

# SÜDOSTEUROPA

## Mitteilungen

02 | 2012 52. Jahrgang

*Heinz-Jürgen Axt*

Hoffnung für Griechenland –  
Maßnahmenpaket angesichts  
des drohenden Staatszerfalls

*Roy Panagiotopoulou*

Jugend in Griechenland:  
ohne Zukunftsaussichten?

*Katerina Gehl*

Jugendkultur im heutigen Bulgarien



*Tobias Flessenkemper*

Bosnien-Herzegowina und die EU:  
Zwanzig schwierige Jahre

*Christian Hagemann*

Moldovan Governments in Perspective

*Claus Neukirch*

Aussichten für eine Regelung  
des Transnistrien-Konflikts

## Analysen / Positionen / Essays

---

- 6 *Heinz-Jürgen Axt*  
**Hoffnung für Griechenland – Maßnahmenpaket angesichts des drohenden Staatszerfalls**
- 
- 16 *Roy Panagiotopoulou*  
**Jugend in Griechenland: ohne Zukunftsaussichten?**
- 
- 32 *Katerina Gehl*  
**Jugendkultur und Einstellungen Jugendlicher zu „Europa“ im heutigen Bulgarien**
- 
- 46 *Tobias Flessenkemper*  
**Bosnien und Herzegowina und die Europäische Union: Zwanzig schwierige Jahre**
- 
- 66 *Christian Hagemann*  
**Moldovan Governments in Perspective – With the Alliance towards European Integration?**
- 
- 80 *Claus Neukirch*  
**Vertrauen und Misstrauen am Nistru – Aussichten für eine Regelung des Transnistrien-Konflikts**

---

## Berichte

---

- 89                     Symposion des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats, Öffentliche Jahreshauptversammlung und Mitgliederversammlung der Südosteuropagesellschaft 2012. München, 17. und 18. Februar 2012

---

## 99                    Rezensionen

---

- J. Glaurdić: The Hour of Europe – Western Powers and the Breakup of Yugoslavia  
 E. Suljagić: Ethnic Cleansing: Politics, Policy, Violence – Serb Ethnic Cleansing Campaign in former Yugoslavia    K. Clewing / O. J. Schmitt (Hrsg.): Geschichte Südosteuropas – Vom frühen Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart    E. Stratenschulte / F. Setzen (Hrsg.): Der europäische Fluss: Die Donau und ihre Regionen als Strategieraum    L. Tunkrová / P. Saradin (Eds.): The Politics of EU Accession – Turkish challenges and Central European experiences    Y. Güçlü: Armenians and the Allies in Cilicia 1914–1923    H. Gökpınar: Deutsch-Türkische Beziehungen 1890–1914 und die Rolle Enver Paschas

## Sehr geehrte Leserin, sehr geehrter Leser,

Hoffnung für Griechenland, für eine bessere Zukunft nach der existenziellen Krise, sieht unser Autor Heinz-Jürgen Axt. Notwendig dafür wäre ein Maßnahmenpaket aus drei Grundelementen: Schuldenabbau, Strukturreformen und effektive Finanzhilfe. Die EU müsse aus früheren Fehlern lernen. Von den Griechen fordert Axt u.a. die „Redlichkeit anzuerkennen, dass Griechenlands Problem eine selbst verschuldete Staatsschulden-Krise ist“. Zu einer recht düsteren Prognose kommt die griechische Autorin Roy Panagiotopoulou hinsichtlich der Zukunftsaussichten ihrer jungen Landsleute. Schuld an der hohen allgemeinen und alarmierenden Jugendarbeitslosigkeit seien nicht zuletzt die mit den Hilfspaketen oktroyierten Sparmaßnahmen, welche die Wirtschaft in eine tiefe Rezession getrieben haben. Die Jugend im heutigen Hellas sei deshalb eine „verlorene Generation“ – die Besten wandern aus, die Verbleibenden arbeiten oft für Hungerlöhne und wohnen weiter im Haushalt der Eltern. Weniger als Opfer denn als Akteure sieht Katerina Gehl die Jugendlichen in Bulgarien. Sie fragt u.a., was junge Menschen mit höherer Schulbildung in Bulgarien zum Bleiben im eigenen Land bewegt, obwohl das einheimische Universitätswesen katastrophal und die Chancen auf eine qualifizierte Tätigkeit beschränkt sind. Der Beitrag bietet interessante Einblicke in die bulgarische Jugendkultur in ihrer dualistischen Trennung: bei den einen Orientierung auf Konformismus und Konsumismus, bei den anderen Rückzug in „Underground“-Nischen.

