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**Schwerpunkt
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Beiträge von

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Mazedonien: Rückkehr zur Demokratie durch EU-Vermittlung?

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Franziska Zaugg

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Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,

im Mittelpunkt dieser Doppel-Ausgabe der Südosteuropa Mitteilungen steht eine „Bestandsaufnahme der modernen Türkei“, in der renommierte Experten ihren jeweiligen fachlichen Blick auf den Zustand des Landes werfen. Unsere Autoren geben vielfältige Einblicke – etwa in die aktuellen politischen Konstellationen nach dem Verlust der absoluten Mehrheit der seit 2002 regierenden AKP und dem Erfolg der „Kurdenpartei“ HDP, in den Aufstieg und Fall der ambitionierten türkischen Außenpolitik und die Folgen, welche die neuen Freihandelsabkommen der EU mit Drittstaaten, wie z.B. TTIP, für das Land haben werden. Leider haben sich die Perspektiven in und um die Türkei seit Redaktionsschluss dieser Ausgabe weiter verdüstert: Die Regierungsbildung steckt nach wie vor in einer Sackgasse, die AKP und Präsident Erdoğan setzen auf Neuwahlen – mit dem offensichtlichen Ziel, die HDP als größtes Hindernis der weiteren eigenen Machtentfaltung auszuschalten. Seit dem blutigen Anschlag am 20. Juli 2015 auf ein Kulturzentrum im südostanatolischen Suruç und anschließenden Rachemorden der kurdischen PKK lässt die Regierung deren Stellungen im Nordirak bombardieren. Erdoğan hat den Friedensprozess mit den Kurden inzwischen aufgekündigt. Viele Hoffnungen auf eine langfristige Befriedung und Europäisierung der Türkei sind als Folge der autoritären Machtambitionen Erdoğan's und seiner AKP zerstoßen.

In Mazedonien offenbarten die illegal abgehörten Telefonate von Politikern und wichtigen Spitzenfunktionären in der Justiz und Verwaltung, welche die Opposition im Frühjahr 2015 veröffentlichte, „einen ganzen Katalog an Vergehen der Regierung, ihren Zynismus, einen äußerst derben Umgang, brutale Wege des Machterhalts, ein System an Abhängigkeiten und Erpressung – kurzum ein System, das sich von rechtsstaatlichen und demokratischen Standards verabschiedet hat“, so die Journalistin Adelheid Wölfl in ihrem Beitrag. Die EU hat dem Balkanstaat nun von ihr moderierte Gespräche zwischen Regierung und Opposition verordnet, die in einigermaßen faire Neuwahlen im April 2016 münden sollen. Man darf neugierig sein, ob diese externe Demokratieförderung am Ende Erfolg hat. – Den Aufstieg einer neuen islam(ist)ischen Gesellschaftsutopie im Siedlungsgebiet muslimischer Albaner in Mazedonien und die in dieser Volksgruppe dadurch ausgelösten Diskurse beschreibt der Anthropologe Robert Pichler, basierend auf eigenen aktuellen Feldforschungen in West-Mazedonien.

Mit der deutschen Besatzung in Albanien im Zweiten Weltkrieg und der „Erinnerungsliteratur“ von Mitgliedern der Besatzungsmacht befasst sich die Historikerin Franziska Zaugg. Dazu gehören die Memoiren des früheren SOG-Präsidenten Rudolf Vogel, der selbst in dieser Zeit in Albanien stationiert war. Solche Zeugnisse können helfen, so die Autorin, das Bild aus den Akten zu verdichten und „den Kriegsalltag in einem Land jenseits der großen Kriegsschauplätze zu verstehen“. – Über „die Wirkungsmacht des Krieges“ reflektiert die Slawistin Sabine Kirfel anhand der Geschichte des deutschen Gefreiten Josef Schulz, der von der serbischen Geschichts-

schreibung als Held gefeiert wurde, weil er sich angeblich im Juli 1941 einem Schießbefehl in einem Exekutionskommando widersetzt und seinen Mut mit dem Leben bezahlt haben soll. Zu Unrecht – weil die Heldengeschichte später als Legende entpuppt wurde.

Wir hoffen, mit diesem breiten Spektrum an Themen Ihr Interesse zu wecken!

Ihre Redaktion

Hansjörg Brey

Claudia Hopf

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Main Focus: Turkey

Yaşar Aydın

Parliamentary Elections in Turkey in June 2015

Is the Election Result a Victory for Democracy and National Cohesion?

Although the ruling AKP suffered its first electoral defeat since 2002 and lost its parliamentary majority, the main opposition party CHP could hardly profit from the weakness of the AKP. The nationalist MHP and the pro-Kurd leftist HDP increased their electoral basis significantly. This can be explained by a number of structural factors and current political developments such as the slow-down of economic growth as well as the authoritarian domestic and risky foreign policy of various AKP-led governments.

Responsible for the weakness of the main opposition party CHP were the conservative character of the Turkish society and the image of the CHP as an elitist, militant secular party. The HDP benefitted from the reputation of the Kurdish movement and the anti-Erdoğan atmosphere, whereas the MHP distinguished itself as the true supporter of the Turkish national interest and Turkish identity. The election results can be interpreted as a victory for Turkish parliamentary democracy, since it ends President R. T. Erdoğan's dream of creating an executive presidency. However, the election results also cement cultural and ethnic divisions and a political polarization along identities and lifestyles.

Senada Sokollu

Opposition and Civil Movement in Turkey?

The Turkish civil movement became known internationally primarily through the Gezi Park demonstrations in 2013. They revealed more serious deficits of Turkish democracy than previously thought. The protest movement is a good starting point to understand how the Turkish opposition thinks and feels and why a movement in this form does not exist any longer. It also emphasizes why it has become increasingly quiet on the Turkish streets, why the public protest is not visible anymore. The extremely strong police force and the "witch-hunt" against critics accounts for this development.

The desire for security which many Turks experienced due to the country's economic strength under the AKP government is one of the main reasons for the AKP's electoral success. Moreover, the shameful refugee policies implemented by many EU

countries and the humanitarian blessing of the Turkish government when it comes to the approximately two million Syrian refugees in Turkey determined the AKP-success. Most recently, the Kurds have been highlighted as a very important democratic factor. Especially the electoral success of the Kurdish party HDP in the parliamentary elections of June 2015 has given hope to the people for more democracy in the country.

Erdal Yalcin / Ebru Turhan

Turkey's EU Integration at a Crossroads?

Options for Deepening the Economic Relations in View of TTIP

Turkey and the EU have recently announced their ambition to modernize and expand their 20-year-old Customs Union. In 1996 Turkey favoured the launch of the Customs Union and handed over its trade policy autonomy to the EU expecting that it would soon become a full member of the Union. However, the integration process has turned out to be long lasting and characterized by unexpected political obstacles. Additionally, in recent years the increasing number of negotiated free trade agreements between the EU and third parties has put Turkey in an unfavourable economic position both with respect to the EU and globally. The attempt to deepen the Customs Union independently from stagnating EU-Turkish accession talks is a necessary step to prevent a rupture in the well performing economic relationship arising from institutional weaknesses of the existing bilateral trade accord.

A successful modernization of the Customs Union is also likely to serve for the development of a new strategic vision in the EU-Turkish dialogue that seeks to offset the negative implications of the stalemate in Turkish accession talks. This article briefly delineates the increasing tensions between Turkey and the EU resulting from institutional weaknesses of the Customs Union and presents new policy options that can mitigate related adverse political and economic effects.

