

▶ of Mr Erdogan's economic team has at least bought him some breathing space, says Ugur Gurses, a Turkish economist.

It may also help Turkey's leader to cope with the loss of a good friend in Washington. For the past four years Mr Erdogan has been able to count on Donald Trump to look away while Turkey evicted American troops from parts of north-eastern Syria, clashed with European allies in the Mediterranean, deployed Syrian mercenaries to Libya and Azerbaijan, and locked up thousands of people on terror charges thinner than baklava dough. Mr Trump also shielded Turkey from sanctions over its purchase of an S-400 air-defence system from Russia. He may have tried to hold up an investigation into a Turkish state bank accused of laundering Iranian money.

Under Joe Biden, who earlier this year referred to Mr Erdogan as an "autocrat" who "needs to pay a price", things will get tougher. America will draw red lines and enforce them more credibly, says Lisel Hintz of Johns Hopkins University. Mr Erdogan will have less room to cut deals with the White House. Sanctions over the S-400 will be harder to sidestep, especially after Turkey tested the system in October. "Ankara will no longer have the kind of protection provided by Trump and has to get its house in order, politically and economically," says Asli Aydintasbas of the European Council on Foreign Relations, a think-tank. "There may be no direct causality, but there's no doubt Albayrak's resignation has to do with Turkey being more prepared for the challenges ahead."

With friends like these

Yet there is a limit to how far Mr Erdogan is willing to go to save the lira and placate the new American administration. For all the recent talk of reforms, he is not about to loosen his grip on national institutions, give up on growth or stop tormenting opponents. His prosecutors recently opened an investigation into Ekrem Imamoglu, the opposition mayor of Istanbul, for criticising one of the president's pet projects, a canal between the Black and Marmara Seas. Whether the central bank makes the right call still depends less on its governor than on the president. Mr Albayrak may be a useful scapegoat, but he is not the true problem in Turkey.

Even if Mr Erdogan were sincere about democratic reforms and the need to patch things up with his Western partners, the coalition he has sealed with his country's ultranationalists, who support him in parliament and in the security forces, will make it difficult for him to take the right steps. "He has locked himself into this path," says Ozgur Unluharsaricikli of the German Marshall Fund, another think-tank. "I can't see how he can make substantial changes without destroying the alliance

structure he has set up."

Mr Erdogan must hope the beginning of the Biden presidency is better than the end of the Trump one. On November 16th Mr Trump's secretary of state, Mike Pompeo, told a French newspaper that America and Europe needed to deal with Turkey's "aggressive actions" over the past few months. A day later Mr Pompeo arrived in Istanbul, where he paid a visit to the Ecumenical Patriarch to discuss religious freedoms in Turkey (and probably bemoaned Mr Erdogan's conversion of the Hagia Sophia, an ancient Christian basilica, into a mosque). He did not meet a single Turkish official. ■

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Dayton at 25

A quarter of a century after peace was brokered, the country is still wretched

THE WAR IN Bosnia-Herzegovina raged for three and a half years. Then, in 1995, after three weeks of being virtually locked up in an American air-base in Dayton, Ohio, the warring leaders struck a deal to end it. Bosnia was devastated, half its population had fled or been ethnically cleansed, and more than 100,000 were dead. The country has been at peace ever since. But on November 21st, exactly a quarter of a century after the Dayton deal, not many Bosnians will be celebrating.

Most are miserable, and it is not hard to see why. Incomes are low, public services are poor and politicians argue about the same things they fought the war over. Bosnians are ageing and emigrating, cities are choked by smog and, says Adnan Cerimagic of the European Stability Initiative, a think-tank, "half of the country's 14-year-olds are functionally illiterate."

Before the war there were some 4.2m people in Bosnia. Today there are probably between 2.7m and 3.3m, though no one

knows for sure. With such a small population, it is sometimes said that all the country needs is a mayor. Instead Dayton created a complex system designed to make sure that none of the country's three main ethnic groups could dominate the others. Twenty-five years on it often defies logic, and seems to serve the interests only of nationalist politicians who have successfully resisted any attempts at reform.

The tiny country has a weak central government, three presidents, two "entities" and an autonomous town. The vast majority of Serbs live in the Republika Srpska (RS), while Bosniaks (a term used to refer to Bosnia's Muslims, who make up around half of the country's population) and Croats live mainly in the ten cantons of what is called the Federation. Most, though not all, main parties are ethnically based, and on the big questions of governance and international relations their leaders rarely agree. An international "High Representative" lingers in the country only so that he could use his far-reaching powers if peace were under threat.

Milorad Dodik, who has long dominated the politics of the RS, derides Bosnia and talks of independence and integration with Serbia. Bosnian Croat leaders often call for their own "third entity". Bosniaks celebrate November 25th as "statehood day" because that is when modern Bosnia was founded in 1943. In schools all three ethnic groups learn different histories. Before the war 13% of marriages were mixed and in Sarajevo a third were. In 2019 the number of mixed marriages was only 3%. A survey in 2018 found that 49% of young Bosnians want to leave.

Gloom is so all-pervasive that it is common for parents to press their children to do so. Ivana Cook, from Tuzla, was born a few months before the end of the war. She says that of 25 students in her graduating class from school, 20 have gone. Ms Cook's mother says that she regrets not leaving herself after the war. Ms Cook did not want to emigrate, but she is lucky. She has a job and a flat which she shares with her boyfriend. Some 80% of Bosnians her age still live with their parents, and youth unemployment is high.

In the early post-war years Bosnians did not mix much, and it is still the case that many young people from mono-ethnic towns or villages, or the divided city of Mostar, have never met someone of a different ethnicity. But it is less so than before, and Bosnian politics is far more nuanced than is often believed. On November 15th a Serb was elected as mayor of overwhelmingly Bosniak central Sarajevo. The vast majority of young Bosnians are not hostile to one another. They play sports together, civil-society activists work on causes together and many criss-cross the inter-entity border daily for work, to shop ▶▶



Climate politics in Germany

Green on green

BERLIN

Some activists are running out of patience with Germany's Green party

OVER A YEAR ago protesters installed themselves in and around the 250-year-old oak and beech trees of the Dannenröder, a forest and water reserve in the southern German state of Hesse. From their lofty treehouses and make-shift huts, they vow to protect 27 hectares of "Danni" that face clearance for an extension to the A49 motorway. Police have begun to evict the protesters, sparking scuffles, arrests and a handful of injuries. But what looks like a familiar environmental protest resonates beyond the wildlands of Hesse, especially for Germany's Greens. Dannenröder tests the party's ability to balance its radical promise with its ambitions to govern.

Nationally the Greens, who sit in opposition, urge a moratorium on motorway-building. But in 11 of Germany's 16 states, including Hesse, they form part of ruling coalitions, which means grappling with the messy compromises of government. Tarek al-Wazir, Hesse's Green economy and transport minister, says he opposes the A49 but is obliged to implement it, as motorways are a federal responsibility. Bettina Hoffmann, a Green MP fighting to halt the A49, insists the state and national parties are united in leaning on the federal government to stop the project. But tensions are clear.

In recent years the Greens have been doing the splits: aiming to harness the energy of climate movements like Fridays for Future (FFF) while reaching beyond their base of well-heeled urbanites—including to the sort of voters who might use the A49. The success of the Greens' two leaders, Annalena Baerbock and Robert Habeck, who have cemented the party in second place in polls, seemed to have ended tensions

between the Greens' centrist *Realo* and radical *Fundi* wings. But a new generation of campaigners have grown frustrated with a party they see as insufficiently committed to meeting Germany's climate pledges. "I sometimes think the Greens don't know what we mean by 'climate emergency,'" says Luisa Neubauer, an FFF activist and party member.

The strains matter. In Baden-Württemberg, the only state where the Greens lead a ruling coalition, activists irritated by the party's cosiness with the car industry have formed a "Climate List" to contest state elections in March. Winfried Kretschmann, the state's Green premier, says the list threatens his re-election bid. Party insiders grumble that young activists do not understand the give-and-take of democracy. The ascendancy of climate politics has helped the Greens' rise. Now it complicates it.



Oh Danni boy

▶ or just to have fun somewhere else.

But that does necessarily mean that the first generation not to remember the war is going to change the country. Last week's local elections saw Drasko Stanivukovic, a 27-year-old, elected as mayor of Banja Luka, the capital of the RS. He says that its leadership is corrupt and needs to be replaced. He is against independence for RS, but otherwise he holds many of the same Serbian nationalist positions as Mr Dodik.

Hana Curak, aged 26, a sociologist from Sarajevo, says a lack of opportunities is the bane of her generation. You need connections with people in power to find a job, said 87% of young people polled in 2018.

Because a higher proportion of the educated and liberal young leave, Ms Curak says, more of those with less progressive and more nationalist values remain. She thinks that by legitimising a system in which ethnicity is paramount, Dayton has actually served to make many of her generation "even more conservative and nationalistic than their parents".

"What scares me", says Mr Cerimagic, is that "for years people have been saying it is up to the young people to save us from this misery, but then my impression is that they are not really different from the rest of us." For those dedicated to creating a better Bosnia, "it is going to be a long struggle." ■

Moldova's election

The Sandu surprise

A sacked reformer becomes president

WHEN THEIR 5,000 ballot papers ran out, the angry crowd in the scruffy London suburb of Beckton began chanting: "We want to vote!" There were similar scenes in Paris and Frankfurt. The numbers of diaspora Moldovans clamouring to cast their ballots were huge, and the country's electoral commission had failed to anticipate how many slips they would need. In the diaspora 93% plumped for Maia Sandu as president. On November 15th she defeated Igor Dodon, the Socialist incumbent, winning 58% of the overall vote.

Moldova is often characterised as a country split between those who want closer ties with the West and those who want them with Russia. But geopolitics is not what motivated most Moldovan voters when they unseated Mr Dodon, though he is reported to have visited Moscow more than 20 times in the past four years. For Ms Sandu, who was briefly prime minister last year, the single most important issue has long been corruption.

Prey to rapacious oligarchs and unscrupulous politicians, Moldova is the poorest country in Europe, with a GDP per head of just \$4,500. Thirty years ago it had 4.4m citizens. So many have left that fewer than 3m may have stayed behind. But, as the Beckton voters show, the leavers still care. If less money had been stolen at home, fewer of them would be toiling abroad.

Covid-19 has been a game-changer, says Vadim Pistrinciu, a former deputy minister. Unemployment has soared, small and family businesses have been devastated and, unlike those elsewhere in Europe, have had little help from the government "because there is nothing to help them with. People have made the connection between our weak state and corruption."

Ms Sandu used to come across as rather chilly. In socially conservative Moldova her enemies have emphasised her childlessness and accused her of being a lesbian, which she denies. In the campaign she talked of her family and widened her appeal. Expectations will be high, but the president's powers are limited. She will seek a snap parliamentary election. The Socialist-led government is expected to cling on for the moment, though its legitimacy has clearly been dented by Mr Dodon's defeat. President Sandu will hope to capitalise on her current popularity and build the momentum her party needs to take full control of the government. ■