

# ***CASE-STUDY TRIP TO FORMER YUGOSLAVIA***

***Making a map of the state of mind of the youth in the  
countries of the former Yugoslav region***



## **FINAL REPORT**

## Preface

*“We, the students associated in the European student association AEGEE-Europe, believe, that there is a strong need in Europe for co-operation between all nations and especially among youth across the continent. We do not want to rely solely on the information provided by mass media, we want to obtain the basic information about other cultures and nations ourselves.”<sup>1</sup>*

In October 1996, a group of 20 young people from eleven European countries conducted a research in the new countries of the former Yugoslavia, organised by the European student association AEGEE-Europe. This *Case-Study Trip* lasted two weeks, in which 5 cities were visited, namely Maribor (Slovenia), Zagreb (Croatia), Sarajevo and Tuzla (Bosnia & Herzegovina), Novi Sad (FR of Yugoslavia) and Skopje (FYR of Macedonia).

These young people, selected on their interest in and knowledge of the region, were interested in finding out more about the future views of young people in the region of former Yugoslavia. And they certainly did. We were definitely not the first, nor the last people to study the relations in this area. Still, our research is different than that of most other research because it aimed at *young* people, viewed from their own perspective.

During these two weeks around 500 interviews were taken, which formed the basis for this report. This report does not only provide the statistical results, but also the personal impressions of the participants have found their place in it.

Until the presentation of this report, a long road has been followed, starting in 1995, where the basic idea of this CST was created. The actual trip was the climax of more than one year of preparation, which included raising funds for this operation, finding organising partners and participants, but also thinking of possible routes through the area, wondering whether certain highways were open or not. Afterwards, a report was to be written, which is not that easy if the authors are spread all over Europe again.

Thanks to modern communication this didn't prove to be impossible, although 10 months of delay was not exactly what we had in mind when we said goodbye to each other, on a chilly November morning in Maribor. Still, the numerous meetings, phonecalls and emails proved not to be in vain, the result of this work will be presented to you in the following pages.

On behalf of every person which contributed to this report I wish you a pleasant reading.

Erwin de Bruin

CST Co-ordinator

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<sup>1</sup> This statement, used in the previous *Case-Study Trips* to Ukraine and Albania, still applies to the idea of the current CSTs

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## Introduction

In the following pages the results will be presented of a research performed during the *Case-Study Trip to former Yugoslavia*. These results will mainly be based on two things, namely:

- 500 Questionnaires (an example of such a questionnaire is presented in the annex)
- The impressions of the 20 participants, based on the interviews conducted, the lectures and other organised activities attended and the overall atmosphere in the visited cities

The research was not conducted by professionals, nor was the amount of 500 questionnaires (which is 100 per city) as target group large enough to draw firm conclusions from the statistical analysis. And even if that would have been the case, the fact that in each country we visited only one or two cities, for a short period, makes sure that this report cannot represent the opinions of 'the' youth in 'the' former Yugoslavia. And from this youth we mainly talked to students, of whom it can be expected that they have different views than for instance young people in the countryside.

But this has never been the aim of the project anyway. What these aims were, and whether they have been achieved, will be discussed in the next chapter. In the chapters following this outline, the results of the research will be presented in detail, ending with a conclusion. In chapter seven an attempt has been made to give you, the reader, an idea of how it was to take part in this project, by having the programme of the CST presented to you. In the last chapters the organisation which has organised this CST, AEGEE-Europe, will be presented, and an overview will be given of its current projects regarding the former Yugoslav area.

Throughout this report several names will be used for the regions visited, and its inhabitants. We have tried to respect the international agreement regarding the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (elsewhere in Europe also named 'FYROM' or 'Republic of Macedonia'). However, out of practical reasons, we chose to refer to the inhabitants of this country as 'Macedonians', instead of 'inhabitants of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia'. Novi Sad is the capital of Vojvodina. This used to be an autonomous region within Serbia, right now FR Yugoslavia consists of the republics Serbia and Montenegro. Are people in Novi Sad Vojvodians, Serbs or Yugoslavs?

We generalised the respondents from the different cities as respondents from the specific country, for instance respondents in Novi Sad have been called 'Serbs', respondents from Tuzla 'Bosnians', etc. Also this has been done out of practical reasons, however it should be noted that this simplification has not been completely correct. In Novi Sad also Montenegrins or Bosnian Serbs have been interviewed, and the same can be said of all other cities. The results of the research have hardly been affected by this.

Wherever is seemed appropriate, cities have been generalised to countries or individual cities have been compared with each other. The main reason for this is that it often was useful to combine the two cities in Bosnia, in some cases however interesting differences between Sarajevo and Tuzla could be noticed.

Taking this into account, 'giving names to things' remains a tricky business. Therefore we would like to ask the reader not to be annoyed at these words, as we cannot satisfy everybody's feelings.

# 1 Outline of the project

In the following chapter an outline of the Case-Study Trip will be given. First, the aims to be reached with this project are explained in detail, and the amount to which these aims have been achieved will be discussed. In the second paragraph more information will be given about the research, the main part of the project. The central question, the tools used and the limitations of the research will be described. Also the four sub-topics will be presented. Finally, a short description of the organisation of the CST will be given.

## 1.1 Aims

The aims of the project were ambitious, and diverse.

1. The main aim was to investigate the state of mind of young people in the former Yugoslav region, write down the conclusions of this research in a final report, and to spread it over the AEGEE-network and the outside world. In this way a better insight could be given in how young people in the former Yugoslav region see the future of themselves, their countries and their neighbours.
2. Apart from that, the CST-project wanted to bring people from all over Europe together with the people who suffered during the war in a joint research project. The dialogue started in this way could help to improve mutual understanding with the people of these areas. This dialogue would be twofold: Not only the people from the region itself could be questioned, but also questions were to be asked to the participants from the rest of Europe, in order to get a clear view of the role of Europe in the conflict.
3. Young people from the five different states in former Yugoslavia were to be brought together in this project. By having them working together a basis could be laid for mutual understanding, necessary in order to normalise relations among the new states. In order to reach this aim at least 10 participants in the CST should be from the region itself.
4. The results of this project were to serve as a basis for initiating new projects in this region. In each city meetings would be held with other youth organisations, which should be the start for new and mutually organised activities.

The first aim has been achieved: The result is lying in front of you. The conclusions of the research will be dealt with in the rest of the report more specifically.

The two following aims turned out to be more difficult. Finding “Western” (not from the former Yugoslav countries) participants was not too difficult: The AEGEE network proved of much help, and many qualified applications reached the co-ordination team in Enschede. But participants from the region itself were much harder to find. The major problem was not that nobody was interested, on the contrary. It was the impossibility for certain ethnic groups to travel to certain countries which prevented the aim of having 10 participants from the region to be reached. The danger was regarded too high to guarantee the safety of -for instance- Croatian citizens travelling through Republika Srpska, if even it would have been possible to obtain visa.

Still, participants from Slovenia and FYR Macedonia joined the trip, which in all aspects proved to be a good choice: Many times the other participants were listening to them, while sitting together with Serbian, Bosnian or Croatian AEGEE-members and other students, having a beer and singing the old Yugoslav songs, sung by all nationalities with great pleasure. So in this aspect our goal was reached, although not as clearly as we had meant to.

What could be heard from many people was that a project with the main aim to get people from different ethnic backgrounds together to talk about the future and that past, might not be such a good idea. They didn't mind meeting people from other former Yugoslav nationalities, but not just because of that. It was preferred to meet them on a more casual basis, for instance while visiting an international student meeting (and not with only former Yugoslav students) in Hungary or something alike.

For the results of the last aim, please take a look at chapter nine, where an overview of the current and planned projects in the area is presented. It can be concluded that, as far as AEGEE is concerned, the project has contributed to both the development of the network in this region and a growth in the interest for concrete activities. Concerning the contacts with other associations, not really much has been achieved yet, at least not in the area itself. In general most organisations have a hard time surviving, and had other things on their mind than organising new events. Still, all of them were very interested in the idea.

## 1.2 The research

The central question to be answered was the following one:

*How do young people, especially students, see their current and future situation, especially regarding the relations with Europe, social development within their new country, their regular daily life and the relations with the other new states in the former Yugoslav area?*

The emphasis has been given to the future, but for that the views on the current situation are needed. Although it will come up for sure, the aim of the project is not to investigate the past. The idea behind this is that right now it is time to look forward, without forgetting what happened, but also without staying in the past, and thus not improving the situation.

The participants have been divided into four subgroups, which investigated the following topics:

### 1. Everyday life of young people

This topic will be studied from two different sides. From one side the current living conditions of young people will be investigated. How has the war altered their daily life? Are there still possibilities to study? Cultural life and, in general, social life have surely been influenced, how dominant is government propaganda in this field?

The way the young people see their future represents the other side for looking at daily life. What possibilities do they see for themselves in this new situation? Choice of work and place to live, motivation to study etc. are examples of questions with which young people are confronted today, but are dependant on how they see their future.

### 2. Reaching social stability

Step one of the Dayton-agreement was to separate the warring parties. Step two is to reach stability. We want to study this process, intended for all new states, from our specific point of view. What is the road to a stable society within each new country? What are the differences between the new countries in that respect (linked to the presence or absence of different ethnic groups)? Do young people identify themselves as being part of their new society? Important are recent developments with regard to subjects like nationalism, religion, democracy etc.

### 3. Relations among the new states in the former Yugoslav area

Right now the ethnical diversity has practically come to an end. The division between the different ethno-religious groups in their own countries is complete. But the new states are neighbours, and have to find a way to deal with that. The participants will investigate how the feelings among the inhabitants of the several states are towards their neighbours. The war has taught people not to see each other as neighbours but as enemies. The atrocities of the war have generated so many feelings of hatred that future relations between the new states seem impossible. What are the feelings of young people on this? Do they see possibilities for future forms of co-operation?

#### 4. View towards Europe

What is the opinion among young people in the new states about Europe? After all that has happened the participants of the trip will investigate how people think of possible co-operation with the rest of Europe. To which extent is the European Idea alive in the region? Answers to these questions cannot be isolated from opinions on the role that the European Union and other European countries have played in the conflict.

### 1.3 Tools

Answers on these questions have been found by filling in the questionnaires, which gave a variety of questions, dealing with all four subtopics. In order to make comparison possible, the questionnaire was quite general, and therefore not every question was applicable in all countries. The questionnaire then was used as a starting point of a more in-depth discussion, about the specific topic from the subgroup the interviewer was part of. In order to give the participants a broader view of the situation in the visited countries as well, each visited local organised an extensive programme, in which lectures and discussions played a major role. More specific information about the local programmes will be given in chapter seven.

### 1.4 Limitations

The target group were young people, and because of practical reasons this mainly have been students. This is because the best places to meet young people are universities and schools. However, interviews have also been taken in pubs and on the streets. Still, it should be said again that only big cities have been visited, and that an average of 100 respondents per city makes drawing *firm* conclusions on the target group based on statistical analysis impossible.

Language problems sometimes made it difficult to conduct the survey, although a number of the participants did speak Serbo-Croat. Still most participants could not speak this language, which resulted in the fact that the largest part of the target group consisted of people being able to speak either English or German (and thus people who had received some degree of higher education).

Since the interviewers were members of a *European* organisation, the possibility exists that the respondents have tried to give answers which they expected the interviewers would like to hear. Answers could have turned out to be more pro-European and idealistic than can be found in reality.

Therefore our conclusions should be seen as *impressions*, based on a thorough survey. When this is kept in mind, interesting results can be shown.

### 1.5 The organisation

The CST has been organised by a co-operation of several partners: AEGEE-Europe served as a supporting backbone to guarantee a solid basis and to provide valuable information.

The AEGEE Human Rights Working Group initiated the project, provided help in bringing the actual organisers together and gave general support. AEGEE-Enschede took the actual organisation on her shoulders. The logistical part of the organisation has been taken care of by AEGEE-Maribor, while all the visited locals provided a local programme.



## 2 Daily life of young people

In this chapter the following topics will be dealt with. First a description will be given of the daily life in the visited cities. This includes the living situation and the main concerns of the questioned people. Also the study conditions and future expectations of the young people in those cities are important in this aspect, and will be presented next. Finally an overview will be given of the opinions on the current economic, political and social/cultural situation.

### 2.1 Living situation

#### *Maribor*

In this city nothing remembers of the short ten-day war which separated Slovenia from the rest of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. Also the mentality of the people does not really show that they were once a part of the old Yugoslavia. The attention is focused towards the European Union, and not to their former countrymen.

Especially in Maribor, which is only 50 km from the Austrian border, the Austrian influence is obviously present. In general, young people were very much interested in our research and were most happy to be able to help.

Over 80% of the respondents live with their parents. The second largest group, being 7% of the respondents, lives in their own flat. It could be noticed that there was resentment against the capital Ljubljana. Many people think that the country's government is neglecting Maribor.

#### *Zagreb*

The first impression one gets visiting Croatia's capital is richness. The city is very clean and beautiful, and it is clear that their inhabitants are very proud of that. Croatian flags and other national symbols are present all around. At first, the questioned students seemed to be more reserved than their Slovenian neighbours, but after a short time people turned out to be very friendly and open-minded. Still it is a fact that the most radical opinions during the CST could be heard in Zagreb, although it was a minority of the respondents who expressed these opinions. Both Serbs and Bosnian Croats (Hercegovci) are not very popular. The first group because of the war and the occupation of Eastern Slavonia, the second group because of their strong nationalism, their eagerness to join the "Greater Croatia" and the relatively important role they play in Croatia itself.

In Zagreb only half of the young people live with their parents. Almost 21% lives in an own apartment, while the rest lives in a student dormitory.

#### *Sarajevo*

Our bus entered the city at night, but that could not hide the destruction from our eyes. During the journey from the border at the Sava river to the country's capital, we saw many destroyed buildings, and we felt like getting used to it. Some of the participants who had been in Sarajevo before said it was not as bad anymore as it had been before, still the view of the city was a shock to most of us. Therefore it was very difficult for most people in the beginning to start conducting the research. We were afraid that we would be regarded as yet another group of war-tourists, but this fear proved to be unjustified. The vast majority of the people questioned gave a very open answer to our questions, and was eager to help, even when the language turned out to be a problem sometimes.

Also in Sarajevo most young people (82%) still live with their parents, while another 8% lives with other relatives. Since many people live in an apartment together with fled relatives, most houses are crowded, what made it impossible for us to stay at AEGEE-members' places. This was something we were used to do in the other cities, also to get a good view of the students' living situation. Instead, lodging was arranged in private homes of "regular" citizens, which gave us a unique insight in the way of living in Sarajevo. The living conditions were hard, the

gas had been connected again only very recently, but still there was only water during a small period of the day. The hospitality we encountered was great, like everywhere during the trip.

### ***Tuzla***

The second town in Bosnia we visited was completely different from Sarajevo. Tuzla has been touched less by the war than Sarajevo. It is an industrial town that relies heavily on its salt mines and chemical industry. Throughout the war Tuzla stayed multi-ethnic, which is still the case today. But in general there is a large difference in opinions between the people who were born in Tuzla, and those who came to live here during and after the war. Especially the huge amount of refugees gives problems sometimes. In 1991 about 110.000 people lived in Tuzla. After the war that number had increased with 60.000 refugees, of which 98% are Muslim. Of course, this also had its impact on the ethnic picture of the town.

Of the questionnaires, 50% was filled in by the students living in the student dormitories. Most of these students were refugees. The remaining respondents either lived with their family, or with friends.

### ***Novi Sad***

The capital of Vojvodina, the northern province of the FR Yugoslavia, was unknown to all of the participants of the CST. We didn't quite know what to expect, but were most certainly overwhelmed by the hospitality we encountered. Since the embargo had just been lifted, people were very eager to get in touch with foreigners. The city itself was very nice, although, according to some of the people we met, too quiet and sometimes even boring. This could explain the high dissatisfaction of the respondents concerning the social and cultural life in their city: 69% thought it was (very) bad, while 23% regarded it as normal. Also the current economic and political situation was blamed often.

When one looks at the housing situation of the young people, a similar situation as in the other cities appears: Most people (68%) live with their family, while the second largest group (10%) lives in a student dormitory.

Just like in Maribor, also here resentment against the capital was present. This was probably amplified by the fact that the Vojvodina used to be an autonomous region, but is being controlled by Belgrade at the moment.

### ***Skopje***

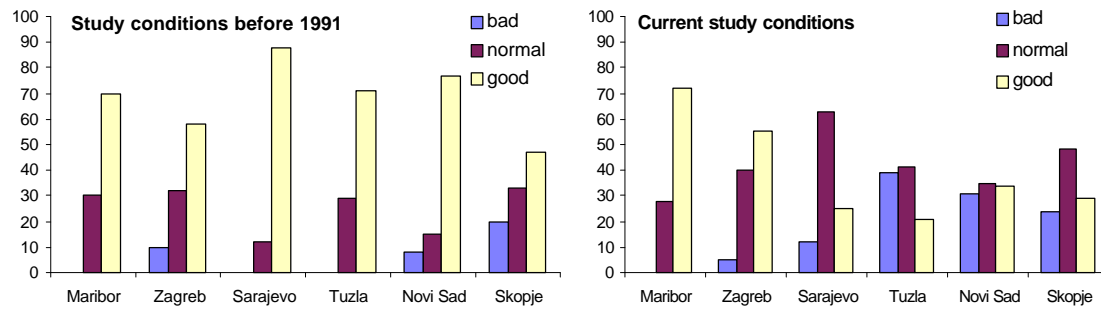
In the last city visited during the CST different issues asked for our attention. The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia did not participate in the war, and its secession went relatively smoothly. The biggest problem concerns the Albanian minority in relation to the Macedonian majority. Both groups have very different opinions on certain issues, mainly focused on language and education. It is almost impossible to even bring them together in order to talk about it. The fact that during the CST this happened gave us a very good insight in the relation between these two ethnic groups. We noticed that on both sides many prejudices exist and little is being done to clear them out. Also the relation with some neighbours, especially Greece, is perceived as a problem. In Skopje most young people live with their families (83%).

## **2.2 Study conditions**

The question was asked how the respondents perceived their study conditions before 1991 and how they would compare this to the current situation. While going around with the questionnaires one has to take in mind that many people we surveyed didn't study before 1991. In the analysis of the results we therefore only took questionnaires into consideration of people who were already studying at that time (only they can have a clear view on the comparison of the study situation).

### Conditions of study before 1991

The young people who were interviewed, and were students before 1991, felt their study conditions at that time to be good. There were only a few exceptions that judged their study to be bad or very bad at that time. Especially in Sarajevo the study conditions were regarded to be very good. But also in other cities hardly anybody was dissatisfied with the situation before the dissolution of the Socialist Republic.



### Conditions of study at present day

Although in Maribor, Zagreb and Skopje the perception of the study conditions didn't change that much, the opinions in Bosnia and FR Yugoslavia are quite different. Here the situation changed drastically to the worse. While in Sarajevo the majority still regards their study conditions as normal, and this is also the case in Tuzla, the latter town also has the highest percentage of students who are not satisfied with the current situation. In Novi Sad the situation is slightly better: The answers vary from bad to good in an almost equal division. Around 30% is not satisfied, however.

### Comparing results

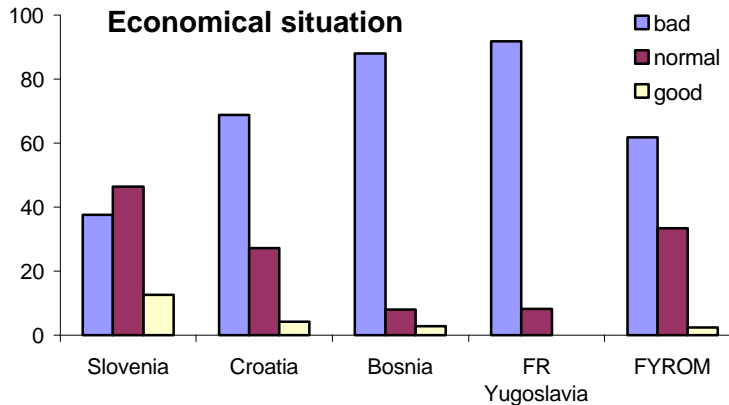
If comparing results between the situation before and the situation after the war, the results of Slovenia, Croatia and FYR of Macedonia did not change significantly. This is not surprising, since none of these countries (at least not in the cities we visited) were touched by war or sanctions. In Bosnia the situation of education has become worse, which is also the case in FR Yugoslavia. Here the conditions also worsened, although maybe not as much as one could expect, especially considering the sanctions.

When talking to the students, one could feel that, in general, they are not satisfied with their situation: the difference with the rest of Europe is very big, and they know it. Especially the lack of materials, like books, computers and other facilities forms a big handicap. Still this lack of materials is not assessed properly sometimes by Western relief organisations. Like a dean said in Tuzla: "We don't need pencils and paper, but computers!"

Also, in some occasions, the attitude of the teachers was regarded as bad. In all cities we heard stories of drunk, bribeable or simply non-competent lecturers. Also the university system was considered to be old-fashioned, with little possibilities for student to have some influence on the system. If there is some kind of student influence, it's mostly under the control of the university authorities. Especially in Novi Sad this situation caused many problems.

## 2.3 Economic situation

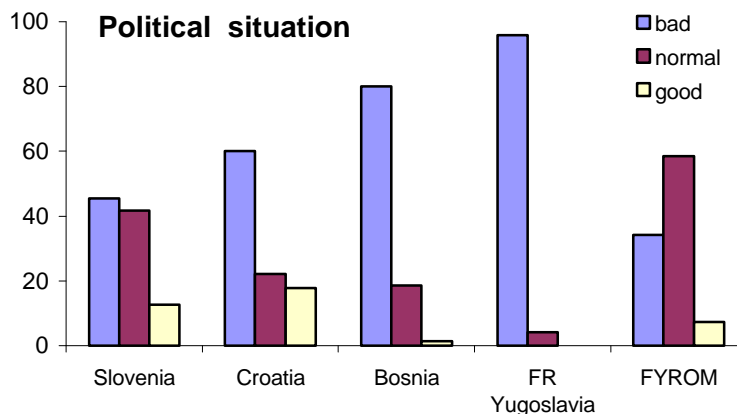
The perception of the current economic situation in the countries of the former Yugoslavia varies greatly, as the following chart will show.



It shows that the questioned people in Serbia and Bosnia are most pessimistic about the economic situation in their country, around 90% of the questioned people thought that the economy was in a (very) bad shape. Also Croats are not too optimistic. In the FYR of Macedonia about one third of the young people regarded the economy of their country as normal, while in Slovenia almost half of the respondents shared that thought. By the time we were in Slovenia, the country was working on entering the European Union in the near future. While in Bosnia the effects of the war proved to be a strain on the economy, in Serbia the actions of the government and the sanctions by the Western world were considered to be the reason for the bad situation. Many people feared another wave of hyperinflation, partly caused by the government who was accused of printing extra money.

## 2.4 Political situation

In the following chart the opinions about the political situation in the countries of the respondents are given. People were asked to give their opinion on the situation in their own country in a rating varying from very bad to very good.

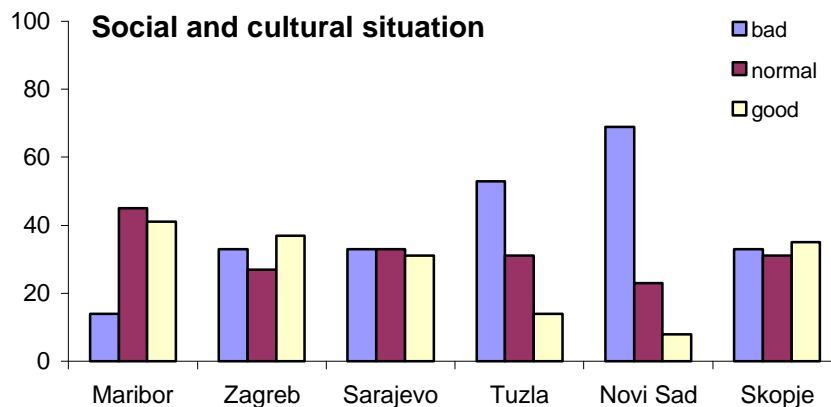


As can be seen, also here the citizens of Bosnia & Herzegovina and FR Yugoslavia consider the political situation in their country to be bad. In Sarajevo more than 70% defined the political situation as (very) bad, while in Tuzla half of the people stated that opinion. In Tuzla, where a coalition of opposition parties was in power at the time of the survey, the local situation was seen optimistically, but there was a large amount of concern about the situation in the rest of the country. In Serbia only 4% of the respondents thought that the political situation was normal, the rest was more pessimistic.

Also the Croats were not happy with their government, which was unveiled by a minority of 37% that called the situation good or normal. Many people we spoke were very much against Tudjman's HDZ but saw no real alternative: the opposition is too divided to stand up against it.

Although certainly not perfect, the situation in FYR Macedonia and Slovenia was better. Most people regarded the political situation in Slovenia as normal or bad. In Skopje the majority thinks the situation is normal. This can be explained by the fact that the current president is very popular, and many people believe that it is much due to his work that the rather unstable situation in the country has not escalated.

## 2.5 Social and cultural situation



While asking for the social and cultural situation, the team was interested in finding out how young people regarded the possibilities for entertainment in their own city.

In Maribor only 15% of the surveyed people was not satisfied with the situation in their country, which made it the most satisfied group of the cities we visited. This in contrast to Novi Sad, where 69% wasn't satisfied. An often heard complaint in that town was that "all the action was in Belgrade", and nothing was going on in their hometown. This is quite strange, because both Maribor and Novi Sad are in the same geographical position: On a distance quite far from their capitals. When one looks to Tuzla, the other "non-capital" included in the survey, the situation resembled that in Novi Sad, with about half of the people not being happy with the situation. The opinions in the capital Sarajevo come closer to the results in Zagreb, however. In Sarajevo the curfew was still very strict, which made a flourishing nightlife impossible. This in contrast to Skopje, with its many bars, cafés and clubs a real 'party town'.

When one looks at the chart, the only conclusion can be that the opinions vary greatly, although a difference can be seen in capital and "countryside". However, one cannot deny the fact that personal taste has a large influence in this matter.

## 2.6 Future opportunities

What are the expectations for the future of the young people in the visited countries? Different questions were asked to obtain an adequate answer to this question.

