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Elena Panagiotidis

Die rechtsextremistische Partei
Chryssi Avgi in Griechenland

Dominik Tolksdorf

Transatlantische Zusammenarbeit
in Bosnien-Herzegowina

Leon Malazogu / Florian Bieber

The Future of Interaction
between Prishtina and Belgrade

Michael Sauer

Sozialpolitik im Kosovo

Lumnije Jusufi

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des Standard-Albanischen



Sonja Schüler

Umweltschutz und „kritische
Öffentlichkeit“ in Bulgarien

Birte Nienaber

Massentourismus an der bulgarischen
Schwarzmeerküste

Ivan Tchalakov / Martin J. Ivanov

Bulgarien: Einführung erneuerbarer Energien

Martin Malek

Verteidigung und Sicherheit in Moldova

Nina Julia Müller

The Cyprus Conflict and the
Role of the European Union

Analysen / Positionen / Essays

- 6 *Elena Panagiotidis*
**Wenn der Staat kapituliert: der Fall Griechenland –
Die rechtsextremistische Partei Chryssi Avgi macht ungehindert mobil**
-
- 16 *Dominik Tolksdorf*
**Transatlantische Zusammenarbeit in Bosnien-Herzegowina – Neue
Initiativen für eine Verfassungsreform 2013?**
-
- 26 *Leon Malazogu / Florian Bieber*
The Future of Interaction between Prishtina and Belgrade
-
- 44 *Michael Sauer*
Sozialpolitik im Kosovo: Liberalisierung eines Politikfeldes
-
- 62 *Lumnije Jusufi*
Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung des Standard-Albanischen
-
- 78 *Sonja Schüler*
**Straßenproteste in Sofia: Über Umweltschutz und „kritische
Öffentlichkeit“ in Bulgarien**
-
- 86 *Birte Nienaber*
**Massentourismus an der bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste – Sommer,
Sonne, Strand und ...?**
-
- 100 *Ivan Tchalakov / Martin J. Ivanov*
**Bulgarien: Die Kraft und der Widerstand des Stroms –
Sozio-technische sowie techno-politische Spannungen bei der Einfüh-
rung von erneuerbaren Energien in Bulgarien am Beispiel der Wind-
energie und der Photovoltaik**

112 *Martin Malek*
Rahmenbedingungen von Verteidigung und Sicherheit der Republik Moldau

126 *Nina Julia Müller*
External Influences in the Cyprus Conflict: Help or Hindrance? – The Role of the European Union

137 **Forum**

Berichte

141 Europäische Solidarität am Ende? Mittel- und Südosteuropa in Zeiten der Wirtschafts- und Vertrauenskrise. Bonn, 19. September 2012

143 Babel Balkan? Politische und soziokulturelle Kontexte von Sprache in Südosteuropa. 51. Hochschulwoche, Tutzing, 1.-5. Oktober 2012

151 Ungarns neues Grundgesetz – Fachkonferenz über Europas jüngste Verfassung. München, 19. Oktober 2012

153 Leaving Europe's Waiting Room: Overcoming the Crisis of EU Enlargement in the Western Balkans. Graz, 9.-11. November 2012

160 22. Filmfestival des osteuropäischen Films. Cottbus, 6.-11. November 2012

162 20. Theaterbiennale in Wiesbaden – Neue Stücke aus Europa. Wiesbaden / Mainz, 14.-24. Juni 2012

165 Rezensionen

- B. Balla / W. Dahmen / A. Sterbling (Hrsg.): Korruption, soziales Vertrauen und politische Verwerfungen – Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung südosteuropäischer Gesellschaften □ I. Čolović: Kulturterror auf dem Balkan – Essays zur politischen Anthropologie □ R. W. Farrand: Reconstruction and Peace Building in the Balkans – The Brčko Experience □ P. Morgan: Ismail Kadare – The Writer and the Dictatorship 1957–1990 □ K. Bochmann / V. Dumbrava / D. Müller / V. Reinhardt (Hrsg.): Die Republik Moldau – Republica Moldova. Ein Handbuch □ C. Chaillot (Ed.): The Orthodox Church in Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century □ H. Schaller / R. Zlatanova (Hrsg.): Symbolae Ecclesiasticae Bulgaricae □ T. Nikolaou: Glaube und Forsche – Ausgewählte Studien zur griechischen Patristik und byzantinischen Geistesgeschichte □ N. Staab: Rumänische Kultur, Orthodoxie und der Westen – Der Diskurs um die nationale Identität in Rumänien aus der Zwischenkriegszeit □ C. Stache / W. Theilemann (Hrsg.): Evangelisch in Altrumänien – Forschungen und Quellen zur Geschichte der deutschsprachigen evangelischen Kirchengemeinden im rumänischen Regat

