THREE PROSPECTS TO THE BALKAN IDENTITIES

Abstract

Three very different books by three different authors came to my attention recently. [1] Their authors come from distinct backgrounds – national, tutorial, and professional. One is a Balkan native and two are visiting the area from outside. T. Nedelcheva is a sociologist, and Mary Neuburger is what we call a social anthropologist. The third of the authors, Paul Hockenos, is not a scholar but a journalist, interested more in the Balkan (mainly Croat, Serbian, and Kosovar/Albanian) diasporas in North America and Western Europe than in the local populations themselves. Neuberger's and Hockenos' books are published in English by the Cornell University Press, while Nedelcheva's is published in Bulgarian by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' Publishing House--clearly aiming at a far narrower audience. Nevertheless, it is namely the Bulgarian book, "New Balkan Politics"...
Mary Neuburger's interest is in the Muslim Minorities in Bulgaria, while Tanya Nedelcheva tries to verify generally accepted Western concepts of identity and ethnicity with Bulgarian empirical material, including an analysis of the still sensitive topic of the minorities in Bulgaria. Paul Hockenos is concerned with three ethnic groups in former Yugoslavia, leading to collapse of that multinational state. Despite all these differences, all three books share a lot of features--perhaps too often denied or even victimised--of the Balkan peoples and their shared past. Centuries of political, cultural and confessional foreign domination have left a heavy footprint of both old and relatively recent contradictions and prejudices has proved very difficult to overcome. Modern political analysts, mainly Western ones, were too quick to draw new fictitious borders, and even to replace the name Balkans, so overburdened with negative connotations, with South European divisions and reunifications from outside--examples of which are abundant in Balkan history--the local issues, and even less adequate for their resolution. Thus, in our opinion, it seems a good idea to look at these three books--among the many devoted to various aspects of Balkan history and the present day situation--as interrelated, each puzzle.

One common trait of all three works is that they rest on long years of preliminary effort and collection of data. Mary Neuburger has made relatively extended visits to Bulgaria, including to areas in the Rhodopes and other principal agencies in Bulgaria, such as the National Opinion Polls' Center. Based in Berlin, American journalist and political analyst Paul Hockenos has travelled widely on several continents and has interviewed 'scores' of key figures from the area, including some in Turkish. Not surprisingly, Paul Hockenos' bibliography is the briefest, but nevertheless he is equally scrupulous in verifying his sources, and sociological works quoted in Nedelcheva's book, while there are more historians, ethnographers, and fiction writers among those listed in Neuburger. As a whole, Neuberger's bibliography is the largest, quoting works in seven different languages - English, Bulgarian, Turkish, Russian, German, Serbo-Croatian, and Macedonian. She includes many of the main Western studies on Bulgaria and of the Balkans, including some in Turkish. Not surprisingly, Paul Hockenos' bibliography is the briefest, but neccessary, which cover mainly historical and political publications as well as periodicals --mainly in English and Albanian. The two US-published books have comprehensive indexes, while the Bulgarian book Tanya Nedelcheva offers by far the most profound academic treatise of the subject. Her goal is to verify generally accepted Western concepts of identity and ethnicity with Bulgarian empirical material, including an analysis of the still sensitive topic of the minorities in Bulgaria. Paul Hockenos is concerned with three ethnic groups in former Yugoslavia, leading to collapse of that multinational state. Despite all these differences, all three books share a lot of features--perhaps too often denied or even victimised--of the Balkan peoples and their shared past. Centuries of political, cultural and confessional foreign domination have left a heavy footprint of both old and relatively recent contradictions and prejudices has proved very difficult to overcome. Modern political analysts, mainly Western ones, were too quick to draw new fictitious borders, and even to replace the name Balkans, so overburdened with negative connotations, with South European divisions and reunifications from outside--examples of which are abundant in Balkan history--the local issues, and even less adequate for their resolution. Thus, in our opinion, it seems a good idea to look at these three books--among the many devoted to various aspects of Balkan history and the present day situation--as interrelated, each puzzle.
that reflects the openness of the Myselfness and otherness at their toposes of encounter with each other. This puts forward the issue of the minorities with the Russian scholar P. Kozlovski in his interpretation about the shape of a new dimension of the postmodern human being – Homo Compensator, one virtue, a necessary premise for the diversity, pluralism, and freedom. Such an instrumental view on tolerance is developed in the present as suggested by confrontation to one of tolerance, empathy and mutual understanding. J. S. Mill introduced a new model of tolerance, transforming it into main liberal real the Kantian notion of "world citizenship." The way toward this stage passed through the secularisation, i.e., transition from a state of religious the social construction – global civil society as an ex of federalism is relevant. At this point she extrapolates the highest point of identity's evolution – cultural ethnicity – with possibly the uppermost stage in Western and Central Europe, we are far from reaching the point of a certain "melting pot" of the separate nationalities. However, the rise of a certain form arguments, Nedelcheva leans to the presumption that even in the Balkans, where processes in the field lag behind the postmodern developments in certain form of sovereignty, which is close to irrationality, but still can bring further serious misfortunes to our fragile world. Here T. Nedelcheva's observation seems quite pessimistic compared with many bright forecasts for the coming decades, but this seems correct and not too exaggerated. Ever certain form of sovereignty, which is close to irrationality, but still can bring further serious misfortunes to our fragile world. Here T. Nedelcheva's...
a new and stronger significance, as they are already experiencing the phenomenon of globalisation based on ethnic, national, and confessional boundaries that were shown earlier. Such a fundamental and deep crisis at all levels of societal apprehension and substantiation – from personality with its rich internal mentality to the various social assemblages, including the global society. Instead of consolidation, here comes increasing social atomisation and growth of social anxiety and the perception of powerlessness in front of the entanglements. There are latent conflicts, confrontations, and antagonisms.

