

ELIAMEP Annual Lecture 2007

The Rt. Hon. Lord Patten of Barnes, Chancellor of the University of Oxford and Former EU Commissioner

Athens, 20 September 2007

In the opening of his lecture on **Prospects for Peace in the Middle East and the Role of Europe**, Lord Patten mentioned the Greek poet Kavafis and his useful insights in political activities. He then turned to the analysis of the **Roadmap for Peace in the Middle East**, which was proposed by the Europeans in 2003.

Prepared by the Foreign Ministry of Denmark, which then held the EU Presidency, the Roadmap for the Middle East was a good first step in a gradual approach to restore peace. The Roadmap was precise and there was a timetable on the introduction of confidence-building measures. More importantly, the steps to be taken by the one side were not a prerequisite for steps to be taken by the other side. It was about parallelism not sequentialism.

However, the Roadmap never stood a chance, following the appointment of Mr. Abrahams as US Representative at the UN Council, by G.W. Bush. What followed was extensive building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, and the rise of the Israeli security fence. Current violence in Gaza is neither unpredictable, nor wholly unprovoked.

According to Lord Patten, there is not peace process anymore, at the moment. The European Policy in the Middle East is just a process of successive meetings of the Quartet.

Europe should have a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Unfortunately, a Common Foreign and Security Policy goes right to the heart of the issue of national sover-

eignty. Even in the Amsterdam Treaty, although supranationalism was introduced, sovereignty of the member states remains.

The EU occasionally has a common external position, as for example is the case with enlargement, the most successful projection of the EU's "soft power". However, in other areas of external relations, it is not easy to get 27 national governments to work together and agree on a common position. An additional difficulty is the fact that two of the EU's member states are permanent members of the UN Security Council and nuclear powers. More often than not, European Common Foreign Policy is about the lower common denominator.

However, Europe should attempt to have a common Foreign Policy, especially since the EU's humiliation in Yugoslavia and in the light of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the rise of new economic giants in the East.

Europe should have a distinctive common foreign policy in the Middle East and particularly in Israel and Palestine.

European policy should not be calibrated to US and Israeli policy. It should be distinctive and bold and should attempt to bridge the gap between European rhetoric and action in the Middle East. In particular:

- The European policy in the Middle East and any road map for peace in the Middle East, should involve all the parties (Iran, Syria, Hamas, Hezbollah, Saudi Arabia) and not just Israel and Palestine.

- There should be a settlement on the Golan Heights between Israel and Syria.



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- Hamas should be involved in any settlement in Gaza or the West Bank. (Hamas will not be the first group which has used violence for political ends and then gained its respectability).

- Relations between Lebanon and Israel should be restored; otherwise there will be no settlement in Palestine.

- The Saudi Peace Initiative can be accepted as a starting point.

- There should be a national unity government in Palestine.

- The EU should be clear that it is ready to jump start to state building for Palestine.

Such a European policy in the Middle East would make it more difficult for US and Israel to continue the current policy of inaction. It would restore the peace process. Furthermore, it would limit the fall of US policy and complete disaster in Iraq.

Europe should have a more honest policy. This kind of policy would restore the credibility of Europe in the Arab world and would be a wise move.

"However", wondered Lord Patten in his closing remark, "are the Europeans wise?"

The full text of Lord Patten's speech can be found at:
http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/files/patten_speech.pdf

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FORTHCOMING EVENTS:

Athens, 17 December
Public discussion on *What does the Reform Treaty signify for the EU?*
Venue: Kranidiotis Amphitheatre, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Athens, 26 November
Discussion with Professor **Thanasis Moulakis**, Former Director of the Institute of Mediterranean Studies, University of Lugano on *How to read the past? Use and abuse of historical heritage*.

Kozani, 12-14 November
Athens, 3-5 December
Training seminars for the Hellenic National Defence General Staff on *a) The security environment in SEE, and b) Prospects for Greek-Turkish relations*.

Athens, 7 November
The Danish Embassy in Greece in cooperation with ELIAMEP and KANEP organise a symposium on *Breaking the waves: Rethinking the labour Market*.

OTHER EVENTS:

Athens, 17 October 2007

ELIAMEP in cooperation with the Kokkalis Foundation organized a lecture entitled *Imperial Hubris: The thinking behind the decision to invade Iraq* delivered by Professor **Tony Smith**, Cornelia M. Jackson Professor of Political Science, Tufts University and Senior Fellow, Center for European Studies, Harvard University. The event was organized on the occasion of the publication of his new book "A Pact with the Devil: Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal of the American Promise".