181 Jahresarhaltsverzeichnis 2012

SÜDOSTEUROPA

Mitteilungen

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Summaries Heft 05-06/2012 52. Jahrgang

Elena Panagiotidis

Surrender of a State: the Greek Case

The Far-Right Party Chryssi Avgi is Mobilizing Unopposed

Xenophobia and police violence are phenomena not unknown to Greek society. But in 2012 and especially after the elections of 6 May and 17 June 2012 when the far-right party “Golden Dawn” (Chryssi Avgi) entered the Greek parliament with seven percent of the vote, racially motivated attacks – including fatal ones – have become commonplace in Greece. Numbers run into the hundreds according to human rights groups. Attacks are committed with knives and metal bars as well as iron rods by members of “Golden Dawn” and even members of parliament themselves, with the police standing on the sidelines.

“Golden Dawn”, which is becoming a state within the state, has many supporters within the police. The government buries its head in the sand. In August 2012, the minister for the protection of people launched a program called “Xenion Zeus” by which the police rounds up undocumented migrants on a daily basis and detains them in detention centers. Open protest against the violence and violation of human rights in general is limited within the Greek society while approval of the deeds of “Golden Dawn” is rising: According to the latest polls the party would place third.

Dominik Tolksdorf

Transatlantic Cooperation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

New Initiatives for a Constitutional Reform in 2013?

In October 2012, U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, and EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Catherine Ashton, jointly visited Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to demonstrate their united vision of the country’s Euro-Atlantic integration.

Although the cooperation between the EU and the U.S. in the Balkan state can generally be considered as good, some disagreements between the Transatlantic partners remain, particularly with regards to the closure of the Office of the High Representative (OHR).

The paper reflects these controversial issues as well as the current attempts to support constitutional reform in Bosnia. Being a highly sensitive topic, close transatlantic cooperation on the issue seems indispensable.

Leon Malazogu / Florian Bieber

The Future of Interaction between Prishtina and Belgrade

The article is based on a policy paper written for the Kosovo think tank “Democracy for Development” on the negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo. It analyses the agreements reached between the two parties in the multiple rounds of dialogue between March 2011 and the change of government in Serbia during the summer of 2012.

While substantial agreements were reached, their implementation has failed and both parties have used the agreements to bolster their own views. As a result, more emphasis needs to be put not just on reaching agreements between Serbia and Kosovo, but also on ensuring implementation and matching expectations. Next, the dialogue needs to outline the more sensitive issues and be more explicitly political and high-level. In addition, Kosovo Serbs need to be included into the dialogue as to avoid agreements being made against their will or without their participation.

Michael Sauer

Social Policy in Kosovo: Liberalization of a Policy Field

In terms of social policies, as in many other ways, Kosovo constitutes a specific case when compared to other European countries (in transition). Social policy in Kosovo is coined by distinctive lines of development: the legacies of the Yugoslav welfare state, the parallel underground welfare system in Kosovo during the 1990s, the massive interventions by transnational (social policy) actors in the aftermath of the Kosovo conflict of 1999, as well as the recent developments in the context of an independent state Kosovo.

This unique variety of institutional and political interferences meets a highly particular setting of social risks in Kosovo: Despite the overall trend of ageing societies in Europe, Kosovo's population is still growing while the share of old persons is very small. The situation concerning employment, poverty, social exclusion and the population's health status is alerting, particularly when compared with the situation in the European Union but as well by regional standards.

The paper provides a basic analysis of social protection in Kosovo in the light of social, demographic, economic and political trends. It assesses the basic structure of social policy fields in Kosovo: labour markets, pensions, social assistance, long-term care, health care and education. Moreover, it applies approved concepts and theoretical discourses in order to contribute to systematic and comparative research. The paper's central hypothesis is that Kosovo's nascent welfare regime has a clear liberal character which can be identified throughout all policy fields. The research is conceptualised as a theory driven by an explorative country study, sustained by the review of corresponding literature.

Lumnije Jusufi

Coming to Terms with the Past of Standard Albanian

The article focuses the state of development of coming to terms with the Standard Albanian language in the states of Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia after the radical changes in the 1990s.

It concludes that the approach to Standard Albanian shows two different ways of coming to terms with the past. The interface between both is the declaration of independence of Kosovo (2008).

Three different strategies can be found when societies in Southeast Europe are dealing with their socialist pasts: those removing traces, those approaching scientifically, and those approaching nostalgically. Standard Albanian proves the rule in this respect.

