



Key forthcoming ELIAMEP events

Tuesday, 22 May 2007

The Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation in cooperation with ELIAMEP cordially invite you to a lecture delivered by **Dusan Sidjanski**, Professor Emeritus, University of Geneva and President of the European Cultural Centre, on: **The European Future of Serbia and Kosovo**.
Venue & time: 20:00 at the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation (56, Amalias Av.)

Thursday, 31 May 2007

ELIAMEP is organising an international conference on **'Immigrant participation in Public Life: European and Greek experiences'**.
Venue & time: 09:00-17:00 at Hotel Titania (52, Panepistimiou str.)

Friday, 15 June 2007

International conference on **'Linking the Environment, Development, Stability and Security'** organised by the Hellenic Society for the Protection of the Environment and Cultural Heritage and ELIAMEP.
Venue & time: 09:00-17:30 at Athens Electra Palace Hotel (18-20, Nikodimou str.)

Thursday, 28 June 2007

Conference on **'Regional Development, European Integration and the role of the minority in Thrace'**, organised in the framework of the EUROREG research project
Venue & time: 19:00-21:00, Komotini

For further information on all ELIAMEP's events, please contact our Activities department or visit our website www.eliamep.gr

ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ
& ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ



ELIAMEP
HELLENIC FOUNDATION
FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

Greece in the European Security Architecture: Greek Security Policy in the 21st Century

ELIAMEP's latest **policy paper**, edited by Dr. **Thanos Dokos**, Director General, ELIAMEP, provides a comprehensive overview of Greek security policy. The study is based on the following assumptions:

- Located in the southeastern part of the EU, Greece wishes to become an indispensable component of the European security system, in both the military and soft-security dimensions;
- Significant increase of Greek defence expenditures are not expected;
- Improvements in the technological capabilities and financial situation of the Greek defence industry will be marginal. Greece will continue to cover the vast bulk of its defence procurement needs through imports from its European partners and the USA, with Russia and Israel as possible suppliers;
- Greek foreign policy will aim at being at the core of any future project for deeper European integration, it will also be essential for Athens to maintain good working relations with the US, the preeminent strategic actor in the Eastern Mediterranean. The country's orientation will continue to be Euro-Atlantic, with a slow, but continuous shift towards the European pillar;
- No spectacular changes in Greek-Turkish relations are expected, although the possibility of a breakdown in Ankara's membership negotiations with the EU, and the subsequent [negative] consequences for bilateral relations with Greece, cannot be excluded. The full resolution

of Greek-Turkish problems through negotiations is not considered as a highly probable development in the short- or medium-term. A return to a high-tension relationship is slightly more probable, but still quite unlikely;

- Greece's armed forces will, for the foreseeable future, have one primary and one secondary mission: (1) to deter external threats and challenges to Greece's territorial integrity and vital interests; (2) to participate in the European Rapid Reaction Force and other EU and NATO's multinational forces and in international stabilization and peace-support operations, under the UN, EU or NATO auspices. Another mission, connected to the secondary one, will be to provide assistance, when necessary, to Greek security services in efforts to deal with asymmetric "threats"

Key conclusions of the study:

Turkey will continue to dominate the Greek foreign and security policy agenda. It is in Greece's interest that Turkey remains firmly anchored in the Western harbour and engaged in a political, economic and social modernization process. Whatever the short-term course of the rapprochement process, relations with Turkey will continue to remain a top priority concern for Greek foreign and security policy well into the 21st century. Greece's defence policy and major procurement decisions will continue to be heavily influenced to a considerable extent by the evolution of its relations with Turkey.

It should be mentioned, however, that Greece's self-confidence has been steadily increasing as a result of its EU membership, and the country is slowly moving away from the "Turkish obsession" of previous decades and has been implementing a multi-dimensional foreign policy.

Greece is working to avoid a new arms race with Turkey and has periodically submitted various ideas for arms reduction and confidence-building measures. However, Turkey has tended to not respond to such initiatives and maintains the *casus belli* statement. Thus, if this is the cost of maintaining a sufficient deterrent capability and peace and stability in the Aegean in this critical transition period for Turkey, then Greece has no choice but to invest in technological superiority and the full exploitation of its human resources, as well as the strengthening of strategic alliances.