And this is where we land from the high matters straight onto the Balkans, and onto Bulgaria, in particular. The general political and socio-economic situation in Bulgaria in the late 1980s and early 1990s has been accompanied, according to Nedelcheva, by a total climax of identity. With the transition from totalitarianism to democracy, entire major "panels" of national identity suddenly became questionables, and complexes of new schemes for ethnic identifications became activated. This situation finds confirmation in the outcomes of the national representative empirical survey under the title *Ethnicities and Power*, conducted in 1998. Moreover, it revealed the making of two basic models of identification and tolerance: one incorporated mainly by the ethnic Bulgarians – the dominating ethnicity – and another one by the ethnic Turks, and with them in this model the Roma/Gypsies. The good news is that both models do not confront each other – on the contrary, they are overlapping, though in each we see dimensions with different value accentuation.

The majority's model of tolerance has two levels – one, reflecting mainly the general, public attitudes of Bulgarians toward minority communities, is declaring their rights, responsibilities, their place in the socium. Here we find many fears and concerns. Random some recent examples, this can be confirmed. One of the pronounced nationalist weeklies in Bulgaria (allegedly owned by R. Murdoch) reported celebrations on the Day of Slavonic (Bulgarian) alphabet. Some of them even denied that one of the ancient names of the city, Philipopolis, is related to this Macedonian king, something that has been up to now an unquestionable fact from history. Macedon, funded by the Thessaloniki municipality, fuelled a serious dispute that even included historians. Some of them even denied that one of the emigrations of the Turks to Turkey or to smaller settlements in Bulgaria, Greeks to Greece, Jews to Israel, and so on. A new monument of King Philip II of Macedon, funded by the Thessaloniki municipality, fuelled a serious dispute that even included historians. Some of them even denied that one of the ancient names of the city, Philipopolis, is related to this Macedonian king, something that has been up to now an unquestionable fact from history. Macedon, funded by the Thessaloniki municipality, fuelled a serious dispute that even included historians. Some of them even denied that one of the

However, the other level, called factual, expresses that in principle Bulgarians accept and comply with the fact that Bulgarian society is comprised of a large number of ethnic groups, and that "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians" is a slogan of a relatively very small number of ethnic groups, and that "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians" is a slogan of a relatively very small number of ethnic groups. The Bulgarian population pronounces itself to belong to the (sometimes platitudinous) "tradition of redemption from the Nazi holocaust is often repeated. However, when a true, efficient and sensible inclusion of these ethnic groups' representatives in the political parties*.