First of all we were interested in the respondents' opinion on their future opportunities in general. Many respondents were very uncertain about their future, what could be concluded because of the large amount of people that were unable to answer this question. The most optimistic about their futures are Slovenes and Croats where around 40% of all respondents foresee a (very) good future. In Bosnia & Herzegovina this percentage is around 35%, whilst in FR Yugoslavia and FYR of Macedonia it is 20%. It is interesting to see that in Slovenia and Croatia people were either very positive, or very negative. Only very few people had a neutral opinion. It is also interesting that in Bosnia the people seem to believe more in a good future than the people in FR Yugoslavia or FYR of Macedonia.

### ***Study possibilities***

The team tried to find out how the respondents regarded their study possibilities, and more specifically how they viewed the possibility to study wherever they wanted. The most common answer (30%) to this question was that there are good opportunities to study wherever and whatever one wants. Fewer students (14%) think a bit more conservative about the available alternatives - 23% in Maribor, 17% in Zagreb and Skopje, less than 10% in the Bosnian towns and Novi Sad. However, there are still many students who think pessimistically about the study possibilities, especially in Bosnia & Herzegovina and the FYR of Macedonia, where respectively 50% and 36% shared this feeling.

### ***Job possibilities***

Several questions have been asked about job opportunities. We investigated the ideas of young people about their chances to find a job after they finish their study, the probability that this will be a job they would like to have, and finally their expectations about salaries. In general people are quite pessimistic about these things. The worst situation can be found in Skopje, where 50% of the respondents indicated that they saw few or very few possibilities. Also in Novi Sad (45%), Tuzla (44%), Maribor and Sarajevo (38%) the situation is called bad. In Croatia people are more optimistic, 40% believes to have a good or very good chance on the job market. Still the situation is considered to be bad by almost 30% of the respondents. When asked for the chances of getting a job they would like to have, the same picture was drawn: Except for Zagreb, more than 50% of the respondents did not believe this was a realistic scenario. In Bosnia an interesting thing happened: people from Tuzla were more optimistic than people from Sarajevo. Still, also here the amount of people that believes they have good chances on the job market is only 14%. Concerning payment, people are even more pessimistic. If we exclude the 26% of those who could not give an indication, 60% of the people in the towns visited do not see any or just a very weak chance to get a job that pays well.

## **2.7 Conclusions**

The visited towns are quite different, this could be seen very clearly. These differences have been explained in the preceding chapter. In general the situation in Bosnia and Serbia, struck heavily by respectively the war and the sanctions, is quite comparable. The situation in the other countries is better, with especially Slovenia being completely on its own. In FYR of Macedonia the situation is in some aspects slightly worse, which can be explained by the disadvantaged position this republic had already in the old Yugoslavia. This makes it a huge difference whether you are a student in war-torn Sarajevo or in the “city of wine” Maribor. Still, despite all the differences, students remain students, worried about and interested in the same issues as everywhere in the world.

The study conditions in Bosnia & Herzegovina and the federal Republic Yugoslavia worsened dramatically since 1991. In all visited towns students thought that their study conditions could be much better, when comparing them to ‘Western’ standards.

Regarding the economy Slovenia, followed by Croatia, gets the best impression from their young citizens. People in Slovenia and FYR of Macedonia also do not seem to have that many problems with the political situation in their countries. On both issues Bosnians and Serbs had the least confidence. Concerning the social and cultural situation in the visited towns, the only right conclusion can be that this greatly depends on personal taste, although the overall majority in ‘provincial towns’ Tuzla and Novi Sad did not seem to be happy with the situation.

The future is perceived differently by the respondents. Regarding study possibilities, the Bosnians and Macedonians are the most pessimistic. When looking at job opportunities, everybody, except Croats and Slovenes, sees the future in rather pessimistic colours. In general Slovenes and Croats see their future in the brightest colours, followed by the Bosnians. Everywhere there are a lot of pessimists however.

### **3 Reaching Social Stability**

In this chapter the second part of the survey is being presented. Here the main question is, how the interviewed people see their future prospects regarding steps done by the international community to install social stability in (especially) Bosnia & Herzegovina, thus also affecting the rest of the region.

This section can be divided into three parts. First of all it is important to get an overall view on how young people judge the Dayton agreement, it being the basis for further development in their countries. This especially applies to Bosnia & Herzegovina, the country where the agreement takes immediate effect, but also the neighbouring countries will be touched by it.

The second part contains a list of political and cultural measures which may contribute to this development. It was investigated how necessary the respondents regarded the proposed measures to be.

The third paragraph deals with the help coming from the international community. Here it is interesting to find out, from which organisation or country the young people expect the most support.

#### **3.1 The Dayton Agreement and its role for the future**

The first question asked was whether one was familiar with the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA). It turned out that about two third of the respondents knew at least to some extent what the DPA was about. In Bosnia this percentage was somewhat higher (75%), not surprisingly due to the immediate importance for that country especially. Still 25% of the respondents there did not really know what the DPA means.

When asked if the Peace Agreement is considered to be a good starting point for a peaceful coexistence in the future the majority of questioned people in the cities thought that it fulfilled this criterion in some aspects. Notable is the fact that a great amount of answers in Zagreb, Skopje and Novi Sad turned out to be very sceptical (30 % in Skopje while only 9 % of the interviewed people in Sarajevo seemed to share that feeling).

It was also very clear, in both of the cities visited in Bosnia, that the amount of questioned people (mainly Muslims) that still is willing to live with members of other ethnic groups was remarkably high. Of course there was also a high amount of people which did not want to have anything to do with “the enemy”, but especially younger people felt that the only way Bosnia can survive if it is united. In Tuzla, where the amount of refugees among the respondents was higher, this feeling has not been uttered that clearly. Still nearly all people originating from that city kept stressing the fact that Tuzla always stayed multi-ethnic, also during wartime.

The tendency is that the Dayton Agreement and its expected effects is generally seen more positively in Bosnia & Herzegovina, especially in the city of Sarajevo. Considering the siege and the permanent shelling of the city this opinion is to be expected, since the establishing of the DPA did stop the fighting. 95% of the people there think that the agreement is good because it stopped the war. In the city of Novi Sad only two-third of the respondents share that feeling.

It is obvious that for the population in the Serbian Republic, which didn't have to live with the fear of war on their own territory, the fact that the Dayton Agreement and the involvement of the international community in general have had more negative effects on their country -for example in the overall boycott- played a very important role in their judgement of the DPA.

Therefore, when asked whether they think that the agreement would be a good base for future negotiations 24% answered in a very sceptical way, while in the other cities this was regarded with much more optimism.

Finally in every city there was a very high percentage of people who believed, no matter how positive their earlier judgements on the agreement was, that the people who worked out the

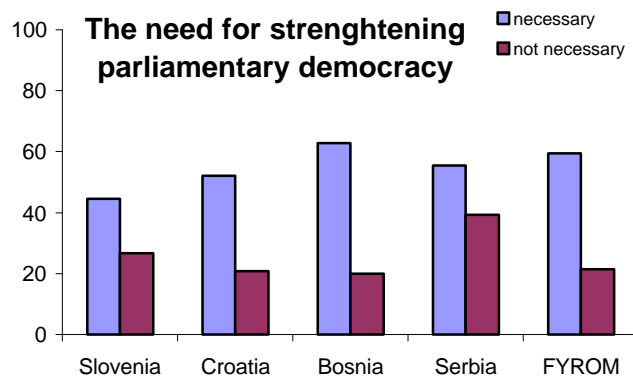


agreement didn't really understand the situation on the Balkans. Surprisingly this opinion was shared the most in Zagreb (63,1%) the city most oriented to the 'west'.

### 3.2 Political and social measures for future development

To get a clear view of the respondents' idea of measures that could contribute to the development of the region, a list of possible measures has been presented to them. For reasons of clarity these measures will be presented under headlines which describe related measures.

#### *Measures to strengthen democracy*



Democracy-strengthening related were the questions 33 (Maintaining present leaders), 34 (Punishing war criminals), 36 (Strengthening parliamentary democracy), and 43 (Greater diversity of media).

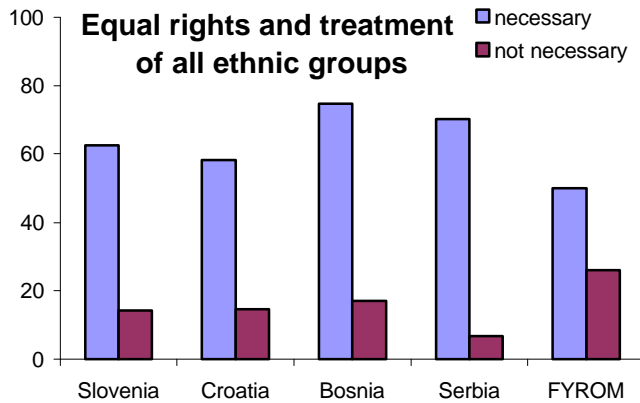
Looking at the results of the first question it seems that the satisfaction with the current political leadership in none of the countries is very high. Only about 20-30 % agree to the statement that the present leaders should remain in office. In Novi Sad only 8,5% shares this opinion. If one relates this to the answers on the earlier question whether the political situation in the country is good, the same results can be seen.

Asked whether they would feel it to be important to punish war criminals the results also do not show much of a difference and vary from 77% (Novi Sad and Zagreb) to around 80 % in Sarajevo or Tuzla. Only Skopje shows a great difference. Maybe because this country has not been involved in the war directly only 44% of the interviewed people see the importance of punishment. Also the opinion on *who* should be regarded as a war criminal was sometimes different in the visited cities.

A little below the expected percentage were the results concerning the need to strengthen parliamentary democracy. Zagreb ranges on the bottom line of the scale with 52% seeing this need followed by 55% in Novi Sad. Regarding the often clear opinions on other measures, these results seem surprising.

Two third of all questioned people regard diverse, free and independent media as something important. Not surprisingly, since in almost all countries the state-controlled media have a virtual monopoly on information provision, especially considering the electronic media. Most strongly this can be seen in Serbia, but also Croatia and Bosnia do not really have an active independent press. Even in Slovenia, which is reported to have a better media situation, more than 50% of the respondents feel that the situation could be improved.

**The importance of human rights and equal opportunity for all**

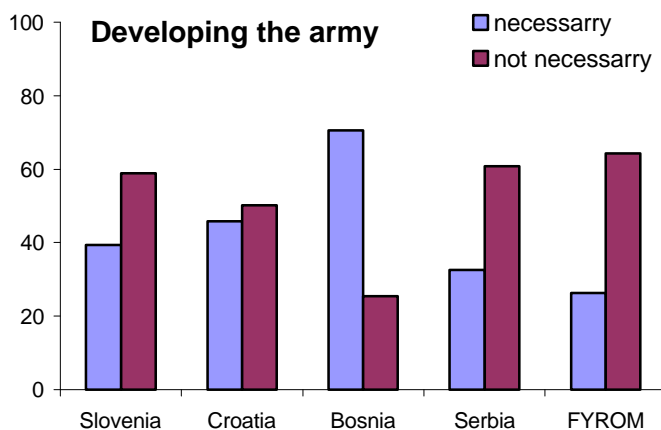


Looking at the question whether equal treatment for other ethnic groups in the country is regarded as important, one can notice that a rather high percentage of 26% in Skopje does not see much necessity in that measure. Being a witness of a discussion in Skopje between members of the Albanian minority and Macedonian students it seems as if the current discussion about the Albanian minority (about 20% of the total population of the country) had a great impact on their answers. The low percentage sharing that view in Serbia could be explained by the fact that Novi Sad lies in Vojvodina, a region with many minorities, still without having major problems between those minorities.

Interesting in this aspect is also the question whether one sees oneself having personal relations with members of a different ethnic group in his or her country. While in general not even 10% thinks that will be impossible, in Maribor 16% do not regard this as possible, and the most integrative people live in Skopje this time, where 95% sees this as no problem.

The same tendency can be seen in question 42 asking about the importance of protecting human rights. This question was included because the opportunity and the will of an interethnic contact will have a major impact on the stability in the countries and the region. Here an overall higher percentage is achieved than when looking to the desire for equal treatment of ethnic groups (see above), but again the people in Zagreb and Skopje seem to put slightly less emphasis on the human rights question than the respondents in the other cities.

**Economic and military measures**



Investments in education and the scientific sector, as well in the local economy in general, are rated very important. This is the field where in every country the people stress mostly that fast improvement of the bad economic situation can contribute even more towards social stability of the region than the development of democratic structures. The highest agreement can be noted again in Novi Sad due to the bad economic situation and of course the boycott. This

boycott also has had a bad effect on the educational system since even student exchange programs had been affected.

About the importance of developing the army the opinions in general are very divided. Only in Bosnia and Herzegovina this measure rates high, unlike the other countries. Especially students in Novi Sad and Skopje were against this measure.

### 3.3 The role of international help for the future development

The last section of this chapter deals with the international involvement and the potential help the international community can give. The question was asked from which organisation(s) or country the respondents expected the most help: the USA, Russia, Islamic Countries, the EU, the UN, the OSCE or NGOs. Also it was possible to answer that help was expected from nobody.

