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Mitteilungen

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Petros Markaris

Zur Rolle der Literatur
in der griechischen Krise

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Nina Henkens*

The Kurdish Issue in Turkey

Andreas Ernst

Nord-Kosovo: Die Krise als Chance

Áron Buzogány

Die national-radikale
Jobbik-Partei in Ungarn

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Politische Korruption
im heutigen Bulgarien



Main Focus
Secret Police Files

Schwerpunkt
Geheimpolizei-Akten

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Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,

wer seinen analytischen Blick zum Jahresende 2011 über die Region Südosteuropa schweifen lässt, findet wenig Anlass zu Optimismus – und so befasst sich diese gewichtige Doppel-Ausgabe der Südosteuropa Mitteilungen vor allem mit ungelösten Krisen und unbewältigten Problemen. Hier schlaglichtartig unsere Themen:

Griechenland: Der Schriftsteller P. Markaris appelliert in einem Essay über die Rolle der Literatur in der griechischen Krise an Kulturschaffende, Intellektuelle und Akademiker in seinem Land und in ganz Europa, ihre Stimme zu erheben in einer dringend notwendigen öffentlichen Diskussion darüber, „was wir alles falsch gemacht haben“. Man dürfe den Ökonomen und Politikern das Terrain nicht allein überlassen.

Türkei: Ein ausführlicher Bericht lässt unsere Leser teilhaben an den Eindrücken und Erfahrungen einer höchst bemerkenswerten Studienreise der SOG nach Ost-Anatolien im September 2011, die vor dem politischen Hintergrund einer Eskalation des Kurden-Konflikts stattfand. Mit der Lebenssituation der Kurden in der Türkei befasst sich eine Analyse unserer Autorinnen N. Baysal / D. Bozgan / N. Henskens, von denen zwei in der Kurden-Metropole Diyarbakır leben und arbeiten.

Kosovo / Serbien: Mit Bezug auf den laufenden Dialog-Prozess zwischen Belgrad und Pristina plädiert der Journalist A. Ernst für einen Tabu-Bruch. Er fordert „echte politische Verhandlungen“ über den Status Nord-Kosovos – einschließlich der territorialen Dimension.

Ungarn: Unser Autor Á. Buzogány analysiert das Erfolgsrezept der national-radikalen Jobbik-Partei seit 2009. Sie nutzte konsequent die Chancen, welche die Krise des politischen Systems in Ungarn bot und knüpfte an einen politischen Diskurs an, den u.a. die Regierungspartei FIDESZ „hoffähig“ gemacht hat.

Bulgarien: Wie funktioniert politische Korruption? Ist sie eine Erscheinungsform des Übergangs, ein spezifisches Strukturphänomen der Balkanstaaten? Einblicke in die Mechanismen und die Folgen von Korruption gibt die Politikwissenschaftlerin S. Schüler.

Auch zwanzig Jahre nach dem Zusammenbruch der kommunistischen Systeme in Ost- und Südosteuropa ist der Umgang mit den **Akten der ehemaligen kommunistischen Geheimpolizeien** ein sehr sensibles Thema. In unserem Schwerpunkt berichten einschlägige Experten aus Bulgarien, der Republik Moldau, der Ukraine, Lettland, Serbien und Slowenien vom Umgang mit den Akten der kommunistischen Staatssicherheit in ihren Ländern.

Wir wünschen Ihnen eine aufschlussreiche Lektüre und einen guten Start 2012,
Ihr Redaktionsteam

SÜDOSTEUROPA

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Petros Markaris

The Role of Literature within the Greek Crisis

Can books be of help in times of a severe crisis? As concerns Greece the answer is “yes” –under two preconditions: First, the authors have to understand the substance and the effects of the crisis. Second, the citizens have to feel the need to take refuge in literature. In fact, literature and fiction can help to ease survival in difficult times. But, the citizens and most authors in Greece are both unwilling to perceive the crisis. Since its beginning, the modern Greek state has been founded on two columns – Europe and the Balkans. This twofold foundation has been generally most productive for fiction, literature and art. Poets, narrators, stage artists and filmmakers have always tried to build a bridge between the Balkans and Europe. Only since the last decades, a “time of false illusions” has begun and Greek intellectuals have forgotten these important roots and have avoided coming to terms with their country’s past. Greece, within its present most disastrous situation, needs a public discussion about the mistakes that have been made. And, Greece and Europe as a whole are in an urgent need to discuss European values instead of rates and figures only. Writers, creative artists, intellectuals and academics have to break the silence and not leave the public stage to economists and politicians.

