

ELIAMEP TIMES

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www.eliamep.gr: Renovation, Innovation

ELIAMEP is re-considering, re-working, re-designing its digital presence. Our aim is not simply to create a livelier and more user-friendly website. Our aim is to explore new possibilities of interaction and of disseminating the research results of the projects we are involved in through the use of digital tools .

The first steps, which will take effect at the end of May, involve the creation of a collective blog section, a space promoting policy-related commentary on current international affairs. At the same time, the main website of our institution, eliamep.gr, will be re-launched with a drastically new interface and structure. The new eliamep.gr aims to become something more than an electronic archive of all the activities of our institution. It is currently being redesigned as a dynamic interactive space that will allow us to collaborate with relevant stakeholders and get feedback from active citizens in the constant effort of setting and adapting our research goals and priorities.

We see the improvement of ELIAMEP's digital presence as an ongoing work in progress, engaging with academic and policy relevant research in a more collaborative manner and making its results more accessible to the wider public.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS:**Policing changing communities
Athens, 14 May**

Discussion with **Sir Ian Blair**, Chief of the Metropolitan Police of the UK, organised in cooperation with the British Embassy in Athens.

**Cyprus and divided societies
Belfast, 20-21 May 2008**

The International Politics and Ethnic Conflict Cluster, School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy, and the Centre for Research in Political Psychology, School of Psychology at Queen's University Belfast in collaboration with the School of Planning, Architecture and Civil Engineering and ELIAMEP will host a multi-disciplinary workshop on Cyprus and Divided Societies in Belfast, Queen's University.

**Citizens' rights in the EU: The
role of Ombudsmen****Athens, 28 May 2008**

Lecture by the European Ombudsman **Professor Nikiforos Diamandouros** organised in cooperation with Citizens' Union PAREMVASSI and Citizens' Movement for an Open Society. The lecture will be held at the amphitheatre of the National Hellenic Research Foundation (48 Vasileos Konstantinou Avenue) at 18.30.

**Conference in the framework
of the Greek Presidency of the
Human Security Network
Athens, 29-30 May 2008**

The Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the context of Greece's presidency of the Human Security Network for 2007/8 appointed ELIAMEP to coordinate the development of four policy studies with regard to climate change effects on vulnerable groups. The results of the policy studies will be presented at the Annual Ministerial Meeting as a Policy Forum on 30 May 2008 at the Mitropoulos Auditorium in the Athens Concert Hall. In addition, the Ministry is also organising a back to back International Conference at 29-30 May to be held in the same Hall with prominent think tanks, international organisations, as well as international experts and personalities. In the conference, a more detailed and in depth presentation of the policy paper will be conducted aiming at raising political and public awareness on the impact of climate change on vulnerable groups.

**Alternative views of world
politics****Athens, 23 June 2008**

Panel Discussion with **Ambassador Robert Blackwill**, Council on Foreign Relations and RAND Corporation, **Dr. Andrei Kokoshin**, Member of the State Duma of the Russian Federation and **Professor Loukas Tsoukalis**, President of the Board, ELIAMEP. The discussion will be held at the amphitheatre "Y. Kranidiotis", of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1 Akadimias Avenue) at 12:00.

**Launching
ELIAMEP Thesis**

ELIAMEP is launching a new publication series: ELIAMEP Thesis. This new series will cover topical issues related to EU integration, Europe's role in global affairs and important developments in international affairs. ELIAMEP Thesis will be published several times a year. The new series will complement ELIAMEP's Policy Papers, in an effort to produce brief succinct and timely pieces of analysis and recommendations on topical issues and current developments. Janis A. Emmanouilidis, who is Stavros Costopoulos Fellow at ELIAMEP, is responsible for this new series.

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REPORTS ON PAST EVENTS:

ELIAMEP organised a number of working meetings, presentations and lectures in March- April 2008. Due to the latest developments in the Balkans most events concentrated on the current challenges the region is facing.

Recent developments in the Balkans: Consequences for regional stability

Athens, 5 March 2008

John Frasier, Senior Analyst on Balkan Affairs, Privy Council Office, Ottawa and Adjunct Research Professor, Institute of European and Russian Studies (EURUS), Carleton University, presented a Canadian perspective on the Balkans to a group of academics, diplomats and journalists at ELIAMEP. He argued that perceptions about the Balkans today remain based on perceptions that were built in the 20th century. The situation, however, is very different and the region is not as volatile and fragile as it tends to be perceived. He discussed the role of external actors in the region and the importance of regional cooperation. Professor Frasier furthermore concentrated on the implications of recognition and non-recognition of Kosovo for regional stability. Kosovo's declaration of independence and the subsequent reactions of the US, the EU Member States, Russia and the other countries in Southeast Europe were at the centre of the debate that followed. Canada's position on Kosovo's independence was also closely examined, particularly in terms of its use as a precedent by other parts regions, including Quebec.