Athens, 24 October 2007

ELIAMEP organized a lecture delivered by Mr. **Carl Bildt**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden, on *The EU's soft power: A force for change*.



Mr. Bildt's speech is now available at: <http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/files/SpeechCarlBildt.pdf>

Halki International Seminars 2007

Re-defining security in SEE, the Black Sea and the Middle East: Searching for new ways to address regional security problems

Rhodes-Greece, 12-16 September 2007

The seminar focused on four issues: (a) the current state of transatlantic relations (b) the regional security environment in Southeastern Europe, the Black Sea and the Middle East (c) functional security issues, namely: security sector reform, energy politics and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and (d) the role of great powers in dealing with security challenges.

On the current state of **transatlantic relations**, the participants debated whether there is a common approach and long-term vision between the US and Europe and on what basis should the current state of affairs between the US and the EU be re-negotiated.

The whole region of Southeast Europe is becoming a hostage of the unresolved **Kosovo** status, a situation that is unsustainable. The further delay of the resolution of the Kosovo status not only would stir instability within its territory, but also delays democratic processes in Serbia. Even if Kosovo would unilaterally declare independence, for EU's own sake it would be crucial that it upholds a unified stance as it will be the Union that will have to manage the future of Kosovo, being a territory in Europe's courtyard.

It was argued that the **Black Sea Region** is currently used only as a jumping point for membership to other more prestigious institutions. The Black Sea has not and will likely never have a specific regional identity. Loyalties of the citizenry are mostly local or national.

Regarding conflicts in the **Middle East**, the situation in Palestine was assessed as grave but not necessarily hopeless, whereas the assessment of Iraq was very pessimistic. It was argued that if Iraq is both a major regional issue and a major international security issue and if left to drift, as it is

now, it might develop into another Afghanistan. There are two possibilities: a violent partition or a set of interim arrangements which would be negotiated, established and guaranteed by the international community. The best scenario would be an interim arrangement of sharing of resources and territory along the lines of ethnic communities.

Energy security is rapidly becoming an issue of high importance. Russia uses energy as a strategic policy issue. It was pointed out that it is Europe's and the US's strategic goal to prevent a further strengthening of the Russian monopoly. Regarding the EU and its attempt to create a pan-European market, Europe has put more emphasis on the private sector and has forgotten what a market economy is all about.

Regarding **WMD proliferation** the very structure of the Middle East is at play. A "cascade effect," is possible with a nuclear Iran spurring the GCC, and Turkey to pursue similar programs. Perhaps in Iran's case, the most important consequence of its attaining nuclear capability is that it would set a precedent – it would join the NPT, break it and get away with it.

There was extensive discussion during the conference on the issue of **Security Sector Reform (SSR)**, including the different SSR experiences in countries such as Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Kosovo, Ukraine and United Arab Emirates. The speakers presented the determining factors, challenges and limited successes of their countries' experiences on security sector by revolving around 3 main questions: (a) What are the drivers for SSR for these countries? Are those drivers sustainable? (b) How is SSR understood in these countries? and (c) What is the state of SSR in these countries?

On the **division of labour be-**



From left to right: Dr. Ivan Vejvoda, Executive Director, Balkan Trust for Democracy, Belgrade, Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director General, ELIAMEP, Athens, Dr. Basma Kodmani, Executive Director, Arab Reform Initiative (ARI), Paris

tween international actors to manage global and regional problems, according to Russian perspective the Russian leadership wants to be an equal player in international relations and not to be treated as a junior partner, to have the right to express its own interests however unpleasant to some they might be and to establish its right to implement domestic reforms with the particularity of Russian evolution.

Regarding the EU, it was argued that the enlargement process will be more difficult over the following years – with Turkey being in the centre of the contradiction – as anti-enlargement pressure is coming from public opinion, the functionality of the EU with even more members is debatable and further enlargement towards the East will be confronting Russia. As far as the European Neighbourhood Policy is concerned, it does not provide any incentives for reform or for ending conflicts in countries that do not have a serious perspective of becoming members of the EU in the next 20 years.

This seminar was a Nato Advanced Study Institute and it was organised in cooperation with the Balkan Trust for Democracy and the Arab Reform Initiative, and with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the US, the Hellenic-Aid—Ministry of Foreign Affairs, OTE S.A., the Dodecanese Prefecture and the Region of South Aegean.

