

Abstracts

Hubert Faustmann

Presidential Elections in the Republic of Cyprus – The President as an “Elected Absolute Monarch”?

This article analyzes the electoral campaign that led to the election of Nikos Christodoulidis as the eighth President of the Republic of Cyprus in February 2023. It contextualizes his election within the powerful role of the Greek Cypriot president in the country's partially defunct political system. The article examines the main issues of the campaign and compares the positions of the candidates. It further explores the outcome of the elections and their immediate aftermath, followed by an assessment of the likely domestic and external consequences.

The central finding of the article is that Christodoulidis begins his term as the weakest president in Cyprus' history. This conclusion is based on a historical and contemporary analysis of the president's position and the context of his election victory.

Zlatko Vujović / Ana Nenezić

Montenegro in Crises – Navigating Political Turmoil and the Path to European Integration

This article examines the complexities of Montenegro's ongoing political crisis, revealing the complex relationship of political actors and the Serbian Orthodox Church, and their influence on the formation and collapse of successive governments since the fall of the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS).

In the recent presidential elections, President Đukanović, leader of the long-dominant DPS, faced a decisive defeat against Jakov Milatović of the new political party Europe Now which indicated a major shift in public sentiment. Đukanović stepping down from his position as the leader of DPS further signaled a potential transformation in Montenegro's political dynamics. Consequently, the results of the upcoming parliamentary elections, scheduled for 11 June 2023, will have significant implications for Montenegro's European integration process, regional stability, and its role in the NATO alliance. The analysis sheds light on the dynamics of Montenegro's political landscape by discussing the challenges posed by the rapid rise of populist parties and the potential consequences of their economic policies on the country's financial stability. It explores the upcoming parliamentary elections as critical junctures that may determine Montenegro's future trajectory – either returning to the Western political orbit and solidifying its EU membership or becoming an unstable link in the NATO alliance.

Sonja Priebus

Financial Thumbscrews on Rule of Law Offenders – Hungary’s Conflict with the European Union over Dear Money

For years the European Union has tried to solve conflicts over the rule of law with the Hungarian government through dialogue-based instruments. The deployment of these has not, however, led to substantial results. Instead, Hungary has become the first “electoral autocracy” in the European Union. Against this backdrop, the European Union has expanded its strategy of financial conditionality to the area of rule of law and EU values. While the so-called rule of law conditionality, established in 2020, is the most prominent instrument of value-related financial conditionality, it is by no means the only one. This article briefly overviews the EU’s expanded ability to put financial pressure on member state governments that dismantle the rule of law. It then examines how the Commission has recently combined several of these instruments to put pressure on the Orbán government. While financial conditionality is the most promising alternative to previously used instruments, it is nevertheless unlikely that it will lead to a fundamental change in the government’s policies.

Thomas Brey

The Coordinate System of the Kosovo Crisis – Why All Previous Attempts at a Solution were Unsuccessful

The article aims to document that Western efforts to find a solution to the decades-long Serbia-Kosovo crisis are doomed to fail. This is because they address the symptoms without getting to the roots. The Kosovo issue has become the central instrument of Serbia’s political class to cement its own rule. A lasting solution for Kosovo would also threaten the socio-political situation in Serbia. If the West does not succeed in democratising and reforming the ruling system in Serbia, the Kosovo conflict cannot be resolved either. Above all, changes in the censored media landscape and the nationalistically instrumentalised school education are a *conditio sine qua non*.

M. Murat Erdoğan / Friedrich Püttmann

The EU-Turkey Deal Is Based on a Fundamental Misunderstanding – Implications for Future Cooperation and Ways to Improve Communication

March 2023 marks seven years since the EU-Turkey Statement of 18 March 2016. Before, Germany and other EU Member States experienced what had been dubbed the “Syrian refugee crisis”. For many in Europe, the mantra since then has been “Never again 2015”. This reduction of the global Syrian refugee crisis to the events in Europe in 2015 is part of a fundamental misunderstanding between Turkey and the EU that has triggered recurring diplomatic conflict around the statement. This misunderstanding lies in the different meaning the statement had for Turkey and the EU, respectively. For the EU, the statement was about keeping irregular migration at bay, whereas for Turkey, the statement signified a new joint

effort to align Turkey more with the EU. A potential update of the statement should therefore ensure agreement not only on the terms but also on the purpose of a Statement 2.0.

Jeremy Wölbling

The Humiliation of Trianon – Maps and Caricatures in Hungary in the Service of Territorial Revision Efforts (1920 – 1938)

This article addresses the fundamental question of the ways in which territorial revision efforts in interwar Hungary between 1920 and 1938 emerged through cartographic publications, illustrations, and caricatures. The author presents excerpts from the master thesis published under the same title at the Institute of Geography in Tübingen in September 2020.

Based on a selection of such revisionist illustrations, caricatures, and maps, it is possible to show the multi-layered and complex way in which the Hungarian point of view on the perceived injustice was processed, defended, and communicated to the public. Numerous research papers, mainly in Hungarian, have already been published on the topic of the “Peace Treaty of Trianon”. Therefore, the main intention of this thesis was to analyse the historic geographical perspective for the German-speaking public. This topic influences Hungarian national identity until today.

Christian Voß / Belfiore Qose

Albanian-Kosovar Border Demarcation and Overcoming – Science Fiction from Kosovo

The article presents two experimental and dystopian novels of the young Kosovar author Artrit Bytyçi. “The Arbiter” plays in 2049 and describes an android robot entering Kosovo from totalitarian Albania with the mission to kill liberal journalists in Prishtinopolis. “Ar-nautistan Noir” is a detective story in form of a comic describing Prizren as if it were still under Ottoman rule. By using the technique of alternative and counterfactual history, Bytyçi ironically plays with sacrosanct national narratives. The League of Prizren 1878 is still the time icon of the Albanian “rebirth” and national movement.

The common thread of both novels is the recalibration of what it means to be Albanian since the 2000s including the demonopolization of Tirana as its political and cultural centre. Bytyçi’s own biography stresses the importance of the highly-educated diaspora in shaping modern and plural Albanian identities.