Kerem Öktem

Strategic Shallows: The End of AKP Power and the Fragmentation of Turkey's Foreign Policy

The paper reflects Turkey's foreign policy under the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) from 2002 to 2015, a period bracketed by the rise and fall of AKP power. Four phases mark the evolution of this policy stretching from a promising start with constructive modes of global engagement in the early 2000s to overreach, isolation and the fragmentation of foreign policy today.

Following the "liberal pragmatism" of the first seven years from 2002 to 2009, there is a shift to the ideologically inspired foreign policy of Islamist academic, foreign policy advisor and finally Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu. His more than a half-decade in shaping Turkey's relations with the world and particularly in the Middle East is further distinguished into a 'pan-Islamist' phase of relative success and a 'sectarian' phase of demise. They both end with Turkey's loss of reputation in the world, relative isolation in its region and the failure of its pan-Islamist policy in the Maghreb and the Levant. This relative isolation, together with the fragmentation of foreign policy into its

constituent components is not sustainable in the medium term, but it may create conditions for a reconsideration of Turkey's place in the world. The emergence of a humbler foreign policy may therefore become a possibility. Before such a return to realism, however, fragmentation, short-sightedness and incapability may lead to catastrophic convulsions in Turkey's relations with its eastern neighbours.

Günter Seufert

Turkey's Vacillation between a Turkish-Arab and a Turkish-Kurdish Version of Ottomanism

'Ottomanism' is defined in this contribution as an essentialist and exceptionalist reading of history and as the concurrent ideology in line with this reading. As a critique of modernity in general and of the modern nation state in particular, Ottomanism redesigned the identity of the Turkish nation and the understanding of its historical mission. Ottomanism proved to be of huge political significance for Turkey both in domestic and foreign policy realms. What is here called the "Turkish-Arab version of Ottomanism" turned out to be the underlying mental concept for Turkey's policy in Syria. Other than this version, the "Turkish-Kurdish version of Ottomanism" shows a more instrumental character. It was applied in the peace talks with the PKK. Both policies failed. But in the long run, Turkish-Kurdish cooperation is more likely to contribute to peaceful developments in the Middle East.

Martin Weiss

The "Kurdish Factor" in Turkish Foreign Politics

The ambitious political aim of Turkey to have "no problems with the neighbors" has dramatically changed into the opposite: Today, Turkey is no longer a stronghold of peace and stability, but a source of trouble and conflicts. This situation has its reasons mainly in the problematic relationship between Turks and Kurds. The failure of Turkish politics not to have given recognition and minority rights to the Kurdish population caused the emergence of PKK and the long bloody war between PKK and the Turkish security forces.

After PKK spread to other countries with an ethnic Kurdish population, Turkey soon came into conflicts with neighboring countries. In the case of Syria the main objective of Turkey is to prevent the development of a PKK dominated Kurdish state south of the Turkish-Syrian border. On the other side Turkey has accepted the development of the Kurdish-state in Northern-Iraq. The reason therefore is that the Iraqi-Kurdish leadership is in opposition to PKK and Iraqi-Kurdistan is a flourishing market for Turkish export. Nevertheless Turkey continues bombarding parts of Northern-Iraq where headquarters of PKK continue to exist.

Due to the fact that the Kurdish party HDP managed to enter the Turkish parliament in the last elections, Erdogan's AKP lost its absolute majority. In reaction to this challenge he reinforced a repressive policy against HDP with the aim to kick it out of parliament in preliminary elections. This policy is being criticized by the international community because it implies the end of the Turkish-Kurdish peace-process.

Gülstan Gürbey

From Partner to Opponent: The Difficult Relations of the Turkish AKP-Government with Syria and Egypt

The ambitious Turkish policy in North Africa and the Middle East has come to a standstill in the course of the “Arab Spring”. One major reason is that the policy of the AKP government in the region is primarily guided by ideological principles focused on a pan-Islamic-Sunni agenda. The increased regional security dilemma accompanied by unforeseeable developments and rapidly changing alliances requires a practical political incentive in order to avoid far-reaching consequences.