Nurcan Baysal / Dilan Bozgan / Nina Henkens

The Kurdish Issue in Turkey: The Right to Exist Is Not Enough

The Kurdish problem is often discussed in terms of international politics but little is known about the everyday consequences of the conflict on the lives of Kurds living in the Southeast of Turkey. The authors take a look at the most pressing issues, such as forced migration, village guards, underdevelopment, children's rights, and lack of mother tongue education, democratic deficits at local level and the (missed) opportunities of EU-accession in regard to the Kurdish situation. The magnitude of the problems in these fields can also explain why peace initiatives are failing. The authors argue that it is high time for Turkish authorities to face their responsibility in these matters so that a true and sincere peace and reconciliation process can be started. They finish off by specifying their recommendations.

Andreas Ernst

The Crisis in North Kosovo as a Chance for a Reconciliation of Serbia and Albania

The conflicts in Northern Kosovo since July 2011, involving the Serbian population, international missions, and the governments in Prishtina and Belgrade, have been threatening the stability of Kosovo and Serbia. However, this crisis can also be seen as a chance to find a lasting agreement between Kosovo and Serbia – a kind of historical compromise.

It is argued that the dominant Western “narrative” of the Kosovo conflict, depicting it primarily as a human rights problem, has prevented work on a viable solution for many years. For Albanians and Serbs the conflict is about territories and, accordingly, a compromise should include territorial elements.

The author argues that the many “red lines” of the international community, of Prishtina and of Belgrade are not only reducing chances for a solution, but are arbitrary and contrary to the interests of the two countries. The struggle in North Kosovo, where a 90 percent Serbian majority opposes the integration into the Kosovar state, should be used as a chance to find a territorial compromise.

Negotiations under EU auspices could go beyond narrow “technical” issues with the goal of a permanent settlement. This could include mutual agreed changes of borders between Serbia and Kosovo (in North Kosovo and potentially in South Serbia).

Áron Buzogány

Social Movement from the Right: The Rise of the National-Radical Jobbik-Party in Hungary

The article reflects the changes in the Hungarian spectrum of political parties during the last decade that led to the electoral success of the Jobbik-Party in 2010. Jobbik could successfully use the opportunity structures that had developed in Hungary after the multiple crises concerning political parties, economy and morals.

Important reasons for the success lie in the subcultural involvement as well as Jobbik’s “almost agitational” strategy of refusing to adapt to the discourse of an established party.

Whereas the success of extremist parties is often interpreted as an almost compulsory answer to political and economic crises, the article emphasizes Jobbik’s active role in using the opportunities arising from the crisis of the Hungarian political system.

Sonja Schöler

Characteristics and Backgrounds of Political Corruption in Present-Day Bulgaria

Four years after Bulgaria’s accession to the European Union, Bulgaria is still in many regards a country in transition. Democratic legal framework conditions and institutions often do not adequately fulfil their functions. Corruptive informal networks exert an enormous influence on election results, the allocation of political jobs and

political decision making processes as well as on the allocation of EU-funds. Thus political corruption importantly affects the socio-economic development of the country.

The article deals with the development, the characteristics, the acting mechanisms and the political leverages of political corruption in present-day Bulgaria. In this context the social perception of the political stakeholders is also discussed. Last but not least, it draws conclusions concerning the socio-cultural significance of corruptive mechanisms and the question, if and in how far political corruption in Bulgaria can be qualified as a specific structural phenomenon of the “transition”, or of the Balkans.

Main Focus: The Secret Police Files of the Former Communist Countries

Maria Dermendzhieva Consequences of the Late Opening of State Security Files in Bulgaria

In Bulgaria, the state security files were opened 17 years after the collapse of communism. The political awareness of this topic has delayed Bulgaria’s coming to terms with its communist past, as impartial debates were not possible during those years.

The access granted to the files of the repressive apparatus though, has not yet fulfilled the expectations of the democratic community as far as the re-establishment of justice is concerned.

The article explains how the entire transition period in Bulgaria was manipulated and affected by the late opening of the state security files and reflects the negative consequences on the Bulgarian society.