Developments in Southeastern Europe

Athens, 17 March 2008

A group of distinguished diplomats, former Ambassadors, journalists and experts on Southeast Europe were invited by ELIAMEP to a working meeting with **Dr. Janusz Bugajski** to exchange views on political challenges facing the countries of SEE and on the US primary elections. Dr. Janusz

Bugajski is Director of the New European Democracies Project and senior fellow with the CSIS Europe Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington.

The discussion concentrated on the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties and implications for US foreign policy during the next Administration. Iraq, the situation in the Middle East and relations with Russia were also at the centre of the discussion. In addition, the need to define a new strategic concept for NATO by 2009 was underlined and the implications of the Bucharest NATO Summit were discussed.

America's new challenges in one superpower world

Athens, 31 March 2008

ELIAMEP organised a discussion with **Professor G. Calvin Mackenzie**, The Goldfarb Family Distinguished Professor of American Government, Colby College, Waterville, Maine on "America's new challenges in one superpower world". Challenging from the outset the title of his presentation, Prof. Mackenzie argued that the world that is emerging in the 21st century is a world of diffused powers between different powers rather than a unipolar one.

He kicked off the discussion by enumerating four parameters that he believes will define international relations in the 21st century. The first parameter is the growth in world population which, according to estimates, will reach 9.1 billion in 2015 putting a further strain on natural resources. The second is the growth of technology and the opportunities it creates for interaction across borders, effectively rendering them much less substantial. The third parameter is the "Information Revolution", which has created the unique circumstances of easily producing, communicating and consuming information. The final parameter is America's status as a military superpower, which at least in the foreseeable future will remain unchal-



Professor John Frasier in the centre discussing with a group of academics, diplomats, journalists and ELIAMEP's experts



From left to right: ELIAMEP's Director General Dr. Thanos Dokos and Dr. Janusz Bugajski



From left to right: ELIAMEP's Research Fellow Dr. Ruby Gropas and Professor G. Calvin Mackenzie

lenged, even though the world is likely to become multipolar in the fields of economic and technological development. Characteristically, he noted that the military budget is scheduled to triple in the following decade. In parallel, Prof. Mackenzie argued that we will observe a further trend towards the “privatization” of military combat stemming from the need to counter terrorist networks.

The role of the USA as a military superpower should therefore be two-fold: (1) to protect itself against terrorism and (2) to act as a stabilizing force in the world. However, this should be approached not as the “bully”, but rather as the “strong kid” in the neighbourhood protecting weaker states from threatening powers. Finally, he argued that the USA should also concentrate on using diplomacy to promote peace and America’s core values, ultimately aiming to improve the country’s global image. Foreign aid, according to Mr. Mackenzie is an effective tool in this direction.

To this end, he asserted that the forthcoming presidential elections will determine the course of America’s strategy that is expected to change, both in terms of internal as well as external politics.

Serbia and the European Union Athens, 1 April 2008

In his lecture, **Deputy PM Mr. Bozidar Djelić**, addressed two main issues that he considered would determine the outcome of Serbia’s forthcoming elections on May 11th 2008, as well as its European course: (1) the unilateral declaration of Kosovo’s independence and (2) Serbia’s economic development including the steps towards harmonization with the EU accession targets.

Mr. Djelić gave an overview of Serbia’s current economic and political situation offering useful insight to the Serbian viewpoint as to the development and the obstacles that the country is facing. Mr. Djelić particularly

emphasized that the progressive pro-European party is facing great domestic opposition because of the European Union’s stance on Kosovo’s independence, as well as the cumbersome negotiation process for candidate countries. Nevertheless, he asserted that he believes that it is better to be present and negotiate, than to be absent, stating that the disagreement over this issue was the main reason for which the current government has fallen.

Referring to Kosovo’s unilateral declaration of independence, he clearly stated that Serbia does not intend to recognise Kosovo’s independence neither now, nor in the future. However, he emphasised that Belgrade wishes to negotiate with Pristina with the intention to grant Kosovo a status of full autonomy. He also affirmed that although the EU’s decision to maintain a diplomatic mission in Kosovo has reduced EU popularity, his European focus remains unchanged. His view is that Serbia must remain committed to its European future for it not only ensures its long-term success in all areas, but it is the best chance it has to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

To this end, Mr. Djelić affirmed that Serbia is at least on an equal foot with other candidate countries. Despite the great difficulties Serbia has faced, it has the highest GDP growth in the region (7,3%) and a fast dropping inflation rate as well as a significant increase in foreign direct investment of which, he underlined, 70% is Greek.

