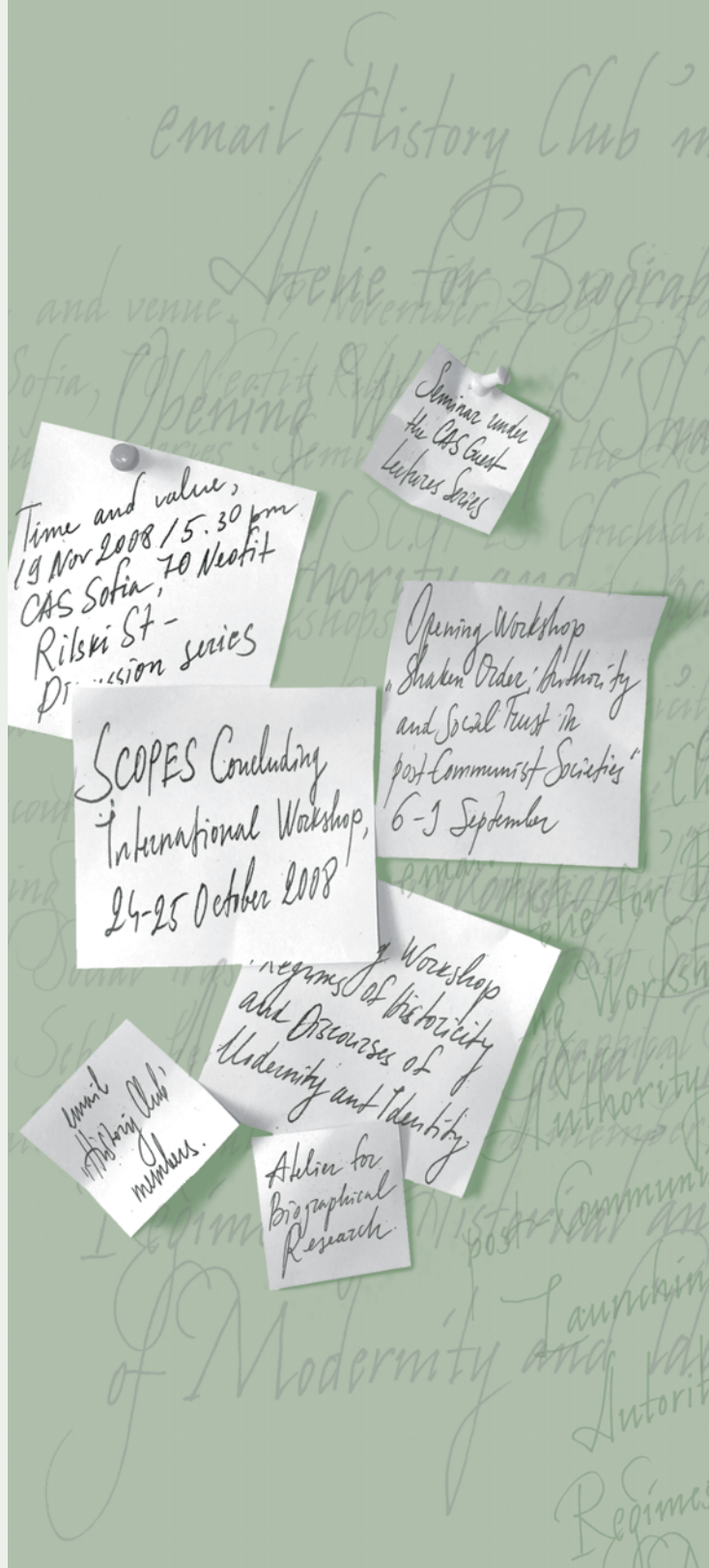


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'... *We, the People* is a landmark book. It applies the latest theoretical insights and comparatist approaches to a wealth of relevant and fascinating case studies, which, besides their intrinsic importance, are now made available for comparative European and macro-regional historical research.'

**Prof. Dr J. Th. Leersen,**  
Chair of Modern European Literature,  
University of Amsterdam

## WE, THE PEOPLE

Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe

edited by **Diana Mishkova**

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The start of 2009 found the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia in a markedly upgraded status both in terms of institutional stability and research expansion.

The last couple of years of strenuous quest for a suitable location for the Centre has finally brought fruit. Our Centre's new institutional home is situated in the heart of Sofia's city-centre, at a five-minute walk from our current location. It gives us indispensable office space and meeting capacity (over thirty – thirty-five seats) and will enable CAS to organise seminars, workshops and conferences for a larger number of participants from Bulgaria and abroad.

We are particularly indebted for this acquisition to our old and long-standing friends, Ms Hanna Widrig and the Zuger Kulturstiftung Landis & Gyr, Zug, the Swiss Confederation, and Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft; for making the purchase and forthcoming renovation of our new office possible. We would like to express our appreciation for their trust and continuous backing of our institution and its development.

Another ground-breaking news marking the end of 2008 was the success of the Centre's application to the Bulgarian National Science Fund of the Ministry of Education and Science which will provide for independent research fellowships at CAS for Bulgarian fellows for the next two years (2009 – 2010). Within this Programme, the Centre will have the chance to grant six independent fellowships to promising young Bulgarian scholars. This will not only allow us to provide the long-sought opportunity to support talented scholars within an inclusive thematic framework of research, but is also a sign of recognition on behalf of the Bulgarian state for the academic quality and international reputation of the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia. ■



## An Overview of Project Accomplishment

The beginning of CAS academic year 2008-2009 was marked by the final workshop of CAS – Fribourg SCOPES Programme: ***Institutionalisation of Scientific Networks and Scholarly Activities for the Promotion of Cross-Cultural and Inter-Disciplinary Approaches on Nationalism in the Europe of Small Nations.***

## CAS – Fribourg SCOPES Programme & CAS Shaken Order Project

Commenced in October 2005, SCOPES major objectives were to facilitate network co-operation between scholars and institutions on a European scale, develop international research networks between young and established scholars of divergent academic and cultural backgrounds, instigate cross-cultural studies, and eventually develop a new curriculum in studying modern nationalism in the 'small states' of Europe. Its ultimate aim was to form a new research infrastructure, thus hoping to stimulate and contribute to educational reform in the academic curricula of Nationalism Studies and Constructions of National Identities, based on open-minded awareness of non-mainstream European cultural experiences in a pluri-cultural context.

Designed as an academic experiment along the lines of inter-cultural course-building, the thirty-six-month long SCOPES Programme targeted to create transferable knowledge and inter-cultural course-materials corresponding to the needs of the trans-European mobility of students. Methodologically, it envisaged regular international workshops, exchange and training sessions for faculty, post-doctoral researchers and doctoral students at CAS Sofia (Bulgaria), the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), and CEU Budapest (Hungary).

SCOPES concluding workshop was held on 24–25 October 2008 in Sofia. It opened with a talk by Professor Roumen Daskalov, CEU Budapest – NBU Sofia, discussing the methodological premises of a pluralised and diversified vision on *Balkan Histories* in their sharedness and entanglement.





Eight young scholars from Switzerland, Romania, Bulgaria, and Georgia presented case-studies on problems of modern and contemporary Europe whose wide-ranging impact in the past still provoke controversial responses today.

Swiss fascism, its structures and characteristics in 1933-1939/45, and the perceptions of the Swiss Catholic Conservatives of the European crisis in 1848-1889, were the central topics of interest and debates in Thomas Metzger's paper and David Luginbühl's expose. These were followed by Octavian Silvestru's and Nadine Ritzer's interesting observations on the nature of anti-Semitism, and nationalism in Romania in the 1870s, and war as a plausible tool for nation- and state-building as emerging from analyses of Romanian textbooks.

David Matsaberidze's and Tchavdar Marinov's papers addressed delicate contemporary issues, such as the legacy of Soviet ethnic policy and the forma-

tion of a transnational *Homo Sovieticus* identity in the Caucasus, and the problem of Macedonian anticommunist revisionism in the light of a transnational, pro-European context.

Transnationalism was also a priority topic in Franziska Metzger's study, which dwelt on the comparative perspective of religion, moral and the nation in three European states – Great Britain, Switzerland and the Netherlands – in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Gender and citizenship, too, proved a fertile subject of exploration, as presented in Catharine Bosshart's essay.

Dr Diana Mishkova's (CAS Sofia) paper on *Legacies of Transnationalism at a Regionalist Perspective* discussing Balkanistic historiographies in a *longue durée* added the 'finishing touch' to SCOPES last seminar. Prof. Dr Urs Altermatt's (University of Fribourg) contribution to the final discussions proved especially useful for the evaluation of the overall academic results.

The opening second-year seminar of CAS *Shaken Order* Project **Authorities and Trust in post-Communist Societies** brought together the first-year Fellows and their newly selected peers in a common-ground discussion. Dr Ruzha Smilova (Bulgaria), Dr Maria-Carmen Pantea (Romania), and Dr Vladimir Petrović (Serbia), had the opportunity to present the outcomes of their one-year studies on *Duties to Obey the Law and Social Trust in Bulgaria*, *Legal and Social Approaches to Early Entry into Employment in Romania*, and *Prosecuting War Crimes Committed in former Yugoslavia in the National and International Legal Context*, to the *Shaken Order* second-year Fellows' generation. The new *Shaken Order* Fellows engaged in the debate of these presentations and launched their own research agenda for the second and last year of the Project.

The first-year Fellows' presentations were succeeded by the opening workshop for the second project year (6-9 November 2008). For an introduction of the new Fellows and a survey of their research proposals, see below. ■





## ... Research Yields ... or how it feels to work at CAS ...

A number of academic ventures in 2007, which were enacted in the frameworks of CAS Shaken Order Project (First-year Fellowships) and CAS Fribourg SCOPES Programme came to their successful end by September 2008. Within the course of their realisations, we had plenty of opportunities to set the stage for their lively debates on methodological and empirical issues, spur readjustment of their initially charted-investigations, and encourage each of them along the way. Step by step, we watched the 'sprouting' and unfolding of an international team of academics, whose social capital continued growing, crossing cultural boundaries, and the emergence of networks of close co-operation and friendship.

At the end of their stay at CAS, we asked our international associates to 'roll back' the last twelve months, sum up their experiences and tell us how it felt to be involved with us.

Here are some of their comments. ■



*... It was a very inspiring experience for me to meet in the framework of our three-year SCOPES project a number of researchers who were interested in an exchange on the theoretical and methodological level. Although coming from different research backgrounds, their critical commentaries and the techniques they brought in their own research contexts, was very stimulating for me – more stimulating than many other conferences where the participants were primarily interested in factual details rather than in conceptual ideas and methodological debates. I am very grateful to our international group for inputs to my PhD thesis on religion and historiography in Switzerland as well as to my post-doctoral project on religion and moral in the public sphere in Great Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland, the outline of which I presented at our final SCOPES conference in Sofia in October 2008.*

**Franziska Metzger,**  
University of Fribourg, Switzerland,  
SCOPES Project



*... From my perspective, the SCOPES project was very successful in bringing together young scholars from several Central and Southeastern European countries. The international format of the conferences made them very interesting and led to fruitful discussions. I consider the inputs for my research in the fields of antisemitism, religion and antisemitism, and fascism as substantial both on a conceptual and a comparative and transnational level. Furthermore, I am very thankful for the teaching-exchange program of SCOPES that gave me the great opportunity to get some teaching experiences.*

**Thomas Metzger,**  
University of Fribourg, Switzerland,  
SCOPES Project

... My CAS research aimed at exploring how young people experience their transition to work in a society that is reforming its institutions and revisiting its values. It looked into the experiences of a 'population' that usually escapes the standardised data collection procedures (e.g. young people who are out of school, who live independently (and occasionally on streets), who work without a contract, etc.). The study was based on semi-structured biographical interviews with young people from Romania.

The Shaken Order workshops at CAS offered me the opportunity to discuss several methodological concerns that also appeared common to other fellows (e.g. the methodological inadequacy of measuring social capital at the individual level, the inherent poor validity of interviews and questionnaires for measuring social trust, the various definitions of social capital).

The discussions highlighted that in many respects, young people share similar experiences in their transition to work across the Region (Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia), namely: unemployment, decline in state authority and social trust, poor political representation of youth following its use and abuse during communism.

To a certain extent, studies on youth share the marginal status of young people in society. Most often, young people and children are studied in secluded areas (sociology of youth / childhood), and poor communication between these areas and the primary discipline (be it sociology, history, political sciences) seems to be the rule. With several notorious exceptions, (e.g. the work of Bulgarian researcher Sijka Kovacheva), the study of young people is still a marginal endeavour and a lonely occupation in Eastern Europe. CAS is a place where one may expect to find research on young people and (more recently) on childhood, to happen.

As professor Michael Herzfeld argued at his Guest Lecture at CAS, things do not need to remain this way. Ideally, children and young people's stories (and histories) will be integrated in the major disciplines, just as children and young people themselves are becoming an active part of society. I have found particularly remarkable the way CAS undertook the challenge of incorporating research on young people and children (see the Workshop on Childhood under Socialism) into the hitherto established academic disciplines. For me, CAS provides one of the few settings where qualitative research on young people's experience of transition in Eastern Europe can be supported, discussed and framed in broader social contexts.

**Maria-Carmen Pantea,**  
Babes-Bolyai University,  
Cluj, Romania,  
Shaken Order Project



I came with a paper on the Soviet Identity, which was followed by a really interesting discussion on ideas and approaches. It was very valuable for me personally, as it familiarised me with alternative opinions. These came as another way of thinking, though they did not change my initial hypotheses.

Yet, the workshop session at CAS prompted me to rethink my studies along the formula of Transnational Identity versus Soviet Identity, and assess local identities through another, different prism after the fall of Communism. In this direction, now I am thinking of taking into consideration the problem of interaction of the old central historical narrative (Supported by the Former Soviet Centre), the narrative(s) of the new Centres (Newly Independent States), as well as the Narratives of Minorities in the newly independent states. I have become interested in a comparative study of developments after imperial breakdowns, and I am going to look into paths of similarities and differences in the Balkans and the Caucasus. Admittedly, this is not a novel idea, as a lot has been done in this field. Nevertheless, I believe that there is a niche for further contribution to be made there, especially in terms of comparative evaluation of the processes of identity formation and identity building. Reflection on overlapping histories within these regions has become particularly interesting for me.

**David Matsaberidze,**  
Iv. Javakishvili  
Tbilisi State University, Georgia,  
SCOPES Project



## ... and Our New Fellows' Expectations ...

Dictionaries define 'expectations' as an act or state of looking forward to an event as about to happen. Expectations go hand in hand with future prospects; they are set on grounds upon which something exceptional and good is hoped to occur. Expectations signify mental pictures and standpoints cast along positive lines – these linked to high professional standards, a sense of responsibility, an adequate access to information, and undeniable brilliance of performance.

We believe that our newly-selected Fellows for 2008-2009 possess all the necessary prerequisites and qualities to make their academic expectations happen. Hence, we decided to offer them an opportunity to present their scholarly plans to our reading public. We invited them to lay out their project visions in an informal and sincere way, and here are the responses which we received and which we would gladly like to share.

... An important intention of our project is to increase the visibility of the intellectual traditions East of the Elbe in the European canon of political thought. Whilst this Region has generally received some moderate attention in literature, it is especially true for smaller intellectual cultures, such as Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian. While intellectuals from these countries have made some fascinating contributions to European political thought, it is due to the limited access to their languages, that these thinkers have remained virtually unknown beyond their borders. Our project will address this lacuna and I expect it to contribute to the integration of these smaller traditions into the European tradition of political thought. I hope that our small research team, which is comprised of people sharing the same interests but at the same time bringing their own special 'angle' to the project, is an ideal setup for this venture ...

**Monika Baár**

Negotiating Modernity Project

... In my research I intend to address some important societal and legal changes in post-communist societies (with emphasis on Slovenia) in order to uncover the reasons behind, and effects of, the changes in social trust and the loci of authority. I am looking forward to many a fruitful conversation with the other fellows, to possibly generating new friendships and research networks ...

**Nina Peršak**

Shaken Order Project

... My project looks at how disputes between economic agents were settled during the period 1992-2002 in Bulgaria and what legal mechanisms were applied. I hope to look into the emerging informal business practices and mechanisms to secure property rights and to what extent the state institutions designed to protect property rights and enforce contracts in Bulgaria were strengthened by the end of the nineties. At the same time I hope that the CAS fellowship will help me further explore some important research questions I have posed in my doctoral dissertation and study the protection practices of the 1990s in a broader socio-economic context ...

**Marina Tzvetkova**

Shaken Order Project



... My project deals with the various aspects of the transformation of the judiciary in post-communist societies, especially with respect to the Central European countries (the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary). Aspects of the research include issues of judicial self-governance, administration of courts and recall of presidents of courts, and the position of newly established constitutional courts in the overall judicial structure.

Expectations would include enlarging the horizon of my research to the Balkans, which I am not familiar with, and getting an opportunity to familiarise myself with regional issues there. This would in turn give a greater comparative angle to my own study ...

### **Michal Bobek**

Shaken Order Project

... My research project addresses the question how the expansion and diversification of higher education connects to issues, such as openness, inclusion, and gender. A law for students' credits has been recently adopted in Bulgaria, but no mechanism for its implementation has been developed so far. This leads to low trust in law.

My expectations are to elaborate a link between the legal order and the social structure in the process of active interdisciplinary communication. Focusing on the line between sociology, law and politics, I hope to contribute to bolster trust in a society ruled by law, and defined by meritocracy and openness of access to education ...

### **Rumiana Stoilova**

Shaken Order Project

... My project focuses on the musicological production in Turkey and Greece in the period between 1900s and 1930s, on discourses of modernity and identity, and the ideas and concepts available to the musicians of different generations there. The project is unique regarding the application of methodological approaches developed within the field of intellectual history in the interdisciplinary study of music and history, as well as the suggested comparison between countries like Greece and Turkey with overlapping pasts but following different routes in the twentieth century. I expect to contribute appropriately to the debate that opened up in the first workshop. It showed that each project has a lot to offer to other projects ...

### **Merih Erol**

Regimes of Historicity Project

... The primary focus of my research is an in-depth look at what I have termed 'the other green intellectuals' who sympathised with, and in some cases even joined, the Iron Guard (the most important fascist movement in interwar Romania), and had a genuine impact on its development. The project looks at their radical response to the temporal crisis that interwar Romania had to face, how the particular time horizon shaped their political views, and what their ideas for an alternative extreme right-wing revolutionary way towards modernity were ...

Joining CAS as a fellow I expect to experience the fortunate mix of 'business and pleasure', i.e. a highly stimulating academic endeavor combined with a friendly environment that would result in steady, long-lasting links. I think that the fellows' diverse range of topics and academic backgrounds would prove to be a valuable asset, especially because they are linked together by the theoretical framework of the program. I hope that the entangled experiences and shared (hi)stories of the fellows will prove focus points for plenty of meaningful, informal discussions ...

### **Valentin Adrian Sandulescu**

Regimes of Historicity Project

... My project comparatively investigates two corporatist challenges to liberal national citizenship in Bulgaria (ca. 1900-1939) – agrarianism and Turkish Muslim reformism. I situate these challenges, conceptually and historiographically, within the broader context of the crisis of liberal modernity in Europe. The question guiding my research is whether 'corporatist' citizenship indicates mostly problems in the modernisation of post-Ottoman Southeastern Europe or the failure of liberal modernity to seek equality without enforcing mechanisms of marginalisation. As a new fellow, I have already had the invaluable opportunity to present my research in progress as well as to receive constructive and intellectually stimulating criticism from other fellows. I find the CAS format of workshop presentation and discussion particularly rewarding ...

### **Anna Mirkova**

Regimes of Historicity Project

... My project examines academic historiography as a place where the conceptions of modernity, identity, and historicity have been shaped and debated. As a case study, I analyse the interpretation of the Lamprechtian paradigm of historical scholarship in the Finnish context, especially in the works of the historian Gunnar Suolahti (1876–1933). My project suggests that European 'small-states', such as Finland, should not be considered mere second-class cases in relation to the so-called 'leading nations', but we should, instead, acknowledge their creative eclecticism and their contribution to the construction of multiple modernities in Europe. On the professional level, respectively, I am interested in establishing networks of interaction between other fellows from the 'non-core' Europe, whose voices are often quieted by the language barrier. By uniting our intellectual forces, we may reshape the 'European canon' of political thought and create a more balanced picture of our common European cultural-political heritage ...

**Marja Jalava**

Regimes of Historicity Project

... My research project focuses on the discourses of identity, modernity and temporality in Montenegro from 1900 until 1941. The small but diverse and colourful group of Montenegrin intellectuals who were trying to make sense of all the dramatic political changes within this period have left behind a lot of interesting and insufficiently researched texts. Trying to analyse and interpret their ideas often feels like walking through a primeval forest rich in wildlife. Sometimes, I feel alone in that forest and not quite sure where to go and what to do next. Should I pick up strawberries or mushrooms? Collect wood or go hunting? ...

Getting together with other fellows in Sofia during our first working session was exactly what I needed: some advice, some friendly critique, a chance to learn from others and, last but not least, a huge intake of calories in the form of delicious Bulgarian food! Now I am back in my forest again, all alone, but this time with a map ...

**František Šítek**

Regimes of Historicity Project



## 'Meet' Negotiating Modernity

In 2008, CAS Sofia became the host of a new project, which principle objective is the production of a synthetic volume on the history of modern political thought in East Central Europe. The envisaged collection is not meant to be compartmentalised according to national sub-chapters, but rather based on a diachronic analysis sensitive to transnational discursive phenomena, such as ideological traditions (liberalism, socialism, federalism, conservatism), which tend to transcend national borders. The project is equally open to various supra-national and sub-national (regional) frameworks, where different national projects were interacting.



## History of Modern Political Thought in East-Central Europe

### Project Outline

Negotiating Modernity is a five-year-long project, funded by the European Research Council, programme Ideas: ERC Starting Grants. It entails the task of 're-description' and conceptual transfer, and aims to identify a pool of regionally and trans-culturally acceptable analytical categories. It also hopes to contribute to new knowledge-production, by answering questions about the basic components of European political thought, formulated on the basis of a regional and trans-regional comparative analysis. It necessitates the 'trading' of concepts both in the direction of inserting specific historical experiences and analytical categories into European circulation, and testing the value of the interpretative models linked to such notions as 'populism'.

The final research results will be publicised by a special volume, envisaged to comprise eight chapters on *'Enlightened Absolutisms' and Discourses of Reform; The Romantic framework of political ideas; Projects of state-building and nation-building in the second half of the nineteenth century; The Fin-de-siècle reconfiguration of political thought; Interwar negotiations of modernity, and finally, After 1945: Totalitarianism, Anti-Totalitarianism, Reformism.*

The structure of the research will gravitate around a core-group of six researchers led by Dr Balázs Trencsényi, CEU Budapest, and a larger circle of contributors covering a wide range of national cases. A full description of the Project and its interim results, ongoing activities and public events is accessible via CAS website [www.negotiating.cas.bg](http://www.negotiating.cas.bg). ■

## THE NEGOTIATING MODERNITY Project

### Principal Investigator

**Balázs Trencsényi,**

*Central European University,  
Budapest,*



Conceptualises and coordinates the project, moderates the dialogue of the team members.

**Dr Balázs Trencsényi** holds two MA degrees in Philosophy and Nationalism Studies from Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, and Central European University, Budapest. In 2004, he PhD degree from CEU, with a dissertation devoted to Discourses of Nationhood in Early Modern Europe. He has been guest-lecturer at the Balkans Summer University, Plovdiv, Bulgaria (2000), Head Tutor at Erasmus College Budapest (since 2003), and Assistant Professor at the Department of History, CEU (since 2004), teaching MA courses in Political Modernity, Political Languages, Nation-Building, and National Awakening, and PhD seminars.

Dr Trencsényi has an impressive research-activity history. He has been granted a NUFFIC Scholarship at the Erasmus University, Rotterdam (1995-1996); an Open Society Institute Visiting Fellowship at King's College, Cambridge, (1999-2000); a Junior Visiting Fellowship at the Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen Vienna (2002), and at Collegium Budapest (2005), an Andrew W. Mellon-Fellowship at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (2003).

Dr Trencsényi has been a research associate of the historical research institute Pasts, Inc., Center for Historical Studies at CEU (since 2003) and has functioned as its co-director since 2006. He is an Associate Editor of the periodical *East Central Europe/L'Europe du Centre-Est* (since 2005)



and co-editor of the Hungarian cultural periodical *2000* (since 2003). He is an initiator and coordinator of the project *The Intellectual History of Patriotism and the Legacy of Composite States in East-Central Europe*, supported by the Research Board of CEU.

Dr Trencsényi has been closely related to CAS Sofia, for the last eight years. He is a founding member of the research group on *Regional Identity Discourses in Central and Southeast Europe (1775-1945)*, supported by the Prince Bernhard Foundation (The Netherlands), and hosted by CAS Sofia (2001-2004); and has been awarded a CAS Associate Fellowship the NEXUS Project, research on modern Central and Southeast-European intellectual history (2001-2002). In the period of 2004-2005, he was Project Fellow at CAS, studying the Romanian debate on the national character in the nineteenth century.

**Core Group of Researchers:**

**Dr Mónika Baár,**

*Expert on comparative historiography of Central and Eastern Europe, (University of Groningen, The Netherlands);*

**Dr Mónika Baár** completed her DPhil at the University of Oxford in 2003 after earning MA degrees from the Central European University in Budapest and the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London. She was a postdoctoral Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin (2003-2005), lecturer at the University of Essex (2005-2007), and Research Fellow of Centro Incontri Umani Ascona, Switzerland. Her main



interests are modern historiography, the intellectual history of the Romantic era, and the history of academies and learned societies, with a regional focus on Central Europe. Her

monograph, *Historians and the Nation in the 19th Century, the Case of East-Central Europe*, is forthcoming in the *Oxford Historical Monographs Series*.

**Dr Maciej Janowski,**

*Expert in the history of liberalism and conservatism in Central Europe (Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences);*

Dr Maciej Janowski is an Associate professor at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (Head of the Workshop of the History of Intelligentsia (since 2006), and a Recurrent Visiting Professor at the History Department of CEU (since 1999). He was awarded a PhD from the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences in History in 1993, and received his habilitation in 1999. Dr Janowski is the Editor of the journal *East Central Europe/L'Europe du Centre-Est* (since 2005), and the Deputy editor of *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (Warsaw) (since 2003). He has published numerous studies on Polish and Central European intellectual history, among others *Polish Liberal Thought before 1918* (2004), and *The Birth of the Polish Intelligentsia 1750-1831 (Narodziny polskiej inteligencji 1750-1831)* (2008). His principal fields of interest are Polish and East-Central European history in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with special focus on the history of political ideas.



**Dr Michal Kopeček,**

*Expert in the history of left-wing political ideologies in the Region (Institute of Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences);*

Dr Michal Kopeček studied history and political science, and holds a PhD degree in Russian and East European Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague. He is a Senior research Fellow at the Institute of Contemporary History in Prague. His main fields of

academic interest are modern intellectual history and nationalism in East Central Europe, communism and transition studies, history and theory of historiography. Apart from numerous articles he is one of the editors of the series *Bolshevism, Communism and Radical Socialism in Czechoslovakia* (in Czech) and the *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe* (1770-1945). He has just completed a book on Marxist Revisionism in East Central Europe, 1953-1960.



**Maria Falina,**

*specialist in 'political religions' in the Balkans (Central European University, Hungary).*



Maria Falina is a PhD candidate of the Programme in Comparative History of Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe, at Central European University, Budapest. She holds an MA degree in History from Lomonossov State University, Moscow, and an MA in History from CEU, Budapest. She has published studies on Serbian political ideas and political Orthodoxy, and most recently 'Between "Clerical Fascism" and Political Orthodoxy: Orthodox Christianity and Nationalism in Interwar Serbia' in: *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions*, 8/2. Her fields of interest are modern and contemporary European history, East- and Southeast European nationalism and Religious Studies.

**Research Assistant:**

**Luka Lisjak-Gabrielčić,**

*Ph.D. candidate at Central European University, Budapest.*





## THE SHAKEN ORDER Project

### DANIEL SMILOV, PHD (BULGARIA)

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
THE RULE OF LAW AND THE RISE  
OF POPULISM: A CASE STUDY OF  
POST-ACCESSION BULGARIA

Dr Daniel Smilov holds two doctoral degrees in Legal Studies – from the University of Oxford (2003) and Central European University, Budapest (1999). His doctoral research addressed the topics of *Judicial Discretion in Constitutional Jurisprudence* (Oxford) and *Legal Regulation of Political Finance* (CEU). Among his scholarships and awards are the prestigious Jean Monnet Module Lectureship in European Constitutionalism (2002-2010), the International Policy Fellowship of the Open Society, Budapest (2001-2002), the Soros/Foreign and Commonwealth Office Chevening Scholarship for University of Oxford (1996) – to mention just a few. He is also a former Fellow of the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia within the PLEXUS Project framework (2004-2005).

Dr Smilov's professional interests are in comparative constitutional and administrative law, legal theory, party funding and corruption, political parties. Besides an impressive number of articles and chapters in Bulgarian and international journals and books, he has authored, co-authored and co-edited several works, including *Political Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe: The Transition Period* (together

with Jurij Toplak, eds., Ashgate, 2007); *From the Ground Up: Assessing the Record of Anticorruption Assistance in Southeast Europe* (together with Martin Tisne, Central European University Press, Budapest, 2004); *Administrative Law in Central and Eastern Europe 1996-1998* (together with Denis J. Galligan, CEU Press, Budapest, 1999).

Dr Smilov is Member of the Committee on Party Funding and Corruption of the International Political Science Association (IPSA). Amongst his former memberships in research and policy advisory projects are Member of the METRIS Project of DG Research of the European Commission (2008); Programme Director of the Law Programmes at the Centre for Liberal Strategies (2004-present), Member of the Forum on Constitutionalism in Europe of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (2003-2004); Member of the Steering Committee of the project *Assessment of Anti-corruption in South East Europe: Lessons Learned* (2003-2004).

#### Project Outline:

In Eastern Europe, the liberal parties, which were the main actors during the transition period, are now facing increasingly strong competition from a variety of populist political players in the guise of nationalists, conservative traditionalists or simply political opportunists – a phenomenon which has been described as a 'rising populism' or 'democratic backsliding'. The proposed research project aims to study the effects of this unexpected rise of a populist wave on the rule of law, as

the focus will be on the reaction of the judiciary to the changing political environment. Against a background of a Bulgarian case study, the research addresses the question to what extent the performance of the judiciary – mainly those of the constitutional and other high courts – has been affected by populist pressures.

The proposed research focuses quite directly on the causes for and the effects of the troubling absence of trust in Eastern European institutions – both political and judicial. It explores the hypothesis of a complex interplay between developments in the political and the legal sphere, which might lead to problems for the rule of law, unsatisfactory judicial performance, and ultimately - to even lower levels of public trust in both political and legal institutions. While John Hart Ely believed that courts might help remedy some of the defects of majoritarian democracy, the proposed research explores the opposite hypothesis, namely that imperfections of the democratic process may undermine the work of judicial bodies and the rule of law.





**ATANAS SLAVOV,  
PHD (BULGARIA)**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
CHALLENGES TO CONSTITUTIONAL  
SUPREMACY IN A NEW DEMOCRACY:  
CRITICAL STUDY OF BULGARIA

Dr Atanas Slavov received his doctoral degree from the Faculty of Law, Sofia University, in 2008. His PhD studies related to *Safeguards for the Supremacy of the Constitution*. His primary research interests are in the fields of constitutionalism, Open societies and Christian culture, administrative justice and citizens' rights, legal regimes of social services and cultural organisations.

Dr Slavov has combined his studies with lectureships in Constitutional Law at Sofia University (2005 - present) and on advocacy within PHARE Civil Society Development Program, Bulgaria (2006), with legal consultancy at The Bulgarian Centre for Not-for-profit Law (2005 - present), and the Programme and Analytical Centre for European Law (2008). He also served as a legal expert / researcher on the administrative justice reform with the Ministry of Justice (2006).

**Project Outline:**

The proposed research project aims at studying the particular reasons for the inefficiency of the constitutional and legal system in the Central and Eastern European countries. Its analytical framework encompasses the political and institutional experience driven from the process of social change in Bulgaria after 1989. It focuses on the challenges – social, political and legal – to the designed constitutional model in Bulgaria, on types of threats to that model and present safeguards for the constitutional supremacy. The degree of citizens' attention and attitude to the constitution is analysed as a litmus test for the level of democratic development and potential in the civil society.

The project examines the social preconditions for an effective constitutional and legal regulator in the post-communist societies, the latter having undertaken radical institutional reforms to meet the political and economic standards of the developed Western democracies.

The study also critically investigates the connections of the present political elite in Bulgaria to the former communist party and the secret services and attempts to explore the ways these links might influence the process of institutional decision-making behind the institutionalised forms and means of the legislative process.



**MILADINA MONOVA,  
PHD (BULGARIA)**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
THE HIDDEN ORDER: POLITICISATION  
OF SOCIETY  
AND DISTRUST IN AUTHORITY  
IN CONTEMPORARY GREECE  
AND BULGARIA

Dr Miladina Monova holds a doctoral degree in Social Anthropology from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. Her dissertation studies addressed *Roads of Exile, Narratives of No Return: Aegeans in the Republic of Macedonia*. Her current academic and teaching interests focus on refugee studies, war-identities – especially with regard to children and fighters, trans-border relations and kinship networks, collective/individual memory, and the uses of the past in Balkan countries (Greece, Macedonia). She has also read in labelling theory (practices of nomination and classification of individuals and groups), and linguistic anthropology (politics and language ideologies in Europe).

Dr Monova held a teaching assistantship in ethnographic methods in sociology and anthropology, urban sociology, writing sociology, and history of French sociology between 1918 and 1970 by Université des Sciences et Techniques (Lille I), France (2003-2004). She also held various research fellowships awarded by Ecole Française d'Athènes (EFA), Greece (2006-2007; 2004-2005); and Collegium Budapest, (Institute for Advanced Study), Hungary (2005-2006); and by the Institute for Studies of the Recent Past, Sofia (2008). She has published widely in Bulgarian and French in both native and international academic editions. She is Member of the editorial board of the academic journal, *Balkanologie*, Member of Laboratoire d'Anthropologie des Institutions et Organisations Sociales (LAIOS),



CNRS-EHESS, (dir. Marc Abélès) , and Member of the Association Française d'Études sur les Balkans (AFEbalk).

#### Project Outline:

The question of social trust in the legitimacy of law-producing and law-implementing institutions is closely related with individuals' experiences especially in countries with state-sponsored regimes of repression and violence. In Bulgaria and Greece, memories of past repressions, contributed to endemic distrust in public authority and its legal institutions until today.

The current research project focuses on the present schisms and heritage from experiences of radical changes, political instabilities and discontinuities. It intends to enlarge the problematic of the hidden order and social distrust by studying the instrumentalised dichotomy between 'people from the Left' and 'people from the Right' in the light of the labelling process of individuals and groups as belonging to 'ours' or 'others'.

The concrete questions to be explored focus on:

- How do social actors describe the political *other* in the context of their everyday interactions?

- How does genealogy link to political belongings and to the process of construction, maintenance, invention or re-invention of a coherent account of one's 'pure' Rightist/Leftist identity?
- How does the mechanism of exclusion and/or inclusion work in the interactions between individuals and when do socially-attached etiquettes assume a stigmatising or, inversely, prestigious social role?
- How do Right or Left belongings shape an intimate 'internal order', especially with regard to the micro-universe of family relationships?
- What is at stake in Left/Right competing historiographies?
- Within this almost ethnic fracture, how do individuals experience the extreme politicisation of legal, social and political institutions and find ways to transcend their 'embeddedness'?

The project hopes to shed light on sentiments of distrust and lack of confidence on law and legal institutions by extracting from social relations those fundamental divisions that lead to the extreme politicisation of social life and create endemic affiliations to the rightist or leftist space in society.

#### **NINA PERŠAK, PHD (SLOVENIA)**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
MANAGING INSECURITIES: SOCIAL TRUST AND LAW IN TRANSITION

Dr Nina Peršak holds a doctoral degree in Law from *the* University of Ljubljana (2004), where her dissertation work dwelled on the issue of *Harm Principle and the Continental Criminal Legal System*. She has specialised in international criminal law (Siracusa, Sicily) and social and developmental psychology (University of Cambridge, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences), and is currently holding an Assistant Professorship at the University of Ljubljana (2007-2012).

Dr Peršak has been Research Associate at the Scientific Research Centre at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) (2007 – present), the Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana (2004-2006), the Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana (2002-2004), and used to work for the High Court in Ljubljana (1999-2001). She was a visiting lecturer at the Faculty of Law in Helsinki, Finland (Nov. 2003 and April 2004), and the Faculty of Law in Uppsala, Sweden (Sept. 2005). She also serves as Permanent Court Interpreter for English Language (by the Decree of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Slovenia, 2001).

Dr Peršak has widely published in Slovenian and English at home and abroad, and is the author of the monograph, *Criminalising Harmful Conduct: Harm Principle, Its Limits and Continental Counterparts* (Springer: March 2007).

#### Project Outline:

The political transition that took place in Eastern Europe almost two decades ago has brought geopolitically, legally and socially about significant changes to the societies involved, leaving their imprint on the countries' development for the subsequent years.

The proposed research intends to analyse major societal and legal changes in the post-communist societies, in general,





and Slovenia, in particular. It investigates the reasons behind, and effects of the changes on social trust and the loci of power and authority by drawing upon the achievements of the legal, sociological, criminological and social psychological sciences and on empirical evidence. Together, they are believed to provide new insights into the implications of these changes for social stability.

A closer look is taken at social trust in the judicial system and criminal law as they best reflect the (changes in) social values. This influence is not, however, analysed purely unidirectional as the law is recognised to be both influenced and influencing by nature. Hence, the research reflects upon the role of law and legal discourse in generating (dis)trust.

