The Changing Perception of the Other in Europe in Post Cold War Period

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Abstract
In this study, nationalism and the perception of "the other" which are nowadays the most effective factors to the international system in the world, will be discussed. Before, during and after the Cold War the changing perception of "the other" especially in Europe; and during the Cold War, the changing perception of threat from red to green will be evaluated. Nationalism, identity and "the other" are the key concepts that we are going to deal with and how these concepts form the European identity will be discussed.
Key Words: nationalism, identity, fascism, "the other", Cold War, red threat, green threat.

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Introduction

By the end of Second World War, the world was divided into two blocs as East and West. Eastern Bloc was constructed under a socialist and communist ideological regime far away from nationalism under the leadership of USSR. And this unity was officially registered by Warsaw Pact. On the other side Western Bloc signed the North Atlantic Treaty Organiztion under the leadership of USA. Although each country which is a member of NATO has the concept of nationalism within its own scope, the concept of nationalism did not become a current issue as they prioritise social and economic development.

The Most dangerous threat for Western bloc at that time was Red Army. Boundless developments in communication and technology since 1980's, also started the nationalist and liberationist movements in USSR. As a result USSR was disintegated and all communist regimes and Berlin Wall were collapsed. This was the end of Cold War. This also meant the end of red threat. This was in fact the beginning of the cahange of the "other" perception in Europe. Now, the new threat in other words, the new "other" was immigrants which were mostly Muslims. This major change caused mass immigrations from East to West during 1990's. In Eastern Bloc countries, life was becoming more difficult day by day, unempoyment increased, and the feeling of backwardness and insecurity boosted mant people to immigrate to West for better life conditions. Western European countries were relatively in a better situation. Eastern work force brought low-cost labor to West and caused a decline in wages. When compared to past, West European citizens became impowerished. As a result, insecurity environment shifted westwards and nationalist movements emerged. Unfortunately, immigrants in other words the "others" were held responsible for economical crisis and nationalist movements emerged in many Western European countries.

The Concept of Nationalism

Nationalism is the total of values and feelings which are developed under the effects of natural, social, cultural, physical and genetic and that are common in a nation's individuals. These values and feelings are always reposed on personal benefits. (Dinç, 2004)

Nationalism was born from the ideologies of 1789 French Revolution. Although it has been somehow changed in time, it still has effects on nation states. According to Aydıngun, when we investigate the oldest nation states in Europe, we came across two different models. The First model is based on land and citizenship and it accepts nation as a political community living on a prominent land under the control of substantial laws. Second model is accepted as constituents such as common roots, ancestry and cultural features that provide corporeity of a nation. (Aydıngun, 2008: 7)

It is possible to see the slow start of nationalist movements at the beginning of early 19th century. We call it "slow" as the biggest obstacles in front of nationalism were Ottoman Empire, Austarian Empire and Czarist Russia. These empires were reserving multi-nations, different ethnic and religious elements of these nations.

In 19th century, Hungarian people revolted against Austarian Empire, Greek people revolted against Ottoman Empire, Polish people revolted against Russian occupation and Germans revolted against Napoleon occupation. These riots were all examples of nationalist movemnets. When we mention nationalism, we also have to mention national identity. Anthony D. Smith describes the key features of national identity as;

    a) A historical land or a country;
    b) Common myths and a historical memory;
    c) A common mass public culture;
    d) Common legal rights and tasks that are valid for community's all individuals;
    e) A common economy that gives free action opportunity to individuals in their country. (Smith, 1999: 31-32)

In other words, nation is the name given to a national community who shares ahistorical land, a common culture, a common history, a mass public culture and a common economy. Nationalism, that creates a national community concept, declines monarchy and correlates between the governing and the governed. This connection must be both nationalist and democratic. Nationalism has three claims;

    a) An evident and unique nation;
    b) The values and benefits of this nation are superior to all other benefits and values;
    c) Nation should be independent as much as possible, this requires a recognition of its political sovereignty. (Breuilly, 1985)