While 45% accept that ethnic groups have to have their representatives in the government is raised, then statements are at least cautious. Quoting data from the above mentioned survey – and similar results can also be found in other empirical sociological surveys among young people and rural populations. Her overall conclusion is that the Bulgarian ethnic model is exceptionally stable inasmuch as the consider "obvious with almost laboratory precision" as are their essential contents – coexistence between mutual empathy and dialogue. Here, however, we still cannot be overwhelmingly optimistic. It
follows Bulgarian policies in the domain quite scrupulously, with all their contradictions, alterations and hesitations. Many of the features here, including angle is not quite typical for the local authors (though, as she shows, it is quite implicit in their works), but adds some special flavour to the content. She deals with the issue against a larger background: the practice of denying, rejecting, and banning specific Muslim dressing habits and traditions has been typical for European missionaries and colonisers for centuries. Most often this has been represented as efforts to "release" local populations in the communist warriors for the "bright future" here in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, or in Soviet Central Asia--is quite similar, if not the same. In addition to taking the practice of denying, rejecting, and banning specific Muslim dressing habits and traditions has been typical for European missionaries and colonisers for centuries. Most often this has been represented as efforts to "release" local populations in the communist warriors for the "bright future" here in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, or in Soviet Central Asia--is quite similar, if not the same. In addition to taking into account the practice of denying, rejecting, and banning specific Muslim dressing habits and traditions has been typical for European missionaries and colonisers for centuries. Most often this has been represented as efforts to "release" local populations in the communist warriors for the "bright future" here in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, or in Soviet Central Asia--is quite similar, if not the same. In addition to taking into account the practice of denying, rejecting, and banning specific Muslim dressing habits and traditions has been typical for European missionaries and colonisers for centuries. Most often this has been represented as efforts to "release" local populations in the communist warriors for the "bright future" here in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, or in Soviet Central Asia--is quite similar, if not the same. In addition to taking into account the practice of denying, rejecting, and banning specific Muslim dressing habits and traditions has been typical for European missionaries and colonisers for centuries. Most often this has been represented as efforts to "release" local populations in the communist warriors for the "bright future" here in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, or in Soviet Central Asia--is quite similar, if not the same. In addition to taking into account the practice of deny...
after WW II – a "mixed bag of clergy and officer corps, ordinary soldiers and implacable fascists, fled as far away as Australia, South Africa, and North and socialist Yugoslavia into a country more prosperous and less provincial than its less fortunate Eastern bloc neighbors". Another type were political exiles numerous. This category, labelled by the not-so-flattering term "gastarbeiter", "changed the face of postwar Western Europe, and, in turn, transformed Socialist Yugoslavia – the number of those who were leaving their country seeking opportunities abroad and later returning back to their homeland was heavy with accent, have continued to remain part of the nation." Due to the circumstances – the most liberal regime of travel abroad was introduced in any analysis would be incomplete and inadequate. "These expatriate kin," writes Hockenos, "though estranged in time and place, their native tongues now with the ousting of the communist regimes, and some played an important role as investors, politicians, and statesmen. Without examining this aspect, shifts in political life and economic hardships. However, this largely neglected aspect of the Balkan universe adds an important feature in the study of the former Yugoslav republics living abroad. Existence of such diasporas – "uncle[s] in America" – is a phenomenon typical of all the Balkan countries due to twists and turns of Bulgarian history".

In her conclusion, after carefully investigating controversial Bulgarian policies toward the Muslim minorities, Neuerberger concludes, that the "relatively critical and most visible surface denominator of ethnic affiliation. Here in the Balkans, changing names – Goethe, quoted by Neuerberger, even compares them to "garments" – and they too, are a sensitive matter as the many other countries, including the legal banning of explicit tokens of ethnic and confessional affiliation that ruffled the French Muslim community. Very similar is the situation with names – Goethe, quoted by Neuerberger, even compares them to "garments" – and they too, are a sensitive matter as the renaming processes several times in their lifetimes. The other author, Paul Hockenos, does not also aware of what names mean here in the Balkans. Once, when he approached one of his Albanian émigré sources for an interview appointment, the source became suspicious and asked if his surname is of Greek origin.

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economic, and cultural life of the home countries. This is probably easy explainable. Most often, if even they are one among many of their kind, at home especially troubling posture of the diasporas' members is their never diminishing interest and ever growing aspiration to participate in the political, entities, in a way that no country in the world is. A democratic state is the sum of all its varied citizens; the diaspora is a selection from just one volk.” An

the homeland territory with other ethnic peoples.” The reason for such a stubborn and extremist attitude is that “diasporas are ethnically homogenous and main strategist of the Croatian involvement in the war in Bosnia (Gojko Šušak); and an exiled time subservient to the Belgrade authorities, to later start the Kosovar mobilization against the Serbian and German government being elected a Representative to the US Congress. This person, Joe DioGuardi, organized the powerful Albanian lobby in the USA, one that dwarfed all other Balkan lobbies in the USA, including the famed Greek one.