Considering that the media plays an important role in communicating and generating social representations - which, in turn, inform and fuel people's attitudes, values, beliefs, which affect trust - the project also examines its role in the formation of social trust. In conjunction with concrete examples of the changes in authority, order and trust and of the responses to these challenges locally, in Slovenia, and internationally, these insights are applied to assess whether the changes (and responses) are society-specific or whether they are, at least in part, epiphenomena of a much more global(ised) trend. An explanation is sought for the emerging similarities, and possible solutions to tackle the decreasing social trust suggested.

The project hopes to call into discussion the structural and epistemological preconditions of the changes in social trust and authority, identified as changes in social security, in the part played by controversial denationalisation processes, and as a lack of viable political alternatives in the negotiation process for the accession to the European Union.

of the Institute of Sociology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; the Bulgarian Sociological Association; the Bulgarian Biodiversity Foundation, and the Board of the Bulgarian Association of University Women. She is also Assistant Editor of the Bulgarian sociological journal *Sociological Problems*.

**RUMIANA STOILOVA,  
PHD, BULGARIA**

RESEARCH PROJECT: LEGAL ASPECTS AND MECHANISMS FOR OBTAINMENT OF EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES. GERMANY AND BULGARIA IN COMPARISON

Dr Rumiana Stoilova received her habilitation degree (2002) and doctoral degree (1995) in Sociology. She has been a long-term Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Sociology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, an Associate Professor in Sociology at the South West University, Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria (1997 - 2004), and held visiting research fellowships at the Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg (2006, 2003), the Mannheim Centre of European Social Study (2005), the Munich Youth Institute, Germany (2001), the Institute of Sociology at Vienna University (1993), and the European Institute in Budapest (1991).

Dr Stoilova's various academic interests are in the field of educational systems, the knowledge society, and labour markets, sustainable development, discrimination and peripheral communities, and gender studies. She has published in Bulgarian, English, and German in native and international journals, and is the author of a monograph on Inequalities and Community Integration (Sofia: LIK, 2001).

Dr Stoilova holds membership at numerous prestigious academic organisations and councils, such as the Institute for the Study of Labour, Bonn, Germany; the Scientific Council

**Project Outline:**

The research project addresses the question how the expansion and diversification of higher education relates to characteristics, such as openness and inclusion. It concentrates on the legal mechanisms for the provision of financial support (grants) to university students in Bulgaria and Germany, and explores the relevance of university fees for securing or preventing the access of wider social strata to education.

While Bulgaria has recently adopted a law for students' credits, the latter's mechanism of implementation has not been developed yet. Hence, a controversy emerges between the legal and everyday practice, which results into low trust in law. The project aims to examine the effects of legislation on educational motivation, and focuses on its influence on young people's individual decisions and strategies.

In addition, the proposed research attempts to analyse the normative regulations in education from a gender perspective. It hopes to question the routine practice of setting gender quotas for enrollment in academia, as some disciplines of usually strong female preference, (preschool teachers, nurses, librarians), do not grant a university degree.

The project is designed on a case-oriented, comparative research basis. The focus falls on how strongly organisational variations across countries, and between Bulgaria and Germany in particular, affect the relation between social class and personal achievement in education.

**MARINA TZVETKOVA,  
BULGARIA**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
PROTECTION OF PROPERTY  
RIGHTS AND PATTERNS  
OF EXTRA-LEGAL DISPUTE  
SETTLEMENT IN TRANSITION-ERA  
BULGARIA

Marina Tzvetkova received a MSc in Sociology from the University of Oxford, UK, and has been enrolled in the DPhil Programme in Sociology at the University of Oxford and Nuffield College since 2004. Her academic theses address *Network Influences on the Emigration of the Highly Skilled from Bulgaria*, and *Wrestling for Supremacy: the evolution of extra-legal protection in Bulgaria*.

Ms Tzvetkova was Research Assistant for Prof. Diego Gambetta, Department of Sociology and Nuffield University (2006-2007), and did research for the Directorate Justice and Home Affairs, European Commission (2003-2006); Centre for the Study of Democracy (2005-2006); Centre for Migration Policy and Society, University of Oxford (2004-2005) – to mention just a few of all her research assistantship positions in Bulgaria and abroad. Her major interests are in the field of transition to democracy in Eastern Europe, extra-legal dispute settlement, social change and crime, deviant behaviour and organised crime, social network theories, and qualitative research methods. She is the author and co-author of numerous articles and reports published in international journals.

**Project Outline:**

The project aims at studying patterns of extra-legal dispute settlement in post-Communist Bulgaria. It analyses the way disputes between economic agents were settled in the period 1992-1993, and what legal and extra-legal mechanism were adopted in the process. Evidence suggests that the role of mafia-like organisations in the protection of property rights and dispute settlement diminished towards the end of the 1990s. Hence, the research project builds upon the hypothesis that by the end of the 1990s, informal business practices and mechanism had emerged to secure property rights, and various strategies had been employed to protect entrepreneurial businesses against disloyal partners, predation, and crime. This might be because state institutions designed to protect property rights and enforce contracts had been strengthened by the end of the period under consideration.

It is the project's goal to test these hypotheses against the available empirical evidence, create an additional, independent data-pool by collecting case-studies on different industries, survey statistical data on the various aspects of doing business in Bulgaria in the period 1992-1993, and bolster the quantitative data with semi-structured interviews with entrepreneurs.

The proposed research falls into an area, which has been under-explored so far. It hopes to contribute to the analysis of extra-legal institutions interpreted as a response to low trust in formal institutions, and hence shed additional knowledge on the relationship between institutions and social trust. While the

study does not aim to challenge the relative importance of formal and informal institutions for the protection of property rights in Bulgaria, it hopes to elucidate the context in which informal institutions emerged, and deal with the types of dispute settlement practices that prevailed in the early 1990s.



**MICHAL BOBEK,  
CZECH REPUBLIC**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
THE AUTHORITY  
OF THE BEGINNING  
AND THE TRUST IN THE END:  
THE TRANSFORMATION  
OF LEGAL EDUCATION  
AND SUPREME JURISDICTIONS  
IN POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETIES

Michal Bobek is a PhD researcher at the European University Institute, Department of Law, Florence. He majored in Law, and International Relations (European Studies) at Charles University, Prague (2004), and did a MJuris degree in European and Comparative Law at Oxford University, UK (2005). He has been awarded several scholarships at the Université libre de Bruxelles, l'Institut d1 Etudes





européennes, Belgium, and the T. C. Beirne School of Law, University of Queensland, Australia. He was also awarded the Ius Commune Research Prize (Ius Commune Research School) and the Winter Williams Prize for the best performance in European Business Regulation, University of Oxford, in 2007 and 2005 respectively.

Since 2005, Michal Bobek has served as an assistant to the Chief Justice and Advisor on European and Comparative Law at the Supreme Administrative Court of the Czech Republic, and has held lectures on various areas of European Law, Comparative and Constitutional Law at the Judicial Academy of the Czech Republic, of Slovakia, the Czech Chambers of Tax Advisors, and the Parliament of the Republic of Georgia (TACIS Programme). He has a command of seven foreign languages, and has authored and co-authored five books and a number of academic articles in Czech, English and German.

#### Project Outline

Albeit each in a different end, the post-Communist societies have many aspects in common. In particular, they need to reconcile the alleged need for academic (research) freedom and the independence of the judiciary with the 'must' of internal reforms.

The proposed research project examines a series of questions related to the transformations of the professions, including self-administration versus external administration issues, funding and resource control, the renewal of the profession, entry and exit conditions, foreclosure, questions of hierarchy (elites and oligarchy) within each profession, as well as the ways, in which authority is generated.

The project adopts a comparative and interdisciplinary approach. It draws on a comparative analysis of the situation in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and hopefully, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. It subscribes to the assumption voiced by the Shaken Order Project that 'the common totalitarian past does not predetermine a common present'. Hence, it hopes to build a working hypothesis in the course of research on trust in the process of transformation of self-regulated (self-contained) professions, thus avoiding overreaching conclusions.



#### **TODOR HRISTOV, PHD, BULGARIA**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
MISREPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.  
LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS AGAINST  
POLITICAL MISREPRESENTATION  
IN POST-1989 BULGARIA.

Dr Todor Hristov received a doctoral degree in Sociology from the Institute for Sociology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (2006), and yet another doctoral degree in Literary Theory, Sofia University (2002). His PhD work related to the Legitimation of State Authority during the Bulgarian Peasant Riots in 1900. He held research fellowships at the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia (2002-2003), and the Research Centre in Social Science at Sofia University (2006), and has been the Director of the Institute for Critical Social Studies in Sofia since 2007.

#### Project Outline:

Political misrepresentation has been relatively under-explored. To quote authorities in the field, political scientists tend to treat this issue as an aberration, which is to be naturally corrected by democracy by means of developing proper legislation. Sociologists are interested in explaining the social causes and effects of misrepresentations. The currently prevailing taxonomy, however, does not offer a test able to detect impediments to participation, or identify methods for silencing, and/or monopolising frame-setting activities. Therefore, it is a commonplace for sociologists and political theorists to

study post-1989 East European democracies along a minimalist logic of political misrepresentation, by resorting to some stratification theory. If applied to the Bulgarian case, this, however, would prove a rather uneasy task as the latter is far more complex in its social model, and it will be impossible to split and analyse it in three simplistic social groups – the winners (the elites), the losers, and the minorities.

The prime object of study of the proposed research work is the legislative actions passed against possible political misrepresentations in post-1989 Bulgaria. Analysing the rationality of these actions is part of the project's objective. The project interprets rationality as a set of 'in-order-to' and 'because' motives, and hence, it sets out to describe these motives by developing grounded theories of explanation. It claims that the bulk of the 'because' motives cannot be reduced to standard explanatory causes, such as violations of democracy. On the contrary, the project expects to link these motives to responses to social mistrust rather than view them as an expression of political hypocrisy.

The proposed research addresses four major types of cases of political misrepresentation, namely, deficient representation (where portions of the public remain unrepresented), inauthentic representation (linked to violations of election procedures), insincere representation (i.e. not acting in the best interest of the constituents), and inadequate representation (not acting out the will of the constituents). Election laws and amendments of the Penal Code concerning election fraud, too, are analysed as a possible counteragents against political misrepresentation.



**MARTIN KANOUSHEV,  
PHD, BULGARIA  
(DEFERRED FROM 2007)**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
REGIMES OF TRUTH:  
SOCIAL CONTEXTS  
OF AUTHORITY OF CRIMINAL LAW IN  
BULGARIAN 'TRANSITIONS'  
OF 1878-1900, 1944-1956,  
1989-2000

Dr Kanoushev is a graduate from the Department of Sociology, Sofia University (MA, 1991) and holds a doctoral degree in Sociology from the Institute of Sociology at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Department of Sociology of Deviant Behaviour (1999). His doctoral thesis focused on 'Crime, Criminality, Punishment: A Sociological Study of Criminal Justice'. In 2007, he received his habilitation at the Institute of Sociology, BAS. His research concentrated on 'The Social Construction of the Deviant Subject'. Currently he combines teaching positions in sociology at Sofia University 'St Kliment Ohridski' (since 2000) and Plovdiv University 'Paisii Hilendarski' (since 1998). He is a former senior researcher at the Center for Study of Democracy, Sofia (1996 -2000).

Dr Kanoushev held a number of fellowships at various international research institutions: Centre for Advanced Study, Sofia (2005-6); Institute for Advanced Studies on Science, Technology and Society, Graz, Austria (2004); Netherlands

Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (2003); and *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme et de la Societe*, Sofia-Paris (2000-1). His research interests are in the field of norms and deviation, criminal justice and penal power in post-socialist societies, transformations of the institutional practices in Bulgarian post-1989 legal system, corruption and political elites, violence and minors, and the medical construction of mental illness. He has published widely in Bulgarian and international scientific journals, contributed to various collections, and is the author of *The Social Construction of the Deviant Subject* (forthcoming).

**Project Outline:**

This interdisciplinary study traces *the historically specific ways of functioning of the legal regulator* (Bulgarian criminal law) in three social contexts: the Bulgarian society in the period after the end of Ottoman rule, the early socialist period and post-socialist society. It requires an analysis of law from a double point of view: law as encompassing the qualitative peculiarities of the socio-historical context and law as a necessary component of that context's systemic-structural reproduction.