Jean Leca grouped nationalism in three different regimes. The first one is, as in examples of England and USA, individualist, pluralist, libertarian and universalist nationalism. In these two countries, Irish people, slaves which are mainly African Americans and the actual owners of the new continet are ignored. Second one is emerged because of a common ressentiment to West as in the examples of Germany and Russia. This type of nationalism is collectivist, structural and most importantly it is ethnic. The first one develops patriotism, the second one develops ethnicity. The third group is both collectivist and relies on citizenship as it is in France. (Leca, 1996: 15)

Although, it may seem like the concepts of nationalism and citizenship has elements that complement each other, they have conradictory consequences while citizenship installs a mission to state of guaranteeing justice and equality for everyone, nationalism installs a mission to state of valueing national benefits above anything.

Elie Kedourie, defines nationalism as a doctrine which was produced in 19th century in Europe. This doctrine argues that people are naturally divided into nations, all nations are known with their discrete intelligible characteristics and the only legitimate governance system is a nation's self-governance. (Kedourie, 1994: 1) But defining nationalism just as a doctine can be characterized as narrowing this complex concept which can be assessed from different angels. Nationalism is not a mere doctrine, it is also an ideology and a way of thinking. It is may be a vanishing point or a way of ignorance to the people defined as the "other".

It is surprising that nationalism is perceived as an old concept. In fact, nationalism belongs to recent history. In modern age, we all have an image in our minds that the World is divided into various communitie. Whereas the earth is not like rag bag as wee in the atlases, the sharp borders drawn by bird's eye view technique belong to the modern age. (Calhoun, 2009: 18) Defining sharp borders was not the result of age of enlightenment, on the contrary it was reflecting the wish to Show the colonies on earth with sharper borders.

Calhoun unified the definition of nationalism by quoting from many different scholars. According to this comprehensive definition; nationalism is the result of ongoing existence of ethnic identities, political and cultural changes caused by industrialization, an integrated economy and seperatist resction against economical unequalities in states' peripheries; statue anxieties and grudges of new elites; invention of an ideology devoted to legitimate the states in capitalist economical relations; centralization accompanying state building and efforts to secure uniformity. (Calhoun, 2009: 29)

As we mentioned before we can not define nationalism with just one definition. This merely narrows the meaning of it. Because nationalism is a complex phenomenon. The mentioned themes are not enough to explain nationalism solely. When we mention nationalism, we should also mention etnic roots and ethnic nationalism. Athony D. Smith defines the six main features of an ethnic community as;
   a) A collective special name;
   b) A common ancestry myth;
   c) Shared historical memories;
   d) One or more than one components that maket ha common culture different;
   e) A connection to a particular country;
   f) The solidarity feeling among population's important parts. (Smith, 1999: 42)
The stronger ethnic identity means the stronger probability of establishing a state. The exclusivist characteristic of ethnic identity is shown as the reason for nationalist movements. As a result, if ethnic nationalism is defined as having ethnic roots and common ancestry, it will easily exclude the people who have different etnic origins; these communities will be named as the "other" and they will have no chance to gain their rights.

According to Neumann, integration and exclusion are two different sides of the same medallion. If integration is gained at the expense of exclusion, this means a heavy cost. The construction process of collective identities should contribute to teach us living with discrepancies, it should not cause the death of some because of being the "other". (Neumann, 1999:37) We can call, this kinf of exclusion and hostility, pathological identity. Pathological identities reject communication among communities and they exclude the "others" by constantly alienating themselves. (Erdenir, 2006: 48)
Ultranationalist identities resort to the use of force during alienating process, they insult and exclude the communities that they called the "others". In contrast to strict identities, flexible identities have a reconciling attitude without overwhelming the community with rules and criterias. Although flexible identities are open to communication with the "others", their naming some communities as the "others" is the indicator of their discrimination. The communities which can not gain their rights and which are excluded, collect under their own national umbrella and cause to the emergence of national conflicts. At the present time, nationalist conflicts are caused by some ethnic groups who have desire to preserve and to prolong their ethnic roots, their common historical myths and their common culture.
Nationalism is directly related with culture. According to Ernest Geller, nationalism is a cultural phenomenon and it requires marriage of culture and state. (Gellner, 1997: 50-51) Speaking the same language, having the same religious belief, having the same cultural elements and belonging to the same ethnic identity underlie the nationalist phenomenon in modern societies. According to Aydın, nationaliam is an ideology that

have three objectives; the first one is, to create a national economy; secondly, to establish an autonomous executive organ and to gather all discriminative connections and relations under the supervision of this organ; third one is to create a national culture and correspondingly a national identification. (Aydın, 1993: 63)