Zwanzig schwierige Jahre in den komplexen Beziehungen zwischen der EU und Bosnien und Herzegowina zeichnet Tobias Flessenkemper nach. Für das Land gebe es zur EU-Integration keine Alternative. Die EU wiederum trage eine historisch-politische Verantwortung, eine gestaltende Rolle in Bosnien und Herzegowina zu übernehmen, insbesondere bei der Suche nach einer neuen Verfassung.

Den Abschluss des Aufsatzteils der vorliegenden Südosteuropa Mitteilungen bilden zwei Beiträge über die Republik Moldau. Es waren die Kommunisten unter Präsident Voronin, die Moldova auf einen ambitionierten Weg der Annäherung an die EU führten, so Christian Hagemann. Unter der seit 2009 regierenden Allianz für Europäische Integration sei das Land weiter liberalisiert worden und man habe einen erstaunlichen Grad externer Unterstützung für den Reformprozess mobilisieren können. Trotz der weiterhin fehlenden klaren EU-Perspektive befindet sich Moldova auf einem stabilen Weg in Richtung europäischer Integration, lautet der optimistische Ausblick des Autors. Belastet wird die Stabilität der Republik Moldau nach wie vor durch den ungelösten Transnistrien-Konflikt und damit eine de facto-Teilung. Claus Neukirch befasst sich mit den notwendigen Voraussetzungen für eine Lösung des Konflikts. Die Einleitung vertrauensbildender Maßnahmen (VBMs) sieht der Autor dabei als Schlüssel für ernsthafte Verhandlungen über die Substanz eines künftigen Status der Region

Transnistrien. Nicht umsonst seien VBMs in letzter Zeit zum zentralen Anliegen beider Seiten sowie auch der internationalen Vermittler geworden. Denn, so die sicher unbestreitbare Feststellung, „solange Misstrauen und Ängste überwiegen, werden Konfliktparteien zögern, sich auf ansonsten sinnvolle Kompromisse einzulassen“.

Eine aufschlussreiche Lektüre wünscht Ihnen

Ihr Redaktionsteam

*Hansjörg Brey*

*Claudia Hopf*

# SÜDOSTEUROPA

## Mitteilungen

Zeitschrift der Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft

Summaries Heft 02/2012 52. Jahrgang

Heinz-Jürgen Axt

### Hope for Greece – Measures Preventing the Failure of a State

There is hope for Greece – but only if a triple package of measures will be implemented: First of all, Greece's *debt level* must be reduced. Measures have been taken by the partners of the Eurozone and foreign investors from the private sector. Greece will have to cut expenditure and even more increase income by an effective tax system. Secondly, Greece needs *structural reforms* urgently. The state which has all characteristics of an expansive kraken must be purified. The question has to be answered which political force will be able to ensure these reforms. What is on the agenda for Greece is similar to state building in third world countries.

Finally, *economic growth* must be supported – but more efficiently than the financial assistance which Greece received from the European Union in the past. Greece has experienced a “Marshall Plan” since its entry to the EU. Quite a lot of money was directed to Greece from the structural and agricultural funds. But consumption was vitalized instead of investment. Lessons must be learned by the EU, too. All these measures are on the agenda – irrespectively whether Greece will remain inside the Eurozone or will leave it.

Roy Panagiotopoulou

### Youth in Greece: No Perspectives?

The paper intends to describe the new social and economic conditions that emerge from the recent economic crisis and the austerity policy in Greece and affect the social integration of young people in Greek society. Social inequality has sharpened, one third of the population lives below the poverty line, and the number of homeless has increased considerably.

The deteriorating situation in the Greek labor market is presented and the position of young people which is seriously affected by unemployment, low wages, job uncertainty, deterioration of labor conditions is documented. Due to these circumstances many young people marry late (after 30 years of age) and about one third is forced to stay in their parents' household.