However, the unilateral ideological course of Turkish policy mirrored the consequences – among others – in the problematic relations to the neighbouring countries Syria and Egypt. The relations have hit rock bottom along with an increasing isolation of the region as concerns foreign policy making.

Adelheid Wöfl

Macedonia: Return to Democracy through EU Mediation?

A shootout which erupted between police forces and an armed group linked to the National Liberation Army on the 9th and 10th of May 2015 in the Macedonian city of Kumanovo has yet again brought the small Balkan state into the center of international attention. But the clashes of Kumanovo were just the peak of domestic political tensions which already emerged months before.

The polarisation between government and opposition had been growing for years and the stalemate in Macedonia has led to a more authoritarian, clientelistic, intransparent and nationalistic political system. The EU Commission (in the person of the Commissioner for EU negotiations, Johannes Hahn), representatives of the European Parliament, representatives of the US and the leaders of the four main parties in Macedonia finally reached a deal on the 14th of July 2015 which will lead to elections in April 2016.

Robert Pichler

Macedonia's Muslim Albanians in the Cross Section between National Emancipation and Islamic Regeneration

Since the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Muslim Albanians in Macedonia (and Kosova) have been involved in turbulent processes of realignment and identity formation. Under circumstances of on-going ethno-political tensions and a deep economic crisis, new religious doctrines have spread, pushing back older notions and belongings. The article debates the meaning of Muslim identity and national belonging among Albanians. Based on ethnographic findings, it further examines different motives, attitudes and practices of local actors in a Western Macedonian village. Questions

are raised, such as how representatives of the Islamic Community are trying to consolidate their position in a nationalistic environment, how a group of pious believers seeks to consolidate themselves and in which manner Islam as a moral and meaningful instance gains or loses legitimacy in the local arena.

Franziska Zaugg

“Among Scipetars” – The German Occupation in Albania

Since two years the SOG attempts to clear its own historic legacies, a process strongly linked to the rise and fall of the Third Reich. Its former president, Rudolf Vogel, was redeployed to Albania for the last two years of World War II. In his memoirs he described a plenitude of circumstances and facts, which were – until now – known only through military and diplomatic files in the archives of Germany, Albania, Serbia and Italy.

The article explains the occupation of Albania by German troops in September 1943 and how these dealt with the local circumstances and the Albanian elite. One of the most important pillars of the German occupation system was the employment of the 21st Waffen Mountain Division of the SS “Skanderbeg”. In early 1944, Himmler obtained permission from Hitler to employ such an “Albanian Muslim Waffen-SS division”. This recruitment can be seen as a symptom of the precarious military situation and the lack of human resources on the German fronts.

However, the effort to create a powerful fighting force in Albania failed. The German leaders tried to exploit local interethnic hostilities, but did not account for the Albanian social structures. Local clan chiefs and the common population as well did not act in the expected manner. Mass desertions proliferated as the Nazi withdrawal became increasingly obvious. Vogel sheds light on the post-Nazi period: There was a second Albanian division equipped with weapons of the former Albanian Muslim Waffen-SS unit. The local (civil) war still was not coming to an end.

Sabine Kirfel

The Hero That Never Was – Reflecting on the Legend of the Soldier Josef Schulz

The article reflects on the relations between Serbs and Germans against the background of the still existing impact of the Second World War – the tragedy happening a lifetime ago.

“Heldensuche – Die Geschichte vom Soldaten, der nicht töten wollte“ (“The Hunt for a Hero – The story of the soldier who wouldn’t kill”) – meticulously researched and comprehensively documented by Michael Martens – builds the framework for reflections on how outbreaks of violence could happen within the scope of so-called retaliatory measures.

Using the example of the Serbian writer David Albahari, it is illustrated how through the synthesis of emotion and remembrance art work emerges, i.e. how research about the perpetrators can be integrated into literature.

Finally “The Hunt for a Hero” is put into the context of the postwar era, thus distinctly brightening its intended objective.