Igor Cașu The Former KGB-Archives in Moldova: How Accessible Are They?

The KGB archives of the former Moldavian SSR were accessible to a few Moldavian historians for the first time in the early 1990s, following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Historians were then interested especially in mass deportations, famine and public executions as well as resistance against the communist regime in its formative years in Moldova, i.e. in 1940-41, the late 1940s and 1950s.

Only recently, in January 2010, the doors to the KGB archives were reopened as a result of the political change that launched new politics of memory toward the communist Soviet past. More exactly, a Presidential Commission for the Study and Evaluation of the Communist Totalitarian Regime in the Republic of Moldova was established that had extensive access to the archives of the former Soviet political police in Chisinau. In November 2010, an agreement was signed between the former KGB archives of the MSSR and the Ministry of Interior on the one hand and the National Archives of Moldova on the other, according to which all the files related to Soviet repressions should be transferred to the latter. Thus, all interested persons from Moldova and abroad would get access to them.

Yevgeniy Zakharov

The Access to Information in the Ukrainian Security Service Archives

The Ukrainian State Security Service Archive contains more than 1.5 million volumes with documents from Soviet times about political repressions. Until recently the vast majority of these documents had remained secret and was not shown to people without access to state secrets.

The practice of refusing access to classified archival material of Soviet times was, following the adoption of the Ukrainian Constitution, entirely illegal. In the beginning of 2009 a process of systematic review of the old Soviet archive documents was initiated. During 2009 more than 16,000 archival documents were declassified, a figure amounting to only 2-3 % of the total.

In 2011 the declassification process has been essentially accelerated: groups of cases rather than individual cases were examined. Today the process of consideration is finished. 95 % of the archive cases have been declassified; 5 % have been classified according to the Ukrainian “Law on State Secrets”.

Valters Nollendorfs

The KGB-Files in Latvia: The Skeleton and Its Ghosts

Most of the KGB files in Latvia were preserved when full independence was declared on 21 August 1991 and are now available in the Latvian State Archive. They were the basis for publications about the deportations and political trials during the Soviet occupation in 1940/41 and 1944-1991, as well as trials of perpetrators of communist crimes.

KGB operative and agency files kept in the “Centre for the Documentation of the Consequences of Totalitarianism”, however, were not made public for objective and political reasons. Most of them are actually missing, and the reliability on the remnants is questionable.

The reluctance to deal with the files has partly to do with the fact that the Communist Party of Latvia and the KGB were dominated by non-Latvians, and many Latvian communists split in 1990, integrating into the political and social life of post-communist Latvia. The missing files, however, allow public suspicions of the KGB's continued presence to persist.

Aleksandar Resanović

Secret Police Records – The Case of Former Yugoslavia With Reference to the Case of Serbia

The paper briefly presents background information on the issue of opening records that the security services and police kept on the citizens who were political enemies – or at least ideological opponents – of the former communist regime in ex-Yugoslavia. It provides an overview of the development of security services in former Yugoslavia, as well as in Serbia of today.

Particular attention is given to the fact that the failure to transfer files from the headquarters (Belgrade) to the former Yugoslav republics, is a consequence of the

provisions contained in the Constitution of the SFR of Yugoslavia from 1974, and is partly due to the disintegration of the Yugoslav SFR 1991. The paper indicates a lack of an (adequate) legal base in this field. It also deals with a new independent state authority: the Commissioner for Information of Public Importance and Personal Data Protection, who has just partial jurisdiction over the subject issue. At last, it gives a current and very brief view of the subject in the former Yugoslav republics (except of Slovenia).

<p>Andreja Valič Zver The Slovenian Way of "The Lives of Others"</p>
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The author describes the extremely complex situation in Slovenia during the Second World War and afterwards regarding the worst violations of human rights by the secret communist political police, which was one of the most important instruments of domination and repression in the hands of the ruling communist party. Most of the archival material of the secret political police was destroyed or has been kept in Belgrade after the fall of communism and the breakdown of Yugoslavia 1991. One of the key elements of clearing up the totalitarian past lies in the accessibility of the archival material of the secret political police. By turning down the amendments to the Slovenian archival law in the 2011 referendum, the large majority of the Slovenians showed the awareness of the importance to open the archives and consequently of the right to know about the dark past.