Samuel P. Huntington asserts in his famous book The Clash of Civilizations, that the most important element of identity is religion and civilizations who are responsible for policy determination were established on religious constituents. These ideas define the vision of pan-nationalism underlying pan-european point of view. The World has experienced many events in recent history confirming Huntington's arguement. The most striking evidence is that after the disintegration of Yugoslavia with deep grief, Russia and greece supoorted Sırbia as they are Orthodox but Turkey and other Muslim countries supported Bosnia.
European culture is the combination of three basic elements according to the classic pan-Europeanism's first definition emerged in 19th century Ancient Greek thinking, Roman law and Christianity. (Erdenir, 2006: 93) Communities which have different cultures gain European identity under the unifying force of religion. In this sense, when we mention national identity in Europe, we should mention the importance of Christianity more than race, language and culture.

The Evolution of Nationalism to Fascism Between Two World Wars
In the second quarter of 20th century, while industial revolution was rapidly ongoing in Europe, fascist governments acceded in Germany, Spain and Italy and nationalist movements reached the peak. Italian system became a model of fascism for many European countries. Besides Italy, Adolf Hitler's Nationalist Socialist Party acceded in Germany since 1933 and Francisco Franco in Spain acceded as a fascist dictator since 1939. These three leaders repudiate any other nation in Europe, they ensanguined whole Europe under the pretext of nationalism.
The most significant features of fascism can be defined as antidemocratic, extreme nationalism, anticapitalist and dictatorship. When it first burst out, fascism could be defined as Italian nationalism, in time the new political flows such as Nazizm and Falanjizm contibuted to Fascism and formed an integrity. Equality, priority to the benefits of the public always emphasized in fascism but when it rushed into extremes it caused racism such as Nazizm. At this point, we can clearly see the difference between Italian fascism and German fascism. Hitler's fascism was racist and prioritized German race. Mussolini's fascism prioritized citizenship and nationalism. The most interesting side of Italian and German Fascism was that they acceded with democratic elections. It was surprising, for an ideology which acceded with democratic elections, to have a discourse containing violence, to aim to provoke public by the help of visual symbols, slogans and marchs. (Örs, 2008: 495)
Fascism comes out as a reaction to modernization and enlightenment. Fascism prioritize benefits of community rather than benefits of individuals. In fact fascism as an ideology has contradictions in itself. According to Marxist writer Togliatti; fascism is the most reactionist, the most chauvinistic and the most colonialist elements of finance capital. (Togliatti, 2000: 15)

Fascist groups under the leadership of Mussolini mentioned the greatness of Italy; they aimed to prevent bad intentions of imperialist states and they aimed to draw borders from the Alps to Adriatic. It can be understood that the decisions made by Mussolini and his proponents, it showed that fascism was not a mere ideology, it was also a reaction. According to Otto Bauer, fascism can be explained as a result of interconnected three processes. The first one is; the war expelled large masses of people out to the bourgeois life and made them lost their class identitiy. This great number of people who could not get back their bourgeois life created fascist militia in company with a nationalist and antidemocratic military ideology after the war; the second one is people were getting poor because of the economical crisis and communities blame democratic system for this bad economic situation and they gathered around the nationalist-military militia. Third one is; the economy class wanted to finance the deficit caused by economical crisis. They also tried to increase the rate of exploitation and they were aware of the handicap that they could not reach their goals in frame of democratical rules so they used republicanist militia and fascist groups to scare the proletariat. This provided subversion of government to fascists in its last phase. (Bauer, 1999: 90)

In Germany, fascism started with Hitler's Nationalist Socialist Party's government. Hitler admired Mussolini and he gave great importance to his ideas and ideologies. He had great respect to Mussolini for his policies. This admiration between Hitler and Mussolini caused the close relations between fascism and national socialism. They have the same beliefs and same goals. The only difference between these two ideologies was Hitler's extreme anti-semistist ideas. Hitler revealed his ideas about Jews in his famous book "My Fight". According to him, Jewish people should be expelled or immigrated by force from Europe. He defined this race as an epidemic of plague and he said all military government forces should do anything to eradicate this race without feeling of compassion. (Hitler, 1933: 186)

The ideas defended by Nationalist Socialist Party aparted from nattionalism is the point that they did not accept the nation as a divine value, they just used nationalism as a tool to reach their objectives. The main objective was establishing a new aristocratic order by disintegrating the nation state structure. (Breuer, 2010: 230) We can define this aristocartic order that gives political and social rights to the pure race, as race aristocracy.

The most important factors that define race are prominent physical and spiritual features which a group of people can transfer their genes to next generations. Breuer defines pure German race's view of Eastern people; according to this definition, Eastern people are sexually uncontrolled, absent minded, acquisitive and inadequate, moreover they are typical mass-people who do not have any interest in royal and divine issues, who rushed into daily and ordinary issues. In response to this, pure German race can be characterized with a light skin and long skull and defined as par-excellence "race which have adequacy of royalty". (Breuer, 2010: 233)

Hitler used the concepts, race and public in the same meaning, he excluded ones who were not from pure race, he did not accept them as a part of public in other words he "otherized" them.

The New "Other": Red Threat

European Union adhered into an integration processes by the end of Second World War. In 1952, Paris Treaty was signed and European Coal and Steel Community's foundation was laid. A supranationalist integration was preffered and a new era started.

In 1957, Rome Treaty was signed and integration process continued with expansion till 21st century. So what was the objective of this integration process? European integration aims to reunite nations who live in Europe under the concepts of peace and welfare on the other hand they "otherize" other nations. This "othering" involves racism and "otherizing" phenomenon in itself. Before the end of Second World War, in 1944, in Bretton Woods, USA, in the United Nations Money and Finance Conference, Bretton Woods system determined the rules in economic and commercial fields. This system leads construction of institutions such as International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is an institution established by USA, West European States and Canada as a security organization against USSR. (Gözen, 2006: 173) At the beginning of Cold War, NATO was an organization for defense in order to be secure in case of a Soviet attack. In other words, the triggering idea for NATO was the fear of Red Threat.

During Second World War, USSR proved that it was powerful enough to rule many European countries with its communist ideology. USSR formed Eastern Bloc with its MArxist-Leninist ideology, USA formed Western Bloc with its liberal and democartic ideology. The reason for establishing NATO is not just to build up or to protect demolished Europe after the Second World War. USA wanted to be the only super power, the only boss of the world with its utilitarian intentions. To reach its goals, USA wanted to include USSR in Bretton Woods system. Its original purpose was to dissolve USSR in the capitalist system. But USSR did not give an inch to this and preferred to govern the states towards its own ideologies. (Gözen, 2006: 176)

According to Fukuyama, NATO is an organiztion of really independent states which have common commitments to liberal principles and these states can easily use military interventions to protect their own colective security against the threat which may burst out from anti-democratic side of the world. (Fukuyama, 2011: 358) At the beginning of Cold War period, in 1947, President Truman put into practice the Truman Doctrine and then Marshall Plan was made applicable targetting economical development. In 1948 OECC was founded. All these plans had one target, that was creating a powerful Europe against USSR. In 1949 Council of Europe, in 1952 European Coal and Steel Community , in 1957 European Economic Community were established, having the same objective, that was again providing a unified powerful Europe against red threat. In fact, USA was not just anxious about red threat, it was beware of the German problem. After the war, especially France strictly opposed to the armament of germany. In this context NATO had three main objectives in Europe;

a) Keeping USSR off the Europe and excluding USSR in other words "otherizing" USSR;
b) Keeping Germany under control;
c) Increasing USA's effectiveness over Europe.

In short: "Soviets out, Germans down, Americans in". (Gözen, 2006: 179)

The effects of destruction caused by the war made Europeans adopt the idea of rasping extreme nationalism. In order to provide this, instead of nationalism and

nationality, supranationalism was driven forward. Instead of conflicting identities, developing the idea of consciousness of Europeanness was put forward. (Çalış, Bağcı, Kutlu, 2006: 219) Idea of formation of a European identity means "otherizing" the ones out of Europe. Until USSR was dissolved, the threat for West was Red, in other words, the threat was communist ideology and its unique leader, USSR. After the "Iron Curtain" was abolished, the "other" was no more there. Now, there is a need to find a new "other". This new era's "others" were choosen as immigrants from 3rd world countries and Muslims. Now they are in target of West Europe and USA as the most serious threat. (Erdenir, 2006: 79) In other words the colour of threat turned into green from red.

From Red Threat to Green Threat: The Differentiation of The "Other" in The Post Cold War Era
Huntington, in his famous book "The Clash of Civilizations", indicates that in this new century, conflicts among states would replaced by conflicts among cultures. (Huntington, 1993: 22-49) According to Huntington, with modernization, identities will be lost and religion will fill this gap. He thinks the main problem is Islamic radicalism, re-islamization and the desire to convert the world in a non-western way. He defines Islam as a serious threat against West. (Huntington, 1993: 22-49) This opininon got inside the mind of Western people and made them believe that in future all Eastern states will come together and sweep over the West.

Like Huntington, Bernard Lewis has the same arguement about an anti-Western Islamic world. Lewis indicated that in the post Cold War period, red threat replaced by gren threat, and this fear will grow day by day and radical Islamism will be the greatest threat for Western World. (Lewis, 1990: 47-60) By reason of globalization, information media builds an image of Muslims as furious groups of scraggle people who are cloaked or veiled and who constantly performing the ritual prayers of Islam. So is Islam the only result of this dead end between East and West?
Europe begin to search for integrity and identity in itself after the rise of nationalism in the post Cold War era in Europe. This time while seeking integrity, mostly Muslim immigrants were excluded as the "other". Integration of Europe, lightened the traditional structure of identity on which nation states settled and it became a vote-hunting field for so-called nationalists. (Yılmaz, 2008: 54) In 1993, in France extreme nationalist parties defended the idea that all foreigner should be deported, race integration which is based on consanguinity should be provided and national consciousness should be indoctrinated. Because of globalization, borders have become more passable and multiculturalism started to threaten the concept nation state. All these reasons formed a basis for changing perception of immigrants as the "others".

The extreme nationalist parties who also have some racist ideas, started to blame immigrants for any kind of problems in economical, cultural and social fields. European Union coose to expand since its foundation to provide economical, political security and stability. Now it reached 28 members. The new members of the union that are mostly Eastern European countries, are also a threat for West Europe. An immigration flow or a social activism to the West is an uneasy sıtuation for the union. According to Taş, in Europe extreme nationalist parties closed the way for integration of ethnic minorities, they trigger hostility to foreigners, they trigger anti-semitizm and racism. This is the most dangerous attitude towards immigrants and foreigners. (Taş,

1999: 76) According to the Eurobarometer questionnaire made in 1997, European citizens who have racist feelings towards foreigners, have economical and social problems. They have the fear of loosing their jobs because of immigration flows.("Racism and Xenophobia in Europe", Eurobarometer Opinion Poll no:47, 1, Luxembourg, 18-19 December, 1997)

