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Editorial

Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,

die drei „albanischen Gesellschaften“ auf dem Balkan befinden sich in einem Zustand von Stagnation und Rückschritt – so die ernüchternde Feststellung eines „Insiders“, des kosovarischen Publizisten, Politikers und NGO-Aktivisten Veton Surroi, mit dessen Beitrag wir dieses Heft eröffnen. Je ferner die Option der europäischen Integration für die Albaner in Albanien, im Kosovo und in Mazedonien rücke, desto mehr könnten für sie alternative Integrationsideen – wie eine territoriale Vereinigung der albanischen Siedlungsgebiete oder gar das „neo-osmanische“ Projekt der Türkei – an Reiz gewinnen, so Surrois These.

Oliver Rolofs befasst sich mit der Lage in Mazedonien nach den jüngsten Parlamentswahlen. Wie Surroi konstatiert er in dem Balkanstaat einen bedenklichen Rückschritt. Ein autokratischer und nationalistischer Regierungskurs gefährde ernsthaft die weitere europäische Perspektive und spiele mit der inneren Stabilität des Landes. Es bleibe abzuwarten, so Rolofs, ob der albanische Juniorpartner in der Regierung den nunmehr gewachsenen politischen Einfluss für die Lösung gesamtmazedonischer Fragen wie dem Namensstreit mit Griechenland werde nutzen können.

Der makedonische Namensstreit ist das Thema eines Beitrags von Adamantios Skordos. Der Autor beleuchtet dabei die „Makedonien-Hysterie“ in Griechenland im Jahre 1991. Die damalige griechische Überreaktion auf die Unabhängigkeitserklärung Skopjes sei nur unter Berücksichtigung von 40 Jahren bürgerkriegs- und makedonienbezogener griechischer Geschichtspolitik zu erklären. „Es wird wohl noch länger dauern, bis es die griechische politische Klasse schafft, die ‚makedonischen Geister‘, die sie selbst rief, wieder loszuwerden“, so das Fazit des Autors.

Weitere Beiträge in diesem Heft befassen sich mit der Türkei: Gülistan Gürbey erörtert die Perspektiven des Landes nach den Parlamentswahlen vom 12. Juni 2011, Phillip Richter betrachtet die besondere Rolle der Türkei in der Außenpolitik Polens. Eine Analyse von Maximilian Kall präsentiert am Beispiel der Türkei, Bulgariens, Serbiens und der Republik Moldau aufschlussreiche Fälle aus der aktuellen Rechtsprechung des Europäischen Gerichtshofs für Menschenrechte zur Gewährleistung der Medienfreiheit gemäß Art. 10 der Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention.

Eine erkenntnisreiche Lektüre wünscht
Ihr Redaktionsteam

Hansjörg Brey

Claudia Hopf

SÜDOSTEUROPA

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Veton Surroi

Regression of Three Albanian Societies

The three Albanian societies – in Albania, Macedonia and Kosovo - are in a transition process that has stalled or that is going backwards: Albania is in danger of moving in the opposite direction of EU integration, Kosovo in the opposite direction of the consolidation of statehood, while Macedonia runs the risk of moving in the opposite direction of building a legitimized state for its Albanian citizens. This brings the whole region inhabited by Albanians in a very particular historic situation, that of leaving the process of European integration and positioning itself in a grey zone of disintegration and regressive processes, which one thought were left behind together with the 20th century. Instead of being part of the historic integrating processes in Europe, the Balkan Albanians in the next ten years thus are in danger of dealing with territorial questions like Northern Kosovo or with defining the “Albanian region” in Macedonia. The author discusses both negative and positive scenarios for the three Albanian societies. He further suggests necessary steps out of the present deadlock. After all, during the next decade, Albanians in the Balkans will be tempted by several integration ideas: Besides European integration, Albanians may be part of a “neo-Ottoman” integration sphere built by Turkey. And, they may be tempted or forced to be tempted by the question whether they will unite territorially.

Oliver Joachim Rolofs

Still Heading for Europe? – Macedonia after the Early Parliamentary Elections of 5 June 2011

After many months of political deadlock in Macedonia, another early parliamentary election was held on 5 June 2011. The winners were Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski and his ruling party VMRO-DPMNE with 39 percent of the vote but a loss of the absolute majority in parliament. The opposition Social Democrats (SDSM) clearly lost but nonetheless will more than double their representation in parliament after voters abandoned smaller parties boosting SDSM’s position to 33 percent of the votes. VMRO-DPMNE is now even more dependent on its Albanian coalition partner DUI, which is seen as having a stronger stand than before.

Although international observers assessed the Macedonian elections as competitive, transparent and free, democratic principles like freedom of the press are threatened by Gruevski’s increasingly autocratic style of government. So far, the EU candidate since 2005 has failed to open membership talks due to Greek objections to the

former Yugoslav Republic's name. A continuation of the autocratic and nationalist policy of the incumbent government puts the European perspective and transformation of Macedonia at risk and jeopardizes the country's internal stability.

Adamantios Skordos

The Macedonian Name Issue and the Greek Civil War

A Cultural-Historical Approach to the Greek View on Macedonia 1991

The article provides insights regarding the negative reaction of Greece towards the 1991 Macedonian declaration of independence. The central question is how the Greek civil war (1946-1949) with its strong Macedonian dimension affected Greece's post-World War remembrance culture and history politics, and subsequently influenced perceptions and opinions regarding "the Macedonian Question". One of the main claims of the article is that in "national-minded", anti-communist Greece of 1950-1974, the "traumatic" experience of civil war triggered the establishment of an official remembrance culture aiming to "produce" frenetic anti-communism, and a both proud and anti-Slavic Greek-Macedonian identity in Northern Greece. The latter was mainly accomplished by deeply rooting and emphasizing the memory of two "chosen glories" of Macedonian Hellenism: On the one hand, ancient Macedonia with its glorious king Alexander the Great, and on the other hand, the Greek anti-Slavic so-called "Macedonian Struggle" of 1904-1908. At the same time, anti-communism was brought forward by consistently reiterating the "treacherous" collaboration of the Greek communists with secessionist movements of Bulgarian and Macedonian affiliation during the occupation and civil war years. The article examines which aspects of this postwar remembrance culture endured the phase of transition and democratic consolidation after 1974, and which had to disappear in the face of political and historical "rehabilitation" of the Greek Communist Party. The article concludes that the public discourse in Greece during the early 1990s deliberately focused on ancient Macedonia and the "Slavic usurpation of a Greek cultural and historical heritage" in order to avoid the possible "uncontrolled explosion" of Greek civil war taboos.

Gülistan Gürbey

Political Prospects in Turkey after the Parliamentary Elections of 12 June 2011

The victory of the ruling Turkish Party for Justice and Development (AKP) in the parliamentary elections of 12 June 2011 was a historic one: For the first time in the history of the modern Turkish Republic one party won the parliamentary elections for three times in a row, constantly increased its share of votes and constitutes the government. That historic victory brings about a significant consolidation of AKP's power.

Nevertheless, the re-elected AKP is confronted with explosive internal and external challenges that won't be easy to cope with. The formulation of a new civil constitution, the political solution of the Kurd conflict, the further democratization of Turkey as well as the effects of the protest movements in Northern Africa and the

Middle East are a crucial test for AKP's political performance. If and in how far AKP will succeed in creating both its domestic policy under the framework of a strongly fragmented and polarized system without adopting an authoritarian trait itself as well as pursuing far-reaching external aims guided by economic profit under the paradigms of practical politics remains to be seen.

Phillip Richter

Poland's New Foreign Policy and Turkey's Involvement

Poland is recently engaging more actively in foreign policy activities in Turkey and the EU's southern neighbourhood and appears to be no longer satisfied with its perception as a stakeholder only in Eastern European affairs.

In contrast, Poland seeks to extend its influence into all aspects of EU politics. The country is committed to reviving the Turkish EU accession process and this is closely related to its striving for a new role in foreign affairs.

The Polish EU Council Presidency in the second half of 2011 is a unique chance for Turkey and Poland to draw political capital from the good bilateral relations and to enhance Polish influence on all levels of European policy.

Maximilian Kall

Political Debate and Investigative Journalism in Southeast Europe Recent Case Law of the European Court of Human Rights on the Guarantee of Media Freedom under Article 10 ECHR in Bulgaria, Serbia, the Republic of Moldova and Turkey

Moldova ranks number 118 in the Freedom House global press freedom ranking of 2011, sharing the place with Georgia and Malawi. Turkey is listed number 112, together with Bangladesh and Congo. Bulgaria finds itself ranked place 77, Serbia place 72. The assessment conducted by Reporters without Borders barely differs.

In the four Southeast European states – Bulgaria being a European Union member since 2007 – the media is considered to be partly free, if at all. Analysing the recent case law of the European Court of Human Rights holding violations of media freedom, which is protected under Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), the stories behind these rankings come to light. The Strasbourg Court proves to be the ultimate guarantor of the essential freedoms of expression and the media that constitute any democratic society.

Nevertheless its jurisdiction needs to be critically reviewed: The Court tends to interpret political debates too narrow and occasionally demands a professional media conduct that cannot be guaranteed under the limitations that investigative journalism in the afore-mentioned countries faces.