<i>Country</i>	<i>First choice</i>	<i>Second choice</i>
Slovenia	European Union (63%)	United Nations (25%)
Croatia	European Union (63%)	USA (48%)
Bosnia & Herzegovina	USA (77%)	Islamic Countries (59%)
FR Yugoslavia	European Union (39%)	Nobody (33%)
FYR of Macedonia	European Union (54%)	United Nations (29%)

*The two organisations/countries which were mentioned most often as helpful*

The expectations towards the OSCE turned out to be very disappointing. In no country the OSCE was expected to be of much help, in Novi Sad only 4% thought otherwise. Only in Bosnia results were more optimistic: Above 20% believed the OSCE helped their country. This can be easily explained if one looks at where the OSCE is active or not. Still one could say that the OSCE is in general not very known. Also most people seem to associate this organisation with election monitoring only.

From all organisations the EU seems to have the best reputation concerning their potential to help. In every city the majority saw a great possibility to receive some kind of support from the EU and surprisingly enough this opinion was even shared by up to 60,4% in Novi Sad. Still one could wonder what the influence was of the interviewers being member of a *European* youth organisation.

These results can probably be explained by the importance of financial development as shown earlier. The OSCE and even the UN are probably seen as not competent in those areas since their work is mainly of humanitarian nature.

When one looks at the countries most help is expected from, old historical bounds become apparent, especially regarding Russia. In Serbia, through the ages an ally, a lot of people expected much help from that country, while in other countries nobody shared that feeling.

The influence of the USA in Bosnia can be explained by their major role in stopping the conflict ("until America moved in, nothing worked"). The great amount of help expected also from the Islamic countries can be explained by the fact that since the war the majority of the population in Tuzla and Sarajevo is Muslim.

### 3.4 Conclusions

Summarising the results it becomes apparent that much of the answers turned out to be as expected. The Dayton Peace Agreement is of course seen more positively in Bosnia & Herzegovina, the country most affected by the war, and seen most critical in Novi Sad, as the Serbian Republic suffered the most from international pressure. Considering the poor economic situation in all countries represented in the survey it is also not surprising that the people interviewed stressed especially the importance of economic help. This can clearly be seen in the results of the second part where the questions dealing with the importance of investments into education, science and local economy reach the highest percentage throughout all cities. Another indication for this is also the outcome that especially the USA and the EU have a positive votum in their potential of help, knowing that this help will be of a more economic nature than the help of the OSCE or even the UN.

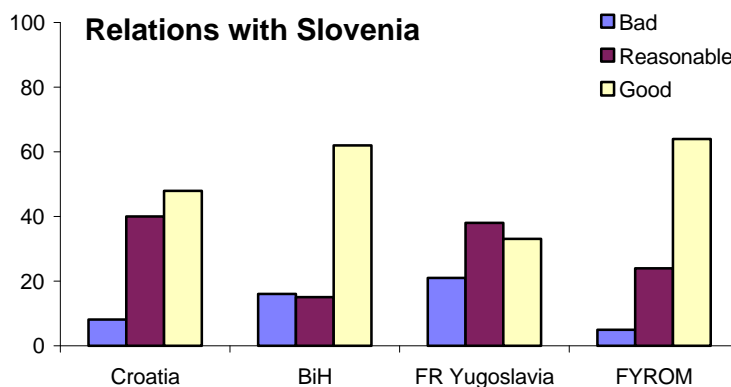
## 4 Relations among the new states

This chapter will deal with the relations between the new states in the former Yugoslav region. In order to find out the respondents' opinion about the relations of their country and the neighbouring states, questions about the present and expected future relations have been asked about all these countries. To find out more about the possible measures to strengthen relations a few possible measures were given, and an opinion about these measures was asked.

In the following paragraphs the opinions of the respondents in neighbouring countries about the relations with the specified country will be displayed. In the end conclusions will be drawn by comparing the results from the different countries, and also the measures to improve relations will be discussed.

### 4.1 Relations with Slovenia

In general, only a small percentage of the respondents think that their country has serious problems with Slovenia, which can easily be seen from the chart.



The overall majority thinks that the relations of their country and Slovenia are good, only a small number of people, especially in Bosnia and FR Yugoslavia, thinks otherwise. The reason most heard for Bosnians to have a bad feeling about Slovenia is the visa requirement that exists for this country.

Although citizens of the FR of Yugoslavia have the worst opinion of their country's relations with Slovenia, their opinion about Slovenia is still much more optimistic than about relations with the other countries.

'Best friends' are the Macedonians, which could be called strange because of the distance between the two countries. But in general this republic has little problems with any of the neighbouring states, which probably explains the high 'ranking'.

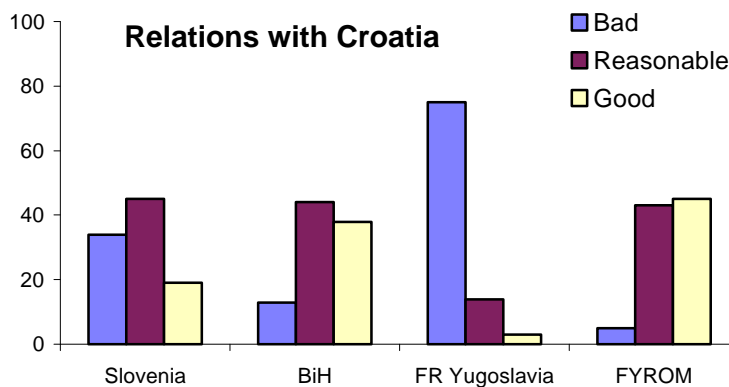
The opinions that most Croats have about the relation with Slovenia can best be described as competitive. Many Croats have the feeling that Slovenia has the feeling that it is doing better in its struggle to join Europe, and they do not feel too comfortable with that.

When one looks at the normalisation of relations, it comes as no surprise that most people think the relations with Slovenia to be normal already. In Yugoslavia the majority thinks relations will normalise soon, so also here optimism is widespread.

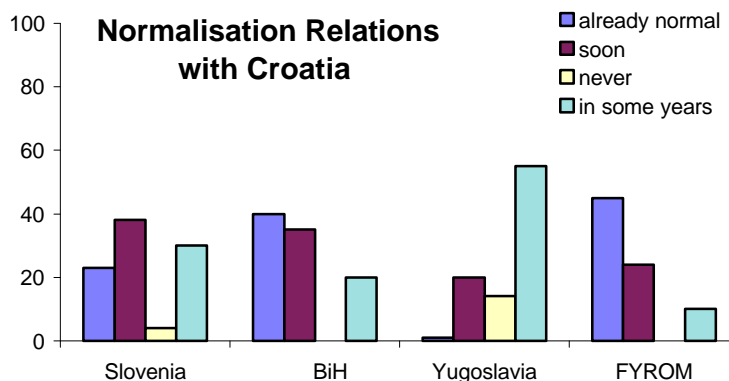
## 4.2 Relations with Croatia

Something which immediately catches attention is the bad opinion which exists in FR Yugoslavia about Croatia. Not less than 75% of the respondents in Novi Sad thought the relations to be bad, the most heard reason was of course the war. Still only 14% of the respondents in that town thought that the relations with Croatia would never normalise, although most people thought it will take many years before this will happen. Slovenes and Bosnians called the relations mostly reasonable. As with all countries, inhabitants of the FYR Macedonia do not really have problems with Croatia.

In Slovenia some tensions exist towards Croatia, mainly caused by the border dispute that exists between the two countries, regarding the part of the Dalmatian coast which belongs to Slovenia. It is surprising that Bosnians judge the relation of their country with Croatia more positively than the Slovenes. Probably it is the border dispute that was much in the picture at the time of research, which makes the Slovenes stick out so much.



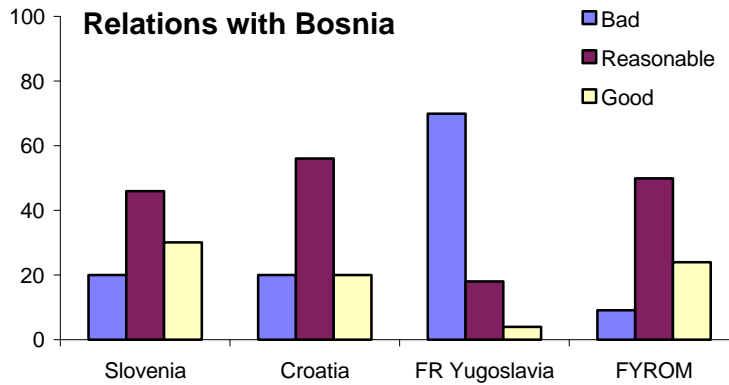
When looking at the normalisation of relations in the future, the most remarkable figure is the 4% in Slovenia which thinks that the relations between the two countries will never normalise. However, the result is too small to form substantial conclusions. In any case, negative expectations are probably inspired by the border dispute, still some 40% expect things to normalise soon. The percentage that thinks relations will never normalise is substantially higher in Yugoslavia, but that was to be expected.



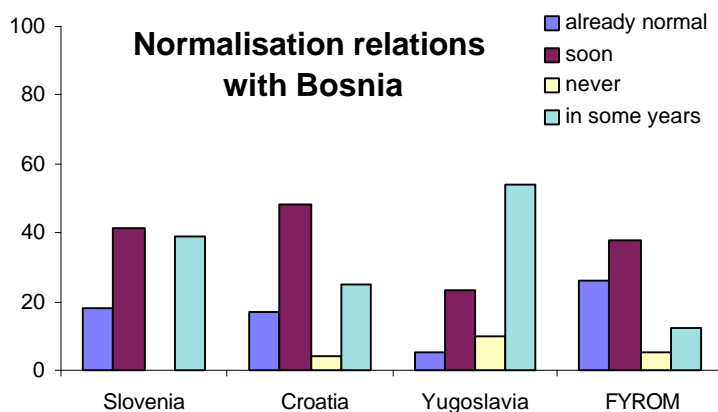
In general, the respondents in Novi Sad could be called quite optimistic regarding their opinion on the normalisation of relations between the two countries. The reactions in the other countries are not surprising: The majority thinks that the relations are normal already and if not, that this will be the case soon.

### 4.3 Relations with Bosnia & Herzegovina

Serbs hold the opinion that the relations between their country and Bosnia & Herzegovina are bad, this is shown by the 70% of the respondents in Novi Sad having this opinion. Only 4% thinks the relations are good. This percentage judging relations as bad is much higher in the other cities, as can be seen from the chart below.

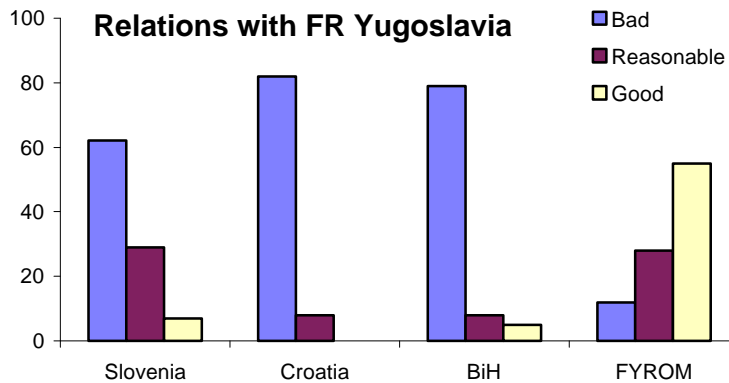


Why there was a relatively high amount of Slovenes who regarded the relations with Bosnia & Herzegovina as bad, was not really clear. The instable situation in the country definitely is an issue, but also the fact that there are not many relations with the country at all could have played a role. The same percentage of Croats sees the relations with Bosnia as bad, also they think that Bosnia is an unstable country, which will not survive for long. As mentioned before, the Bosnian Croats are not particularly liked, mainly because of their strong nationalism and often high positions and power in Croatia itself. In both countries also the refugee problem was mentioned. Nevertheless, apart from a substantial part with a negative judgement, in both Maribor and Zagreb the biggest part of respondents judged relations as reasonable. The percentage that judged the current relations as good was at least as big as or bigger than the group with a negative judgement.



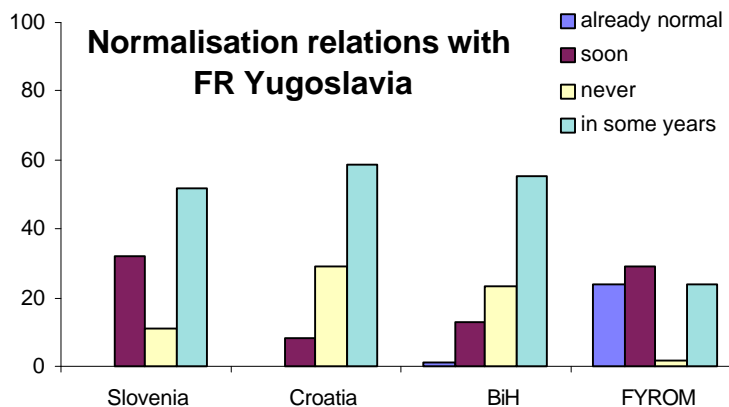
The questions about normalisation of the relation between the respondent's country and Bosnia & Herzegovina did not show many surprises, although - again - in Novi Sad people were relatively optimistic about the future relations between FR Yugoslavia and Bosnia & Herzegovina compared with their view on the current relations. In general most people do not believe the relations to be normal already, but do think this will become better soon.

#### 4.4 Relations with FR Yugoslavia



The charts present the views on the current relations and the expectations regarding the normalisation of relations. It can be concluded that in Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Slovenia comparatively equal views are held, namely that current relations are bad and that they will take quite some years to improve. A large percentage, varying from ten to thirty percent, even feels that relations will never normalise. A ranking of the three countries from more negative to less negative is Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina and finally Slovenia. It should be noted that the attitude in Croatia is more negative than in Bosnia, at the time of research the Serbs still occupied part of the 'Croatian motherland', namely Eastern Slavonia.

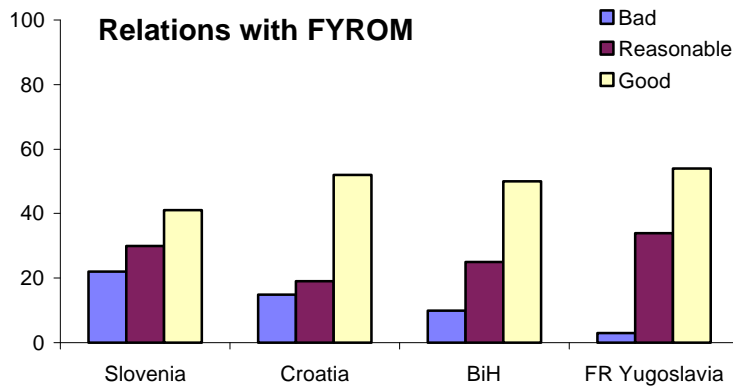
The exception to the general bad judgement on relations with FR Yugoslavia is the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which always had strong ties with FR Yugoslavia, and has a common border only with this part of the former Yugoslav Federation. A vast majority of respondents in this country judged the current relations as good or at least reasonable. The expectations on normalisation are in line with this positive judgement.



#### 4.5 Relations with FYR Macedonia

The relations between FYR Macedonia and the other former Yugoslav countries are, in general, good. Basically, especially in countries like Croatia and Bosnia, people did not care or know too much about this southern republic. Still 20% of the Slovenes, 15% of the Croats and 10% of the Bosnians regard the relations with FYR Macedonia as bad. This is mainly because the distance between these republics and FYR Macedonia, the lack of relations being the reason for the results. Nearly everybody thinks that the relations, if they are not normal yet, will normalise in the future.





The conclusion can be made easily: FYR Macedonia doesn't really have problems with any of the former Yugoslav states. That doesn't mean that the republic does not have international conflicts, but these are with other countries: Greece, Bulgaria and Albania. The Albanian problem is the largest problem FYR Macedonia copes with, as will be explained further on in this report.

#### 4.6 Comparison of results

The young people from Skopje can be said of having, in general, a positive valuation of the relations of their country with the other former Yugoslav countries. This clear outcome can be confirmed with the same type of feelings in the other countries on the relations with the FYR of Macedonia. Also the expectations on normalisation are good both in Skopje and in the other countries.

When looking at the mutual relations that are left, we see that Slovenes are more negative about their relations than the other way around. This applies especially to Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina, where people feel clearly more positive about Slovenia than Slovenes feel about these countries.

Remaining are the relations between FR Yugoslavia, Croatia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. The youth in Serbia judges the relations with the other two countries mainly as bad, while this is felt the same in the other two countries. However, concerning the expectations on normalisation it appears that the Serbian youth has more optimistic feelings than those felt in Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia.

The youth from both Bosnia & Herzegovina and Croatia judge relations between their countries as reasonable, while Bosnians are slightly more positive on this than the Croats. The expectations on future normalisation are in accordance with these attitudes.

#### 4.7 Methods to improve relations

The CST-team found out that most respondents had the opinion that something should be done to improve the relations between the several countries. The team was interested in knowing what people thought to be the best method to do this. To find this out, four options were given: to set up fair borders, to punish war criminals, to develop a common market and to develop cultural contacts. Also the possibility was given to add extra measures.

Setting up fair borders is important according to 67% of all respondents. People in Zagreb (81%) and Tuzla (75%) stressed especially this measure, while in Skopje only 50% thought it to be important. In this city also punishing war criminals was not regarded very relevant. While the overall score of this measure was 78%, substantially more people answered 'yes' to this question in Sarajevo (92%), Tuzla (89%) and Zagreb (83%). This is quite logical, since the atrocities during the war have been committed in Bosnia and Croatia.

The development of a market, and economic relations in general, are seen as the most important measure to improve relations. Nine out of ten respondents agreed to this. Also this time the interviewed people in Skopje were most sceptical, 81% shared this opinion.

Also cultural contacts was a high scoring measure, especially in Novi Sad this option was favoured very much. Not surprisingly, due to the embargo all foreign contacts had been cut, and all exchange programmes stopped. Also in Maribor more than the average of 88% thought that cultural contacts and exchanges are important.

What should be noted first when looking at the options given by the respondents themselves, is that people had not developed many ideas on this field themselves. Still it can be noted that in Maribor the most answers stress economic relations, while in Sarajevo and especially Novi Sad the importance of *personal* contacts was mentioned more often. The most original (and drastic) measure which came up there was the establishment of a governmental love & friendship policy, next to these personal contacts.

## 4.8 Conclusions

The opinions about the relations between the new states of the former Yugoslavia vary. However, some conclusions can be drawn.

The relations with Slovenia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in general are seen as positive. The federal Republic of Yugoslavia scores much worse, especially among their former 'enemies'. This is quite understandable. Something else which can be noted is that the opinions of Serb citizens about the future relations with their neighbouring countries are better than the other way around. The Serbs in general think that relations which did not normalise yet can improve in the course of a few years. Especially the Bosnians and Croats think that improving relations with the FR Yugoslavia will take longer. Slovenia and Croatia, by far the most advanced former Yugoslav republics, have a sort of competitive relationship. As both are striving for membership of various European Institutions, Slovenia appears to take a clear lead in this. Both countries look more towards the Western part of Europe, than to the rest of former Yugoslavia. Especially young people in FR Yugoslavia have suffered much from the embargo, and are eager to establish contacts with any foreigner. Also in Bosnia & Herzegovina this tendency can be noted.

Although there are more or less large groups which think relations with one or more of the other former Yugoslav countries will never normalise, the general conclusion is that the young people we spoke with see possibilities for normalisation on a short to longer term (if they do not think that relations are normal already).

The main method for improving the relations between the states of former Yugoslavia is the increase of economic relations. The 'Arizona-market' in Bosnia, on the border between Republika Srpska and the Federation, is the most obvious example of this. While it remained difficult to travel between the two parts of Bosnia & Herzegovina, let alone the resettlement of refugees in their home-town, trade between the different parties is thriving. Merchants with nationalistic slogans on their stands are trading intensively with each other. When the countries were still part of the old Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia their economies

were very dependent of each other. This provides a ground for rebuilding these economic relations.

## 5 View towards Europe

This chapter will deal with the relations between the different states of former Yugoslavia and the rest of Europe, in any case it will try to present the different views that exist in the region on these relations. First the ideas on Europe in general, about what Europe means to people, are dealt with. This is followed by an evaluation of the current relations with the rest of Europe. The latter is studied in the context of the judgement on the role that the European Union has played in the conflict. The final paragraph is reserved for the views on the future: what are the possibilities for future relations?

### 5.1 Idea of Europe

The concept of Europe is unclear throughout Europe. Everyone has a different understanding of what Europe is. There is debate on its geographic boundaries but also the perception of what Europe is, what it means for someone, differs greatly throughout the continent. In Europe there have been different perspectives on the region of former Yugoslavia. The conflict has been described as a Balkan war, not a European war. People have said that Europe has turned its back on the Balkan, but at the same time it has been argued that Europe has felt helpless about what was going on in that part of Europe. In this paragraph the perspectives on Europe in the different states of former Yugoslavia will be presented. These can never be more than impressions on an issue which cannot be captured in precise and quantitative data.

However, it can be argued that Europe becomes visible in practice through the presence of European institutions. The familiarity with these European Institutions was something we have tried to measure. Therefore this paragraph starts with a general impression of the idea of Europe. This is followed by a summary of the results of the question on knowledge of European institutions.

#### *Impressions on the idea of Europe*

The concept of Europe is very vague but respondents reveal a generally positive attitude towards this idea.

When asking for a definition of Europe, people seem embarrassed about not having precise information about this subject. The separation of these countries from the other European countries during the conflict and the difficulties for these people to travel could explain this lack of knowledge.

But nevertheless, they tried to give an answer and in most of the cases associate Europe with one or more of the following ideas:

1. Europe is an open door to the west with all the advantages it includes (money, jobs, travels, contacts). It seems sometimes that the idea of Europe is a little bit idealised especially in countries dealing with big material problems. They see Europe as an Eldorado and expect from it the resolvment of their problems.
2. Europe is a big continent to which we all belong for cultural, historical and geographical reasons. The feeling of being European is very strong in most of the countries which were visited, even if the reasons for it differ sometimes.
3. Europe is also viewed as a sleeping beauty who has many possibilities but does not use them. Hereby, people refer above all to the role of the EU in the conflict. Many people are conscient that the concept of a united Europe is not achieved yet. But anyway the

question of a united Europe or of a possible accession to the EU is for most of them secondary because of the existing more urgent problems.

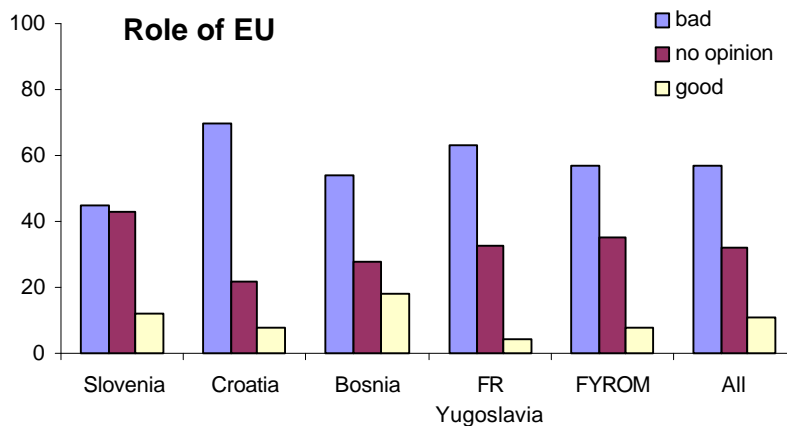
### *Knowledge on European institutions/organisations*

The knowledge on European institutions or organisations seems to be limited to some well known big organisations such as the EU, the council of Europe and the OSCE and to smaller ones acting in specific regions. The familiarity with European organisations seems linked with their more or less active role in the region concerned. Indeed, while the OSCE was not even mentioned once in Slovenia, it seems to be one of the most famous organisations in Bosnia and Macedonia. We also noticed that many people do not make any difference between European organisations and international organisations.

## 5.2 The current relationship with the European Union

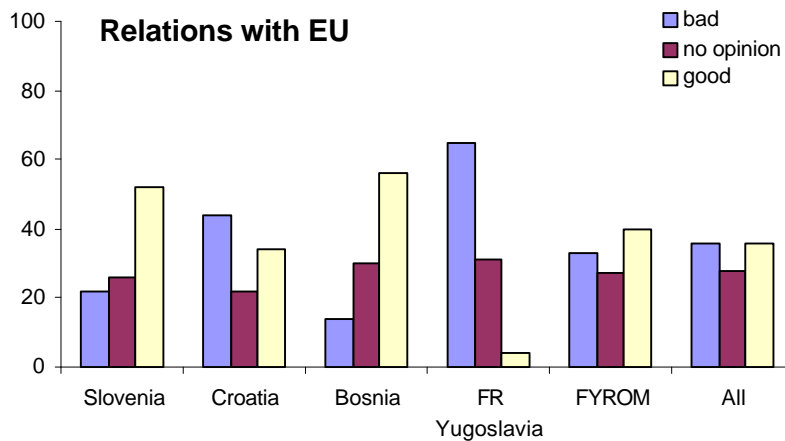
We assumed that the opinion on the current relationship with the European Union was related to the view on the role that the European Union has played in the conflict in former Yugoslavia. Therefore this paragraph will first deal with how people judge the role of the European Union. Subsequently the opinions on the relationship of the different countries with the European Union are evaluated.

The following graph summarises the results on the role of the European Union in the conflict. In general there is a majority that holds the view that the role of the European Union was a bad one. Only eleven percent would give a positive opinion on this matter. In Croatia, the negative opinion was the strongest. We have not found an explanation for this deviance.



We have the impression that the negative judgement on the role of the EU is mostly based on the political role that the EU has played in the conflict.

When we look at the judgement of the current relations with the European Union, we get the following picture.



This picture is much more positive than the one evaluating the role of the EU in the conflict. However, just like on the issue of the role of the EU, there is a large percentage of respondents which does not have a real opinion on the matter. We had the impression that for many the role of the EU on the political field was not greatly appreciated, while they do see the economic advantages of relations with the EU.

In Novi Sad, there is a clear majority which thinks that the relations between the EU and their country are bad. In all countries one can find a significant support for both the positive and negative position, but not in Serbia.

We conclude that the judgement on the political role does not determine the way people feel about the current relations with Europe. This shows a pragmatic approach. The European Union is still seen as a suitable and maybe inevitable partner in the development of the country. The view on the current relations is in line with the way people feel about the future connections. This issue is dealt with in the following paragraph.

### 5.3 Future co-operation with Europe

In general we can say that young people feel that their countries should make more connections with the European Union (88% of all respondents feel that way). This feeling is equally shared over all countries. One could conclude that co-operation with the European Union is seen as very important for the future in all of the countries. It is remarkable that although there is a general consensus that the role that the European Union has played in the conflict was not good, the EU still remains an attractive partner for co-operation.

#### *Why do people want more connections to the EU?*

We have also asked for the reasons why people were in favour or against more connections to the European Union. In all cities the economic reasons were mentioned most. This was most clear in Maribor where 2/3 of the positive answers were based on economic grounds. Not many people gave the reason that connections are important to stress the fact that their country belongs to Europe. When someone was questioned on this issue, he or she would mostly answer that Slovenia simply is part of Europe. A typical answer for Slovenia however is that more connections should be made because Slovenia is such a small country (it cannot do everything alone, it needs to co-operate). There is a great awareness of the fact that the country is very small, people mention it quite often. Because of this the importance of maintaining the national identity and newly found autonomy was stressed.

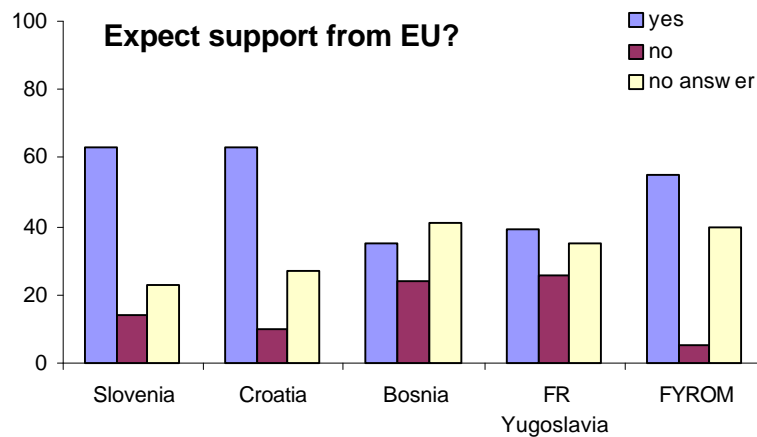
In Zagreb the feeling of belonging to Europe and the importance of cultural relations are almost as important as the economic reasons and in Bosnia they turn out to be equally important (both categories account for 30% of positive answers). When we look at the answers from Novi Sad we see that they are comparable to Zagreb, economic reasons account for one third and feelings of belonging to Europe combined with the importance of cultural relations account for 27% of positive answers. From this we can conclude that for young people from the countries which were directly involved in the war, the more idealistic feelings for Europe are more important than in Slovenia.

Apart from these main reasons there are two results which attract attention. The first is that 20% of Bosnians who are positive about making more connections to the EU think that this is good for the safety of their country, in other countries safety is not mentioned that often (apart from the FYR of Macedonia). The second striking result is that more than 10% of Serbs want more connections because they expect Europe to break the isolation of the country. These results reflect very well the differences in the things which occupy the minds of young people in Bosnia and Serbia. Serbs worry very much about their own possibilities, and really miss international contacts. At the time of our research we had the strong feeling that there was a 'laissez faire' attitude, meaning that Milosevic would determine the future of the country, and there was nothing to be done about it. The later protests by citizens and students proved different. Bosnians (who are surrounded with international organisations) are also mainly occupied with their daily life (enough problems in getting on with that) but have greater worries and ideals about the future of their country. Several times respondents expressed their fear that Bosnia (or at least part of it) will become a complete Muslim state. They wish for Bosnia to be a state where people of different religious/ethnic origin feel at home. They feel that being part of Europe would entail that ideal.

Young people from the FYR of Macedonia also give mostly economic reasons for co-operation with the EU. Two other categories of reasons accounted each for 21% of answers. These were the feelings of belonging to Europe (because of cultural/historical ties) and the importance of political co-operation including the expectation that this will be good for the development of democracy. As these categories were used in all countries, they can be translated to the case of the FYR of Macedonia in the following way. The affiliation to Europe is related to the recognition of independence of the country (belonging to Europe). At the same time, Europe is seen as the guarantee for stability (internal) and security (external, together with NATO) of the country through political co-operation. Therefore one cannot speak of one dominant category of reasons for increased connections with the EU, but still it is very important for people from Skopje, who often feel forgotten by the European Union. It should be noted that the young people answered the question on increased connections most positive of all (93% of the respondents answered positive in Skopje).

Although there are differences in the reasons why young people are in favour of increased connections with the EU, the bottom line is that a great majority is in favour of it, as we noted above. The results are equal in all countries in that respect.

However, when we look at the following table we can see differences. It summarises to what extent the European Union was chosen as one of the organisations/countries from whom people expect most support in the future development of their country.



This question is more concrete than the question on connections with the EU, so it is interesting to compare it to see in how far the very positive attitude towards connections relates to how much people expect major support from the EU for their country.

Slovenia and Croatia have always emphasised the fact that they are real European countries, and the people from these countries mention the European Union the most. In contrast, the people from both Bosnia and Serbia expect the least. A reason could be a difference in appreciation of the EU but we already know that the role that the European Union played in the conflict has been judged as not good equally in all countries. It could be that in Bosnia and Serbia young people are more cynical about the European Union and have therefore lower expectations from it. This is a double-hearted attitude because they do find increased connections important.

#### *Countries for future co-operation*

The respondents were asked to name the countries with which they saw possibilities for co-operation in the future. The following table shows per city the three countries/areas which were named the most.

	<i>Maribor</i>	<i>Zagreb</i>	<i>Sarajevo</i>	<i>Tuzla</i>	<i>Novi Sad</i>	<i>Skopje</i>
1	Austria	Germany	USA	USA	Greece/ Russia	USA
2	Germany	Austria	Germany	Germany	France	FR Yugoslavia
3	Croatia	Italy	Islamic countries	Croatia	Germany	Russia

#### *Countries for future co-operation*

In general the neighbouring countries were mentioned often, although not always ending in the top three as listed above. The neighbouring countries that were mentioned included often also the neighbours that were part of the former Yugoslavia, especially in the countries that were not involved in the war directly (Slovenia and FYR of Macedonia).

Germany is a popular country for co-operation. It is not surprising that it is mentioned most in Croatia. In Bosnia the United States of America are most popular and in Novi Sad people spoke of 'our brothers from Greece and Russia'. In Bosnia people often spoke of the Islamic countries or mentioned Turkey or Iran separately. In Sarajevo one could see many international organisations among which many from Islamic countries.



## 5.4 Conclusions

There are three main views on Europe, they can be characterised as:

1. Europe is an open door to the west (the economic Eldorado);
2. Europe is something I simply belong to (for cultural, historic or geographical reasons);
3. Europe is a sleeping beauty.

There is wide agreement on the negative judgement on the role the European Union has played in the conflict in former Yugoslavia. At the same time the current relations with the European Union are judged as positive or at least seen as something to intensify. Apparently the negative role in the conflict has not taken away the importance of Europe for young people in the region.

The reasons for the wish for increased co-operation with the Europe Union vary. A main category of reasons, which is important in all cities that were visited are the economic reasons. A development towards the integration in the European Union (the concrete manifestation of Europe) is seen as important for the welfare of the country. It seems that in the countries directly involved in the war, the recognition of their cultural ties with Europe is of great importance next to the economic reasons, while the economic reasons seem to be predominant in Slovenia.

In FYR of Macedonia the affiliation to Europe is related to the recognition of independence of the country. Also Europe is seen as the guarantee for stability and security (together with NATO). In Serbia, Europe is expected to break the isolation of the country. In Bosnia, people really emphasise their belonging to Europe. An explanation for this is the fear that Bosnia (or at least part of it) will become a complete Muslim state. They feel that being part of Europe would entail the ideal of a multi-religious or -ethnic state. In Slovenia, which is already an associated country to the EU, the question of being European is out-dated, it simply is already part of it. An important aspect for both Slovenia and Croatia is that the respondents there consider their country to be very small. On one hand they point at the fact that their country is too small to do things alone, on the other hand they stress the importance of maintaining their identity and newly found autonomy.

European Institutions are in general not very known, apart from the European Union. Where organisations are mentioned, they are seen more as international organisations than as European ones.

## 6 Conclusions and recommendations

One of the main conclusions of the CST should be that the former Yugoslavia cannot be regarded as one anymore: The countries have developed in very different directions, and its so did its citizens.

Differences which were already present in the old Socialist Yugoslavia have intensified, everybody seems to lay stress on those differences, and keeps explaining why living together in one state is not possible anymore. This feeling was the strongest in Slovenia and Croatia (the states that seceded first). Still, everywhere also people could be found who still felt “Jugoslav” and almost everybody was sorry the way the break-up of the former Yugoslavia had been accomplished.

The impression one gets when all the outcomes are taken together is that something which is characteristic for young people is dominant, instead of factors specific for the region of former Yugoslavia. Young people are relatively optimistic. Being young means having a strong need for a future that offers possibilities, therefore young people will tend to emphasise opportunities whenever they can be seen. This applies also to the young people we interviewed. Opinions vary greatly, and often people have quite negative opinions on their lives and developments around them. Still the belief in an economic development and the wish for contacts with people from abroad leads to an open mind, making it possible to hold on to ideals. Young and educated people can stimulate the developments, within and between the new countries in the region of former Yugoslavia, for the better. Policy makers in the area should be aware of the enormous potential that lies in improving the situation of young people and offering them the chance on rebuilding contacts. Initially with the rest of Europe, this could be followed by, or result in, contacts within the region.

Maybe we have found this conclusion because we wanted to, the reader should judge for himself based on the details given in the previous chapters. A short summary of the conclusions that were drawn in each chapter is given below.

- Regarding the regular daily life in the visited countries, the conditions in FR Yugoslavia and Bosnia & Herzegovina were the worst, in Slovenia the best. The same applied to the study conditions, although in all countries these could be much better;
- The opinion about the economic situation was the best in Slovenia and Croatia. About the political situation the respondents in Slovenia and FYR of Macedonia judged the mildest;
- The future opportunities, especially regarding a future job, were judged to be low;
- The questioned people thought that economical help would be the best guarantee for reaching social stability in their countries;
- The relations between Slovenia, FYR of Macedonia and the other former Yugoslav states were considered to be good. Between the former enemies the relations were seen as much worse. Here the respondents in Novi Sad seemed to be more optimistic about the future of these relationships than the other countries. These respondents, together with the people in Bosnia, were very eager to get in touch with any foreigner in general;
- Although there were more or less large groups which thought relations with one or more of the other former Yugoslav countries would never normalise, the general conclusion is that the young people we spoke with see possibilities for normalisation of their country’s relations with their neighbours on a short to longer term;

- The main method for improving the relations between the states of former Yugoslavia is the increase of economic relations. When the countries were still part of the old Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, their economies were very dependent of each other;
- The three main views on Europe could be characterised as:
  1. Europe is an open door to the west
  2. Europe is something I simply belong to
  3. Europe is a sleeping beauty;
- The role the European Union has played in the conflict was perceived as bad. However, this was not seen as being a reason for not wanting more contacts with the EU;
- The two main reasons for wanting more co-operation with the EU are the economical advantages one sees and the cultural and historical bounds which make the EU an unbreakable part of the respondent's region;
- European Institutions are quite unknown. Wherever they are mentioned, they are not being seen as European, but more as international institutions.

## 7 The programme

During the Case-Study Trip the different organising locals all presented a local programme to us, which in general was of very high quality. Typically, such a programme consisted of lectures, discussions, and meetings with other student organisations. Apart from that, and apart from the research conducted by the participants, the hosting local also took care of the lodging, the food and the social programme, in which we really could experience the living conditions of the young people in the region.

In this chapter the different local programmes will be presented, in order to provide a clear overview of what the participants have been doing during these two weeks.

### 7.1 Maribor

The most interesting lecture during our stay in this city was given by Mr. Ovin, professor at the faculty of economics of the University of Maribor. He gave the economists' view on the fall of Yugoslavia and the impact it had on Slovenia. While the republic was still in the SFR Jugoslavija, its inhabitants formed 8% of the country's population, but produced 16% of its GNP. The most important result of Slovenia's independence was the loss of a big internal market. Mr. Ovin said that this loss is currently made up for with a re-orientation from the former Yugoslav towards the European Union market, and that Slovenia has a strong desire to be a part of the Union. At the moment Slovenia has almost no economical problems preventing it from becoming part of the European Union.

One of the main possibilities for regional stabilisation would be through trade co-operation with the new-formed states and the other neighbouring states.

Another interesting part of the programme was the meeting held with other student organisations in Maribor. Present were representatives of AIESEC, AEGEE and ŠOU. The participants were particularly interested in forms of co-operation among the different organisations on local level, and co-operation with different branches of certain organisations with branches in other former Yugoslav countries. AIESEC-Maribor has contacts with AIESEC-Belgrade, but since the latter only has been working again since the embargo was lifted, co-operation didn't really come off the ground yet. However, the basis for future co-operation has been laid. For AEGEE the situation is quite different. Because of the CST there has been much communication with other AEGEE-locals in the region, and also on other fields co-operation exists.

Concerning local organisations in Maribor, however, not much co-operation among them exists. However, there is an umbrella-organisation, called ŠOU, which tries to take care of students' interests in general and provides facilities for other student organisations. One of their greatest achievements has been the implementation of a coupon system, which enables students to have meals in regular restaurants in Maribor for a price which is much lower than the usual prices. This organisation is organised on a national level, with another branch in Ljubljana.

#### *Programme*

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##### Friday 18-10

9:00	Start preparatory meeting at the faculty of economics
13:30	Lunch
14:30	City tour
16:00	Lecture by professor Ovin at the faculty of economics
18:00	Video presentation at the faculty of economics * presentation of Slovenia

\* documentary on the 10 day war  
20:00 Dinner, social programme

Saturday 19-10

9:00 Meeting with international organisations in Maribor  
10:30 Research  
12:00 Lunch  
13:00 Research  
18:00 Dinner, social programme

Sunday 20-10

9:00 Departure to Zagreb

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## 7.2 Zagreb

AEGEE-Zagreb hosted us in one of the most beautiful cities in the region, and it was clear that their members were proud of it. And why shouldn't they? The two lectures given gave a good insight in the way the Croatian political system works nowadays. The first one, by Mr Nenad Zakošek from the faculty of political science of the University of Zagreb, gave a very clear overview of the recent democratic and political developments in Croatia.

A major element of any democratic development is the freedom of press. It became clear that although there formally is freedom of press, the reality is somewhat different. Especially the electronic media (e.g. radio/television) are under the control of the government, and therefore not objective. There are independent newspapers which are tolerated. If a newspaper becomes too popular the government will try to control it, for example by taking it to court. During our visit there had recently been an example of this. A satirical magazine had been sued by the government, but, surprisingly, the judge decided in favour of this magazine. This shows the changes which are taking place in society. Mr. Zakošek explained to us that during the war it was fairly easy to mobilise the population behind a strong nationalistic alliance for a strong and independent Croatia. Now the threat of war has gone, the public has become more critical and cannot be mobilised as easily as before.

This brought us to the political developments. Croatia has a multi-party system, the reality however is that all power lies with the party of president Tudjman. As the war brought successes, the position of his party, HDZ, grew because it attracted many representatives from opposition parties. As a result of this, the formerly divided opposition united for the election of the Zagreb city council. This, together with the changing attitude of the population which has been mentioned above, provided for a majority in the City Council of Zagreb. Still, using his power, Tudjman resisted the mandate for a city government of the opposition. Ultimately a politician of his choice was appointed as mayor.

The recent developments can be characterised as moving towards democracy and stability. In Bosnia there is a strong group of Croats who would like to see their part of Bosnia becoming part of Croatia. It is the estimation of professor Zakošek that in today's Croatia there is no strong support for such action. People are satisfied with what they have achieved and are not willing to risk this for an even bigger Croatia.

The second lecture was by a representative from the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This lecture could be summarised as telling the opposite of what Mr Zakošek had told us. Where he mentioned the involuntary expulsion of Serbs, the government diplomat spoke of

‘leaving out of their own free will’, while there had of course been some incidents. Apart from this she gave an interesting overview of the history of Croatia, eventually leading to the Croatia of today. The handout prepared by her enabled us to sing the Croatian anthem.

*Programme*

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Sunday 20-10

12:00          Arrival in Zagreb, lunch  
13:00          City tour  
16:00          Research  
19:00          Dinner, social programme

Monday 21-10

9:00          Lecture by Mr. Zakošek, faculty of political science, University of Zagreb  
11:00          Lecture by a representative of the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
12:30          Lunch  
14:00          Research  
20:00          Dinner, social programme

Tuesday 22-10

10:00          Departure to Sarajevo

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### 7.3 Sarajevo

The most impressive part of our stay in Bosnia was not formed by lectures, but by the journey to Sarajevo, the visit to the two cities and, especially, the talks with the people we met. After crossing the Sava river, the border with Croatia, the bus took the road through Republika Srpska. We crossed an IFOR checkpoint, and started driving through destroyed villages. Looking at this sight, the atmosphere in the bus dropped instantly. Suddenly we knew again what was the reason a CST like this had been organised. However, this was nothing compared to the things we saw - and heard - in Sarajevo itself. AEGEE-Sarajevo is a small local, and due to the extremely hard conditions they lived in it was difficult for them to organise fancy lectures or things like that. The most interesting and educating part of the programme was definitely conducting the research. One of the things organised by AEGEE-Sarajevo was a meeting with several representatives of NGOs active in the city. This meeting was held at the centre of “Europaclub”, where we mainly talked with people from DIA, a Spanish organisation. Afterwards a meeting with ELSA students showed the clear will that exists among the students to look forward, instead of remaining stuck in the past.

*Programme*

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Tuesday 22-10

21:00          Arrival in Sarajevo, lodging

Wednesday 23-10

9:30          Sightseeing  
12:00          Meeting with NGOs at “Europaclub”  
14:00          Lunch  
15:00          Meeting with ELSA students, research  
20:30          Dinner, social programme

Thursday 24-10

9:00	Research
13:30	Lunch, departure to Tuzla

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## 7.4 Tuzla

Tuzla was an entirely different town when compared to Sarajevo. Lodging had been arranged outside the city itself, in a hotel on the shores of a beautiful lake, where one could hardly imagine the horrors of the war. A city tour put everything in perspective again: we visited the little square where in 1995 a Bosnian Serb shell killed 72 young people. We also visited the cemetery, where all of them had been buried: Muslims next to Orthodox and Catholic, all resting like they also lived: together. When talking to one of the survivors of the attack, it was easy to project a catastrophe like this in your own town, and that did not make it easier.

*Programme*

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Thursday 24-10

17:00	Arrival in Tuzla
17:30	City tour
20:00	Lodging and dinner

Friday 25-10

10:00	Visit to the salt factory / city museum of Tuzla
12:30	Lunch
14:00	Visit to the faculty of electrical and mechanical engineering, lecture and meeting with student organisations
16:00	Research
21:00	Dinner, social programme

Saturday 26-10

11:00	Departure to Novi Sad
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## 7.5 Novi Sad

When the bus arrived in Novi Sad, we were a few hours late. So we missed a reception at the city hall and the dinner. The organisation was waiting for us eagerly, and when we arrived hell broke loose: within minutes every participant was assigned a 'private' member of AEGEE-Novı Sad, where he or she would be lodged. Badges were distributed, and a programme presented.

This was the first international event AEGEE-Novı Sad was organising, and they did their utmost best to make it perfect. Lectures, sightseeing, workshops: everything was present. Everything looked like a very well organised mini congress, and our time in the city was used effectively. The most interesting lecture, given by professor Radmila Marinkovic Neducin from the faculty of technology, handled about the education system in Serbia, and the policies towards student housing and scholarships. It became clear that this system was very much result-based, which allowed the brightest students quite some advantages.

*Programme*

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Saturday 26-10

- 19:00 Arrival, lodging  
22:00 Social programme

Sunday 27-10

- 10:15 Lectures at the faculty of Philosophy:  
- Dragan Glavatovic, representative of the Rector of the University of Novi Sad  
- Vesna Bengin, president of IAESTE-Novisad  
- Professor Neducin, faculty of technology  
14:00 Lunch  
15:30 City tour, research  
20:00 Dinner, social programme

Monday 28-10

- 10:30 Visit to Matica Srpska, cultural centre  
12:00 Lunch  
14:00 Research  
20:00 Dinner, departure to Skopje
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## 7.6 Skopje

Since the important issues in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia are different from those in the other visited states, and we did not want to leave this out of the final report, a more extensive report of the local programme in Skopje will be presented. During our stay in Skopje there was a major focus on nationalism and the situation of the Albanian minority within this country.

AEGEE-Skopje had organised two lectures dealing with this topic and, to sum it up, there was a panel discussion with representatives from different ethnic minorities. Since they were mostly students the dominant topic of the discussion was the situation within the educational system.

The major part of the Albanian minority can be found in the region close to the Albanian border. Here regions can be found, where the Albanian community comes close to 80% of the total population. The educational system allows primary and secondary education to be held in the Albanian language. Higher levels of education are taught exclusively in Macedonian. Since the Albanian University in Pristine (Kosovo) was closed, the Albanians don't have the possibility to get higher education in their own language outside their country. As a reaction there have been attempts to create an own university in FYR Macedonia, which led to massive protest and non-understanding by the Macedonian people. Those argue that the level of higher education is the final moment to bring these two groups together, besides there is the obvious fact that being taught in Albanian only will give them a great disadvantage when applying for qualified jobs.

The argument that this is considered to be a major discrimination within the educational sector was answered with the reference that a quota has been established which is supposed to insure that the total number of Albanian students is comparable with their portion within the total population (21,7%)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Albanian leaders speak of 40%



In the panel discussion the Macedonian students described these measures of "positive discrimination" even as an advantage for the Albanians. Since the educational standard in schools where Albanian is the main language is considered to be below average the quota might allow a member of the Albanian minority to pass the regular university admission test and be accepted with a worse test result than other students.

The follow-up lecture, given by Tatjana Sayppel, monitor for the OSCE in the region, tried to give an introduction to the work the organisation did since their deployment in Sept. 1992 to prevent the spillover of the war raging at that time in former Yugoslavia.

The OSCE mission in FYR Macedonia is often considered to be a favourite example of the kind of conflict prevention the organisation is able to do.

Mrs. Sayppel described her daily work as monitoring and mediating wherever a conflict situation could possibly rise. In her opinion the constitution of the country fulfils most of the democratic standards, even concerning minority rights.

It is the fact, that the Albanian population lives isolated in villages with a poor infrastructure and living conditions below the general average, which forms the basis for many problems between the two ethnic groups. The structural partition nourishes non-understanding and maybe even intolerance for the fears and interests of the other community, because it doesn't allow very many points of contact.

Asked how she would describe the co-operation between the EC-Monitors and her office, she stated that there are many fields which allow working together. Unfortunately she was not able to answer clearly to the question, in what ways the mission of the OSCE differs from the mission of the EC-Monitors which led to the assumption, that these two organisations work with parallel structures on the same problem instead of sharing and combining their efforts to make the results more effective.

At the end, during the panel discussion, the misunderstanding between the two groups became obvious and the inclusion of a Greek participant added the dimension of the very problematical Macedonian-Greek relationship. It showed that although the media focused mostly on the war events in Bosnia, Croatia or Serbia during the last few years, there are other areas within the Balkan that desperately need international attention to prevent the eruption of violent conflicts.

### Programme

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#### Tuesday 29-10

- 6:00 Arrival in Skopje, lodging
- 12:00 Lecture on nationalism, the problem of today  
by Ph.D. Emilija Simovska - Institute for Sociology-politocology research
- 13:15 Lunch
- 15:00 Lecture on ethnical minorities in Macedonia  
by Tatjana Sayppel, OSCE Monitor
- 16:00 Panel discussion with students from several ethnical groups
- 19:00 Dinner, social programme

#### Wednesday 30-10

- 10:00 Research at the campus
- 12:00 Lecture on the economic development in Macedonia  
by Ph.D. Mihail Petkovski
- 13:00 Lunch
- 15:00 Research
- 18:00 Project conclusion - division of tasks
- 21:00 Dinner, departure to Maribor

Friday 1-11

7:00 Arrival in Maribor, end of the CST

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## 7.8 Some other thoughts

When asked for his feelings about the trip, Andrej Grobler, one of the Slovenian participants of the CST, answered the following:

“People from ex-Yugoslavia are in some aspects very similar and in others very different. My generation, we were growing up while watching the same films, listening to the same music. That's why we understand our jokes, if we want we can instantly plug into the same frequency. But on the other hand, we saw and we see what was going on through a different perspective. Differences between North and South are as many as similarities - rich and poor, developed and undeveloped, German influence and Turkish influence. We Slovenians are very proud of our culture which kept our nation alive for centuries under Germanic boots, Croats of their tradition, Bosnians of... who knows that today, Serbs of their military spirit and kings, Montenegros of their cradle of culture and tradition, Macedonians of their symbol of the sun and their history; and do not forget the Albanians. At the same time, there is a huge difference between cities: Maribor-Ljubljana, Zagreb-Rijeka, Sarajevo-Tuzla, Novi Sad-Beograd, Skopje-Tetovo; You can get quite different pictures if you visit only the capital or only one city; unemployment and factories collapsing around Maribor, against HDZ in Istria, mostly Muslims in destroyed Sarajevo and not so destroyed Tuzla, opposition in Novi Sad, real Macedonians in Skopje. I hope that the CST gave its participants some more knowledge and insight into the Balkan region, for myself I must say that I enjoyed all the time, even if there were some frustrating moments when seeing or hearing about human inhumanity. It was a trip full of emotions, discoveries for participants and organisers in every city. The solution to the Balkan problems is not simple, like give power to the young; we maybe didn't do even a small step towards the solution with actively participating in this CST; but we have proven that youngsters can understand each other, that their way of thinking is similar even if they come from the cities and countries far away from each other, in a geographical or political way of meaning. And that's a lot.”