Although working conditions had already been difficult before the crisis, they sharpened considerably after 2009 so that one of two young people up to 24 years of age and one of four between 24-34 years of age are unemployed. Young women and persons with a university degree face special difficulties to find a job.

The prospects for a future amelioration of this situation are very dark. Under these conditions the question for the young generation in Greece whether to stay in the country or go abroad and find a job, is becoming crucial. Taking these into consideration the future prospects are rather disappointing. A whole generation cannot live and ameliorate its living conditions in comparison to the previous generation.

**Katerina Gehl**

### **Youth Culture and Attitudes of Young People towards “Europe” in Bulgaria Today**

Trying for a place at a Western university is seen as an imperative by ambitious Bulgarians. Nowadays more in terms of lifestyle, ten years ago as a must. Returnees were labeled as losers then. Currently, five years after becoming an EU member, most of young Bulgarians at home and abroad appear to be very self-assured. Patriotic slogans have become fashionable.

In spite of the catastrophic situation concerning the Bulgarian educational system and in defiance of an employment market that has no attractive offers for highly skilled persons, more and more young Bulgarians decide to stay in their homeland. Qualitative researches show that many of them don't find it so uncomely in Bulgaria after all. They consider EU citizenship as legitimacy for behaviors and values stigmatized as “Balkanic” beforehand. Therefore they choose a way of life that assures professional success by having the “right” networks and connections. Conformism and consumption dominate the contemporary Bulgarian youth culture.

**Tobias Flessenkemper**

### **Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union: 20 Difficult Years**

In April 1992, the European Union member states recognized the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The differences and conflicts of ethno-national elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding the nature of state persist also 20 years after the referendum on independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina required by the European Community and the beginning of the war.

The failure of EU crisis diplomacy 1991 and 1992 resulted in long-lasting consequences for the mutual relations. The crisis of Bosnia and Herzegovina turned into a long-standing foreign policy challenge for the European Union. Multiple instruments and missions of the common foreign and security and European security and defense policy were deployed to support the country during and after the war. The coherence of EU actors and member states, however, remained a continuous challenge in order to contribute to peace, stability and development. Since the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty and the view of Croatia's accession, the EU seems more determined to bring to life the EU membership perspective of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Christian Hagemann**

**Moldovan Governments in Perspective – With the Alliance towards European Integration?**

The collapse of the Communist Party in Moldova in 2009 went hand in hand with high hopes for changes in the country. However, the new government's continued failure to elect a president has instead aroused memories of the 1990s. At that time, the country fell apart both politically and economically: A process that was only halted when the Communists came into power under Voronin.

The paper analyses whether anything has changed in Moldova since the tumultuous events of 2009. It compares the former Communist government under Voronin with the current rule of the 'Alliance for European Integration'. It argues that even though it was the Communist Party that brought Moldova onto a more ambitious path towards European integration, it was the Alliance that added a credible political component to this process.

In some areas, reforms continued to progress only slowly. Still, the country has become politically more liberal while maintaining its good record in areas of technical cooperation. Overall, even if the government were to fall as a result of the presidential crisis, Moldova's current path towards European integration seems to be set.

**Claus Neukirch**

**Trust and Mistrust on the Nistru**

**Prospects for a Solution of the Transnistrian Conflict**

The article analyzes the process of confidence-building measures (CBMs) between the central government of the Republic of Moldova and the de facto authorities of the breakaway Transnistrian region and its effect on the wider settlement process. To this end, the article outlines first the concept of non-military confidence building measures, which are understood as actions or processes undertaken in political, economic, environmental, social or cultural fields with the aim of increasing transparency and the level of trust and confidence between two or more conflicting parties to prevent conflicts from escalating and to pave the way for lasting conflict settlement.

It then analyzes the main developments in the Transnistrian settlement process and the confidence building process, which was initiated back in 2007 but started to produce first results only in 2010. The article argues that the main impediment to a final settlement lies in the deep mistrust between the two sides. It makes the point that while the limited progress achieved in the CBM process so far has helped to resume official negotiations in the so-called „5+2“ format in November 2011, tangible results in the CBM-process would be needed in 2012 to move from the resumption of formal negotiations as such to serious negotiations on the substance of Transnistria's future status.