**The goals of the study are:**

- To outline *the structure and logic of the field of social relations* which are the object of normative impact by criminal law in the three socio-historical contexts, define the degree and zones of social inefficiency of the penal legal regulation, and identify probable extralegal, and therefore socio-structural (historical and current), causes acting

counter to the efficient penal legal regulation;

- To estimate *the relative social weight* of these relations within the context of the overall social life along the limits of the actual applicability of penal regulations and determine the sociological indicators of the historical changeability of penal legal regulation in the Bulgarian society not only in structure, form and contents but also by relative social weight;
- To describe *the historical dynamics and changeability* of penal regulations in Bulgarian society and establish the type of new social relations and/or 'outdated' relations integrated in or excluded from the texture of criminal law; to fix the limits of tensions of criminal law with the other normative systems and uncover possible forms of 'normative dualism' in the same circle of relations;
- To analyse *the power intensity* of penal legal regulation in the transition to a new socio-historical context, i.e., establish the proportion between the elements of reflection, values and prescription; define the transformation in the generalised method of impact (dynamics between the dispositive and the imperative methods); the basic strategy and tactical instruments of regulation; the structures of governance and level of political intervention; and the degree and forms of rationality of Bulgarian legal system; and last but not least,
- 'To measure' *the level of authority of and trust* in criminal law in Bulgarian.

## REGIMES OF HISTORICITY Project



**ANNA MIRKOVA,  
PHD, BULGARIA**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
ALTERNATIVE MODERNITIES:  
AGRARIANISTS AND MUSLIM  
REFORMERS IN SEARCH  
OF 'CORPORATIST' NATIONAL  
CITIZENSHIP IN BULGARIA  
(ca. 1900-1939)

Dr Anna Mirkova received her MA and PhD degrees from the University of Michigan –Ann Arbor, USA (1999-2006). Her doctoral work was on *Land Ownership and Modernisation in the Transition from Ottoman Imperial to Bulgarian National Rule (1877/78-1908)*. She has specialised in the history

of Modern Eastern Europe (18<sup>th</sup> century – present), Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Her academic interests focus on Muslim-Christian relations in Southeastern Europe, nationalism and nation-building, issues of citizenship, private property, refugees, pluralism, and democracy. Among the numerous awards she has been awarded, Dr Mirkova holds an Ottoman Language Study Scholarship at Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey (2001, 2002), a Humanities Research Dissertation Fellowship and a Pascal Fellowship from the University of Michigan (2002-2003, 2004-2005, 2003), and a Returning Scholarship by the Open Society Institute, Higher Education Support Programme (2007 – present). Since her return to Bulgaria in 2007, she has taught courses in

Ethnicity, Nations, Nationalism in the Balkans; Muslim-Christian Relations in the Modern Balkans, and Qualitative Research Methods in the social sciences at the Department of History and Theory of Culture, Sofia University. Dr Mirkova is an *ad hoc* reviewer for the outstanding academic journal, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, and she holds memberships at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the American Historical Association, and the Middle East Studies Association.

### Project Outline

My research investigates two ideologies of modern national citizenship which emerged in early twentieth century Bulgaria (ca. 1900-1939) as alternatives to the official ideology of liberal, individual citizenship. These framed citizenship as the contractual agreement among the main socio-economic sectors in the nation-state, on the one hand, and as negotiated cultural autonomy for the two main ethno-religious groups (Bulgarian Christians and Turkish Muslims) respectively.

The research addresses three major issues, namely:

- It explores how the prominent critiques of the official Bulgarian national project of modernity - Agrarianism and Muslim reformism - shaped national citizenship and ethno-religious relations in the post-Romantic period;
- It contextualises Agrarianism and Muslim reformism in the general framework of the European crisis of modernity, and seeks to illuminate





the links between imperial past and national present, between tradition and progress which Agrarians and Muslim reformers forged in search of a viable future and empowered collective identity;

- By illuminating alternative visions of modernity in Bulgaria, it hopes to provide ground for qualified comparisons between the crises of modernity in other post-imperial, national societies in Southeastern and East-Central Europe.

By analysing the conception of property adopted by Bulgarian Agrarians and the Turkish-speaking minority in Bulgaria, and their respective efforts to change the underpinnings of modernity from liberal individual to 'corporatist', the project inquires whether this was a specific Bulgarian problem or whether such efforts could be interpreted as signaling of a wider crisis within European liberal modernity, in general.



### MARIOARA-CAMELIA CRĂCIUN, ROMANIA

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
THE CONCEPT OF GENERATION  
IN ROMANIAN JEWISH INTELLECTUAL  
LIFE DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD:  
DEBATES AND SOCIAL-CULTURAL  
REPRESENTATIONS

Marioara-Camelia Crăciun holds two Master degrees in Literature and Jewish Studies from the University of Bucharest, Romania and Central European University, Budapest, and has further specialised at the Oriental Institute and Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, University of Oxford, UK (2006-2007). She is currently enrolled in the PhD Programme (Jewish Studies Track) of Central European University, Budapest (2003-present).

Marioara-Camelia Crăciun has participated in and contributed to numerous research projects of HESP / OSA / CEU, Budapest, Collegium Budapest, and New Europe College, Bucharest, Romania (2004-2009). She has published chapters on the plight of Jewish and Romanian intellectuals under fascism

and communism in a number of international editions, and has contributed to *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (eds. Jeffrey Edelstein and Gershon David, Yivo Institute for Jewish Research and McGill University, 2008).

Ms Crăciun was awarded the The Tauber Institute Research Award, Brandeis University (2004), a Hanadiv Foundation Doctoral Fellowship (2004-2005), and a Chevening Fellowship, FCO/CEU, University of Oxford (2006-2007)

#### Project Outline

The process of modernisation, acculturation and secularisation of the Jewish communities in Europe has been traditionally described in analogous terms, regardless of the community or country analysed. Nevertheless, recent studies have prompted that this generic process might have varied for each country or case-study, according to the specificity of each Jewish community involved, and the corresponding cultural, religious, political, and socio-economic peculiarities of the particular Gentile society in question. The topic of the proposed research places the historicity frame represented

by the generational debate and its perception as a concept at the crossroad of modernisation, identity debate and its representation.

Comparisons between the Central European and Romanian modernisation and Jewish identity pattern in generational terms suggests a permanent tension between the cultural, political and social conditions set by the specificity of the Jewish, but also Gentile communities in both cases. Hence, by focusing on the generational identity changes represented publicly and debated intellectually, the proposed research work analyses the connection between modernity and historicity to be found at the core of the identity discourses among the Jewish intellectuals of Romanian languages during the interwar period. It aims to connect debates on modernity, historicity, and identity in a larger equation relevant for both the Jewish Romanian intellectual life, and Romanian history in the interwar historiography.

By building on the cultural instrumentalisation of the concept of generation, the proposed research hopes to reach broader conclusions in terms of the social, cultural and political life during the interwar period.



**FRANTIŠEK ŠÍSTEK,  
PHD, CZECH REPUBLIC**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
MONTENEGRO 1900–1945:  
SEARCH FOR A NEW MISSION

Dr František Šístek holds a doctoral degree in Social and Cultural Anthropology from Charles University, Prague (2007), where he worked on the topic of *Our Brothers in the South: The Image of Montenegro and the Montenegrins in Czech Society, 1830-2006*. He received his MA degree from the Faculty of History, Central European University, Budapest (2001), and complemented his studies with an interest in literature and poetry. He is the bearer of the *Šrámkova Sobotka* Award for Young Poetry Writers (1<sup>st</sup> prize) and *Šrámkova Sobotka* Award for Young Short Story Writers (1<sup>st</sup> prize) for 1998 and 1999, respectively. His *Černá Hora /Montenegro – A Short History* (Praha: Libri, 2007) was granted the *Miroslav Ivanov* Award for Non-Fiction at the Prague Book Fair and Writer’s Festival (April 2008).

Dr Šístek’s research experiences include analyses of Serbia and Montenegro (political affairs and organised crime) for *Europe Analyse*, Paris (2000-2003), research and translation for *The Prague Post*, Prague (2004-2005), and a researcher of modern Southeast European history, Czech – South Slavic relations, images and stereotypes of the other, Institute of History, Czech Academy of Sciences (2006-present).

**Project Outline**

The history of Montenegrin identity debates in the first half of the twentieth century has been relatively little known even to Balkan specialists. However, competing visions of the country’s past and future, the increasingly contested nature of national identity of the predominantly Orthodox population (defined either as Serb or exclusively Montenegrin) and other themes of intellectual debates de-

serve more attention for their relevance in the wider ex-Yugoslav, Balkan and East European contexts. This interesting but generally overlooked history of Montenegrin intellectual debates in the first half of the 20th century provides several new examples of historical myths and narratives, competing national projects, visions of past and future, discursive battles over identity, cases of domestication and transformation of ‘Western’ ideas and concepts. Hence, the research project aims at

- A careful reconstruction of the emerging identity discourses in Montenegro between 1900 and 1945;
- An analysis of their strategies, origins, and contribution to the modernity debates there, and the ways they influenced economic reasoning;
- The documentation of the spread of European ideas in early-twentieth-century Montenegro (especially those of an alleged racial purity), resulting from multifaceted receptions, domestication processes, and intraregional transfers there.

At a wider scale, the project hopes to contribute to a better understanding of the intellectual history of Yugoslavia. Montenegro was often regarded as a peripheral part of the ‘Serb ethnic space’; nevertheless, its distinctive political history and

perceived racial qualities of its population significantly influenced the development of modern concepts of Serbian identity. The research proposes a new assessment of the Montenegrin material, which can provide some fresh insights especially in comparison with other cases of ‘delayed’ and similarly contested ethnic groups throughout the Region (Macedonians, Bosniaks/Muslims, Ruthenes etc.), and whose modern national identity developed during the twentieth century.

**GERGANA MIRCHEVA,  
BULGARIA**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
‘DEGENERATION’ AND  
‘REGENERATION’ IN REGIMES  
OF HISTORICITY: EUGENICS  
AND MODERNISATION  
IN BULGARIA, 1900-1945

Gergana Mircheva received a LLM in Administration of Justice from the Faculty of Law, Sofia University, and is currently enrolled in the PhD Programme of the Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Cultural Studies). Her

research interests are in the fields of modern Bulgarian cultural studies, nationalism, social history of medicine, and eugenics. Her PhD thesis examines *Physical and Mental Abnormalities in Normative Regimes of Access to Publicity: Social Hygiene and Eugenic Projects in Bulgaria (1878-1945)*.

Gergana Mircheva is a former Fellow of the Centre of Advanced Study Sofia (2005-2006), working in the framework of the *Roles, Identities and Hybrids* Project Fellowship Programme. Currently, she is a member of the International Workgroup on the History of Racial Sciences and Biomedicine in Central and Southeast Europe: XIX and XX Centuries, based at Oxford Brookes University, UK.

#### Project Outline

In the period after 1918, a public debates on eugenic ideas was initiated in Bulgaria, falling in the framework of what was perceived as an interwar cultural crisis. It encompassed a large number of 'negative' and 'positive' eugenic measures with regard to healthcare, marital and sex hygiene, criminal justice, professional legislation and education. Though the most radical projects for 'hygienisation' of the nation were never put into practice, the Bulgarian eugenics discourse nevertheless carried a considerable rhetorical burden, and certain eugenic initiatives were partly institutionalised after the First World War.

The study aims at examining the cultural relevance of the eugenic argumentative strategies and practices in Bulgaria, in the way they were developed by adopting and emancipating Western bio-political models from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the 1940s. It explores the Bulgarian eugenic projects as versions of a multiform hygienic utopia, which, in turn, implied a more general project for national identity.

The research focuses on the temporal modes of a medicalised crisis of modernity and identity, transcribed as 'degeneration', i.e. an 'illness' of the 'national organism'. It addresses the culture which the Bulgarian eugenics discourse reflected, the past historical times which it (d)evaluated, and the utopian national future which it projected. In lines with it, the analysis attempts to clarify the system of strategies and techniques for 'naturalising' the culture-historical continuities, applied by the eugenics discourse. It hopes to 'map' the symbolic register of the so-called 'degeneration stigmata', and question the cultural reasoning behind the selective readings of the 'morbid' national past, which tended to ascribe different historical periods to the decay of the 'national organism'.

Finally, the project examines how the 'regeneration' of the 'degenerated' people was conceptualised as a target result from the synthesis of ideological visions and expert practices, i.e. of national integration theory and the instruments of state bio-politics.



#### MARJA JALAVA, PHD, FINLAND

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
INDIVIDUALISM VS. COLLECTIVISM:  
LAMPRECHTIANISM IN THE EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup>  
CENTURY FINNISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

Marja Jalava received a doctoral degree from the Department of History, University of Helsinki, Finland (2005), in the history of Finland and the Nordic countries. She has been awarded numerous fellowships by the University of Helsinki, the Academy of Finland, the Niilo Helander Foundation, the Finnish Cultural Foundation, the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation, Svenska Kulturfonden, and the Emil Aaltonen Foundation, to mention just a few. She also holds an award from the Department of History, University of Helsinki for the best dissertation (2006) and the Award of *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* (*Historical Journal of Finland*) for excellence in writing (2003). She has participated in numerous international conferences with papers on the history of Finnish art, culture and education, gender studies, and concepts in Finnish philosophical discourse.