European integration favours minority protection

Results of an EU funded project on regional development in minority inhabited regions

Despite the absence of a clear EU constitutional commitment to minority protection, European integration affects the socio-economic development of minority communities residing within the EU. According to the findings of the European research programme EUROREG, coordinated by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, EU action promoting human rights and regional development exerts a strong influence on the standard of living of minorities, at the same time contributing to improvement of majority-minority relations.

The European Convention of Human Rights, whose provisions amount to general principles of Community law, and the EU Charter of Fundamen-

tal Rights 'support the emergence of a common, though limited, EU standard for minority protection', notes Evangelia Psychogiopoulou, member of the EUROREG research team. Bound to respect general human rights in its action, the EU functions as a significant constraint of nationalist politics and encourages the adoption of measures that safeguard equality of treatment at the national level.

Aimed to redress development disparities, EC cohesion policy, in turn, creates fertile ground for minority demands to be given consideration. By introducing a platform for increased involvement of sub-national actors in development processes, EC cohesion policy triggers political and

economic mobilisation of minorities, and enhances their participation in the formulation and implementation of regional development programmes.

For the coordinators of EUROREG, Dia Anagnostou and Anna Triandafyllidou, 'EU action designed to diffuse respect for human rights and redress regional development disparities fosters minority integration, strengthens majority-minority relations and intensifies inter-ethnic cooperation'. Initiatives which ensure systematic control of human rights, promote inter-cultural dialogue and target minority needs in a comprehensive way can further improve minorities' political, economic and social status.

EUROREG was funded by the European Commission, DG RTD, FP6, for the period 2004-2007. For more information on EUROREG you may contact Dr. Dia Anagnostou (danagnos@eliamep.gr), Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou (anna@eliamep.gr) and Dr. Evangelia Psychogiopoulou (epsychogiopoulou@eliamep.gr).

A series of policy papers in English and other European languages regarding the regions/countries studied and the European level results are available at the project's webpage:

http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/research/research_projects/euroreg/en/

About the research project CLANDESTINO (funded by FP6, European Commission)

Undocumented migration: Counting the uncountable. Data and trends across Europe

CLANDESTINO is an interdisciplinary project that aims to respond to the need for supporting policy makers in designing and implementing appropriate policies regarding undocumented migration. In this respect, the CLANDESTINO project provides an inventory and a critical appraisal of existing data/estimates on undocumented migration stocks and flows in selected member states (Greece, Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Poland, UK, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Netherlands), where undocumented migration is an important phenomenon. Towards investigating further the flows of undocumented migration, the project selects three EU

neighbouring countries that act as important 'stepping stones' on the road of undocumented migrants to the EU (Turkey, Morocco, Ukraine). CLANDESTINO will compare and analyse critically existing methods of data collection and calculation of estimates on the phenomenon. In parallel, it shall discuss the ethical implications of collecting and using data on undocumented migrants as well as the methodological problems inherent to the study of such a phenomenon, by definition elusive and not-registered. Furthermore, events of dissemination and discussion of our findings with policy and user communities will be organised during the project. These are ex-

pected, on the one hand, to enrich our study with the insights of policy makers and social partners and, on the other, to raise their awareness concerning the methodological and ethical issues involved in the collection and use of data/estimates on undocumented migration.

The concrete products of the project shall be a renewable database on undocumented migration that proposes a new method for evaluating and classifying undocumented migration data/estimates. We shall also draft guidelines for an ethical policy for mapping undocumented migration in Europe.

Call for Experts

in Italy, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Turkey, Morocco, Ukraine for the project CLANDESTINO: Undocumented Migration: Counting the Uncountable. Data and Trends Across Europe

Application deadline: 1 December 2007

For further information please check ELIAMEP website at: http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/media/press_releases/latest/call_for_experts_clandestino/en/

ELIAMEP Team: New Research Fellows, Visiting Fellows and Staff

Research Fellows

Janis Emmanouilidis joined ELIAMEP in October as Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow. His research interests will focus on the political and institutional reform of the enlarged European Union, the perspectives of differentiated integration in an EU 27+ and on issues related to the EU's Common Foreign and Security Pol-

icy. Between 1999-2007 Janis was a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Applied Policy Research (C•A•P), Munich. Prior to that he was a Research Fellow at the Institut fuer Europaeische Politik (IEP) in Bonn.

Dr. Thanos Maroukis, Research Fellow at ELIAMEP since October 2007, is currently working on CLANDES-

TINO. He is also involved in EMILIE, a research project under Priority 7 of the FP6 investigating the legal, political and educational challenges that the recent crisis of multiculturalism poses on the management of diversity in different European countries. His fields of expertise are migration, ethnicity and the labour market.