## 8 AEGEE

### 8.1 Statement of Principles

We, the members of AEGEE,

*realising that the European Youth is building the future of our continent, aspiring to a peaceful Europe free of obstacles and enmities, of false divisions and forced differences, believing that our organisation, by supporting all expression of European culture and civilisation and by encouraging student mobility and intra-european understanding, enables us to materialise our vision of Europe,*

hereby declare:

our belief that, while cherishing our diversity and respecting the characters of our regions, we can find on the basis of our common cultural and historical heritage the principles that unite us in our effort to strengthen the European conscience;

our faith in a Europe that stands as a symbol of freedom, democracy, human rights, mutual respect and of a community law, and our will for collaboration with any European institution fostering this concept and promoting European co-operation;

our conviction that education as a fundamental right is a means to mutual understanding providing a fair chance in life;

our resolve to help establish an open Europe that recognises and cherishes the contribution of non-European cultures in the shaping of its past, present, and future and actively contributes to the security and prosperity of the world-community;

our desire to create a European continent where prosperity, unhindered creativity and progress co-exist with respect for the environment and care and compassion for the deprived nations of the world.

### 8.2 AEGEE is...

AEGEE is a European students association, whose aim is to promote European co-operation and integration among young people. Since AEGEE regards the emergence of a genuine European public opinion as a precondition for European unity, it strives for motivating public opinion favourable towards this goal.

AEGEE is a non-profit organisation that operates without any political affiliation. It wants to span the traditional political divisions between nations, thus constituting a new dynamic approach to Europe.

In a practical way, AEGEE is doing this by stimulating the interaction among students from various European countries and by organising events covering all aspects of European culture, economics and politics. AEGEE is accomplishing a steady flow of new thought and activity in a continent which bears the weight of so many different cultural patterns and customs.

AEGEE was founded in 1985 by the students of Les Grandes Ecoles in Paris. AEGEE is the abbreviation for 'Association des Etats Généraux des Etudiants de l'Europe', best translated as

'Association of the General Assembly of European Students'. Since then AEGEE locals have been founded in more than 200 European university towns. Its members (over 20,000) are students in all fields, who have the common goal of promoting the European Idea.

AEGEE was created, and is managed, solely by young people and its organisation operates on two levels:

- a) A European level, consisting of a Board of Directors of nine elected members
- b) A local or city level, composed of more than 200 AEGEE-branches, which forms the backbone of the organisation.

Throughout the year the different locals organise events such as conferences, lectures, symposia and regular meetings concerning European matters. In this way members can discuss affairs at a local level, but also enjoy the opportunity to attend to major events that are organised by other branches.

To contact AEGEE-Europe, please use the following address:

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<http://www.aegee.org>  
[headoffice@aegee.org](mailto:headoffice@aegee.org)  
-

## 9 Planned activities

As a result of the CST many ideas were born, of which some have been put into practice. During the trip, the structure of a project called “Minorities in the Balkans” was made. The ideas which were made there, combined with the experiences that AEGEE had during the students’ protests in Belgrade, a few months later, lead to the establishment of a new structure.

This turned out to be the project *Focus on the Balkans*, in which AEGEE will focus on the Balkan region. An outline of this project is presented below.

### 9.1 Focus on the Balkans

#### *Target countries*

- Albania
- Bosnia & Herzegovina
- Bulgaria
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
- Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
- Romania

#### *Project aim*

To offer the possibility to students in the target countries to reach a standard of education and at a normal European level.

The project will focus on different issues, all contributing to a better involvement of the whole students’ community of the countries.

#### *Headlines of the project*

- *Democratisation:* students should be able to create their own students’ organisations. AEGEE wants to assist especially in certain fields, like development of organisational skill and internal communication. The goal is to come to a democratic structure for the participation of students to university policies.
- *Media situation:* In the target countries one of the main problems is the media situation. In some cases the media is not independent, in other, although the law seems to grant them freedom of opinion they are still in some way not objective or have to face status problems. AEGEE wants to help improving this situation, because freedom of expression and the right to be informed is something every student should have.
- *Education:* One of the biggest issues AEGEE should work on is the improvement of the educational system in the target countries. Very often the curricula of the students are completely outdated, sometimes the used books are more than 30 years old. With the experience AEGEE has in education reform, we want to help improving this situation
- *Minorities:* The most sensitive topic in the Balkan area is the issue of minorities. In many countries various nationalities are present, sometimes this works out, usually it doesn’t. AEGEE wants to investigate and compare the situation in the target countries, working together with the locals in the region and other organisations active in this field. The main advantage AEGEE has in this is the fact that the organisation is not limited to a national level, in which national politics could make co-operation more problematic.

### *Structure*

The project will be carried out in modular form. At the moment the data collection phase has started already, which will end with a report of the acquired information, and a plan of action for the second phase, the implementation of ideas into activities.

The main tools for this data collection phase are:

- The locals present in the target countries: they will perform an analysis of the situation in their country on the fields as mentioned above, and will conduct interviews among the student population to get a clear view on these topics.
- Case-Study Trips, like the one which has been presented to you in this report.
- Research from a distance: The creation of a WWW-database, interviews with experts etc.

### *What is next?*

This project is still in a preparatory phase. Although the data collection has started already, much work still remains to be done. Planned events up to now include a conference about minorities in Vojvodina, organised by AEGEE-Novi Sad in March 1998, and a Case-Study Trip to Transylvania, organised by the East-West Working Group in July 1998.

## Thank you...

### *The Board of Recommendation of the Case-Study Trip to former Yugoslavia*

---

Mr. J.M. Bricall	<i>President of the Conference of European Rectors</i>
Mr. M.J. Faber	<i>Co-ordinator of the Helsinki Citizen's Assembly</i>
Mr. J. de Milliano	<i>President of the Dutch branch of Médecins sans Frontières</i>
Mr. A.M. Oostlander	<i>Member of European Parliament</i>
Mr. J.P. Pronk	<i>Dutch Minister of Development Co-operation</i>
Mr. D. Tarschys	<i>Secretary-General of the Council of Europe.</i>

### *Financial help*

---

European Youth Foundation, Strasbourg  
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Royal Dutch Embassy, Sarajevo  
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University Fund of the University of Twente, Enschede  
USAID, Tuzla

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### *The logistical team in Maribor*

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### *The organising locals*

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AEGEE-Maribor  
AEGEE-Zagreb  
AEGEE-Sarajevo  
AEGEE-Tuzla  
AEGEE-Novı Sad  
AEGEE-Skopje

### *The initiators of the project*

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Gunnar Erth	<i>Human Rights Working Group</i>

*The main advisors*

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## Appendix: Questionnaire for the CST to former Yugoslavia

*This questionnaire is used for a survey conducted by the European Students' Association AEGEE-Europe. It is made to gain understanding of how young people see their life and their future. It will be used in all new states in the area of former Yugoslavia. If therefore some question seems not relevant for your situation or is stupid, please forgive our ignorance, we hope to learn from you. You may skip any question you do not wish to answer or where you do not have an opinion on. The results of this research will be used to prepare a final report, which will be circulated among various international organisations and institutions.*

### Personal information

1. Age: <15 15-20 20-25 25-30 >30
2. Sex: female / male
3. Do you study now: YES / NO
4. Type of studies (present or finished): social sc./language/technical/natural sc./others:.....
5. Year of studies:
6. Do you work: YES / NO
7. What kind of work do you do:.....
8. How would you like to identify your national identity?: .....
9. Citizenship: .....
10. Religion: .....

### Daily life of young people

11. What are the conditions of your study ?  
(1 very bad / 2 bad / 3 not so bad / 4 good / 5 very good)  
Before 1991: 1 2 3 4 5  
Now: 1 2 3 4 5
12. Do you see good opportunities for you in the future in your country?:  
1 very few / 2 few / 3 can't say / 4 good / 5 many  
Some detail explanations :
13. Possibility of finding a job : 1 2 3 4 5
14. Possibility of finding a job you would like to have : 1 2 3 4 5
15. Possibility of having a well paid job : 1 2 3 4 5
16. Possibility of living where you want : 1 2 3 4 5
17. Possibility of studying where and what you want : 1 2 3 4 5
18. Where did you live before the war? City: .....
19. Where do you live now? City: .....  
1 In a student dormitory / 2 with my family / 3 with my relatives / 4 with my friends /  
5 my own flat / 6 other:.....
20. Where would you like to live in the future? .....
21. What is your opinion about the following?  
It is ..... (1 very bad / 2 bad / 3 normal / 4 good / 5 very good)
22. Economical situation in your country 1 2 3 4 5
23. Social and cultural life in your country 1 2 3 4 5
24. Political situation in your country 1 2 3 4 5

### Reaching Social Stability

25. Are you familiar with the contents of the Dayton agreement? YES / NO
26. Is the Dayton agreement a good base for future peaceful coexistence?  
1 not at all/ 2 not really/ 3 in some aspects/ 4 in most aspects/ 5 in all aspects/ 6 no opinion  
Some detail explanations:

- (1 strongly disagree / 2 disagree / 3 no opinion / 4 agree / 5 strongly agree)
- 27 It's good because it stopped the war : 1 2 3 4 5
- 28 It was done by the experts: 1 2 3 4 5
- 29 It was done by people who don't understand the Balkan: 1 2 3 4 5
- 30 It's a good base for future negotiations: 1 2 3 4 5
- 31 It's the best compromise that could be done: 1 2 3 4 5
32. What could contribute to the development and further progress of your country?  
(1 not at all, 2 not really, 3 maybe, 4 a little, 5 very much)
- 33 Maintaining present leaders : 1 2 3 4 5
- 34 Punishing war criminals 1 2 3 4 5
- 35 Maintaining international military deployments (e.g. IFOR) 1 2 3 4 5
- 36 Strengthening parliamentary democracy : 1 2 3 4 5
- 37 Equal rights and treatment of all ethnic groups: 1 2 3 4 5
- 38 Developing the army : 1 2 3 4 5
- 39 Investments into education and science : 1 2 3 4 5
- 40 Investments into local economy : 1 2 3 4 5
- 41 Good relations with neighbouring countries : 1 2 3 4 5
- 42 Protection of human rights 1 2 3 4 5
- 43 Greater diversity of media 1 2 3 4 5
- 44 Other:.....
- .....
- 45 Would you be in favour of international help in the development of your country? YES / NO
- 46 If yes, what kind of help? .....
- 47 From whom do you expect most support in the developments in your country?
1. We have to do everything by ourselves :
  2. Help from the USA
  3. Help from Russia
  4. Help from Islamic countries
  5. Help from the EU
  6. Help from the UN
  7. Help from OSCE
  8. Help from Non Governmental Organisations (e.g. HCA, NDI, Red Cross)
  9. Other namely:.....
- 48 Do you see yourself having personal relations with people with a different ethnic backgrounds in your country in the future? YES / NO
- 49 If no, why not?: .....
- .....

### Relations among the new states in former Yugoslavia

What do you think about the present relations between your country and the other Ex-Yugoslavian countries?

They are ..... 1 very bad / 2 bad / 3 reasonable / 4 good / 5 very good

- 50 Bosnia 1 2 3 4 5
- 51 Croatia 1 2 3 4 5
- 52 FYR Macedonia 1 2 3 4 5
- 53 Slovenia 1 2 3 4 5
- 54 FR Yugoslavia 1 2 3 4 5
- 55 Remarks: .....

Will relations between your country and the other Ex-Yugoslavian countries normalise in the future?

They are..... 1 already normal / 2 soon / 3 never / 4 in some years (How many? .....

- 56 Bosnia 1 2 3 4 ...
- 57 Croatia 1 2 3 4 ...
- 58 FYR Macedonia 1 2 3 4 ...
- 59 Slovenia 1 2 3 4 ...

- 60 FR Yugoslavia 1 2 3 4 ...  
 61 Remarks: .....

What in your opinion should be done to normalise relations?

- 62 To set up just(fair) borders : YES / NO  
 63 Punish war criminals : YES / NO  
 64 Develop market : YES / NO  
 65 To develop cultural contacts / exchanges: YES / NO  
 66 other: .....

**View towards Europe**

- 67 How do you see relations of your country with the EU at the moment?  
 1 bad / 2 not good/ 3 no opinion/ 4 good /5 excellent
- 68 What is your judgement on the role the EU has played in the conflict?  
 1 bad / 2 not good / 3 no opinion / 4 good / 5 excellent
- 69 Should your country make more connections with the European Union? YES / NO
- 70 if yes, than why? .....  
 .....
- 71 if no, than why? .....  
 .....
- 72 With which countries do you see possibilities for good co-operation/relations in the future?  
 Please fill in those that first come to your mind (you do not have to fill all!)
- |         |          |
|---------|----------|
| 1. .... | 6. ....  |
| 2. .... | 7. ....  |
| 3. .... | 8. ....  |
| 4. .... | 9. ....  |
| 5. .... | 10. .... |
- 73 Do you know other European Institutions?  
 Please name them.
- |         |         |
|---------|---------|
| 1. .... | 3. .... |
| 2. .... | 4. .... |

**General questions:**

- 74 Where were you during the war? .....
- 75 Did you take part in fighting: YES / NO
- 76 Were you a refugee: YES / NO
- 77 Where.....
- 78 How long.....
- 79 Was somebody you knew killed in the war?: YES / NO

*Thank you very much for your co-operation*