Since 2006, Dr Marja Jalava has been Adjunct Professor (Docent) in History at the University of Helsinki.

#### Project Outline:

The proposed research is based on the discussion of the postulate that the *Methodenstreit*, which broke out after the publication of the *Deutsche Geschichte* by German historian Karl Lamprecht in 1891, was not a German but a transnational event, though having different







political connotations in various European countries and the Westernising world.

The proposed research project investigates the complex interplay of local traditions and 'imported' intellectual products of the Lamprecht controversy, which reached Finland in the very beginning of the twentieth century. The emphasis is placed on the appropriation and mediation of the Lamprechtian ideas in early twentieth-century Finnish historiography as reflected in the first Finnish historical journal, *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja*, and debates at the Historical Association of Finland.

While previous research done on the subject has (fully justifiably) emphasised the nationalistic aspects of the Finnish Lamprechtianism, the proposed project would like to broaden the scope and include its transnational dimension. Hence, three goals have been formulated:

- to explore the *Methodenstreit* evoked by Lamprecht and the further developments of the Lamprechtian paradigm of historical scholarship as a part of the transnational reconfiguration of the ideological landscape of the period;
- to analyse how the Finnish Lamprechtianists debate dealt with the questions of modernity and identity, inherently related to the reconceptualisation of the 'national self';
- to study the complex processes of cultural transfer and appropriation in Europe, by starting out with a scholar such as Lamprecht, who was almost totally rejected in his native German

Reich but, nevertheless, cherished in the 'small-state' regions of Eastern and Northern Europe.

As a contribution to the overall research goals of the Regimes of Historicity project, the proposed project aims at investigating the complex interplay between national and transnational horizons as well as the border-crossing nature of ideas and of intellectuals as a group. Considering the popularity of Lamprechtianism in various European 'small-states', this study may also serve as a basis for establishing connections between traditions which were not having a direct impact on each other but were participating in comparable projects of 'domesticating' modernity. Moreover, the proposed project questions the conventional, modernist model of cultural transfer, which assumes a rather passive assimilation of new ideas, conceived in the 'dynamic centre', and leading the way for an assimilating 'periphery'. Instead, it views cultural appropriation and mediation as bearing witness to a highly creative process, in which – due to adjustments to a new environment, alterations occurring in the transmitted messages, and the crossing of linguistic frontiers – initial Central European ideas grew out of their conception and essentially diverged from their origin. Since such creative appropriations in small European nations are usually ignored by international research, the proposed project hopes to contribute to a more balanced picture of historical differences and multiple modernities in Europe.

### **MERIH EROL, TURKEY**

RESEARCH PROJECT:  
MODERNIST AND NATIONALISTIC  
DISCOURSES IN TURKISH AND GREEK  
MUSICOLOGICAL TRADITIONS  
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH  
CENTURY

Merih Erol is a doctoral student at the History Department, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul (2003-present). Her PhD research topic is *Cultural Identifications of the Ottoman Greeks: Discourse on Music in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries*. She has received her MA degree at the Sociology Department, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul (2001), and further specialised at the History and Archeology Department, University of Crete, Greece (Erasmus Program: 2004-2005). Her academic interests are in the fields of the Greek Orthodox middle classes of nineteenth-century Istanbul, the Turkish speaking Greek-Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire, ecclesiastical music in the Greek diaspora of the Central and Eastern Europe, national discourses in the Balkans, and the cultural history of South Eastern Europe. She held a teaching assistantship in humanity and society at Sabancı University (2001-2002).

Merih Erol has held various native and international scholarships, including from the Alexandre S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation (Research Fellowship for Foreign PhD candidates, 2004-2005), the American Research Institute in Turkey (2006), ARIT, W.D.E. Coulson & Toni Cross Aegean Exchange Program (2007), the Boğaziçi University Founda-



tion (Zeynep-Ayşe Birkan Scholarship, 2007), as well as a DAAD Fellowship (Programme for Kooperative Promotionsförderung, 2007-2008). She has been participating in a research project on *The non-State Actors of the Turkish-Greek Reconciliation Process since the 1970*, launched by the French Institute for Anatolian Studies, Boğaziçi University and the Ecole Française d'Athènes (EFA) within the frame of the Ramses Research Network, and published papers in Turkish and Greek journals and conference editions. She has also contributed to *The Encyclopaedia of Hellenic World* (Athens, 2008).

#### Project Outline

The research project attempts to deal with the modernist and nationalist discourses in Turkish and Greek musicological traditions in the first half of the twentieth century. Its interdisciplinary research agenda is an extension of my PhD thesis on *The Cultural Identifications of the Greek Urban Elite: Discourse on Music in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Constantinople*, in which I try to elucidate the process of formation of a conception of Greek identity through musical discourse.

Starting from the first decades of the twentieth century, Turkish intellectuals appropriated a discourse of progressivism regarding the music of the Ottoman court. Especially after the foundation of the new State, this discourse converged with a temporal judgment of 'belated-

ness', which was defined against the centuries-old polyphonic tradition of the West. This study tracks down the nationalist ideological formulations and the strategies of defending a reformist agenda in cultural politics, through an analysis of the canonised texts of Turkish musical scholarship.

Both Turkish and Greek musicians of the post-romantic period (1900-1945) admired the representatives of the nationalist music schools of Russia and northern Europe for their usage of folkloric elements. The project analyses the musicological concepts that came into use during the period 1900-1945 in Turkey and Greece, with regard to their relationships to the general communicational framework and the discursive field in which they were employed. The latter bore the impact of certain cultural and historical peculiarities of the two countries under investigation, where certain notions of temporality like a constant expression of 'lagging behind' the European nations prevailed.

By presenting the writings of the Turkish and Greek musicians of the period 1900-1945, the proposed research intends to provide an insight for a better understanding of the making of national traditions after the dissolution of the continental Empires. A comparison of the Turkish and Greek texts - read in an innovative, diachronic and comprehensive way - is expected to yield interesting observations regarding the rationalist, romantic or other approaches toward music in Turkey and Greece.

#### **VALENTIN ADRIAN SÂNDALESCU, ROMANIA**

##### RESEARCH PROJECT:

TIME TO REGENERATE: VISIONS OF THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE – A LOOK AT THE INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS AND DYNAMICS OF THE ROMANIAN IRON GUARD

Valentin Adrian Sândalescu is a doctoral student at the Department of History, Central European University (2003-present). His PhD work centres on Revolutionising Romania from the Right: The Regenerative Project of the Romanian Legionary Movement and its Failure (1927- 1937). He received his BA degree from the Faculty of History, University of Bucharest (2002), and his MA degree in history from Central European University (2003). He is the bearer of the Academic Achievement Award for First-Year Doctoral Students, Central European University (2005), a Gast-Stipendiat at the International Graduate School in History (BIGH), University of Bielefeld, Germany (2005), and was Assistant Researcher for the grant Debating Fascism: Historiography in Bulgaria and Romania, CEU (2008), to mention a few.

Valentin Adrian Sândalescu has held a teaching assistantship for the class in Cultural and Social History of Eastern Europe at the History Department (CEU, winter term 2008); he has been an expert at the Romanian Cultural Institute in Bucharest, and head coordinator of the Translation and Publication Support Program (2006-present), President of the Society of Historical Studies ERASMUS and Editor-in-Chief of its journal, ERASMUS, (2001-2002); as well as Editor of CARNIVAL, the Journal of the International Students of History Association).

Valentin Adrian Sândalescu has contributed with chapters and articles to several academic collections in Romanian and English.

#### Project Outline

Despite several decades of intensive research, the study of fascism as a major political phenomenon of the twentieth



century is still far from reaching its endpoint. While the literature on paradigmatic cases such as the Italian or the German one is abundant, 'peripheral', yet salient cases, such as Romanian fascism remain less researched.

The current research focuses on the nature and manifestations of Romanian fascism, by positioning it in the history of regenerative, revolutionary projects that matured in the interwar period as an alternative to what was considered the decaying system of *fin-de-siècle* liberalism, while examining how they were rooted in the intellectual milieu around 1900.

The starting research hypothesis assesses fascism as a 'coherent body of thought', a 'form of political modernism in its own right', which presented itself as a revolutionary ideology, that put forward the necessity to reshape the 'national self' and regenerate 'the decay' of the national body by bringing about a 'new man' and a 'new temporal order'. Analysing fascism from within, and considering it as a solid ideological construct, the project expects to better understand the diverse intellectual and social support it garnered, and the mass appeal that assured its political success in various contexts.

The primary focus of the research is an in-depth look at what I have termed 'the other green intellectuals', who sympathised with, and in some cases even joined, the

Iron Guard (the most important fascist movement in interwar Romania) and had a genuine impact on its development. The project looks at their radical response to the temporal crisis that interwar Romania had to face, how that time horizon shaped their political views, and their ideas for an alternative extreme right-wing revolutionary way towards modernity.

The path that the study intends to pursue is an analysis of the public stands these intellectuals took in relation to Romania's past, present and future, and how they envisaged the interplay between modernity and historicity. The kind of stand may be tracked down in some underexplored primary sources, such as the legionary and pro-legionary press and pamphlets from late 1920s to early 1940s.

The project also looks into the external intellectual influences that marked the discourse of this cohort, given the fact that, with few exceptions, most of them were trained by, or were in close contact with academic institutions based especially in Germany, Italy, and France. By adding the analysis of their interaction in certain groups such as the 'Axa' group, the 'Criterion group, or the 'Rânduiala' group, the research hopes to develop their comprehensive intellectual biographies while mapping their common views of the role of historicity in the debate focused on modernity and nation building.



Halle Studies in the Anthropology of Eurasia

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology

## Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies II

Socialist Era Anthropology in South-East Europe  
 Edited by Vintilă Mihăilescu, Ila Iliev and Slobodan Naumović







## Vintilă Mihăilescu, Ilia Iliev and Slobodan Naumović (Editors)

### Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies II

On 11 December 2008, CAS hosted the presentation of *Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies II. Social Era Anthropology in South-East Europe* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2008) – a volume dedicated to the state of the discipline in post-Communist Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria. It is the second volume in a series, documenting the intellectual legacy of socialism within the Region's academic community, started by anthropologist Chris Haan, (UK – Germany) in 2005. The pilot volume, entitled *Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies. Socialist Era Anthropology in East-Central Europe*, was edited by Haan, Mihály Sárkány (Hungary) and Peter Skalnik (Czech Republic), and published by the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle, Germany.

The reason why *Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies II* was presented in front of CAS associates and broader Bulgarian public was that its editors, Dr Vintilă Mihăilescu (Romania), Dr Ilia Iliev (Bulgaria), and Dr Slobodan Naumović (Serbia) are not only former CAS Fellows. Back in 2000 –

2003, the three experts in the fields of national ethnology, sociology, and anthropology had met in the framework of NEXUS and had ever since cooperated closely – and as this academic publication also plainly illustrated – most fruitfully. Indeed, it is in the creation of such long-standing collegial friendships that CAS sees one of its missions.

*Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies II* was introduced by Dr Daniela Koleva, Department of History and Theory of Culture, Sofia University. The collection encompasses essays by eighteen scholars working on the history of the anthropological discipline during the communist era. The topics cover ethnographic fieldwork and fieldwork experiences in former socialist Southeastern Europe, the adjustment of folklore traditions to the demands of the political 'pantheon' of Communism, and the transfer of Soviet and Marxist paradigms to local ethnological and folklorist institutions and studies. A special part of the volume is devoted to interviews conducted with Western anthropologists of predominantly Anglo-Saxon background, whose earlier



work had brought them in touch with the intellectual schools and practices of pre-1989 Southeastern Europe. Their reminiscences prove to be a much-needed 'view from the outside' on the work of their East European colleagues.

As elaborated in the exposés of the three editors, their research demonstrated the co-existence of a multitude of local varieties of the same scientific field, alternatively referred to as ethnography, folkloristics (folklore studies), ethnology, anthropology or simply 'the study of people', whose origins went back to the model of German *Volkskunde*. Hence, regardless of its names, the development of this highly fragmented discipline was coloured by the peculiarities of local nation-building processes. As the editors' argument was not necessarily shared by all contributors to the volume, nor by a number of representatives of the regional 'guild', Mihăilescu, Iliev and Naumović believed that the collection would spur a productive discussion on the socialist heritage in the field of ethnography and folklore studies in Southeastern Europe. They also expressed hopes that it would lead to further, follow-up investigations devoted to aspects of continuity, divergence or even opposition, emerging in the post-1989 history of the discipline.

