

SÜDOSTEUROPA

Mitteilungen

04 | 2016

56. Jahrgang

Schwerpunkt Türkei

Yavuz Baydar

How the Failed Putsch in Turkey Evolved into a Counter-coup

Roy Karadağ

Das Ende der türkischen Demokratie

Friedrich Püttmann

Unveiling the Influence of Class on the Popularity of the Islamist Movement in Turkey

Olaf Leiße

Zur Selbstverortung der Minderheiten in der Türkei



Jens Bastian

Griechenland: Folgen des Brexit in Großbritannien und des gescheiterten Militärputschs in der Türkei

Gudrun Steinacker

Kontroverse um das erste Wörterbuch der montenegrinischen Volks- und Literatursprache

Alexander Korb

Die „Abteilungen westdeutsche Ostforschung“ in der DDR und ihr Blick auf die NS-Vergangenheit der Südosteuropa-Forschung in der BRD

04 | 2016

SÜDOSTEUROPA Mitteilungen

Analysen / Positionen / Essays

Schwerpunkt: Türkei / Main Focus: Turkey

- 6 *Yavuz Baydar*
How the Failed Putsch in Turkey Evolved into a Counter-coup
-
- 16 *Roy Karadağ*
Das Ende der türkischen Demokratie
-
- 30 *Friedrich Püttmann*
Behind the Anatolian Revolution – Unveiling the Influence of Class on the Popularity of the Islamist Movement in Turkey
-
- 44 *Olaf Leiße*
Integriert, toleriert, diskriminiert – Zur Selbstverortung der Minderheiten in der Türkei
-
- 62 *Jens Bastian*
Welche Folgen ergeben sich für Griechenland durch den Brexit in Großbritannien und den gescheiterten Militärputsch in der Türkei?
-
- 74 *Gudrun Steinacker*
Kontroverse um das erste Wörterbuch der montenegrinischen Volks- und Literatursprache
-
- 80 *Alexander Korb*
Ostforscher-Erforscher – Die „Abteilungen westdeutsche Ostforschung“ in der DDR und ihr Blick auf die NS-Vergangenheit der Südosteuropaforschung in der BRD

103 **Forum**

Berichte

- 105-107 Zur gegenwärtigen Verfassung Europas. Europa-Dialog im Präsidium der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft. Berlin, 4. Juli 2016
- 107-108 Migration statt Stagnation? Infrastrukturen für die Ost- und Südosteuropa-Forschung in Zeiten tiefgreifenden Wandels. ABDOS-Tagung, Herne, 2.-4. Mai 2016

109 **Rezensionen**

- T. Kruse: Bonn – Nikosia – Ostberlin. Innerdeutsche Fehden auf fremdem Boden 1960-1972 T. Petrović: Yuropa – Das jugoslawische Erbe und Zukunftsstrategien in postjugoslawischen Gesellschaften

Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,

am 15. Juli 2016 erschütterte ein Militärputsch die Türkei. Er scheiterte, weil offensichtlich die Spitzen des Armee-Apparates sich dem Coup nicht anschlossen und loyal zur Regierung blieben. Präsident Erdoğan, die AKP-Regierung und ihre Anhänger waren sehr schnell mit Erklärungen zur Hand, wer für den Putsch verantwortlich sei: Es sei das Werk von „FETÖ“, der „Terrororganisation von Fetullah Gülen“, gewesen. In Wirklichkeit bleiben auch drei Monate nach dem vereitelten Putsch die Hintergründe und Drahtzieher weitgehend im Dunkeln, darin sind sich unabhängige Beobachter einig. Die Reaktion der Regierenden war umso eindeutiger: Auf der Basis eines Notstandsgesetzes wurden zigtausende Staatsbeamte, Lehrer, Journalisten, Universitätsprofessoren, Richter und Staatsanwälte entlassen, viele wurden festgenommen und manche ins Gefängnis geworfen. Unser Autor Yavuz Baydar, international renommierter und prämierter Journalist, berichtet in einer Kolumne im Feuilleton der »Süddeutschen Zeitung« (unter dem Titel „Türkische Chronik“) seit dem Putsch regelmäßig über die fast unglaublichen Übergriffe gegen Journalisten und andere Intellektuelle. Baydar fand sich auf einer Liste von 35 kritischen Journalisten wieder, gegen die am 30. August 2016 Haftbefehle erlassen wurden. Er war gerade außer Haus, als Sicherheitskräfte in seine Wohnung einbrachen. Baydar gelang die Flucht ins Ausland; aus dem Exil beschreibt er nun die „de facto Außerkräftsetzung der Rechtsstaatlichkeit“ in seiner Heimat.

Für die Südosteuropa Mitteilungen schildert Baydar in ebenso eindringlicher wie deprimierender Weise, wie die Regierung in der Türkei den gescheiterten Putsch zu einem Gegen-Putsch instrumentalisiert hat, der die Grundfesten der Demokratie erschüttert, und der, so Baydar, „keinen Widerspruch erlaubt, weder in den Medien, noch in der Wissenschaft oder auf den Straßen“. Die Türkei sei heute in der tiefsten Existenzkrise ihrer neueren Geschichte. Die führenden Kreise der EU, so die Anklage von Baydar, waren die Letzten, die die Ernsthaftigkeit der Lage verstanden – in der Hoffnung, mit Erdoğan's Hilfe die Flüchtlingsströme kontrollieren zu können.

Erklärungen und Hintergründe für die aktuellen Entwicklungen in der Türkei liefern weitere Beiträge in einem Türkei-Schwerpunkt, den wir aus gegebenem Anlass in dieses Heft unserer Zeitschrift aufgenommen haben. Behandelt werden dabei auch grundlegende Themen zum Verständnis der modernen Türkei, etwa die Frage nach den Gründen für die Popularität der islamistischen Bewegung oder nach der Identität und Selbstwahrnehmung von Minderheiten-Angehörigen.

In weiteren Beiträgen befassen sich unsere Autorinnen und Autoren mit den Folgen des „Brexit“ und des Militärputsches in der Türkei für Griechenland, mit Aspekten der Sprachpolitik in Montenegro und – in Fortsetzung unseres Schwerpunkts zur Geschichte der

Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft – mit einem höchst spannend zu lesenden Beitrag über die „Ostforscher-Erforscher“ in der DDR und ihren Blick u.a. auf die damalige Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft.

Wir versprechen eine anregende und aufschlussreiche Lektüre,

Ihr Redaktionsteam

Hansjörg Brey

Claudia Hopf

SÜDOSTEUROPA

Mitteilungen

Zeitschrift der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft

Summaries Heft 04/2016 56. Jahrgang

Main Focus: Turkey

Yavuz Baydar

How the Failed Putsch in Turkey Evolved into a Counter-coup

Turkey was thrown into an abyss after a bloody, botched coup attempt on 15 July 2016. In a sense it hit rock bottom with a profound political crisis, which now threatens its very existential fundamentals as the tenets of the republic are in shatters. The putschists were utterly ill-organized. Yet, more than two months after their failure there is no clarity as to who led the destructive act. Opposite that assessment stand the concrete consequences of the failed coup attempt, with a massive purge and waves of arrests, which threaten the social fabric of the country. What the world is now left to grapple with is whether the coup-attempt was a disruptive act in an ongoing power struggle by Erdoğan, or does it simply represent a failed coup as part of continuity; a coup which was subsequently transformed into a counter-coup?

Roy Karadağ

The End of Turkish Democracy

The failed coup d'état in Turkey in July 2016 will substantively transform Turkish politics. While it may have demonstrated the potential vulnerabilities of the ruling AKP party, overcoming those parts of the armed forces that were involved in the coup attempt turned out to be a very powerful symbolic weapon against the government's remaining opponents. This will give President Erdoğan the opportunity to further entrench supporters of the religious-conservative camp in the state apparatus. The article deals with the pre- and post-coup dynamics and spells out their implications for the challenges to Turkish democracy, the Turkish-Kurdish conflict and Turkey's future role in the Syrian War.

Friedrich Püttmann

Behind the Anatolian Revolution

Unveiling the Influence of Class on the Popularity of the Islamist Movement in Turkey

Unlike many European commentators who have been criticising the Turkish government over the past year for deploying increasingly authoritarian policies, a

large share of the Turkish population has been celebrating the rule of the Islamic-conservative Justice and Development Party AKP and its powerful leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The AKP's election victory in 2002 has deeply changed the formerly staunchly secularist country of Atatürk. The far-reaching relevance of the 'Anatolian Revolution' thus triggers the question what made the Islamist Movement so popular at the time that it would so thoroughly succeed?

Many have argued that the Turkish Islamist Movement has to be perceived as a 'new social movement' waging a cultural struggle for the greater recognition of traditional Islamic identities in the face of Kemalism's Westernising modernization. This paper rather suggests that this is only half of the truth. Using the concept of 'framing' to analyse the self-presentation of the movement, it will show that the popularity of the Islamist Movement in Turkey can only be fully understood if the Islamist politics are also seen as a 'classical social movement' voicing the economic class interests of both a deprived traditionalist proletariat and a rising Islamist bourgeoisie who engaged in a class conflict against the Kemalist elites and upper class.

Olaf Leiße

Integrated, Tolerated, Discriminated – Self-Placement of Minorities in Turkey

The protection of minority rights in Turkey is still a sensitive question. Empirical research is difficult to conduct because officials deny the existence of minority groups. Turkey does not recognize other minorities than non-Muslim groups as official minorities; but also the Christian minorities face many problems in Turkish society.

How do minorities in Turkey assess their situation, and have they seen any changes in the past years? Which identity constructions and formations predominate? To which extent do minority groups face discrimination? These and other questions will be analyzed on the basis of an empirical survey conducted by the author and his team in Turkey. The respondents belong to the minority groups of Alevi, Syriacs and Armenians. The empirical results confirm and complement political reports about the difficult position of minorities in contemporary Turkey.

Jens Bastian

Consequences for Greece Imposed by Brexit in U.K. and the Failed Military Coup in Turkey

The outcome of the Brexit referendum in the U.K. and the failed military coup d'état in neighboring Turkey pose significant and additional policy challenges for Greece. The country is already mired in a seven-year recession and the third macro-economic adjustment programme with international creditors. Since early 2015 it also has to face first-hand the consequences of the European migration and refugee crisis. Now further external shocks impact on the domestic policy-making agenda.

The contribution addresses the economic, diplomatic and strategic consequences of these recent external shocks for the authorities in Athens. While the Brexit

consequences are mainly economic in nature and medium-term, the challenges posed by the failed military coup in Turkey are immediate and rather political in substance. Taken together, they pose additional obstacles for a country that is at the geographical center of the ongoing euro area predicament and European refugee crisis.

Gudrun Steinacker

Controversial First Dictionary of Montenegrin Language and Literature

In April 2016 the Montenegrin Academy of Science and Arts published the first of 12 volumes comprising the first Encyclopedia of the Montenegrin language. Within a few weeks the publication caused protests, particularly from political representatives of the Muslim/Bosniak and Albanian minorities, but also from the Faculty for the Montenegrin language and literature in Cetinje. 112 intellectuals and public figures published an open letter with the demand to withdraw the book because of questionable definitions and poor quality.

The minority representatives rejected some definitions concerning their identity as discriminatory. The relevant team of authors mostly came from the Philological Faculty in Nikšić, which considers Montenegrin to be a variation of the Serbian language. They rejected the criticism as unfounded and based on intentional misunderstandings. Prime Minister Đukanović joined the critics in Parliament at the end of July 2016 and soon after a resolution was adopted by Parliament asking the Academy to withdraw the book and publish a corrected version for which state budget funds should be available. This was, however, rejected by the team leader Prof. Natalia Đjurišić-Bečanović. Meanwhile the President of the Academy had to resign. It is not yet known what will happen with the book.

This controversy shows that Montenegro is in many ways a deeply divided country. In particular the situation of the Muslim minorities is far from being satisfying and they regard themselves as being discriminated against despite all official rhetoric about interethnic harmony in Montenegro.

Alexander Korb

Researching the Researchers: The GDR's "West German Eastern Research Departments" and Their Perspective on the Nazi Past of Research into Southeast Europe in the Federal Republic

The article looks at two academic units that operated in the GDR during the 1960s. Their task was to observe the activities of Eastern Europeanists in Western Germany. Traditionally, Eastern European Studies (Ostforschung) in Germany was not simply an academic discipline, but was embedded in a field of research institutes and political organisations that aimed at having a strong influence on German politics and an even persuasive impact on Eastern Europe, specifically on the German minorities living there. The field was dominated by academics who had been involved in Nazi mass crimes in Eastern Europe during WWII. In order to discredit Western Germany, the GDR government claimed that it was basically a fascist state, and the Nazi pasts of the Ostforscher were easy targets for the GDR campaigners.

The article looks at how analysts in the GDR perceived the Munich-based Southeast Europe Association (Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, SOG). It highlights that they were surprisingly well informed and balanced in their assessment of the SOG. The article also makes the case that the researchers in East-Berlin under the auspices of Rudi Goguel, a Nazi camp survivor, formed an early and mostly over-looked core of Holocaust researchers – the first ones in the GDR that deserved that name.