In dealing with new threats to security and the war on terrorism, non-military elements are becoming more important. There is a great need to generate ideas, stimulate thinking and debate on all aspects of security reform, to break down boundaries between different elements of the security establishment and to expand the frontiers of what is considered 'security'. There is an equal need to increase the strength of the 'security community' – the body of military and especially of civilian personnel competent in the new security issues and capable of [a] filling posts in national and international institutions; and [b] educating the population to understand the new needs of security so as to ensure their support through the democratic process.

The full study and executive summary are available on www.eliamep.gr



H.E. the President of India, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam

“Dynamics of Peace and Prosperity” by H.E. the President of India, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam

Athens, 26 April 2007

President Kalam delivered a lecture on the dynamics of peace and prosperity at a very diverse crowd of over 200 diplomatic representatives, politicians, journalists, academics, and civil society representatives. He approached the subject of peace from a profoundly spiritual perspective, underlining the importance of sharing knowledge and demonstrating solidarity and understanding. He stressed the

importance of individual initiative on matters such as environmental protection and societal cohesion.

President Kalam argued that peace and prosperity (that cannot be defined in purely economic terms) is not a utopian goal but can be achieved through a three-dimensional approach that combines: (a) education, (b) the transformation of religion into a spiritual force, and (c) an economic development that focuses on

eliminating disparities at all levels of society.

Professor Theodore Coulombis moderated a vivid discussion with the audience that focused on the challenges of jointly promoting peace and prosperity, on the challenges of environmental degradation and population growth, and on the need, at times, to distinguish development policies from partisan politics.



Commissioner Prof. Dr. Danuta Hübner and Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP

“Growth and Competitiveness in Europe: the case for a strong cohesion policy” Lecture by Prof. Dr. Danuta Hübner, EU Commissioner for Regional Policy

Athens, 29 March 2007

Commissioner Hübner discussed European regional policy from a historic perspective highlighting the main phases the policy underwent since its inception, how it evolved, how it improved and how it decentralised. She also looked into current challenges facing regional policy today, its role and priorities in response to global challenges and new developments which might affect its future.

Professor Hübner referred to the role of the ERDF, which started off mainly as a redistribution instrument without real economic underpinning.

Until the mid 1980s, European regional policy was unable to correct economic disparities in the EEC. Following the EC/EU's successive enlargements, it gradually evolved into a policy epitomising the notion of convergence and aiming at structural adjustment and the removal of barriers which impede the growth potential of all regions, and not just the poorest.

The Commissioner emphasised the importance of regional policy as a lever for stimulating global competitiveness across European territories and as a major development tool outside the EU.

Through extensive reference to recent reforms that have been undertaken, she underlined the fundamental role that local authorities have in the successful design and implementation of development strategies and growth maximisation.

Professor Dr. Hübner concluded by urging Greece and its regions, “to find the right mix of Community, national local and regional policies, to concentrate investment in key Lisbon areas and involve more private capital” and last but not least, to intensify cooperation with other regions and cities in Europe.

Prof. Hübner's full speech can be downloaded from www.eliamep.gr

“Europe and the role of civil society” : Conference with guest speaker Ms. Margot Wallström, Vice-President of the European Commission

Athens, 29 March 2007

The Citizens' Movement with the cooperation of Citizens' Union PAREMVASSI, Evropaïki Ekfrassi, Mediterranean Information Office for Environment, Culture and Sustainable Development (MIO-ECSDE), PRAKSIS, WWF Greece and the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organised a conference on Europe and the role of

civil society that attracted a very large audience of 200 civil society representatives, civically active citizens, politicians and students.

Commissioner Wallström emphasised the valuable role that civil society organisations can play in consolidating vibrant democracies where dialogue across borders and between citizens and policy makers is promoted.

During an interactive discussion between members of the audience and the panellists, the role of civil society organisations was underlined as a valuable source and resource of expertise, insight, and cooperation for policy-makers. Gender issues, the environment and the quality of democracy were at the centre of the discussion

Commissioner Wallström's full speech can be downloaded from www.eliamep.gr

Discussion on “Energy in Southeast Europe” with Professor Achilles Adamantiadis

23 April 2007, Athens

Professor Adamantiadis spoke to an audience of twenty experts on the Balkans and on energy matters, Greek ministry officials and civil society representatives.

The discussion focused on the growing importance of energy for economic development and quality of life. Prof. Ada-

mantiadis presented on the need to develop functional energy markets and efficient and secure energy networks. He emphasized the need to secure a multiplicity of resources, suppliers and demand.

The round-table discussion that followed debated the cost and safety considerations of nuclear energy for Greece and

for SEE while significant attention was paid to the need to further invest and develop renewable and alternative sources of energy.

The potential for hydroelectricity, Aeolian energy and lignite resources were discussed in the context of each country in SEE.

Turkey-EU Observatory 2007

29-30 March 2007, Athens

The main purpose of the Turkey-EU Observatory 2007 meeting was to identify trends and key issues concerning Turkey's accession to the EU, and to further understand and assess the effects of EU enlargement on the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea regions.

The meeting was organised by the Istanbul Policy Center and ELIAMEP. It was held at a time of significant political change underway in Turkey, further straining the already contested Turkish EU accession.

The debate concentrated on the need to move current discourse regarding Turkey's EU accession towards an understanding of the factors that may impact the integration process itself and not just Turkey-specific challenges.

The importance of civil society, effective communication between and within Turkey and the EU, student exchange programmes and fostering deeper understanding among journalists and opinion makers were equally at the centre of the discussion.

The accession process itself and the role of the Commission were also examined in depth. Similarly, the importance of the Greek-Turkish Forum, not least on the subject of Cyprus was equally highlighted.

Finally, the participants concentrated on recent developments in Turkish domestic politics, current perceptions that secularism may be under threat in Turkey, as well as the degree of correlation that exists between Turkey's modernization and its EU accession process.

Project publications:

Three new reports have been published within the framework of the research programme EUROREG Regions, Minorities and European Integration:

- **A Comparative Analysis at the Italo-Slovene Border** by Dr. Enrica Rigo
- **European Integration and the consequences for regional development and minority rights: Greece's Thrace, Austria's Burgenland, Northern Ireland, and the Basque Country** by Dr. Dia Anagnostou, ELIAMEP
- **and European Integration and the consequences for regional development and minority rights** by Dr. Dia Anagnostou, ELIAMEP

EUROREG is funded by DG RTD, FP6. For more about project see: http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/research/research_projects/euroreg/en/

Workshop on “The Europeanization of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus”

22-25 March 2007, Florence and Montecatini Terme

The Center for European Studies (CES), Middle East Technical University (METU, Ankara) and ELIAMEP co-organised a workshop in the context of the 8th Mediterranean Meeting. The Meeting was under the auspices of the European University Institute (EUI). The workshop was co-organised by ELIAMEP's Senior Research Fellow Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos.

Papers presented by the ELIAMEP team included: a paper by Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos (co-authored with George Kalpadakis) on the **development of Greek civil society and its possible linkages to foreign policy making** and implementation; and a paper by Sappho Xenakis on **current Greek policy against organized crime**.

Other topics covered in the workshop included both international relations and com-

parative politics/comparative sociology approaches. The emphasis of most topics was on public policies, including foreign policy, migration and asylum policy, social policy, policy against organised crime and policy towards minorities.

Other aspects of both Greek and Turkish society examined in various papers included civil society and business communities.

Call for Research Assistant in Migration Studies

ELIAMEP is currently looking for a Research Assistant in the field of Migration Studies to start on 1 October 2007 for an initial period of one year, renewable.

The position is full time and involves a daily presence at ELIAMEP. ELIAMEP provides for working space (office space and PC/internet equipment, library facilities). Salary is competitive and will depend upon the successful candidate's qualifications.

For more information regarding qualifications and tasks see ELIAMEP's website on: http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/media/press_releases/latest/research_assistant_migration/en/

Deadline for applications: 15 June 2007

Interested candidates should send CV and motivation letter to: Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow, ELIAMEP anna@eliamep.gr

Recent ELIAMEP Publications

OP.07.01 Η ανάπτυξη, η αμφισβήτηση και η μεταρρύθμιση του ευρωπαϊκού κοινωνικού κράτους: "Is the economy stupid!"
by Nikos Koutsiaras

PN07.01 A historical institutionalist analysis of the Security and Defence Policy of the European Union by Kouris Kalligas

ABOUT the Marshall Memorial Fellowship Programme (MMF)

Since 2000, ELIAMEP is the coordinator of the Marshall Memorial Fellowship programme in Greece. The MMF programme aims at creating a network of young European and American leaders in an attempt to strengthen the transatlantic relation. The GMF awards more than 100 Marshall Memorial Fellowships each year to leaders in politics, government, business, media, and the non-profit sector, who travel and explore people, societies and institutions at the other side of the Atlantic. During their visits, American and European Fellows meet formally and informally with a range of policymakers and prominent members of the business, government, political, NGO, and media communities.

Dr. Micheal E. Webber visited Athens in March 2007 as an American Fellow.



American Marshall Memorial Fellows 2007—Group picture

Letter: An American in Athens

By Michael E. Webber, Ph.D.

American Marshall Memorial Fellow (2007) of the German Marshall Fund Associate Director, Center for International Energy & Environmental Policy Jackson School of Geosciences & Department of Mechanical Engineering The University of Texas at Austin

“We Greeks invented Democracy, and you Americans messed it up!” That’s what Greek-American Arianna Huffington told a few hundred disenchanted political activists in Los Angeles a few days before George Bush’s second inauguration in 2005. By that time, Arianna Huffington was already famous as a commentator, columnist, and unsuccessful candidate for Governor in California, where she lost to Arnold Schwarzenegger. I had the honour of introducing Ms. Huffington to the crowd that day, and was eager to hear what she would tell us. I had no idea she would be so blunt, critical, articulate, passionate, and knowledgeable. I have wondered since that day whether this was typical for Greeks or whether she was an exception.

Nearly two years later, I had the great fortune to be selected as a Marshall Memorial Fellow, which gave me the opportunity to travel around Europe for over three weeks in March 2007, including a five-day stop in Athens.

Within an hour of my arrival into Greece, my taxi driver berated me and my fellow Americans for failing to take action on global climate change and missing all the potential economic gains from the green energy revolution. He informed me that because of our sluggishness, he was going to profit handsomely beginning the following week when he would quit his job as a driver to open a company installing solar panels. I did not expect such a blunt, critical, articulate, passionate and knowledgeable taxi driver. So I guess Arianna Huffington was an accurate introduction after all.

It is a healthy exercise for Americans to visit Europe—and particularly Greece—given its special role in our cultural, political and philosophical history. As a stereotype, most Americans do not travel outside of the United States, and so we miss a critical perspective of observing America through the lens of Europe. If Americans traveled to Europe, they would be impressed when they learn how much Europeans know about America, especially in contrast with how little we know about Europe. They might be surprised to discover that modern European anti-Americanism is not comprised of a dislike for America, rather it’s a form of mourning for the loss of American moral leadership. I observed widespread sadness about America’s transformation from a nation that stands for liberation and prosperity to one that stands for oppression and death, which is how Greeks observe the war in Iraq.

At a discussion session in Athens in late March entitled “**Sixty Years after the Marshall Plan,**” this combination of sadness and Greek forthrightness was on full display. One of the Greek panelists directed his criticism straight to the United States Ambassador who was present, saying simply, “The U.S. has lost its credibility”. It takes courage—rather, it takes a Greek—to feel comfortable publicly criticizing an ambassador. And the passion was genuine. Greeks desperately want strong American leadership on every front—energy, global climate change, counter-terrorism, human rights, you name it—but they feel America has let them down over the last few years. They feel our go-it-alone-and-lead-with-the-fist foreign policy flies in the face of our values in a way that comes across as patronizing and bullying.

As one blunt, critical, articulate, passionate and knowledgeable Greek Marshall Memorial Fellow told me at dinner, “Maybe it’s a good thing that America has been so openly hostile to its European allies, because as a consequence we learned that America’s support for Europe cannot be taken for granted.” Maybe he’s right; maybe our primary foreign policy accomplishment over the last several years has been to tell the world’s citizens they shouldn’t count on the U.S. as a moral leader anymore. And that makes me sad.

These conversations were eye-opening for me and I can’t help but conclude that it would be good for Americans to come to Europe so that they understand we still have an important role in the world and we have a responsibility to fulfill that role to the best of our ability. And if they want to hear the blunt and honest truth about that role while also visiting a beautiful nation with intelligent people and the birthplace of modern civilization, they should visit Greece.

ELIAMEP Times

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