Sonja Schüler
**Street Protests in Sofia: About Environmental Protection and a
 “Critical Public” in Bulgaria**

In June 2012, street protests against the loosening of environmental protection provisions in the Bulgarian forestry law took place in the center of the capital city Sofia. However, the feared environmental damage was not the only cause for the protests. Instead, the protests also articulated a general social dissatisfaction with the political and the socio-economic situation in the country.

The protesters not only "reminded" Bulgarian politicians of the traditionally strong significance of the environment as a public good deserving protection in the collective social consciousness and system of values. The protests also provided a channel and "motor" for conveying more profound critique of the perceived undemocratic elements of the political elites. Ultimately the protesters successfully put pressure on the government.

The paper describes and discusses the events in the context of the inadequate social legitimacy of political parties and elites. At the same time it examines the potential for the emergence of a "critical public" in contemporary Bulgaria.

Birte Nienaber
Mass Tourism along the Bulgarian Black Sea Coast
Summer, Sun, Seaside and ...?

Tourism in Bulgaria has undergone intensive changes since its beginning in the late 19th century, but especially after the Second World War when it started to become a mass product for sunny beach tourism along the Black Sea coast.

Since the early 1990s when Bulgarian tourism started to transform into a market oriented economy, the economic sector has changed again. Tourism suffered from out-dated, giant hotel complexes, ecological problems, inadequate quality of the hotels and gastronomy, and poor investments as well as crime.

But it still remains to be a mass product spatially concentrated along the Black Sea coast and seasonally concentrated during the summer months. Nowadays it develops new types of tourism products like cultural tourism, ecotourism, spa tourism, sport tourism, congress tourism or rural tourism.

Ivan Tchalakov / Martin J. Ivanov

Bulgaria: Power and Resistance of Electricity

Socio-technical and techno-political tensions in expanding the renewable energy power production in Bulgaria based on the example of wind energy and photovoltaics

The paper offers a socio-technical analysis of the current situation in the Bulgarian power industry, assessing its capacity for introducing radical changes in inherited technological, organizational, financial and economic patterns. This situation is defined as maintaining a (difficult) balance between exiting path-dependencies and the necessity to respond to the challenges stemming from adopted EU regulations, technological innovations and the changing constellation of forces between business groups in the sector and related political lobbies.

This process is exemplified by a detailed account of the remarkable growth of photovoltaic and wind power production in the country since 2007. On the one hand, the pressure from the EU regulations during the pre-accession process and after joining the EU presupposes the adoption of a new separate law for renewable energy sources (RES) from 2007, respectively new subdelegated legislation to guarantee feed-in tariffs, obligatory access to transmission and distribution networks as well as long-term contracts to purchase renewable energy. On the other hand, the instrumentalization of the RES-sector through accession of speculative interest and shady capitals is possible. The chaos in the sector after 2008, with an amount of registered RES volumes several times higher than the capacity of the network, shows only one of the cleavages. Is there a chance that it becomes a “normal” business or will it go on with profit margins near to the speculative ones?

Martin Malek

Basic Conditions of Defense and Security of the Republic of Moldova

The Dnjestr region since 1990 defies the Chisinau-based Moldovan government. In 1992, the separatists, relying on Russian military support, won a brief war against the government. Since then, the conflict is “frozen”. A Russian-dominated “peacekeeping mission” contributes to the preservation of the *status quo* and thus supports the *de facto* independence of the „Dnestr Republic“.

The Moldovan government is so weak that it cannot even threaten with a military intervention. The separatist armed forces are clearly superior; furthermore, the military balance on the Dnestr river has to consider the Russian military contingent in the region as well, which ostensibly guards Soviet-era ammunition depots; but in reality, the force implements Moscow’s geopolitical interests.

Russia intends to keep Moldova in its „zone of special interest“ at any cost. The territorial collapse of the Moldovan state obviously plays into Moscow’s hands. The influence of other external players – Romania, Ukraine, OSCE, EU and NATO – on the situation in Moldova is insignificant. EU and NATO verbally support Moldova’s territorial integrity, but cannot or do not want to do more. Thus, the restoration of this integrity becomes more and more unlikely.

Nina Julia Müller

**External Influences in the Cyprus Conflict: Help or Hindrance?
The Role of the European Union**

The review article focuses on the objectives set by the European Union in the Cyprus conflict to reconcile the island, promote cross-border collaboration, and end the isolation of the Turkish Cypriots. Subsequently it assesses in how far these objectives correspond to the measures taken and how far the aims have actually been met.

It concludes that EU measures generally do not always meet the set objectives. This is because of a lack of coherence between the measures taken in the north and in the south of the island as a result of often poorly implemented regulations, as highlighted in the reports of the European Commission.