Furthermore, he noted that since January, Serbia has launched a harmonization plan based on the *acquis communautaire* that will be presented to the EU in May 2008 in addition to significant judiciary and security reforms. Moreover, he referred to Serbia’s visa policy which has abolished all visa restrictions for EU citizens, suggesting that a free visa policy should be adopted to facilitate Serbs



From left to right: Mr. Bozidar Djelic and ELIAMEP's President Professor Loukas Tsoukalis

to travel to other European countries and to increase integration between the region and the EU member states.

Overall, Mr. Djelić emphasised the importance of Serbia joining the EU as well as the significance of Europe's support, especially given the straining conditions that the pro-European movement is currently facing in Serbia.

Serbia in crisis Athens, 8 April 2008

Introducing the topic **Mr. Laza Kekic**, Regional Director for Central and Eastern Europe; Director for Country Forecasting Services, The Economist Intelligence Unit, argued that Serbia's elections mark a period of crisis for Serbia after Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence. Markedly, it was the differences over Serbia's future course following the crisis in Kosovo that led to the collapse of the, until recently, powerful Serbian government. Therefore, according to Mr. Kekic, instability is almost guaranteed whatever the outcome of the elections.

Describing the context, Mr. Kekic acknowledged that the main issue that will determine the outcome of the elections is the question of Kosovo and the orientation of the opponent parties as to this issue. On the one hand the pro-European bloc mainly represented by the Democratic Party (DS) together with a coalition of smaller parties, has identified the target for EU accession as the main priority for Serbia. On the other, the three other main parties, the Serbian Radical Party, the Socialist party and the DSSS party have all placed the issue of Kosovo at the top of their election agenda, as a question of national sovereignty.

He argued that the anti-EU, nationalist-populist coalition and the Socialist party siding with the DS had equal chances of electoral victory. Nevertheless, Mr. Kekic argued that other than Kosovo, the agenda of both parties is rather empty rendering both coalitions

rather fragile, to a larger or smaller degree.

Moving on to the likely consequences of the elections outcome, he affirmed that while Serbia will unquestionably be in a period of crisis, it will mainly be a political one, without this posing a threat to Serbia's solid democratic foundation. Additionally, even if its economy might be affected in the short term mainly from the reluctance of new investors to enter Serbia's market, it will not face an economic crisis.

In the likely scenario that the "nationalist" coalition wins, EU integration will be put on hold. Nevertheless, according to Mr. Kekic, it is not in the interest of either side to close the doors. The prospect of market liberalization and more freedom of movement for Serbia could function as a negotiation card for moderation in Kosovo.

As to the latter, Mr. Kekic argued that as long as the number of states that have recognized Kosovo remains small, the issue remains open for Serbia, even if in the long term it is most probably a losing battle, while EU's role in the region also remains to be seen.

Developments in the Balkans and the role of Greece Athens, 10 April 2008

Recent developments in the Balkans and the formation of new political balances place Greek foreign policy before significant challenges. In this respect ELIAMEP organised a panel discussion on "Developments in the Balkans and the Role of Greece".

Speakers: **Mr. Panayis Vourloumis**, President and CEO, OTE S.A., **Dr. Evangelos Kofos**, Special Advisor to ELIAMEP, **Mr. Stavros Lygeros**, Journalist "Kathimerini" and **Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis**, Member of Parliament, New Democracy Party. **Mr. Pavlos Tsimas** coordinated the discussion and addressed questions to the speakers.



Picture from the working meeting with Mr. Laza Kekic at ELIAMEP premises

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In his introductory remarks, Mr. Tsimas underlined the three most important developments that have occurred in the Balkans recently: (1) Kosovo's declaration of independence, (2) Albania's and Croatia's NATO accession and (3) the exclusion of FYROM from NATO's Balkan enlargement.

Dr. Kofos tried to describe the new Balkan environment, where states no longer belong to rival coalitions, but forge their own identity either through bloody conflicts or consensus agreements. As a result, Greece has new neighbours which face different problems and present new opportunities. Dr. Kofos also referred to ELIAMEP's contribution to the negotiation between Belgrade and Prishtina on Kosovo's status. Since 1995, several ELIAMEP proposals were discussed in the framework of international fora and conferences on various topics including those of cantons, the status issue, the preservation of religious monuments and the protection of minorities. According to Dr. Kofos, Kosovo today is under a supervised independence from the international community. Kosovo may sign bilateral agreements, but it is not a member of international organisations. This constitutes a significant challenge in both political and economic terms. In this context, Greece should continue working towards a common approach inside the EU.

Mr. Vourloumis presented the Greek economic activity in the Balkans through direct investments, trade and state aid. Economic cooperation contributes to good neighbourly relations and economic development, and promotes Greek businesses to the international economic environment. Increased economic ties with the Balkan countries can become a useful tool for Greek diplomacy, as long as political developments are taken into consideration. According to Mr. Vourloumis, Greek companies will not risk investing in Kosovo due to their interests in Serbia, the lack of sufficient infrastructure in Kosovo and the existing

complex legislation which deters investments.

Mr. Mitsotakis pointed out the questionable sustainability of an independent Kosovo, because of its dependence on other states for security, political stability and economic survival. Russia's position inside the Security Council will determine, according to Mr. Mitsotakis, Kosovo's future. As long as Russia poses a veto, Kosovo will not be accepted in the United Nations. He noted with regret EU's failure to embrace the Balkan states after the fall of communism. In the discussion that followed, Mr. Mitsotakis expressed the opinion that Greece should not connect the name dispute issue with FYROM with Kosovo's independence. He stressed that Greece is not isolated after the NATO Bucharest Summit, but rather that it continues to have a strong negotiating position vis-à-vis FYROM. Concluding, Mr. Mitsotakis expressed his doubts over the acceptance of a name solution by the Greek public opinion.

Mr. Lygeros reiterated that Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence creates a de facto situation never encountered before. He questioned the US role in the Balkans noting that this constituted a way to deter Russian influence in the region, by obliging them to bind their security to NATO. An unequal separation could be the answer to the situation in Kosovo, since the idea of a multi ethnic Kosovo does not seem to function. With regard to the NATO Summit, Mr. Lygeros mentioned that Greece used political arguments that convinced its European partners thus avoiding extreme positions. According to Mr. Lygeros, Greece should state its exact position on the name issue and avoid getting involved in a procedure of rejecting proposals.



From left to right: Mr. Evangelos Kofos, Mr. Panagis Vourloumis, Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis, Mr. Pavlos Tsimas and Mr. Stavros Lygeros

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**United in Diversity? European Integration & Political Cultures**
17 April 2008

Following the recent publication of the book "United in Diversity? European Integration and Political Cultures",

(London, I.B. Tauris, 2007), edited by **Dr. Ekavi Athanassopoulou**, the Eleni Nakou Foundation and ELIAMEP, organised a debate on the theme of the book on Thursday 17th April 2008, at the European Parliament Office in Greece.

The invited speakers were, **Professor Vincent Comerford**, National University of Maynooth, Ireland, **Professor**

George Schöpflin, Member of the European Parliament, Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats, and **Professor Loukas Tsoukalis**, University of Athens; President of the Board of Directors ELIAMEP.

The speakers - all contributors to the collective volume *United in Diversity?* - focused their attention on the following main issues: Despite the weakening of the nation-state the EU has not managed to win the hearts and minds of the Europeans. National political cultures still remain strong. How far can European integration proceed when politics at a European level do not reflect a shared political experience of the European peoples and therefore a generally accepted political culture?



From left to right: Professor Vincent Comerford, Professor George Schöpflin, Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, Dr. Ekavi Athanassopoulou and Dr. Erik Holm

LATEST PUBLICATIONS:**ELIAMEP Thesis "Differentiated Europe: Nine Recommendations", by Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow**

In the first issue of ELIAMEP Thesis Janis A. Emmanouilidis discusses the prospects for differentiated integration in an EU 27+. The author argues that the European Union (EU) will require different speeds, if the enlarged and politically, economically and geopolitically more heterogeneous EU wants to remain effective. Emmanouilidis holds that the future path of differentiation will not be dominated by one single model of differentiation. In practice, we are rather likely to witness the application of many and diverse types of flexible integration, ranging from the creation of a new separate Union to very limited forms of closer cooperation between a small group of EU members within and outside the EU framework. But which path towards a more differentiated Europe should be followed? Which forms of differentiated integration should be avoided and which preferred? Emmanouilidis formulates nine recommendations to answers these questions.

OP.08.03 "The reintroduction of satellite weapons"? By Alexandros Colovos (in Greek)**ELIAMEP Times**

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