The book presentation attracted substantial attendance, by both senior academic staff and their junior colleagues in Bulgaria. In particular, CAS was delighted to be able to bring together representatives of the various disciplinary schools in Bulgaria, institutionally dispersed between two major Bulgarian universities – the Department of Ethnology, Sofia University, and the Department of Anthropology, New Bulgarian University, and two central academic research groups of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences – the Institute of Folklore, and the Institute of Ethnography in Sofia. The topic of socialist legacies, persisting or suppressed in the discipline today, raised many an exigent question, verging on delicate issues of continuity and discontinuity from a post-1989 perspective. ■

## Outlines of the Current State of Anthropology in Southeastern Europe:

An interview  
with Vintilă Mihăilescu, Ilia Iliev  
and Slobodan Naumović



### Dr Vintilă Mihăilescu

is a leading Romanian cultural anthropologist, and a Professor at the University of Bucharest. Since 1995, he has held a Chair as a professor in the Department of Sociology. In 2005, he became the Director of the Museum of the Romanian Peasant.



### Dr Ilia Iliev

is Assistant Professor at the Department of Ethnology, Sofia University, where he teaches History and Theory of Ethnology, and Ethnography of Socialism. His major research interests are social history of the communist countries, ethnicity, and poverty issues.



### Dr Slobodan Naumović

is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology at Belgrade University, Serbia. He has received his MA in Social Anthropology from *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)*, Paris. His research interests include the ethnography of Serbia, political anthropology, historical anthropology, visual anthropology, and internet culture.



How do you call yourselves – ethnographers, ethnologists, or anthropologists?

**Vintilă Mihăilescu:** In my case, it is anthropologist, even if I am a psychologist by education. The label depends on the institutional frame, which is very different in Bulgaria and Romania. There is an institutional split in the discipline, which has to be analysed in its historical context.

**Ilia Iliev:** I present myself as an ethnographer, treating ethnography as a subdivision of anthropology. There is no clear professional identity behind the label 'anthropologist' in Bulgaria nowadays. We have a special joke, a very local one: How do you call an anthropologist doing fieldwork? An ethnographer...

**Slobodan Naumović:** I have a MA in anthropology and at present, I am teaching two courses - on Balkan Ethnology and Political Anthropology. I stick to both terms, as what unites them is the belief that you are saying

something meaningful about human experience. In this context, ethnology and anthropology are one science.

However, differentiations between ethnology and anthropology have also to do with the different intellectual traditions of doing science in our countries. The division headings have their historical perspective, as they used different concepts and different methods of research. The Anglo-Saxon tradition centred on 'the Other', as this was the key-concept in the history of Western anthropology. Now, the distinctions are blurring. They only tend to have technical importance at places where there are inter-institutional fields, and where career struggles are going on. I feel somewhat frustrated when they are used for tactical reasons, and when existing differences are accentuated to make profit out of them.

**V.M.:** Even social anthropology in Great Britain, and cultural anthropology in the USA, which are usually seen as different disciplines, are actually the same. However, they were systematically practiced in slightly different ways...

Ethnology is not what it used to be; nowadays it is displaced, and speaking about the 'remote Other' does not make real sense anymore.... 'The Other' has moved next-door, in a way. For instance, I worked on a traditional community, somewhere lost in the north of Romania, but with my mobile phone on and numerous network connections.

**S.N.:** Can you do participant observation of imagined communities? It is exactly the displacement, the entering of the global in the local community that has rendered Malinowski's method of secluded fieldwork and participant observation hard to sustain. Communities are not strange anymore.

How would you formulate the subject of anthropology today? In Bulgaria, it would address, though not exclusively, history.

**I.I.:** In Bulgaria under socialism, ethnography was studied mainly at the Faculty of History. History, was THE social science then. Today, we still do not have a Faculty of Social Sciences at Sofia University. Perhaps, the term 'anthropology' in Bulgaria is more likely to emphasise innovations, while ethnology stresses the continuity with the local tradition.

**S.N.:** In the past, history and ethnology were politically applied to prove the functional potency of the historical Marxist scheme. In the ex-Yugoslav or Serbian frame, following the internal developments of the political regime, certain social sciences were coming in or out of grace. In particular, there was a strong rivalry among history, sociology, and philosophy. These were visible signs of how science was ideologically (mis)used during socialism.

However, there is also a different, theoretical dimension to the question. History gives us the capacity to deepen





our knowledge about human experience, to investigate what people know and what they remember. There are various levels of ways to discuss the relationship between history and ethnology. When history played an ideological role in Serbia, some topics of study, enforced for purely political reasons, happened to open up unexpected horizons. In the end, even politically generated relationships between disciplines might turn out fruitful.

On the other hand, the politically imposed link between history and ethnology has resulted into a strongly emancipating tendency of ethnology today. It is a reaction of disgust for how it was distorted by evolutionists.

**V.M.** Similarly, in Romania after 1989, sociology, which used to be controlled by the Party, is partly replaced by anthropology. People recognised anthropology as a way of instrumentally opening up to unfamiliar spaces – oral history, theatre anthropology, medical anthropology. Anthropology came to mean innovativeness. Unrelated disciplines began to ‘anthropologise’ in an interdisciplinary way, and shifted their attention to social and cultural aspects of their traditional subjects of investigation

**I.I.:** How can professional standards be observed and protected under such circumstances?

**V.M.:** For me, the main professional training is fieldwork. One cannot just become an anthropologist by reading books. One might get a good theoretical training, but be still a bad anthropologist.

**I.I.:** The same applies to ethnographers.

Fieldwork is a costly enterprise and needs appropriate subsidies. Our countries, however, are notoriously lacking the financial resources ...

**S.N.:** This is a central question. There are a number of people, usually calling themselves anthropologists, who would do folklore studies and analyse modern urban myths without substantial fieldwork experience. And there are also people who are doing their best to cope with the structural limitations of funding and conduct fieldwork. In Serbia, very few have done long-term studies of any local group or diaspora. The longest fieldwork so far lasted for two years, but it was not intensive. It took about nine months staying with the community.

Fieldwork is the burning wound of what is labelled anthropology in Serbia today. Of course, there are ways of coming around – intensive work, follow-up studies, consulting other data and sources of information. It is easier to avoid lengthy participant observations; nevertheless, without going out to the community for a month or a few weeks, there is no real way to know how the local group functions.

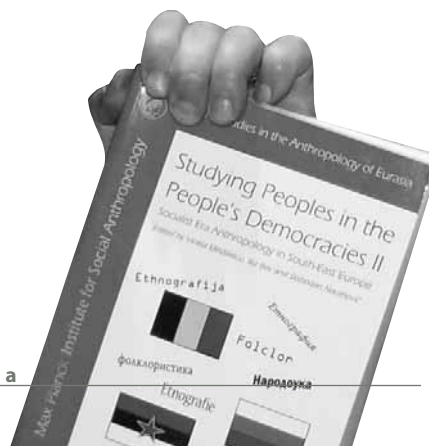
In Serbia, there is a split between people who do not do field work anymore, and people who would like to do fieldwork but lack the resources for a long-term study. However, what really matters is how keen these people are to adjust to the amount of money they are granted, and how willing they are to endure the fieldwork strain: separation from their native community, the discomfort of living away, the stress to face people who have no real need of you.

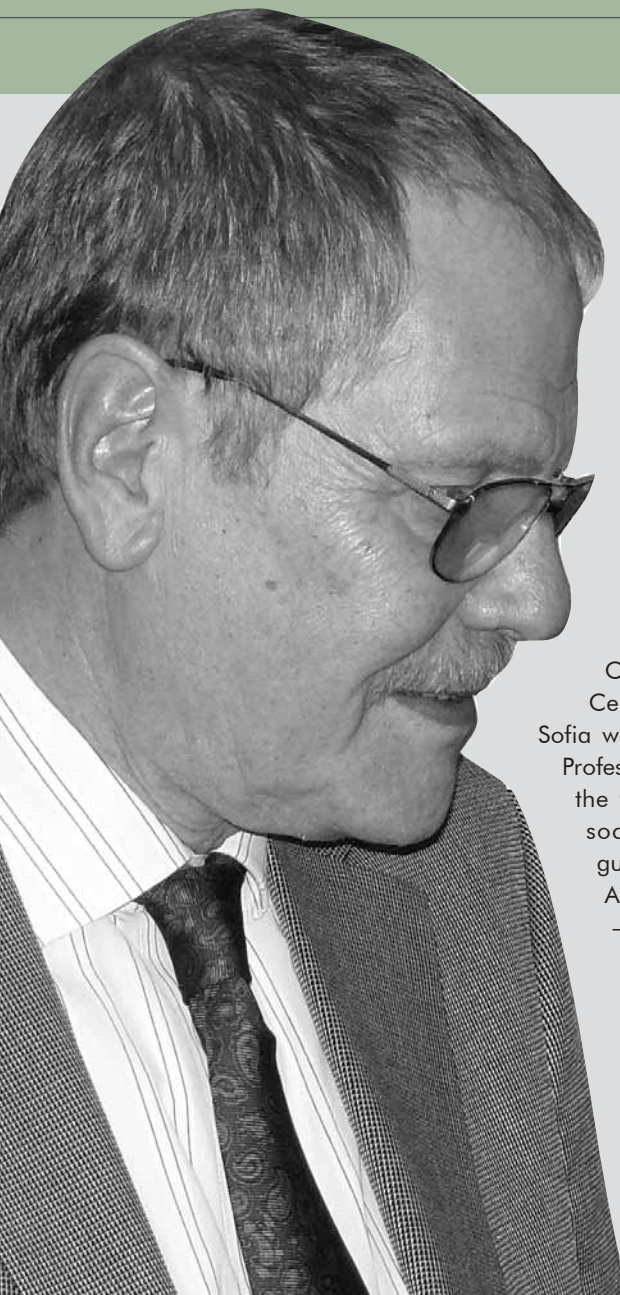
**I.I.:** There is a lack of options to do fieldwork in Bulgaria, too. Yet, it invites us to rethink what distance means. Distances are not only geographical, but could be social, as well.

**V.M.:** People who pay for the research want it to be done usually now, in two weeks or two months. One can get such quick results only with questionnaires, by taking for granted what peoples are telling you. Yet, participant observation was introduced by Malinowski to analyse what is behind the words that people are saying. Time is becoming a central issue.

However, there could be a strong side to quick studies, too. The numerous answers, which one receives, may also reveal that life is going in an unexpected, surprising direction. If those who have encouraged or ordered the study want to understand these new developments, they need to provide more generous payment and sponsor further anthropological fieldwork. This could result in a deeper interest in qualitative methods, one-year long fieldworks (at least), and the return of true, fieldwork-based anthropology. ■

*Interviewed by the Editor*





## Professor Claus Offe: The European Union after Eastern Enlargement

On 8 November 2008, the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia was delighted to welcome Professor Claus Offe – one of the world's leading political sociologists and a distinguished member of the CAS Academic Advisory Council – to launch the CAS guest lecture series for the new 2008/2009 academic year.

Professor Offe is well-known within the international scholarly community as a student of German social scientist, Jürgen Habermas, and a representative of the second generation Frankfurt school of en-

during leftist orientation. His fields of research include political sociology, social policy, democratic theory, and transformation studies.

Prof. Offe used to teach political and social sciences at the University of Bielefeld and the Humboldt University of Berlin, and lectured widely in the USA, Canada, the Netherlands, Austria, Sweden, Italy and Australia. He was Head of the Department for the Theory and Conception of the Welfare State at the Centre for Social Policy, the University of Bremen (1988-1995), and since 2006, he has been Joint Professor of Theories of the State at Hertie School of Governance, Berlin. Amongst his best-known recent publications are *Modernity and the State: East and West* (with Charles Turner and Jeremy Gaines, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), *The Varieties of Transition: the*

*East European and East German Experience* (with Jeremy Gaines, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies. Rebuilding the Ship at Sea* (with Jon Elster and Ulrich K. Preuss, Cambridge: University Press, 1998)), and *Reflections on America: Tocqueville, Weber and Adorno in the United States* (Cambridge: University Press, 2005).

Prof. Claus Offe was a special guest to the second-year opening session of the CAS Shaken Order Project. His lecture – well-attended by representatives of the Bulgarian scholarly community, and also by Dr Michael Geier, Ambassador of Germany to Bulgaria and scholar of law himself, and Mr Martin Zaimov, member of the CAS Board of Trustees – addressed the currently 'red-hot' political topic of *The European Union after Eastern Enlargement*.

The EU's negotiations for enlargement towards Eastern Europe traditionally evoked hopes for democratic development and overall prosperity in the countries of the former Soviet Bloc. However, Prof. Offe's presentation introduced a hitherto sparsely voiced feeling of controversy surrounding the integration of the 'East' into the 'West'. By presenting an alternative evaluation of the political and economic essence of EU membership for the newly-joined East European countries, Prof. Offe raised the issue of asymmetrical relationship, which, in his viewpoint, seemed best to describe the scopes of the EU-25 Enlargement Act of 2004.

Illustrating his argument with abundant statistical data, Prof. Offe provocatively questioned the enlargement motivation on both sides. His major objective was to outline the relationships of asymmetry, which the EU accession was marked by from the very start. Asymmetry was detected both at a political and economic level as the enlargement process was economically



and politically motivated by the old member states. It aimed to 'modernise' and 'normalise' the former socialist countries by developing market capitalism and generating economic growth and prosperity throughout the Region. It also aimed to ensure political stability as long as Eastern Europe was seen as a buffer zone between the EU-15 and the Russian zone of influence.

Prof. Offe argued that relationships of asymmetry were visible in the way, in which EU laws were adopted by the new member states. EU legislation was rather imposed on the new members by the EU-15, and its prescriptive nature had precluded any participation on the part of the 'newcomers' in the legislation-making process.

Asymmetrical relationships were also exerted by the ways, in which the economic recovery of the Region had been turned depended on foreign investments. The lowering of wages and taxes had been rendered instrumental to ensure cheap production, economic competitiveness, and thus attract foreign investments to the new member states. In the public sphere, however, this had led to lowering the quality of health care, child and motherhood protection there.

In Prof. Offe's words, the relationships of asymmetry have resulted in what some EU analysts identified as a

'backslide in democracy'. It was best demonstrated by feelings of frustration about present developments, and by the continuing co-existence of ethnolnational conflicts in the Region, spurred by minority problems, historical memories and internalised fears, going back to the imperial past.

The emergence of political particularism and the rise of populism – the key-malady in the East European post-communist societies – were just another consequence of asymmetry. There was a growing awareness about the spread of political corruption in the new member states, as high-powered decisions seemed to be increasingly taken for personal advantage, and were further bolstered by a dysfunctional court system. This, however, generated an enhanced feeling of distrust, which was indicative for the weakening of the civil sector there. Political participation 'from below' appeared to have lost its appeal, followed by a feeling of post-totalitarian aversion from political life. Vertical trust in society was giving way to short-distance trust, which was practiced on the level of close, bonding capital ('trust those who you know but do not go beyond'). Distrust, however, went hand in hand with a rise of populism, which, if exerted on an anti-liberal level, could easily converge with xenophobia, inherited from the old regimes, and

additionally aggravate social life in the new member states.

While speaking of Europeanisation in terms of a common political language, the transplantation of a common 'cultural software', (a special metaphor used by Prof. Offe), led to disappointing results, to a feeling of fatigue and a sense of uncertainty. The future forecasts seemed far from optimistic as EU membership became related to a perceived sacrifice of national autonomy, and economic dependence. ■





## Our Interview with Professor Claus Offe

### ... 'It is absolutely wrong to adopt a Euro-sceptic attitude' ...

**Prof. Offe is a close associate of and frequent visitor to CAS Sofia. This time, however, he generously combined his visit for the selection of new Fellows with an interesting and also challenging lecture on the Eastern enlargement of the European Union, by outlining some less positive developments associated with it.**

Professor Offe, Prof. Mishkova observed that there was a shade of gloominess in your talk ... Would this indicate scepticism for the idea of a common Europe ...?

Prof. Claus Offe: No, it is not a scepticism for the idea of Europe; I am strongly a fan of its. I believe that if we are going to make progress – both internally, and internationally, in the world – we need a strong European Union.

However, I was talking about some partly unexpected and therefore, disappointing difficulties that occurred in the process of Eastern enlargement, i.e. the accession of the post-Communist states of Central and Eastern Europe. I have argued that the accession is based on a convergence of two criteria in terms of economic and labour market performance, and of democratic consolidation. There have been disappointing developments in both these fields, which people initially tended to underestimate. Now they feel frustrated as they have to revise themselves.

People underestimated the duration of the process in which the difference between the 'old' and the 'new' Member States would be balanced. The catch-up period is estimated between thirty and fifty years before countries like – say Bulgaria – have a capital product as high as an average performer of the 'old' EU members per capita. It will take a long time to catch up, and this time will be experienced as a

time of dependency and unfairness, discrimination and loss of autonomy. This might result in strong anti-European, populist sentiments surfacing in all the countries in the Region. Perhaps this would apply least of all to the Baltic States, which are privileged by their geographic location – especially Estonia, sitting in the middle of the Baltic Sea, and having perfect trade relations to all her neighbours. However, there are differences, which might widen the gap in privilege, with Estonia and Slovenia being small and nearby the centre, and others, such as Romania and Bulgaria, being not that small and not that near to the centre.

There is also a remarkable absence of any signs of solidarity between the former Communist countries, which have entered the European Union now. They could have extracted much more from the EU if they had formed a cartel or an alliance with each other. Instead, they were rivals in the process of accession.

Yours has been one of the very few critical lectures on the implementation of the EU ideas nowadays. Do you consider yourself as belonging to the majority or minority in the EU analysts' camp?

That is a good question, but it is hard to answer. I know that in the political life of the 'old' Member States, and especially in the views of their political Left, the EU is seen very critically, but not primarily for the process of Eastern enlargement and accession. It is perceived very critically as an instrument of neo-Liberalism in the 'old' Member States and perhaps, also in the 'new' ones, as its entirely unaccountable, but most consequential agencies – the ECB, (the European Central Bank), the Commission as a supervisory organ, and the European Court



of Justice – discourage social protection on a high policy level. Now, aggressive moods have been executed in the direction of abolishing and privatising public radio and public television because they are said to be contrary to market liberal principles. I believe this would be a disaster for the political culture.

Few people seem to have thought about the quality of the Eastern enlargement process, and hence, there are uncomfortable feelings and widespread negative sentiments about the prospect of the labour market becoming a European labour market. Actually, a European labour market may turn out beneficial to all sides involved, but people do not see it that way. There is not hostility but strong mixed feelings and negative sentiments about the prospect that every supplier of labour services can get a labour contract in each Member State. Given the differentials, that is widely believed to be a horror scenario, and many 'old' Member States are contemplating to adopt protective measures to avoid it.

You mentioned that social policy is not an objective for the EU, and there is no equalising trend in terms of social benefits and welfare development. Could this, however, become an issue of concern and consideration at some point?

I hope so. I think it is deeply dishonest that the EU leaves it to the governments of the Member States to run their independent visions of a health and pension system, unemployment insurance, and family subsidies, while simultaneously pressurising them to comply with the Maastricht criteria. These imply austerity, cuttings in social expenses, and privatisation of social services wherever possible, a shift from a public pension system to privately funded pension systems, to private hospitals, and private practice. One is left under the impression that it is an undeclared, indirect European policy to impose these restrictions through the Maastricht criteria on the Member States.

Another point is that the new, open, trans-national European labour market will force the Member States to become tax-competitors, i.e. to reduce their taxes by wide margins, Bulgaria being one extreme. Thus, social policy will become a parameter of competition. Governments will become far less generous to their workers and their pension system, as this will be a means to attract direct investment to their countries. This has already been the case in Portugal and Ireland where the governments attracted investments by treating their workers badly. Apparently, it is not true that the EU does not do social policy, but it does it behind a smog-screen which is not easily visible.

Barak Obama's strategies for boosting the public sector in the USA have won the admiration of both the American voters and participants in Internet forums on world-wide scale. Could this possibly be indicative of some grass-root mobilisation from below, in favour of a return to social solidarity?

This is an excellent idea and I wish I could believe that it would be strongly sustained by present and future facts and dimensions. However, two doubts are coming up, supported by evidence and conclusive facts. They can be summarised as follows: Obama would not have won the elections without the reality of a severe financial crisis. His victory was a coincidence, happening at the right moment when the financial markets began to crack and many people placed the blame for it on the Bush administration, its ideology, and its unconditional belief in free markets.

My second reservation rests on the nature of neo-liberal governments. In contrast to the Clinton administration, the last neo-liberal administration is leaving their successors huge deficits, partly caused by the wars waged in Iraq and the Afghanistan, and partly because of the mindless measures initiated to lower taxes for the rich. A huge deficit, however, precludes major social programmes...





I wish you were right about Obama demonstrating that a universalistic health system is what the United State indeed needs. But given the fiscal situation there, I doubt whether he would be able to pay for it. This will undermine his image as a radical reformer who can accomplish something in the interest of the people, and not just in the interest of markets and the rich. It is a dream and I think that this dream is going to falter when he has to remind the American people that this is not the right time for social expenditures. This is the time for cleaning up, through budgetary means, the mess left behind by the Bush administration. This might lead to a loss of his appeal, which indeed is unprecedented in my lifetime. Obama not only receives much acclamation; he is also widely supported by young voters living abroad. He is the political hero in Germany, and he is adored in many other countries. Yet, I think that in policy outcomes, he will not be able to accomplish his ideals, and eventually his appeal will vanish.

The economic crisis has also revived memories of the Keynesian model of state stimulated growth and economic stability, and voiced were raised in its favour. What would your opinion be regarding similar speculations?

I think that policy innovations, such as a return to a Keynesian model of de-

mand management will be possible in Europe only if you do not do it alone. If you do it alone, you will be punished by the markets.

For ten years, I have been asking myself why new-coming EU States, who are in an inferior economic-power position, do not join forces to put forward their requirements. If they had done so earlier and in coordination – Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria, in particular – and had posed even minimum demands, they would have been in a more promising bargaining position nowadays... In the early 1990s, we used to talk about the Visegrad countries, but we do not anymore, because there is no such reality as an alliance among these countries... It would be ideal to have it, though.

You have to think in bigger terms than one country, though some country would need to be in the driver's seat of such an initiative. In my opinion, France, and perhaps the BENELUX countries are most likely to do it, though in a very technocratic way. Some rethinking is going on, seeking to do something for Europe and its economic recovery in a non-neo-liberal fashion. Yet, it is almost unreal to discuss it now, though I would not exclude this possibility in the future. If I were asked for advice, I would definitely encourage the idea. But if done in a too small unit, one is going to lose.

Would you like to leave our readers a few optimistic words of hope for the future?

Yes, I hope, and I think that this is not an unreasonable hope, that the new American administration under Barak Obama will have the determination to end the shameful, illegal wars, started by his predecessor. This applies especially to Iraq and Afghanistan.

If Obama manages to accomplish something in the field of foreign affairs, in the context of the Middle East, i.e. Israel, he will become a historical hero. This will improve the Atlantic Alliance, and hopes for employment and catching up, consolidation of the integration process will return. We need to wait for it a long time, but with such a prospect, we can wait confidently.

The increased cooperation between Bulgaria and other 'new' Member States should rest on an attitude of self-confidence and cooperative interaction with 'old' Europe. It is absolute wrong to adopt a Euro-sceptic or an anti-European attitude. It is much wiser to say 'For the time being we are weak, yet legitimate members of the EU, and we should put pressure behind our demands'. ■

*Interviewed by the Editor*



## CAS RETROSPECTIVE CALENDAR OF EVENTS

September 2008 – December 2008



### September 2008

#### 12 – 13 September

International Workshop (hosted by CAS):  
'Emerging Party Systems and the European Context'

### October 2008

#### 17 – 19 October

Launching Workshop:  
'Regimes of Historicity and Discourses of Modernity  
and Identity, 1900-1945, in East-Central, Southeastern  
and Northern Europe'

#### 24 – 25 October

SCOPES Concluding International Workshop:  
'Transnational Approaches to Nationalism'

### November 2008

#### 4 November

History Club Meeting:  
Albena Hranova: 'The Hayden White Case or Why Historiography is not Literature'

#### 6 – 9 November

Opening Workshop:  
'Shaken Order: Authority and Social Trust in Post-Communist Societies'



София, Академия на науките

Sofia, L'academie des sciences

#### 8 November

CAS Guest Lecture Series:  
Professor Claus Offe, Humboldt University/Hertie School  
of Governance, Berlin:  
'The EU after Eastern Enlargement'

#### 11 November

CAS Atelier for Biographical Research:  
Dr Teodora Karamelska (Institute for Sociology,  
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) Autobiographic Stories  
of Bulgarians and Turks in the Southeast of Bulgaria  
(preliminary project results in the framework  
of the MICROCON Research Programme)

#### 19 November

CAS Discussion Series:  
'Consolidation/Disintegration of Public Institutions  
and the Political Process'  
Dr Ivo Hristov: 'Challenges to the Legal Modernisation  
of Bulgaria and Russia (Comparative analysis)'

### December 2008

#### 9 December

CAS Discussion Series: 'Consolidation/Disintegration  
of Public Institutions and the Political Process':  
'The Legitimacy of the Bulgarian Constitutional Model'

#### 11 December 2008

Book Presentation:  
Vintilă Mihăilescu, Ilia Iliev, and Slobodan Naumović (eds.):  
Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies II