

**ELIAMEP's 20 Years Anniversary Celebration and Annual Lecture 2008
Athens, 22 October 2008**

This year, 2008, marked ELIAMEP's 20th anniversary which was celebrated on the occasion of the Foundation's Annual Lecture. This year's lecture was delivered by **Professor Mario Monti, President of Bocconi University in Milan and former European Commissioner** who focused on **"The Challenges Facing Europe and the Role of Think-Tanks"**. The lecture was preceded by a speech from ELIAMEP's President, **Professor Loukas Tsoukalis** on **"The War of Ideas and the Role of ELIAMEP"**.

Greece ranks today in the 24th position in the UN Human Development Index, featuring among the most advanced countries. However, this degree of development together with the fast pace of social and political changes taking place in the world, is not always adequately reflected in the mode of governance and the state institutions, while the people are increasingly disengaged from politics. This phenomenon, however, is not only confined in Greece. On the contrary, it constitutes the source of the battle "of power and ideas that now takes a new turn after the recent political and economic developments" according to Professor Tsoukalis. The transfusion of global developments in the Greek context is at the centre of ELIAMEP's activities, being a think-tank equally active in the Greek and European space.

The role of think-tanks in Europe was the axis of Professor Monti's lecture around which he developed an analysis on the role of the EU facing the challenges of globalisation and the current financial crisis in particular.

Concerning the financial crisis and the reaction of the EU, Professor Monti emphasised that Europe responded, maybe not so quickly but efficiently, in a way that according to The New York Times surpassed the US. This efficiency was a "high moment of politics" and the result of an impetus of activism by the European Council headed by France under the presidency of Nikola Sarkozy. Professor Monti underlined the importance of a strong Presidency, in this case the result of coincidence, which proves in his opinion the importance of empowering the European institutions. Arguably, the immediacy of response cannot be based on luck – it should derive from organised procedures and institutions. As in the past, crisis has once again brought the sense of urgency to overcome different national perspectives in the EU. Political impetus should therefore become an instrument for further progress and advancement of European rules and processes. If the opposite were to happen, it might lead to the gradual deconstruction of the system of trust built between the member states, given that European rules place all members on an equal platform, and ultimately the weakening of the EU.

In the upcoming period, the financial crisis will also bring forward a larger question, regarding the efficiency and value of market economy. Indeed, while there is a need for more government intervention in the finance sector in particular, governments should not throw away the huge investments and reforms that have rendered domestic markets more flexible and competitive and safeguard social equity. In this respect, globalisation indeed poses a challenge. That is the unsustainable effects of unequal income distribution and the weakness of governments to respond to the needs of the "temporary losers of globalisation". The EU and its institutions should therefore function as a vehicle for further cooperation in developing a coordinated tax policy on the European level and an example for the construction of a global system of governance, the necessity of which is evident today more than ever.

In such a system the work of ELIAMEP together with other think tanks in organising and analysing political thought on European developments will be increasingly important in the process of European governance, Professor Monti underlined.

The lectures were preceded by the projection of a **short documentary on the Foundation's 20th anniversary** (available at <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/frontpage/top-story-2/video-20-years-eliamep/>) and were followed by an event with music from the Balkans and the world. Many distinguished personalities, old and new associates and friends of ELIAMEP honoured the organisers with their presence.

The event was organised with the support of the National Bank of Greece.



Professor Mario Monti



From left to right: Mr. Constantinos Stephanopoulos, Former President of the Hellenic Republic, Mr. Costas Simitis, Former Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Giorgos Vassiliou, Former President of the Republic of Cyprus, Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, Mrs. Monti and Mr. Nicholas Garganas, Former Governor of the Bank of Greece

RECENT EVENTS:

Discussing *Transatlantic Trends
2008 in View of the West-Russia Crisis
and the Coming US Elections
Athens, 16 September 2008**

ELIAMEP organised a discussion with **Dr. Ian Lesser, Senior Transatlantic Fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the US.**

"Public opinion remains doubtful about transatlantic relations despite official improvement"—was one of the main conclusions of the public opinion survey *Transatlantic Trends 2008**, the key findings of which were presented by Dr. Lesser.

The report which examines American and European attitudes toward the transatlantic relationship, addressed four topics: (1) The Bush Administration's Legacy and Coming US Elections, (2) Views of Transatlantic Priorities and Challenges, (3) US Voters Ahead of Presidential Election, and (4) Turkish Perspectives.

With respect to how transatlantic relations will be influenced by the upcoming change of administration in the US, the public on both sides of the Atlantic believes they would show improvement under Obama and remain the same under McCain.

Regarding transatlantic concerns, there seems to be concurrence that issues of economic and energy security have precedence over other issues. Furthermore, "concern about Russia has grown - even before Georgia - and NATO is viewed somewhat more positively", the survey concluded.

Roughly 80% of voters in the US who are favorable of presidential candidate Barack Obama believe that they are more likely to be affected by global warming in the next ten years though only 28% of them perceive climate change as a priority for the next president. 50% of voters in favor of McCain on the other hand, consider international terrorism a main issue the next US and European leaders should address.

Finally, offering a perspective on how Turks perceive transatlantic relations, the survey concluded that after a year of friction they are slightly warmer toward US and EU, but 'inward looking' and distrustful when it comes to international ties.

**Transatlantic Trends* is an annual public opinion survey examining US and European attitudes toward the transatlantic relationship.

**European Science Foundation (ESF)
Exploratory Workshop: Where Migration
Policies Meet the Migrants: Comparing
European and North American
Experiences
Athens, 2-4 October 2008**

This workshop studied whether and how the implementation of specific policies affects the plans and actions of individual migrants (and their families). It brought together sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, and international relations experts who work in the area of migration studies at both sides of the Atlantic. Each scientist presented a pilot case study looking at how much information migrants have on migration management/control and migrant integration policies; whether they take into account such policies and what are the results of this 'interaction' between migrants' own plans and needs and the actual policies and in particular their implementation.

The hypothesis was put forward that we can conceptualise of 'nodal points' that mark the time and place in the migration process when a migrant 'meets' a migration policy. We had also put forward the idea that there are actual nodal points, missed nodal points (when the migrant does not know and hence ignores the policy) and ignored nodal points (when the migrant knows about the policy and feels its effect but chooses deliberately to ignore it and finds ways to circumvent it). We also considered the different types of migration in each country and checked whether different types of migrants (labour migration, family reunification, temporary work, commuting migration, legal vs. irregular migration) were affected by different policies.

The case studies presented in the workshop were organised into four migration systems: East-West Europe, North Africa-Europe, Middle East-Europe, and Central-North America. Within each system one migrant group was chosen as the reference group (with the exception of the East-West Europe system where two groups were studied). The case studies included the following migrant populations and migrant receiving countries: Poles in Germany and Greece; Ukrainians in Italy, Hungary and Poland; Moroccans in France, Spain and Belgium; Turks in the UK and the Netherlands; Mexicans in Canada and the US.

For more information, please contact Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou at anna@eliamep.gr



From left to right Dr. Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP's Director General, Ambassador (ret.) Byron Theodoropoulos and Dr. Ian Lesser

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SETTING SCIENCE AGENDAS FOR EUROPE

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China and India: Asia's Two Emerging Giants and What it Means to the World**Athens, 7 October 2008**

ELIAMEP in cooperation with the Embassy of Japan in Athens organised a lecture and discussion with Ambassador (ret.) **Sakutaro Tanino, Former Ambassador of Japan to China and India, Vice President of Japan-China Friendship Center, Advisor to Toshiba Corporation** on "China and India: Asia's Two Emerging Giants and What it Means to the World".

The emergence of China and India as new economic giants in the Asian continent was the main focus of Ambassador Tanino's lecture, who attended to three core aspects: providing profiles of the two countries, pointing out similarities and differences and drawing attention to the potential risks and difficulties China and India will have to tackle as rising economic powers.

China has the largest population in the world and is known for excelling in the manufacturing industry. India, on the other hand claims the title of the world's largest democracy and it shines in the area of software technology. Both have shown high economic growth in the last years and have skilled yet inexpensive work forces at their disposal. However, the two countries are also experiencing environmental degradation and show discomforting signs of corruption as well as a widening disparity between rich and poor.

With respect to what differentiates one from another, it was noted that while mass poverty and discrimination against women constitute causes for concern in India, China has depleting water resources, unemployment and a raging fake goods market to tackle.

Finally, Mr. Tanino briefly introduced a few scenarios on China's future development. According to the Goldman Sachs Report of 2003, China and India could be the largest economies in the world by 2050. Economic growth could bring about a political liberalization of China, and perhaps even lead to a transformation of structure of the political system – an eventuality, though, which remains to be seen.

America's Cultural Heritage and Green Diplomacy**Athens, 8 October 2008**

ELIAMEP and ELLINIKI ETAIRIA, Hellenic Society for the Environment and Cultural Heritage organised a lecture followed by discussion delivered by **Ms. Colleen Graffy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy** on "America's Cultural Heritage and Green Diplomacy".

Ms. Colleen Graffy can be hardly described as the typical diplomat, with a rigid posture and a manner full of typicalities. She addressed the audience of the closed discussion in a very lively manner, without hesitating to laugh or frown. She tried to present another perspective of the US policy on green diplomacy, an issue on which the United States have been condemned so many times by other nations for not trying so hard – mainly because of the refusal to sign the Kyoto Protocol. For this reason, she used the best way she knows to do so; public diplomacy.

According to Ms. Graffy, public diplomacy is "how governments do communicate with the people of another country, how they communicate their policies, their values and their culture". Nowadays, the means to communicate the policies (internet, TV) play a major role in their formulation. Above all perhaps is how this message is received.

So, when we talk about public diplomacy, we basically mean 24/7 media and relationship building. The US is engaged in the latter through cultural diplomacy, sports diplomacy, educational exchanges, and green diplomacy.

On the latter, Deputy Secretary of State Graffy stated the opinion that US does much but doesn't communicate them well; also that domestic decisions are perceived differently in the outer world. That's where public diplomacy comes to fill the void. In this context, she presented a series of initiatives, such as the exploitation of solar and wind power, the methane recovery, as well as the Asia – Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate. She called upon the key economies and industries to change their technology in order to produce climate friendly emissions.



From left to right: Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, ELIAMEP's President, Ambassador Sakutaro Tanino and Mr. Takanori Kitamura, Ambassador of Japan to Greece



Photo from the lecture by Ms. Colleen Graffy at ELIAMEP premises

Euro-Russian Relations after the Crisis in the Caucasus**Athens, 29 October 2008**

Three weeks after Russia completed the pullback of its troops from the buffer zones in Georgia and in light of the upcoming Greek Chairmanship of the OSCE, a group of experts from the economic, political and security field participated in a closed discussion held at ELIAMEP on the ramifications of the Caucasian crisis on the EU – Russia – Greece relations.

The aftermath of the crisis finds Europe divided in its relations with Moscow and has substantiated calls for a common European energy policy. France supports a return to 'business-as-usual' strategy and along with Germany, Spain and Italy a further integration of Russia into the European system within the negotiations for a new Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA).

On the other hand, Poland, Sweden, the Czech Republic and the Baltic countries emphasise the dangers of depending on Russia for energy supply and advocate a much more adversarial approach to Moscow. The latter raises concerns on how the relation between the EU and Moscow will be affected by the Czech presidency of the EU in 2009.

The speakers agreed that Europe and Russia are destined to remain natural

partners mostly due to their interdependence. Russia has found in Europe its greatest partner in terms of natural gas export and Europe relies on Russian gas flowing into the continent (North Stream, South Stream) as there is no alternative supplier that can adequately meet Europe's energy needs.

Participants discussed a number of proposals for policy action including the following:

- Promotion of the idea of a common European energy policy;
- Enhancement of further negotiations on the new PCA; and
- Development of a substantive ongoing dialogue with Russia on energy matters.

Speakers: **Dr. Thanos Dokos**, Director-General ELIAMEP, **Professor Panayiotis C. Ioakimidis**, University of Athens; Member of the Board of Directors of ELIAMEP, **Mr. Konstantinos Maniatopoulos**, Chairman, Institute of Energy for South-east Europe, **Dr. Charalambos Tsardanidis**, Director, Institute of International Economic Relations, **Dr. Christos Kollias**, Associate Professor, University of Thessaly and **Mr. Nikolaos Toskas**, Major General (ret.). **Professor Theodore Couloumbis**, Vice President of the Board of Directors, ELIAMEP moderated the discussion.



Experts discussing Euro-Russian Relations at ELIAMEP premises

JURISTRAS project new website

With the opportunity of the publication of its second round of reports, the JURISTRAS research project has launched its own website. The JURISTRAS website is a public access website providing information about the project, its institutional partners, its research goals and its principal outputs. It can be accessed at:

www.juristras.eliamep.gr.

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"Stavros Costopoulos" Research Fellowship

Janis A. Emmanouilidis who joined ELIAMEP in October 2007 as Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow will continue his Fellowship at ELIAMEP for a second year. His activities and research interests will focus on the political and institutional reform of the European Union, the perspectives of differentiated integration in an EU 27+ and on issues related to the Union's neighbourhood policy and Common Foreign and Security Policy.

ELIAMEP Times

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PUBLICATIONS:

Security & Strategic Cooperation in the Mediterranean: Confidence-building and Conflict Prevention, Stephen C. Calleya & Dimitris K. Xenakis Edition, ELIAMEP Policy Paper 011, 2008

This study provides a comprehensive overview in the field of security and strategic co-operation in the Mediterranean. By assessing both the post-Cold War international and regional security environments, as well as, the framework of Euro-Mediterranean cooperation that has been established through the various regional initiatives that have seen the light after 1989, mainly the Barcelona Process but also the Mediterranean initiative taken by the French President Sarkozy, Stephen C. Calleya and Dimitris K. Xenakis deliver concrete proposals for the cultivation of a common regional security culture, the development of early warning mechanisms and the establishment of a conflict prevention network, as well as, the strengthening of Euro-Atlantic co-operation in the Mediterranean.

The Evolution of Franchise Terrorism Al-Qaeda, Katya Leney-Hall, Working Paper 01, 2008

Despite the recent distractions of a resurgent Russia and a global financial crisis, the threat from al-Qaeda and the US-led war on terrorism remain important features of the international agenda. This article provides a compact analysis of the origins, leadership, ideology and strategy of al-Qaeda. It describes a ruthless, adaptable and resilient organisation that has survived and possibly grown despite concerted world-wide pressure from the military, intelligence and security agencies. The paper highlights some negative features of the "war on terror" which risk increasing support for the very phenomena they seek to tackle. It provides a timely reminder that a policy response to the threat of al-Qaeda is about far more than action by the military and law enforcement. It calls for a global policy response which addresses some of the very real grievances which feed Islamic extremism, and cautions against complacency or loss of momentum at a time when other problems may seem more pressing.