a supplementary function to doctoral studies realised at home universities.

Communication

The internationalisation of graduate education will be realised through a systematically structured education program, and academic communication between doctoral candidates and within different generations of scientists at international level will be supported. In addition, the Graduate School offers a basis for long-term academic cooperation and close connections between various universities.

Membership

The members of the CGS are fellows and doctoral candidates. The fellows come from different countries and are internationally acknowledged for the profile of the graduate school. They cooperate with other scientists in the scope of the excellence of research and the doctorate program. Any young scientist who is matriculated as a PhD candidate at their home university can become a member of the Copernicus Graduate School. The thematic orientation has to be compatible with that of the graduate school. The application for membership of the CGS is internationally announced and the fellows decide on the admission. The graduate school is designated for approximately 20 doctoral candidates. The membership ends after a successful defence of the doctoral dissertation and is confirmed by a certificate.

Organisation

The CGS is led and coordinated by the Chair of History of International Relations at the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, and is supported by the fellows. The partner institutions of the project have been: the University of Rostock, the German Historical Institute Warsaw, the Chemnitz University of Technology, the Palacký University in Olomouc, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the University of Miskolc and the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

The graduate school has been financed from third party funds. The institutions that have supported the project are: the Foundation for German-Polish Cooperation, the German-Polish Science Foundation, Visegrad Fund, the Herbert Quandt-Foundation, the German-Czech Future Fund, the German Research Foundation, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (Germany) and the City of Toruń.

The topic of the Copernicus Graduate School is: "Models of European Civil Societies. Transnational Perspectives on Forming of Modern Societies in Central Europe."

The subjects of the CGS are the forms and development level of self-the organisation of modern societies. The aim is to study the extent to which civil society influences the processes of norm creation, conflict design and the preservation of tolerance. It concerns societies created in the national way being in a process of modernisation. Another aim is to analyse the extent to which civil society serves as a constructive and regulative element of the functionality of modern societies.

The main aspects of the work are presented in a comparative way. This should facilitate a comparably intensive access for different social scientists. They are supposed to critically debate the thesis concerning self-organisation in the modern world. Based on case studies from Central Europe, they will also supply meaning patterns for a typology of different ways towards a European civil society. The diversity of phenomena in an integrated historic process will be shown. Such a way of working on topics makes a claim of society-related research in which civil society is taken as an explanation pattern and functional imperative. Thus, a dialogue between science and politics can develop.

The research is divided into the following five thematic sections.

(1) The civil society contours of the nation

It is worth noting that a civil society paradigm in modern nation-building processes is hardly used explicitly in the nationalism research. Such an approach would be very suitable as an explanation pattern for the role of democracy and violence as well as the relations of individuals in a large group. Undoubtedly, the modern nation is an organisational form of modern mass societies. It serves to ensure existence conditions, set objectives and boost the attributes of civil society. It realises the promise of solidarity and community, which makes the nation attractive for masses and builds an identity. Without structures of self-organisation in the civil society, the implementation of the national thought is unthinkable. A self-organisational commitment to the nation gives people a sense of bonding and mobilises them. Thus, nationalised societies are able to work. Individuals have to adjust their life projects to the society and thus have their need for security satisfied. A national movement is strong and stable if it understands the necessity and possibility of shaping the society with the idea of nation as well as the functionality of the civil society. Feasibility is perceived here as an essential moment of civilisation.

(2) Tradition and innovation (change)

Changes develop both an innovative and destructive potential. Conversion processes can be interpreted as progress, modernisation and advancement, as well as decline, degeneration and disaster. Deconstructions of the accepted normality are always moments of great social intensity which need a collective comment and classification in memory culture. The elites adopt an intermediary role between a social event and its interpretation in the true sense of the "positivity of discourse" (Foucault).

The focus is on the social action, i.e. the conscious process of individuals aimed at creating favourable conditions for their existence. There is an awareness of the need for organising principles that bring benefits to the stability of the society. In this regard, what should be considered more closely is the hitherto neglected aspect of the persistence of the "old" society, adherence to traditions and accepted standards of behaviour in terms of a canon of values, such as memory culture, regional identity and confession. This should be examined on the basis of self-organisation and answer the following questions concerning the communication between politics and society: to what extent do the reflections of masses and elites agree about the state of the society, and to what extent have the elites created this.

Here, the elements that are seen as both traditional and preserving the social equilibrium, as well as creating a basis for the acceptance of new values that hold together the mechanism of a society in reality should be identified. How do elites communicate within forms of the self-organisation of the society and what role do tradition and values play in this?

(3) Creating norms and the preservation of tolerance (civil society and the state)

Civil society has its sources mainly in its own systems of norms. There also lays its responsibility. Actually, it is much more dependent on complying with norms than the state. The state can ignore its discipline. History shows that it sets norms only to present itself. The state also has the means to enforce the norms that exclude themselves in a civil society. The state can cope with an anomy (Emile Durkheim) of losing the authority of traditional norms. The civil society ceases to exist in such a case. The state promises security and supports an individual with codification and the available tools. The civil society feels responsible for ensuring that the citizen receives orientation and safety. Understanding and inner commitment are essential for the citizen to perceive the limitation of freedom as a responsibility. Living conditions correspond to it in the long term, and socialisation occurs. This is ultimately a social discipline process that generates a new type of behaviour bringing expectable benefits to the society with reliable motivation. However, a self-organisation does not take place outside the state, but it is different from the state organisation. In a spontaneous creation of order, the distributed knowledge of all people is implemented in a way that the construction planned by a human never could (Friedrich von Hayek).

(4) Civil society and foreign cultures

The subject of the research is the role of migration and minorities in shaping social milieus. Modernisation processes and social upheavals would lead to a dissolution of traditional life conditions established by migration processes, mutual re-evaluation and sociocultural mechanisms of distinction. They would also develop a high conflict potential. The focus is set on foreignness and integration in the course of the development of modern societies as well as on the question of the impact of the processes of inclusion and exclusion regarding emancipation, modernisation and the development of civil-society structures.

It is necessary to examine to what extent the sharpening of social contours has been a part of the ethnic-cultural differentiation within civil society or if it caused this differentiation. The development of comparable structural elements of civil society and group behaviour may lead to a symbiotic effect within modernisation, which would open the way to the establishment of foreign groups.

(5) City and region: local perspectives on the civil society

Civil society is not a static or abstract element of a human being's form of existence, but it is a functional priority of group behaviour. Civil societal activity is connected with regulatory framework, which also depends on local and regional prerequisites. It creates the behaviour of big and small groups, and also determines specifics of democratic participation in the processes of decision making, identity building and conflict solution. The urban areas traditionally have a high level of self-organisation and frequently serve as a model for the introduction of civil societal structures or behaviour patterns in large forms of organisation. On the other hand, local communities have their characteristics which make them develop different communication forms on the basis of their smaller density. The problem field of a city and region is suitable for the research of civil society as micro studies as well as for comparison in the land and city perspective. Also, the role of smaller structures in the perspective of the whole society may be analysed.

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