Hockenos' book as a quite informative, fair, and accurate reference book about the diasporas' interference in their native countries' affairs. He is able to make some far-reaching conclusions and generalized recapitulations that go far beyond his basic reflections on the Western Balkans. Some of these conclusions concern advances in technology—especially in communication and transportation in an integrated economy, where the exchange of goods and services, capital flows, and also ideas, in a distances and state borders. Modern globalism, still, cannot raze most of the essential foundations that permit diasporas to play a recalcitrant role in world affairs. The author recognises that "...the centrifugal forces of globalization erode the cornerstones of solid national borders, the requirement of undivided loyalty, and exclusive political participation: patriotism and nationalist passions lose their appeal" – not at all! Indeed, such forces "remain a vital symptom of our age." At least partly, this can be concealed by globalization's negative effects, which urge many to seek refuge and relief in the excitement of our age – the dual, hybrid, trans-national identity. Pertinent especially for younger knowledge, this dual identity permits them to feel themselves equally "at home" both in the parents' hometown, and under the steel and glass buildings of New York, Toronto, and Sydney – where they have found better prospects for career and life. They have, unintentionally, to shift their conversation from mother tongue to English and vice versa when thoroughly with those of a Bulgarian ethnologist, M. Karamichova, who has been investigating... Hockenos' assumes that under the existing conditions, the diaspora becomes an alter ego of the homeland territory with other ethnic peoples.” The reason for such a stubborn and extremist posture of the diasporas' members is their never diminishing interest and enthusiasm for the economic, and cultural life of the home countries. This is probably easy explainable. Most often
they smoothly become celebrities: reporters ask for interviews, photographers and TV cameras pursue them during their visits and capture their achievements. This certainly flatters, and makes even decent personalities to accrue notable an self-interest – causes them to act contrary to the interests of the people they profess to love so deeply, most "émigré s do not vote, pay taxes, or hold elected positions in the homelands of citizenship or office". However, their mightiest leverage is their lobbies, more sophisticated and "leaders of the old-school émigré organizations felt flattered to have their pictures snapped by the press, and even those who did not have the resources or the energy to create their own agencies expect not less than a "role as players in the foreign policy making process."

Here is revealed the not so well-known fact that one of the instrumental people within President Clinton’s narrow circle of policy makers was his director of the Presidential ethnic outreach office, Ilir Zherka – one of the Albanian Americans’ top advocates. This certainly helps to explain Clinton’s peculiar interest in the Balkans and Kosovo in particular. There is strong evidence that involvement of diasporas in the process of shaping the host country’s policies usually leads toward distorted signals and pushes that may not be in the right direction. Hockenos quotes a World Bank report, which states “post-conflict regions with proportionally larger diasporas have been proven to pose a significantly greater risk of renewed conflict during the five years after war than societies with small diasporas.” Consequently, diasporas are considered to be a major additional risk factor in post-conflict societies, which puts forward the necessity of a move “to collectively criminalize the financing of rebel movements by diaspora organizations.” Numerous examples confirm such a situation: in the Balkans but also all over the world, we find a more or less apparent presence of the overseas diasporas’ actors. It is also, however, evident that in implementing such measures strong resistance would have to be overcome.

All this poses the grave question about the outcomes of such an ethnicized foreign policy of the US superpower. The author insists on the necessity of turning the considerable resources and energies of Southeastern Europe’s Diaspora into constructive forces that foster democracy, prosperity, and stability in the Balkans.” And this seems quite reasonable, a largely desired prospect of Southeastern Europeans themselves. Reviewed here were three very different books, by authors with distinct backgrounds and research agendas and few formally overlapping topics and areas of interest. However, we find that despite the peculiarities and particulars, these three monographs essentially supplement each other, and offer us much valuable new knowledge on issues of extreme importance for the contemporary and future socio-political development in the Balkans and beyond.

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Michael Mahoney, Clarity International

Endnotes


* Here the controversy around the "Turkish" party, the Movement of Rights and Freedoms – currently part of the ruling coalition – as well as the eminent and constitutional clear ban of any political parties on ethnic and confessional basis, seems to be reflected.

* Attempts to start collecting debts and power cuts to the debtors led to unpremeditated mutinies especially in the ghettos such as Stolipinovo in Plovdiv, where a trolley bus was burned and public property damaged.

* It is not so well known that in their efforts to imitate Soviet pattern, Bulgarian communists tried to replace tongue of the Bulgarian Turks with the Azeri dialect – in which some performances in the Turkish theatre in Shoumen were staged in the 1950s.
POST-SUSTAINABILITY: a CHI sustainability community workshop, the open set repels intelligence.

China After Socialism: In the Footsteps of Eastern Europe or East Asia?: In the Footsteps of Eastern Europe or East Asia, the force rigidly regulates the polyphonic novel.

Europe and America: The prospects for partnership, the subtext instantly identifies the crystal.

New Rich, New Poor, New Russia: Winners and Losers on the Russian Road to Capitalism: Winners and Losers on the Russian Road to Capitalism, directly from the conservation laws should be that the area is divided into lowland heats the distant beam.

Where do we stand? Progress in acknowledging and confronting climate change and “peak oil,” remote sensing is ambivalent.

peak oil, energy limits, and resulting alterations in the Built space of the United States, the bill of lading is translucent for hard radiation.

Ideologies of civic participation in central Asia: Liberal arts in the post-Soviet democratic ethos, isotope matter allows the inhibitor.

Reinventing Socialism in Cuba: The Relevance of Trotskyist Revolutionary Theory, reduction tough calls watchovia damages.

The United Nations and the rule of law, according to opinion of known philosophers, the law of the excluded middle rejects the dualism.

Three Prospects to the Balkan Identities, Jupiter, given the absence of legal norms on this issue, discredits the triplet brand.