Islamophobia, which has been mostly discussed since the end of Cold War, dates back to the crusades. In 1529, when Turks came to the doors of Vienna, all Christians ran for help to save old world, this kind of mentality is still in the subconscious of Europe. (Lagendijk, Wiersma, 2009: 60) By the end of 1960's, model of nation state turns into a dominant code, on the other hand some political movements related to ethnicity and religion burst out. (Örs, 2008: 344) Until the end of Cold War, Muslims were not perceived as threat. The Cold War's ending means the disappearance of red threat. Now the new threat for Europe comes out as gren threat in other words "Islam" and Muslim immigrants. Due to global economical crisis, European communities experienced a decrease in welfare, in Middle Age Jews were the scapegoat but in Modern Europe, Jews were replaced by Muslims. This caused a deepening gap between Muslims and Christians. Islamophobia is becoming a bigger problem day by day. (Aksoy, Çemrek, 2010: 45) This changing perception of threat caused many conservative parties in Europe to sharpen their discourses and pull more votes.

These unfair and "otherizing" discourses against Islam and immigrants made by politicians show its impact among public. In 2008, at the German Biefeld University, at Interdisciplenary Pan-European Working Institute made a questionnaire to evaluate European citizens' point of views towards Islam and Muslims. According to the results of the research;

    a) Most Europeans consider Islam as an intolerant religion;
    b) Most Europeans believe that there are a lot of Muslims in their countries;
    c) Most Europeans beleive that Islam as a overbearing and exclusivist on women;
    d) Most Europeans believe that Muslims support terrorism;
    e) Europeans feel free to put intowords their negative attitude and ideas against Islam and immigrants. (Zick, 2011: 67-68)

Europeans' fears towards Islam and immigrants are increasing day by day. Prejudiced actions towards Muslims caused perception of immigrants as "others". In general, Europeans consider Muslims as people who have tendency to violence and terror so that they accept them as non-integrated individuals to the European ccommunity. Despite the fact that the main constituent of European identity is not reflected as a Christian community. In fact Europe is a Christian community and it is obvious that Christianity forms European Identity's culture and life style. Under these circumstances, the perception of Muslims as threats is an inevitable ending. In this respect, the polarization between Islamic and Christian worlds in 1990's takes the place of polarization between USA and USSR in Cold War period. The reasons for this polarization which was a result of "otherizing" of Muslims in Europe;

- Economical factors: unemployment and powerty which are increasing day by day among Muslims;
- Social factors: problems and unequality in Europe;
- Ideological factors: racism and xenophobia in Europe;
- Psychological factors: due to the factors mentioned above, muslims have a breakoff phenomenon and feeling of exclusion.(Ozlem, 2007: 205)

As we mentioned before, globalization, expansion and integration of Europe lead to immigration and security problems. Fear of loss of identity, fear of loss of supremacy in political fields, the fear of loss of cultural values made Europeans to "otherize" foreigners and to exclude them from society. Immigrants most of whom are Muslims are considered as people who are non-integrated to European culture, people who steal Europeans' jobs and people who dejenerated European identity and European values. Due to these prejudiced and unfair attitudes, Muslims are excluded from political and social life and they are condemned to live as "others".

Conclusion

According to Smith, nationalism can not be blamed as the factor which is responsible for instability, conflicts and terrorism in today's world. But nationalism should be defined as one of the reasons which caused these difficulties mentioned above. (Smith, 1999: 270-71) After French Revolution in 1789, the identity concept came into prominence especially in West. Nationalist movements continued throughout 19th century and in the 20th century nationalism became the dominant understanding in the period between two world wars, such nationalist ideologies like fascism due to ethnicity burst out in germany and in Italy. Two superpowers become dominant after Second World War and they polarizad as East and West. In that period, communism was being accepted as a threat for Western World, in other words the name of the threat was "red threat" in accordance with this fear, an integration process started in Europe and a formation of European identity was experienced.

By the end of the Cold War, the red threat was no more a frightening factor for the West. Then, there was an ambiguity of definition of the concept of "other". The most effective factors to explain the concept of "other which was correlated with religion, ethnic identity and cultural differances were economical problems and expectations. The nation states which experienced loss of effectiveness, have new purposes such as creating a new enemy and "otherizing" the foreigner. Because of this reason, Europe has choosen Muslim immigrants as the new "others" and the colour of threat changed into "green" from "red" since 1990's.

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