ELIAMEP Team (continued)

Dr. Stefanos Xenarios joined ELIAMEP in November as a Research Assistant in the project "Climate Change and Human Security" where he coordinates the development of an integrated study for the climate impacts in vulnerable groups located in developing regions. His main research interests are economic valuation with monetary and biophysical approaches, decision making tools and stakeholder analysis.

Visiting Fellows

Dr. Franz-Lothar Altmann will be Onassis Visiting Research Fellow at ELIAMEP until June 2008. His research will focus on "Greece's Policy towards the Western Balkans."

Dr. Alper Kaliber, who is based in the University of Birmingham, UK, visited ELIAMEP as a Research Fellow between 1-15 October 2007. He is currently conducting a two-year research project on the Cyprus question. The central aim of

the research is to understand which issues are securitised, namely expressed as vital threats, by the two Cypriot communities and also in Turkey and Greece.

Staff Members

Ms. Lia Deligianni is the new Library and Publications Coordinator. Lia holds degrees in Library Science, and, Social Anthropology and has extensive experience in organisation and management of library and archive collections.

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 German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS) 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.



American Marshall Memorial Fellows 2007—Group pictures



American Marshall Memorial Fellows Visit to Greece, 15-19 October 2007

Establishing Bridges of Understanding through Transatlantic Dialogue

Letter By Gabriel Sandoval,

American Marshall Memorial Fellow (2007),

Deputy Legal Counsel to Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa.

In October 2007, I, along with four other American Marshall Memorial Fellows, arrived in a city rich in history, people, culture, food, and, of course, hospitality—Thessaloniki, Greece. I was joined by Vicki Blanton, Senior Attorney with JCPenny in Texas, Tom Daniel, Manager for the Economic and Development Community Planning for the City of Minneapolis in Minnesota, Gwendena Real Bird, Deputy Chief of Staff to the Chairman of the White Mountain Apache Tribe in Arizona, and Danielle Nava, Associate Director of the Anti-Defamation League in California. We were immediately welcomed by the consummate Greek diplomats Christianna Karageorgopoulou, our city coordinator, and, Vassilis Margaris and Pantelis Aggelidis past European Marshall Memorial Fellows.

The cosmopolitan, seaside city of Thessaloniki was the third of what ultimately would be five cities we would have visited by the conclusion of our fellowship. Our European journey started in Brussels, Belgium where all fifteen fellows were provided an educational overview of the European Union and its Parliament, Council, and Commission through meetings with elected officials, government leaders, representatives of non-governmental entities, and a reception generously hosted by H.E. Ambassador C. Boyden Gray—the United States Representative to the E.U. We were also introduced to complex, important, and, indeed, familiar issues confronting the E.U. and its member states to varying degrees: migration and immigrant integration, global climate change, the role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the inclusion of Turkey as an E.U. member state, the final status of Kosovo, discrimination and racism, the jurisdictional limits of the E.U. Parliament to address matters which are uniquely interwoven with the distinct histories of each member state, and the image of the United States and Americans in light of the Iraq War, to name just a few.

Our stay in Thessaloniki was not only an educational excursion, but also quite frankly a series of truly breath-taking and enlightening experiences—visiting the serene and pristine village of Nymphaio and the important bear and wolf refuge Arcturos NGO; fully appreciating the historical significance of the Vergina archaeological site; imbibing the delicious and sophisticated wines of Yiannis Boutaris on his picturesque vineyard in Giannakochori; understanding the city's Jewish history; being educated about the good, life-changing work of Ithaki; and participating in an engaging seminar hosted by policy think tanks, business entities, and investment associations entitled, "Thessaloniki at the Crossroads of the Balkans and the Black Sea Region," which was hosted at the office of the European Agency for Reconstruction and Development.

In the end, I came away from Europe with a deeper appreciation that we live in an increasingly interconnected world where decisions made in Los Angeles or New York City may have a direct and immediate impact in Brussels and Thessaloniki and vice versa on a broad spectrum of policy, political, and economic matters. To be sure, all would stand to benefit if more programs such as the Marshall Memorial Fellowship Program existed. If such were the case, more Americans and Europeans would understand that they share many of the same interests, concerns, and values and, in turn, would focus on commonalities rather than differences. However, for ongoing dialogues are required to create these meaningful bridges of understanding that can positively affect and inform local, state, federal, and international policymaking—a critical point that certainly has not been overlooked by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.