

SÜDOSTEUROPA

Mitteilungen

05-06 | 2019

59. Jahrgang

Adelheid Wölfel

Kosovo nach den Parlamentswahlen
im Oktober 2019

Herbert Küpper

Der Rechtsstaat im Donauraum und
darüber hinaus



**Main Focus:
Turkey & Southeast Europe**

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Dimitar Bechev / Mariya Hake /
Birgül Demirtaş / Beken Saatçioğlu

**Main Focus:
Environmental Activism
in Southeast Europe**

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Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,

Zum Auftakt dieser Doppelausgabe unserer Südosteuropa Mitteilungen richten wir den Blick auf den jüngsten Staat Europas, Kosovo. Dort hat bei den vorgezogenen Parlamentswahlen am 6. Oktober 2019 die bisherige Machtelite mit den aus der Kosovo-Befreiungsarmee UÇK hervorgegangenen Parteien ihre Führungsrolle verloren. Seither laufen Koalitionsverhandlungen zwischen den beiden Wahlsiegern: der Partei des früheren Studentenführers Albin Kurti, Vetëvendosje (Selbstbestimmung), und der Demokratischen Liga Kosovos, der Partei des Staatsgründers Ibrahim Rugova. Eine spannende Frage ist, ob in der zu bildenden Regierung die anspruchsvollen Ziele umgesetzt werden können, mit denen die nunmehr stärksten Parteien im Wahlkampf antraten: Bekämpfung der endemischen Korruption, Reform des Justizwesens und des Bildungssystems sowie Kampf gegen Verarmung und Umweltzerstörung. Unsere Autorin, die Südosteuropa-Korrespondentin Adelheid Wölfl, geht auch der Frage nach, welche neuen Perspektiven es für ein mögliches Abkommen mit Serbien gibt.

Bemerkenswerte Ergebnisse fördert die Analyse des Ostrecht-Experten Herbert Küpper über die Rechtsstaatlichkeit in den Ländern des Donauraums zutage. In den dortigen post-sozialistischen Staaten wurde im Rahmen der Transition jeweils ein vergleichsweise modernes Rechtswesen eingeführt, so der Autor. Dies könne sogar als Vorbild zur überfälligen Modernisierung „alter“ westeuropäischer Gesetzeswerke dienen. Gravierende Defizite sieht Küpper dagegen bei der Anwendung bestehenden Rechts, besonders in den Ländern, wo die Regierungsführung einen „illiberalen“ Weg eingeschlagen habe.

Im Lauf des Jahres 2019 hat sich die Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft in einer Serie internationaler Konferenzen mit den „externen Akteuren“ in Südosteuropa – Russland, Türkei und China – intensiv befasst. Beiträge zum Thema „Russia & Southeast Europe“ erschienen in SOM 02/2019. Wir setzen im vorliegenden Heft diese Reihe mit einem Schwerpunkt zu „Turkey & Southeast Europe“ fort. Insgesamt vier Analysen bringen uns die Aspekte des politischen, wirtschaftlichen, kulturellen und religiösen Einflusses der Türkei in der Region näher und erörtern u.a. auch die Unterschiede zum Engagement Russlands und Chinas.

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bieten wir unter dem Thema „Umweltaktivismus in Südosteuropa“ an und wenden uns damit einem ebenso interessanten wie bislang wenig bekannten Themenkomplex zu. Es geht dabei z.B. um staatliche Mechanismen zur „Eindämmung“ von Umweltaktivitäten in der Türkei, um die Entstehung, Programmatik und Diskurse der grünen Bewegung in Bulgarien, um die Entwicklung von Umwelt-NROs in Slowenien und um neue Formen öko-bewusster Lebensgestaltung in Kroatien.

Wir versprechen unseren Leserinnen und Lesern eine aufschlussreiche Lektüre,
Ihr Redaktionsteam

Hansjörg Brey

Claudia Hopf

SÜDOSTEUROPA

Mitteilungen

Zeitschrift der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft

Summaries Heft 05-06/2019 59. Jahrgang

Adelheid Wölfel

Kosovo after the Parliamentary Elections in October 2019 New Agenda and Perspectives for Agreement with Serbia

With the formation of a new coalition in Kosovo at the beginning of December 2019, many changes are emerging for the youngest state in Europe. Those parties that emerged from the Kosovo Liberation Army (UÇK) will no longer be in power and President Hashim Thaçi can't expect any support from the new government. For Vetëvendosje (VV) the reform of the judiciary and the fight against endemic corruption is a first priority order. VV is supported by many young Kosovars who are looking for a systemic change in their country and have lost trust in the old elites. The coalition partner of VV, the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), second winner of the snap elections on 6 October 2019, will focus on innovations in the education system, support for families and the fight against poverty.

Entering the dialogue with Serbia at the beginning of 2020, the new government in Kosovo will stick to the old red lines and it will be very difficult to find any agreement that facilitates a recognition of Kosovo by Serbia. VV President Albin Kurti already excluded any change of borders or a land swap while Serbia's President Aleksandar Vučić is excluding any solution without changing borders so far. With the first government participation of VV it becomes visible that the influence of the United States on Kosovo's internal politics has decreased.

Herbert Küpper

Rule of Law in the Danube Basin and Beyond An Open Concept and Open Process

The rule of law as a pan-European value is especially attractive for post-dictatorial societies because it symbolises a clear break with the past. After 1989, the East European states turned to West European models to either restore or – in some cases – install for the first time the rule of law. At that time, the Western rule of law was the result of a convergence of the Anglo-Saxon 'rule of law', the French 'légalité' and the 'Rechtsstaat' of the German-speaking countries. For the young Eastern democracies, the German 'Rechtsstaat' was an especially important point of reference.

After three decades of intensive rule-of-law building, many East European legal systems are quite 'modern'. This 'modernness' may now serve as a model to modernise old West European laws. Yet, East European law tends to be 'modern' as 'law on the books' only. By contrast, the 'law in action' carries many socialist legacies.

It is hardly compatible with the rule of law. Even if the shortcomings of the rule of law in action are grave and seem to worsen with some countries turning to self-styled 'illiberal' paths, their written law has a quality superior to the old legislation in Western Europe.

Main Focus: Turkey & Southeast Europe

Dimitar Bechev

Turkey's Policy in the Balkans

Continuity and Change in the Erdoğan Era

The article studies the evolution of Turkey's policy in the Balkans from the 2000s until the present. Though Turkey is part of Southeast Europe and has always been involved in the region's politics, its presence and ambitions expanded with the coming to power of the Justice and Development Party AKP. It has harnessed economic and soft power tools to assert its influence, with Islam playing an increasingly central role – both as a driver and an instrument. As a result, many analysts tend to portray Turkey as a “killjoy” competing with the EU and the United States, exporting its model of governance with a mixture of authoritarian and democratic features.

In contrast, this article argues that Turkey is not seeking to undermine Western order but rather to take advantage of it. Economic interdependence and overlapping security interests link Turkey and the West, despite Erdoğan's divisive rhetoric and politics. In addition, Turkish foreign policy activism in the Balkans has delivered geopolitical and commercial gains for Ankara but also led to setbacks for local actors.

Mariya Hake

Economic Relations between Southeast Europe and Turkey

A Gordian Knot or Loose Ties?

Although European Union countries constitute the largest trading partner of and investor in the Southeast European (SEE) countries, economic ties with non-EU players, including Turkey, have been on the rise in the past two decades. Against this background, the article gives an overview of the economic exposure of Turkey to SEE countries in the past two decades, i.e. since the AKP was established in 2001. There are several key conclusions from the analysis: First, the economic importance of Turkey for SEE countries has significantly increased since 2001. Turkish economic involvement has been intimately related to the principles of Turkish foreign policy and has been reinforced by strong personal relations with the political leaders in some SEE countries. Second, not all SEE countries have established equally strong economic ties with Turkey. While Turkey has become a key trading partner and investor for Albania, Kosovo and Bulgaria, its economic influence has remained limited in the rest of the SEE countries. Third, drawing a comparison among the economic ties of the SEE region with other non-EU players (i.e. China and Russia) highlights Turkey's special position as a competitor, most prominently with Russia for market share.

Birgül Demirtaş

**Reconsidering Dilemmas of Turkey's Foreign Policy:
The Case of the Balkans**

Turkey has started to play a more active role in the Balkans since the early 1990s because of changes in both local agency and global structure. After coming to power in 2002, the Justice and Development Party AKP added further impetus to Turkish foreign policy towards the region by putting forward new actors and bringing in new issues. Business representatives, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency TİKA, Yunus Emre Cultural Centers, the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, Diyanet, and Turkish cities have become new actors in Turkey's ties with the region.

The article examines changes and continuities in Turkish foreign policy towards the Balkans under the government of the AKP. It first analyses the dilemmas of Turkey's regional policies based on a case study of the Kosovo conflict and then examines the connection between domestic and foreign policy, thereby evaluating new actors and issues. The paper argues that there are challenges ahead and limitations to Turkey's appeal to the region, resulting from the tilt towards unilateral policies.

Beken Saatçioğlu

Turkey and the EU: Partners or Competitors in the Western Balkans?

The article analyzes EU-Turkey relations in the Western Balkans (WB) in an attempt to uncover the cooperation and conflict potential between the two in the region. Specifically, it assesses the extent to which Turkey can be considered a partner of the EU versus representing a competitor or even an alternative to Brussels for the WB countries. It argues that positing Turkey as a proactive, alternative regional power seeking to expand its presence and influence in the region at the EU's expense are overstated.

Despite the EU's damaged credibility in the pursuit of its enlargement policy, Turkey's capabilities, incentives and foreign policy priorities simply fall short of producing a competitive "Turkish model/alternative" in the region. First, there are practical limits to Turkey's regional power status, which is far from representing a realistic substitute for the WB countries' Euro-Atlantic ties. In addition, despite the difficulties ahead, these countries still aspire for integration into European structures, which is also aligned with Turkey's foreign policy interests. Second, limitations aside, gaining hegemony in the WB is not Ankara's foreign policy priority given the urgency of multiple policy issues waiting to be tackled on all fronts. Third, from a *Realpolitik* standpoint, Turkey and the EU are expected to constructively engage to find solutions for common challenges such as migration, which concerns the WB as well.

Main Focus: Environmental Activism in Southeast Europe

Gökhan Orhan

Barriers to Environmental Movements in Turkey Strategies of Investors and Public Authorities in Bypassing Environmental Resistance

Turkish environmental policy has a number of problems given the country's environmental problems, the pace of investment decisions envisaged for the near future and the way they are treated by the public authorities. Environmental movements are expected to articulate environmental concerns, shape and organise popular environmental resistance through a repertoire of means from providing alternatives to legal action and direct involvement in the process.

Although there is a legal and institutional framework for environmental policy-making and implementation in Turkey, discourses that prioritise economic development over environmental concerns have a hegemonic character and both public authorities and private investors employ a number of strategies in bypassing environmental resistance in Turkey. Strategies like bringing environmental movement leaders to court with spying charges; making alterations in legal and institutional framework in due course of events; introducing new barriers to taking legal action through raising expert fees and a number of other mechanisms like delayed court processes effectively function as a barrier to environmental movements and negatively influence the effectiveness of environmental movements in Turkey.

Radosveta Krastanova

The Green Movement in Bulgaria Actors, Generations, Challenges, Values

The article examines the green movement in Bulgaria as a social and political actor and its role in the democratization of Bulgarian political life over the past 30 years (1989-2017), known as the 'period of change'.

The study focuses on the individual and generational characteristics of green activism and defines some specific oppositions and divisions within the movement. Particular emphasis is placed on the contribution of the movement to the Europeanization of the political agenda in the country, as well as its constructive role as an opponent of the socio-political status quo, which emerged after the collapse of the totalitarian regime.

The article focuses on the specific role of the Bulgarian national culture and its imprint on the features of green campaigns and activism in Bulgaria.

Polina Manolova

Uneasy Solidarities: Bulgarian 'Greens' from Socialist Revisionism to Neoliberal Anti-Communism

The paper traces the development of the Bulgarian 'green' movement from the end of the 1980s to the present day. It discusses the concrete events that have led to its

inception and its ideological embeddedness within discourses of glasnost, humanism and international solidarity that underlined the demands of the first 'green' activists in the country.

By spotlighting recent environmental mobilization, and the '#SavePirin' campaign in particular, the paper reflects on the problematic entanglements marking the post-socialist trajectory of Bulgarian environmentalism that has been closely aligned with the process of neo-liberalisation of its economy and the public sphere. The formulation of a narrow protest rhetoric, the inability to build alliances, the continuing support for market-driven growth and the professionalization of the environmental cause are identified as important factors. They mark the weakened political potential of the movement and its inability to offer a meaningful critique of the effects of Bulgarian 'transition'.

Completely erasing the history of the early environmentalists, today's Bulgarian 'greens' operate in an established and extremely limited 'post-political' discursive spectrum and advance agendas that are neoliberal capitalist, and in many instances carry discernable nationalistic, anti-class, and anti-democratic nuances.

Meta Novak

The Development and Role of Environmental NGOs in Slovenia

Non-governmental organisations are important actors in environmental policies. They are actively involved in policy-making, monitoring as well as educating and raising awareness about the importance of environmental protection.

The article looks on the development of environmental NGOs in Slovenia. There, the non-governmental sector started to develop in the 19th century. Its development was interrupted during the period of socialism. With the democratic transition 30 years ago, the non-governmental sector resurfaced and quickly became a vibrant voice. The same trajectory of development can be seen for environmental NGOs. Despite their successful path of development, Slovenia's environmental NGOs remain non-professional and encounter insufficient funding obstacles. This shortfall in (financial) resources is compensated by building coalitions and networking with international organisations.

Mladen Domazet

Degrowth-compatible Common Senses in Croatia

The article presents an overview of recent research from the Institute for Political Ecology in Zagreb on degrowth-related attitudes and practices in Southeast Europe. Hegemonic discourses of progress and human security based on the high consumption of concentrated fossil energy and economic growth lead to two limitations: For one, conceptual restrictions – so a paradigmatic shift in values, attitudes, and understanding must be introduced. Secondly, discourses obscure alternative transformative narratives – but degrowth narratives can provide transformative conceptual changes. Those are already prevalent in societies, rooted in common senses (it. *sensi communi*), but so far they are side-lined.

The empirical part of the article presents examples of practices and attitudes from Croatia, the most recent EU member state located at the EU's Southeastern flank.

The examples focus on food self-provisioning (FSP) practices and degrowth-compatible social attitudes. These empirical illustrations point to the existing base of counter-hegemonic practices, opinions and values that can provide sensibility for a degrowth-compatible transformative vision of social metabolism and cultural flourishing in an often-overlooked part of the world.