



## Forthcoming ELIAMEP events

**12 March 2007, Athens**

ELIAMEP's new Policy Paper on *"The European Constitution after (a period of) reflection"* presented by Nikos Koutsiaras

**19-23 March 2007, Athens**

Visit of US Fellows co-ordinated by ELIAMEP in the context of the Marshall Memorial Fellowship Program.

**20-25 March 2007, Florence**

Working group on *"The Europeanisation of Greece, Cyprus and Turkey,"* organised by ELIAMEP and Middle East Technical University during the 'Mediterranean Meeting' conference held at the EU.

**21 March 2007, Athens**

On the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Marshall Plan and the 25th Anniversary of the Marshall Memorial Fellowship Program of the German Marshall Fund of the US, a public discussion is being organised on *"The Marshall Plan, sixty years on: Would a New Peace-Building Plan Work?"* by the US Embassy in Athens, the German Marshall Fund of the US, and ELIAMEP

**29 March 2007, Athens**

Lecture by EU Commissioner Danuta Hübner on *"Growth and Competitiveness in Europe: a case for a strong cohesion policy."*

**29 March 2007, Athens**

Lecture by EU Commissioner Margot Wallström on *"Europe and the role of civil society"* organised by the Citizens' Movement in association with Citizens' Union PAREMVASSI, Eurpaiki Ekfrasi, the Mediterranean Information Office for Environment, Culture and Sustainable Development, PRAXIS, WWF Greece and ELIAMEP

**30 March 2007, Athens**

Working group on *"Turkey and the EU"* organised by ELIAMEP and Sabanci University and with the support of the EC Representation to Ankara.

**Further information about all ELIAMEP's events is available on our website**

## Long on policies but short on politics, the EU needs a breath of fresh air

By Loukas Tsoukalis

Europe's political class is re-thinking the fundamentals of integration.

Among these basics is the nature of democracy in the EU. Until recently, EU integration has been an elitist affair relying on a broadly permissive consensus of citizens. This was itself propped up by non-partisan cross-party consensus on the integration's principles and objectives. The EU's late-comers presented some exceptions to this; nonetheless, the permissive consensus survived so long as European integration was widely perceived to be delivering the economic goods, and more intangibly peace, and so long as the effects of integration remained limited.

Over the years, the EU's expanding membership and policy outreach has accentuated its internal diversity, while also increasing the weight of EU-level decisions on citizens' everyday lives. This trend has recently accelerated. The single currency and enlargement radically changed the scene and were never properly debated in the public sphere nor adequately justified to Europe's voters. Today, there is a wide gap between policy and politics at the European level. The EU produces much policy, but little politics in the traditional sense of the term. Exactly the opposite is happening at the national level. The result is significant indigestion of things European and feelings of disempowerment among Europe's citizens.

The economic situation has not helped. Slow economic growth and high unemployment combined with accelerated compe-

tion through globalisation and the need for fundamental reforms have, in some EU countries, further fed public dissatisfaction. There is a growing fear among many Europeans about their jobs and about the durability of social contracts. The effects of EU integration and those of globalisation are not necessarily distinguished by real, potential, and even imaginary losers. At a policy-making level, we have to recognize this reality and deal with it rather than pretend that the problem doesn't exist.

This links directly to the politicisation of European integration. Integration (and globalisation) increasingly constrain national policies and social contracts, and have a distributional effect. The old division of labour where the EU concentrated on liberalisation measures and national governments dealt with redistribution and welfare, is coming under stress. Choices are required at the EU level about how to manage the single market, the euro, competition rules, economic redistribution, the environment and Europe's common external policies. These can no longer be debated and dealt with just at national level. There is a mismatch between economic reality, increasingly European or global, and the still predominantly intergovernmental nature of EU politics.

European politicians may eventually seriously discuss ways they could collectively attempt the managing and shaping of globalisation. At national level, the debate is being largely held between market fundamentalists and protectionists who believe that Europe can be shielded from the rest of the

world and from change.

We Europeans, should be able to do better than that. Bold politicians may soon begin to debate trade-offs between economic efficiency and equity, and their relation with the division of powers between European and national institutions, including economic policy issues like taxation and social policy. Our politicians will then need to translate these issues into simple language that can describe basic political choices to European citizens. This has been missing so far.

The EU needs a breath of political fresh air. European citizens need more information and more choices. These choices exist, even though they have not yet been articulated as choices with both a European and national dimension. The EU's major failure lies here; perhaps because there is still no elected office at European level that is attractive enough to bring forward the best talent of the left and right, new or old, green or less green.

The election of the President of the European Commission by the members of the EP immediately after they themselves have been elected every five years could be a way of further politicising the EU. It would make the EU less boring, and would also enliven elections to the European Parliament. It would also change the balance between institutions, and is therefore, bound to generate strong opposition.

So who's getting ready for 2009 and the political battle to put politics into EU policymaking?



**Mines are a global security problem that calls for a risk-management approach.**



**PP06.07**

**ELIAMEP Policy Paper on Higher Education in Greece (2006)**

A detailed report of this event is available in Greek from ELIAMEP's website

## The Mine Ban Convention: A Decade On

**Athens, 14 February 2007**

On the occasion of the Mine Ban Treaty's 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the Embassies of Australia, Canada, and Norway in Athens organised in co-operation with the Hellenic Aid, the Norwegian People's Aid, and ELIAMEP a panel discussion *The Mine Ban Convention: A Decade On*. The panel consisted of Mr. Nergaad, Director of the Norwegian People's Aid Mine Action Unit; Major Promponas of the Ministry of Defense; Dr. Papadakis, an orthopedic surgeon with experience in immigrant landmine victims on the border with Turkey; Mr. Kappopoulos, journalist; and ELIAMEP's Director General, Dr. Thanos Dokos.

All panelists agreed that the Treaty demonstrates an indisputable success story. Never-

theless, although public and political awareness have been raised through the emergence of think-tanks, improved methodologies, and impact assessment treatments, the lack of a feasible 'plan of action' on a global level remains.

It was argued that anti-personnel mines do not function independently. They are a symptom of regional instability and irresponsible behaviour on the mine-producing countries' part. This results in a large number of war casualties being attributable to small weapons, such as landmines, which nonetheless, create high velocity injuries (landmine projectiles have twice the velocity of a bullet).

Moreover, the effects of this instability in far away mine-affected territories may hit

home faster than one would assume, given today's rapidly globalizing world. As a result, anti-personnel mines constitute both a national and an international security problem.

In the discussion that followed with more than 120 diplomats, representatives from the media and civil society who attended this event, there was a wide consensus that regardless of how much pressure the international community applies to mine-producing countries, it is still difficult to keep an eye on insurgents and war lords. "A land mine is a perfect soldier: ever courageous, never sleeps, never misses." Although considerable policy-level changes need to be made, they should also be accompanied by a substantial change of mentality.

## Public discussion organized by ELIAMEP on Higher Education in Greece

**Athens, 31 January 2007**

Following the publication of ELIAMEP's Policy Paper on "Higher Education in Greece in the New European and International Environment", a follow-up public discussion between representatives of the academic community was organised on the autonomy of the Greek Universities.

Professor Andreas Karamanos, secretary-general of the Ministry of Education and former Rector at the Agricultural University of Athens opened the discussion on the current status of Greek Universities. He proposed ways through which universities' autonomy, a necessary prerequisite for academic freedom, may be improved. For example, through the establishment of a 4-year academic development programme based on a strategic plan drawn up by the institutions and a revision of internal administrative processes and election procedures.

Professor Christos Kittas, Rector at the National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, stressed the need to ensure a wide consensus on any reform or change of the tertiary educational system. He also pointed to the need for a new legal framework that will limit the state's role to a supervisory one, particularly as regards academic, administrative, and financial matters, while ensuring transparency and accountability.

The need to reform the state universities, particularly before moving ahead with any sort of legal provisions regarding the establishment of private universities, was the focal point of Professor Nikos Alivizatos', of the Law Faculty of the National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, presentation. He concentrated on the constitutional changes that are required in order to move ahead with the reform of Greek higher education.

Professor Socrates Katsikas,

former Rector of the University of the Aegean, also argued in favour of increased autonomy for state universities for reasons of transparency, accountability, competitiveness and time expedience. He further argued that this was necessary in order to respond to the wider challenges of education being faced across the EU (cf. the Bologna process).

Professor Lefteris Papagianakis, former Vice-Rector at the National Technical University of Athens, noted that a constitutional revision was not a precondition for educational reform. Rather, he focused on the need to increase public funding and conduct regular evaluations and assessments of all academic staff.

The public discussion that followed between academics, students and representatives of the press, was coordinated by Professor Loukas Tsoukalis of the National & Kapodistrian University of Athens and President of ELIAMEP.

## ELIAMEP's Annual Foreign Policy Review 2006 –2007

ELIAMEP's Annual Foreign Policy Review presents key developments during 2006-mainly from a Greek perspective.

The Review refers to the most important events in the international scene during 2006

and identifies some of the core issues that will occupy foreign policy agendas in the EU and in SEE in 2007. Special sections are devoted to the EU, Russia, China, the Balkans, Turkey, the Middle East and the Black Sea regions. The Review also

focuses on relations between Greece and Asia, migration, energy and the environment.

The review is compiled by Dr. Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP's Director General and is available in Greek only from ELIAMEP's website.

The Annual Foreign Policy Review may be downloaded from:  
[http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/publications/review\\_2006\\_2007/en/](http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/publications/review_2006_2007/en/)

## New ELIAMEP Policy Paper:

### The European Constitution after (a period of) reflection

Following the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty by France and the Netherlands, it is rather unlikely that the ratification procedure will continue. However, the European Union remains in urgent need of institutional reform.

ELIAMEP's new Policy Paper PP07.08 "The European Constitution after (a period of)

reflection" offers an analysis of the reasons that led to the rejection of the treaty. Moreover, it provides a comparative examination of the alternative scenarios which have been put forward by European politicians and policy-makers so far.

This policy paper also proposes a 'second-best' plan that should primarily focus on

the Amsterdam and Nice leftovers

The paper is authored by Dr. Nikos Koutsiaras, Senior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, with the research support of Anna Vallianatou and Elli Siapidou.

The text is available in Greek only at [www.eliamep.gr](http://www.eliamep.gr)



## Second Meeting of the MIGSYS Research Project

The second meeting of the MIGSYS project on "Immigrants, policies and migration systems: An ethnographic comparative approach" was held in Athens [23 - 24 February].

The migration experiences of Polish immigrants in Greece and Germany, Ukrainian immigrants in Hungary and Italy, Moroccan immigrants in Spain and Turkish immigrants in the

UK and the Netherlands were discussed in order to identify factors that may influence a migrant's decision to migrate to a particular country.

Migrant networks, availability of information, specific national policies of the receiving countries were examined in this context.

In addition, the migration experiences of Mexican migrants in Canada and in the USA were

examined from this perspective as well.

The MIGSYS project has now entered its third, concluding phase. This phase will include a comparative analysis of these migration systems. The comparative findings will be published on ELIAMEP's website over the summer.

*MIGSYS is funded by the International Metropolis Network & the Population, Migration & Environment Organisation.*

## Recent ELIAMEP Publications

**OP.06.03** When size and diversity do not really matter: the dismal political economy of social and labour market policy coordination in the EU by Nikos Koutsiaras

**PN06.08** The adaptation of Information Technology (IT) and the revolution in Military Affairs, into the new conceptual approach in the way of fighting by Konstantinos Kyprios

## ELIAMEP Training Seminar

ELIAMEP organised a three-day training seminar for officers of the Hellenic Armed Forces between 12-14 February 2007. The seminar was held in Xanthi, Greece and concentrated on Greece, Turkey and the European Union.

## Other news at ELIAMEP

**Dr. Daniel Faas**, currently Marie Curie Intra European Fellow at ELIAMEP has been nominated by Cambridge University for the prestigious British Educational Research Association Annual Award for the best thesis in Education written at a UK University 2006. His thesis focuses on the political identities of the national majorities and minority Turkish communities in English and German secondary schools.

## ELIAMEP Times

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## JOIN ELIAMEP'S INSTITUTIONAL PARTNERSHIP

Since 2004, ELIAMEP's Institutional Partnership programme has created a wide network of institutional members. Private sector entities, diplomatic representations in Greece, business associations and other institutions, have provided the Foundation with financial assistance that has supported our research work and our activities

A new call is being launched for 2007 aiming at the renewal of this partnership and at encouraging the participation of new members in this network.

With an annual subscription we offer our institutional partners periodic briefings on our work as well as privileged access to the wide variety of events we organise. Our wish is to encourage a more inter-active relationship through an open network of institutional members.

If you are interested in becoming a member of ELIAMEP's institutional partnership network please contact Ms. Christianna Karageorgopoulou, Development Co-ordinator, ELIAMEP [tel.:(+30) 210 7257 125 or [christianna@eliamep.gr](mailto:christianna@eliamep.gr) ]

### ELIAMEP thanks its Institutional Partners for their continuing support:

A.M. NOMIKOS S.A.; ALPHA BANK; Aluminion de Grèce S.A.I.C.; Bank of Greece; CHRYS-SAFIDIS S.A.; Coca-Cola Hellenic Bottling Company S.A.; ELGEKA S.A.; Eurobank EFG; FOURLIS Holdings S.A.; Hellenic Foreign Trade Board; Hellenic Petroleum S.A.; INTRACOM Holdings; J&P AVAX S.A.; MAHO S.A.; MAMIDOIL-JETOIL S.A.; NAVARINO RESORTS; OTE S.A.; P&K Securities A.E.P.E.Y.; PAKO S.A.; PLANET S.A.; TITAN S.A.; VIVARTIA S.A.; YALCO - S.D. CONSTANTINOU & SON S.A.; Embassy of Canada, Athens; Embassy of Japan, Athens; Royal Netherlands Embassy, Athens; Taipei Representative Office in Greece, Athens.

## HALKI INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR 2007: Re-defining security in SEE and the Middle East: Searching for new tools to address regional security problems

12-17 September 2007, Halki  
Organised in cooperation with the  
Balkan Trust for Democracy in Bel-  
grade and the Arab Reform Initiative  
(ARI) and supported by the Hellenic  
Aid, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and  
the German Marshall Fund of the  
United States

This year's Halki Interna-  
tional Seminars will focus on  
the role of the transatlantic  
institutions in helping local  
stakeholders address secu-  
rity challenges in the Middle  
East and in Southeastern  
Europe.

Good governance, human  
rights, humanitarian inter-  
vention, relations between  
Islam & Christianity and  
migration trends and chal-  
lenges will be among the  
core focal points.

Discussions will also con-  
centrate on two functional  
issues that cut across geo-  
graphic regions: energy se-  
curity and security sector

reform while the 'mutual  
education' dimension of the  
workshop will concentrate  
on the relationship between  
religious sensitivities and  
the democratic right of free  
expression.

The seminar format, as is  
always the case with our  
annual Halki International  
Seminars, will be highly in-  
teractive and will include  
break-out working groups  
and roundtable discussions,  
as well as a simulation exer-  
cise.

### Call for Participants

Applications are welcome  
from policy-makers, academ-  
ics, journalists, diplomats,  
members of parliament and  
young researchers (post  
docs and PhD candidates)

Please complete the Halki  
Application Form and email  
it to [halki@eliamep.gr](mailto:halki@eliamep.gr)

### Call for Papers

Papers are invited from re-  
searchers (particularly from  
post-docs and PhD candi-  
dates in an advanced stage  
of their research) that focus  
on the following areas:

♦ Security issues in the re-  
gions examined (Western  
Balkans, Black Sea, Mediter-  
ranean - Middle East)

♦ Migration as a security  
concern

♦ Good governance, democ-  
racy and human rights

♦ Security sector reform

♦ Dialogues of religions and  
civilizations

♦ Climate change

♦ Proliferation of weapons of  
mass destruction

Interested applicants  
should :

♦ send a proposal abstract  
(300 words)

♦ and fill in the Halki Appli-  
cation Form and send it to  
[halki@eliamep.gr](mailto:halki@eliamep.gr)

The Halki Application Form-  
can be downloaded from  
[www.eliamep.gr](http://www.eliamep.gr).

**Deadline for applications &  
for proposal abstracts:  
30 April 2007**

Selected papers will be pre-  
sented during the seminar  
and will be published as part  
of ELIAMEP's webpublica-  
tions.

The organisers will cover the  
following costs: seminar  
participation fee, accommo-  
dation and subsistence.  
No travel expenses will be  
covered; however, there will  
be travel grants for some  
applicants.