

ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ
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ELIAMEP
HELLENIC FOUNDATION
FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

Halki International Seminars

FORGING REGIONAL COOPERATION

Seminars 2006



Group picture of the
HIS2006 participants

Europe: Mind the Gaps

Spetses, 21-25 June 2006

Over the last couple of years, many have been proclaiming that Europe has reached its limits, or even that it is already in reverse gear. So, the 2006 Halki International Seminar (HIS2006) **Europe: Mind the Gaps** aimed at critically discussing the particular issues or even 'gaps' upon which these assumptions have been based.

Forty-five participants from across EU member, candidate and accession states took part in this year's seminar. There was a balanced mix between more senior fellows and professors, younger researchers and PhD students, journalists and practitioners. This varied background brought diverse perspectives and raised different sets of concerns about future European integration.

We concentrated on the role of the citizens in the European project and in particular the younger generations. The case was made for the need to increase both output and input legitimacy while arguments were expressed both for and against the need to politicize the EU, directly elect officials at the EU level and narrate a new grand, common project.

Improving the quality of primary and secondary education in particular was identified as a priority not only to better understand the EU and its growing diversity, but also to engage the younger generations in the current debates on Europe's future.

Indifference towards the EU, growing Euroscepticism, 'Eurorealism,' or even 'Europhobia' particularly on behalf of the (real, perceived or potential) economic 'losers' of European integration were widely discussed. In effect, the increasing trend of inequalities within countries and the widely held perception that there is little distinction between the process of globalization and that of EU integration is taking increasing political implications. In light of this, the pressing need to revisit the relation between the state and the market and to push forward with necessary reforms was underlined.

In parallel, HIS2006 focused on the European public sphere and European media by drawing from the underlying discussions on democracy, public opinion formation and active citizenship. It was noted that across all Member States, EU matters are perceived through national and regional filters, and a number of proposals were put forward to communicate Europe in a simpler and better manner. Moreover, it was argued that an independent European News Agency ought to be created composed of journalists from all Member States encouraged to write 'stories' relevant for the local, regional or national levels but with a European twist.

Against this background, the relationships between diversity, democracy and further enlargement and integration were also explored. In an increasingly diverse EU, new modes of governance are required, while the close interrelation between widening



and deepening that has characterized EU integration so far will largely depend on the new member states' ability to address diversity challenges, multiculturalism pressures and the impacts of subsequent enlargements.

Finally, the seminar participants were broken into three smaller working groups that focused on (i) enlargement and economic policy, (ii) democratic institutional change and enlargement in order to go into more detail on potential and feasible scenarios for the EU's future. In all cases, the core questions posed consisted of *what can be done together* (i.e. in which policy areas is there a willingness or possibility to further integrate), *what kind of integration*, *who* is willing and able to proceed, and *how* will the next steps be taken?

HIS2006 was organised with the support of the EC Commission (DG EAC) - Jean Monnet Action, and with the cooperation of EMEDIATE, EU-CONSENT and Istanbul Bilgi University. Special thanks are also extended to the EU Institute for Security Studies (Paris), the General Secretariat for Youth (Athens), the Ministry of Culture (Athens) and the National Bank of Greece. A conference report will soon be available from ELIAMEP's website www.eliamep.gr



ACTIVITIES DIARY

Key Forthcoming Event:

13–17 July, Haus Villigist, Germany:
Second Summer School of the POLITIS research project (FP6) on **active civic participation of immigrants in EU25**

15–17 September, Ljubljana, Slovenia:
Conference in the context of the EMEDIATE research project on **Media and Ethics of a European Public Sphere** funded by DG RTD

September, Athens:
Public debate on Greece, Turkey and the EU.
Date to be announced, please check our website



**H.E. Mr. Shaukat Aziz,
Prime Minister of
Pakistan**

The full text of Mr. Shaukat Aziz's speech is available from ELIAMEP's website: www.eliamep.gr

Globalisation: challenges and opportunities; the role of Pakistan

Athens, 15th May 2006

H.E. Mr. Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of Pakistan discussed the challenges and opportunities offered by globalisation and the structural reforms that have been undertaken by Pakistan recently.

He focused on democracy and good governance matters in addition to the economic reforms. Particular attention was paid to the role of women and the empowerment of minorities both in Mr. Aziz's speech and in the discussion that

followed with diplomatic representatives, Greek academics, civil society representatives, politicians, and journalists.

Relations with China and India were stressed as particularly important in trade and commerce, as well as in the fields of regional security (notably Kashmir) and energy security (particularly the gas pipelines across central Asia and oil transit from the Gulf towards China). Developments in Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine were equally discussed. Mr. Aziz repeated his country's

unqualified support to the Palestinian President Abbas and the imperative to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq.

The public debate closed with a discussion on Iran. The Pakistani Prime Minister limited his declarations on Iran to stating that 'Iran has the right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes under appropriate international safeguards' while underlining that Pakistan is 'opposed to nuclear weapons proliferation by any country.'

The European Court of Human Rights, protection of civil rights and minorities: state compliance and domestic reform

Athens, 2nd June 2006

The past twenty years have witnessed a phenomenal increase of the case load of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), indicating a remarkable growth in the judicial authority of what is widely recognized to be the most effective, supranational and legally-binding human rights mechanism in Europe.

The aim of this international workshop organized by ELIAMEP, Kingston University and the University of Siena was to explore whether and how the Court's judgments reverberate domestically (or fail to do so) in policies, structures and institutions, with a specific focus on religion-state relations, ethnic, religious or national minorities and immigrants.

Christos Rozakis from the ECtHR, Nicos Sitaropoulos from the Council of Europe, Astrid Steinkellner from Boltzman Institute for Human Rights in Vienna, