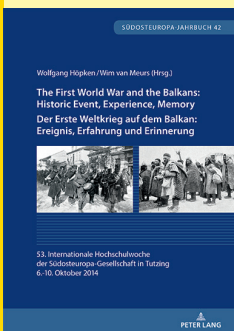




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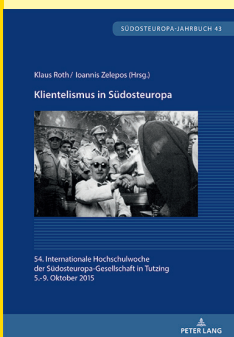
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Bulgaria – Ten Years after
Accession to the European
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Vessela Tcherneva
Kristina Hristova / Maria Cheresheva
Stela Ivanova-Manthey
Yordan Bozhilov
Dilyana Lambreva
Boriana Dimitrova
Diana Ivanova

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Can the Balkan Muslims Help Europe
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Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,

zum Ende des Jahres 2018 richten wir in dieser Doppelausgabe der Südosteuropa Mitteilungen im Rahmen eines großen Themenschwerpunkts unseren Fokus auf Bulgarien, das in der ersten Jahreshälfte die Ratspräsidentschaft der EU innehatte und auf mehr als eine Dekade Mitgliedschaft in der Europäischen Union zurückblickt. Die insgesamt acht Beiträge stammen von acht ausgewiesenen Expertinnen und einem Experten aus Bulgarien.

Die herausfordernde und ungewohnte Rolle der EU-Ratspräsidentschaft habe – gewollt oder ungewollt – zur De-Provinzialisierung, ja zur Europäisierung der bulgarischen Politik geführt. Bulgarien sei von einem Rezipienten europäischer Politik zumindest partiell zu einer Triebfeder bei der Bewältigung gemeinsamer europäischer Anliegen wie etwa der EU-Erweiterungspolitik geworden, so Vessela Tcherneva. Welche Auswirkungen die EU-Mitgliedschaft auf die soziale Struktur in Bulgarien hat, ist Thema von Rumiana Stoilova: Die neue Bewegungsfreiheit habe neue Chancen für viele Bürger gebracht, doch leide zugleich die Demokratie unter dem massiven Brain-Drain. Bei der Meinungs- und Medienfreiheit ist Bulgarien Schlusslicht der EU. Der Zugriff auf Struktur- und Kohäsionsfonds spiele in diesem Bereich eine korrumpierende Rolle, indem sich die Politik zunehmend Einfluss bei den Medien erkaufte, so die Journalistinnen Kristina Hristova und Maria Cheresheva.

Nachdem die alten Mitgliedstaaten beim EU-Beitritt Bulgariens 2007 über schwere Defizite in der Rechtsstaatlichkeit hinweggesehen hätten, habe auch das anhaltende Monitoring der EU in diesem Bereich keine wesentlichen Fortschritte erbracht. Nach Auffassung der Rechtswissenschaftlerin Stela Ivanova-Manthey diskreditiert sich die EU dadurch auch als Werte-Gemeinschaft. Jordan Bozhilov befasst sich mit den Herausforderungen von grenzüberschreitender Kriminalität und internationalem Terrorismus. Die Bürger Bulgariens nähmen solche Bedrohungen aufgrund der Lage des Landes an der Außengrenze der Union besonders intensiv wahr. Dilyana Lambreva kritisiert, dass sich die bulgarische Politik mit der Abschottung der Außengrenzen und abschreckenden Maßnahmen gegen Asylsuchende in der EU zu profilieren versuche. Zugleich mache die Regierung keine ernsthaften Integrationsangebote für Zuwanderer; Geflüchtete lebten dort oft in einer prekären Lage. Zudem sei Bulgariens Abschottungspolitik kontraproduktiv für das Land mit dramatisch schrumpfender Bevölkerung und fehlenden Arbeitnehmern.

Die Soziologin Boriana Dimitrova hat sich mit den gesellschaftlichen Einstellungen der großen Volksgruppe der Muslime in Bulgarien im Zeichen sozialen und globalen Wandels befasst. Hier koexistierten Tradition und Moderne – neben der Besinnung auf die Religion stehe ein klares Bekenntnis zum säkularen Staat. Der den Schwerpunkt abschließende Essay von Diana Ivanova greift ein faszinierendes Randthema auf: Sie ergründet, überwiegend in Interviews

mit Betroffenen, die emotionale Welt der heute erwachsenen Kinder von ehemaligen Mitgliedern des kommunistischen bulgarischen Geheimdienstes.

Während diese Zeilen geschrieben werden, übernimmt Bulgariens Nachbar Rumänien für die erste Jahreshälfte 2019 die Ratspräsidentschaft in der Europäischen Union. Wie bei keinem anderen EU-Staat zuvor wurde dabei u.a. von höchsten Repräsentanten der EU die Fähigkeit der dortigen Regierung zu einer ordentlichen Führung der Ratspräsidentschaft in Frage gestellt. Die Lage in Rumänien ist Thema eines Interviews mit der international renommierten Korruptions-Expertin Alina Mungiu-Pippidi mit dem vielsagenden Titel „Eine ganze Regierung hinter Gittern“. Die von Brüssel betriebenen Anti-Korruptionsmaßnahmen wirkten eher kontraproduktiv, so Mungiu-Pippidi. Wie in Italien ließen sich die in der Gesellschaft notorischen korruptiven Praktiken nur durch einen tiefgreifenden Wandel von innen bekämpfen. Rumänien, das sei hier erwähnt, bildet auch einen großen Schwerpunkt in unserem ausführlichen Rezensionsteil.

Rückschritte bei den demokratischen Freiheiten gibt es bekanntermaßen auch in Ungarn. Hier steht – wie auch in Bulgarien – die Verschlechterung der Medienfreiheit besonders in der Kritik. Welche rechtlichen Instrumente der EU als Gegenmaßnahmen potenziell zur Verfügung stünden, ist Thema der Analyse der ungarischen Medienwissenschaftler Gábor Polyák und Petra Szávaí.

Die Frage, ob der islamische Glaube Teil der europäischen Kultur ist, befeuert nicht zuletzt in Deutschland politische Debatten. Unser Autor Friedrich Püttmann bringt abschließend sehr interessante Aspekte in diese Debatte: Welche Rolle könnten die so genannten „Balkanmuslime“ dabei spielen, dass der Islam doch als ein integraler Bestandteil europäischer Kultur begriffen wird?

Wir wünschen unseren Leserinnen und Lesern eine erkenntnisreiche Lektüre

Ihr Redaktionsteam

Hansjörg Brey

Claudia Hopf

Main Focus:

Bulgaria – Ten Years after Accession to the European Union

Rumiana Stoilova

The Bulgarian Society: Chances and Barriers after Ten Years of EU Membership

The article presents results about Bulgaria taken from different international comparative public opinion surveys and indexes. They have been formed both on the basis of subjective assessments as well as of objective data. The international comparisons highlight the chances and barriers connected with Bulgaria's EU membership for the social groups located at the bottom, top and middle tiers of the income structure in society. Major emphasis is put on the occupational perspective, which presents different chances for the prosperity of people actively participating in the labour market.

The major risks for Bulgaria with EU membership are connected to poverty, especially among low educated and low qualified people thus increasing inequalities, which place the country at the bottom of the EU's Social Justice Index. The free movement of people is on the one hand a chance for Bulgarian citizens, and on the other hand a barrier for the further development of the democratic society because of the brain drain. The chances of success for small and medium-sized Bulgarian businesses are restricted in a number of cases by large-scale business. This influence is a barrier to Bulgaria's sustainable development in which citizens, the state and businesses should take part in an equal and more transparent way.

Vessela Tcherneva

The Unforeseen Effects of the Bulgarian EU Presidency in 2018

The evaluation of the Bulgarian Presidency of the EU Council in the first half of 2018 varied significantly within Bulgaria. The greatest long-term benefit is that the Bulgarian administration and officials should now be able to propose policies on different issues rather than just be their recipients.

These concern: (1) Unity in the face of the manifold populist threats in Europe. (2) Bulgaria was an honest mediator, but a reform of the Dublin Agreement seems impossible. The other dividing line – on the issue of sanctions against Russia – was not actively addressed. (3) As concerns migration, the most workable option was a

combination of enhanced border and an arrangement for a quicker return of migrants. (4) Trying to bring the Western Balkans (WB6) closer to EU membership resulted in the WB Summit in Sofia in May 2018. The Bulgarian Presidency was actively involved in giving Macedonia and Albania a date to open accession negotiations. In conclusion, more and more Bulgarian politicians and officials now know how the EU functions and how to co-operate in order to realize their own positions. Still, Bulgaria's greatest problem became visible – the lack of reforms in the rule of law, the media and corruption – creating an invisible ceiling on how much the country can achieve on the European stage.

Kristina Hristova / Maria Cheresheva

The Effects of EU Membership on the Bulgarian Media

Since joining the EU in 2007, Bulgaria has been undergoing a paradoxical process: Instead of progressing in the field of freedom of expression the country has been witnessing a steady decline. The figures are staggering – resulting in a position in 2018 that is not only lower than all other EU member states, but also all Western Balkan countries. Why has the media situation worsened during the years following the accession of Bulgaria to the EU? One possible explanation for Bulgaria's drastic drop in terms of press freedom is the corrupting role of the EU's structural and cohesion funds for media independence in the country.

Since 2007, Bulgaria has spent millions of euros on communicating different EU programmes. During the first financial framework (2007-2013), but to some extent also in the current one (2014-2020), those funds in Bulgaria have been spent in a non-transparent manner, provoking the impression that different ministries are using them for influence buying from the embattled Bulgarian media which is in a constant struggle for fresh financial resources.

Stela Ivanova-Manthey

The Rule of Law in Bulgaria

State of Affairs Ten Years after Bulgaria's Accession to the European Union

The article puts into contrast the realities and challenges of Bulgaria and its legal system in the era of communism and the current situation.

When Bulgaria joined the European Union on 1 January 2007, the old member states deliberately accepted the shortcomings in Bulgaria's quality of justice and hoped that membership would inspire a positive development in the rule of law. An instrument for continuous monitoring of post-accession development was established with Bulgaria's Accession Treaty.

Despite of all the criticism in the European Commission's annual monitoring reports, however, not much domestic impetus for sustainable and effective judicial as well as political reform was created in the country. According to the author, Bulgaria's failings in terms of rule of law should not be accepted by an EU that defines itself as a community of values – not least for the sake of Bulgaria proper.

Yordan Bozhilov

Bulgaria and Europe in the Focus of Cross-border Organized Crime and Terrorism

Common Responses to Common Challenges

Europe faces multiple security risks. Some are old, while others have for the first time shown their ominous face to European societies. Among the new risks are uncontrolled migration and international terrorism. The interlink between old and new (security) threats and the use of established channels by organized crime groups for the purposes of terrorists and illegal migrants is a serious concern for all law enforcement authorities.

The new risks and threats to security – namely international terrorism and migration – have a major impact on public opinion, especially in terms of how to deal with them. The European Union is currently facing new challenges to its own *raison d'être*. Security issues and tackling risks will be among the key issues that will provide an answer to the question of “What alliance do we want to build?”.

Dilyana Lambreva

The Refugee Crisis in Bulgaria and the Failure of Transformation to a Society of Humanity

Much has been improved for refugees in Bulgaria since 2013 when the migrant crisis began. But the idea that every human, regardless of his or her status, has a dignity is still far away from the core of policy-making. Due to the climate of nationalism and social conservatism, which developed with the crises, Bulgaria – being a young EU member state – hinders the implementation of European values in the new democracy. It profiled itself in the European community by protecting its external frontiers with building walls and tightening measures against asylum seekers. The approach of the Bulgarian state is still shaped by the presumption that all asylum seekers are on their way to Western and Northern Europe. There are no efficient integration activities planned by the government regarding effective access to health, education and social services even for unaccompanied children and young people. Moreover, their lives and security are permanently at risk. – However, with growing ethnic and religious minorities in the country and simultaneously a dynamically shrinking population a break from ‘homogenizing and nationalizing’ the society is crucial for Bulgaria.

Boriana Dimitrova

A Look at the Muslim Community in Bulgaria

Integration and Risks

The article discusses key aspects concerning the social profile of Bulgarian Muslims – the second largest traditional religious community in Bulgaria. Based on two representative studies (2011 and 2016), the main features and trends in their social status, values, religious practices as well as political attitudes are analyzed against the background of the new geopolitical situation in Europe and the world. The results show that tradition and modernity co-exist in the value system of Bulgarian Muslims. They demonstrate a high level of adherence to religious practices, but also clearly express attitudes in favour of the secular state system. Like

in 2011, they maintain very good interpersonal relations with Christians. But in 2016 there was a considerable change towards a greater community encapsulation. Despite good relations between religious communities in the country, against the backdrop of rising nationalism in Europe three major risks – both for Bulgaria and for the Balkan region – can be highlighted: The revival of fears and increasing tension between the ethnic and religious communities, a growing ethno-partisan corrupt clientele, and the radicalization of ghetto communities.

Diana Ivanova

Pride and Unease

The Psychological Heritage of the Bulgarian Secret Police Service DS

The essay looks into the difficult emotional world of Bulgarian children – today grown up and living all over Europe – toward their parents (most of all, toward their fathers) who had worked in the communist secret police service Darzhavna Sigurnost (DS). Based on interviews with some of these “children of the DS” and comparing them with German research and experience of psychotherapists on the subject matter, the author follows the question whether the inner identification of children with their fathers and their stories – oscillating between pride and unease – deserves deeper analysis. Additionally, the question arises whether the lack of generational conflicts in Bulgaria is closely related to the unsuccessful coming to terms with the communist past.

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi / Krisztian Simon

A Whole Government behind Bars

An Interview on Romania’s Fight against Corruption

International reporting about Romania is dominated by the pictures of anti-corruption protesters in the capital, Bucharest, and the rule of law being breached by the government. A conversation with Professor Alina Mungiu-Pippidi of the Hertie School of Governance sheds light on the easy frames by which foreign observers misread the situation in the country.

According to the Romanian public intellectual, the EU-driven anti-corruption measures have led to a conflict between the rule of law and democracy, weakened political parties and empowered unaccountable secret services. The EU emphasis on eliminating corruption and the threat of triggering Article 7 of the Lisbon Treaty divert attention from what Romania has achieved so far. These achievements cannot continue without change endorsed by its voters. As in Italy, fighting corruption just by judicial methods or under Brussels’ micro-management does not succeed in changing current practices. There is a need for new approaches, driven by local actors. Therefore, “controlling corruption is like building up an immune system – in the end, you do not know what the right medication is, and you will not be able to always tell your patient what to take.”

Gábor Polyák / Petra Szávai

**Improving the Situation of the Media in Hungary
Legal and Extra-legal Possibilities**

The study analyzes the situation of Hungarian media. It is not focused on the problems of the media, but instead uses them as a point of departure in exploring the options and opportunities available for the European Union to effectively intervene in the Hungarian media situation.

The first segment of the article reviews problem areas and regulatory issues that have contributed to the structural distortion of the Hungarian media system. It then proceeds to discuss possible conflicts with EU law and finally explores the legal instruments the European Union could use to take action against the Hungarian government's media regulation practices. In the second half of the article, current social realities surrounding the consumption and operation of Hungarian media are explored. These might hold out the promise of fostering professional and civic engagement in the media in order to confront these problems.

Friedrich Püttmann

Can the Balkan Muslims Help Europe Represent Islam?

These days, much discourse about the integration of Muslims into European societies takes place at the level of European and national identity narratives. Denying that Islam is part of what 'defines Europe' and its nations subsequently brands Muslims as eternal foreigners, shaping exclusionary public attitudes towards them and justifying public policy that curtails Muslims' religious freedoms.

In the light of the possible EU integration of predominantly Muslim societies in the Balkans – Bosnia, Kosovo and Albania – these narratives could change, recognising Islam as a substantial element of European identity and thereby facilitating Muslims' social inclusion. While such a scenario seems attainable at the intellectual level, the article argues that this result is, in fact, unlikely to come about in practice.

Using an interview with Xhabir Hamiti on Kosovar Islam as a point of departure, the author suggests that it is more likely that 'the Balkan Muslims' will be defined as an exception to Islam, suitable to European 'culture' – which will maintain other Muslims in Western Europe as tolerated, yet fundamentally foreign.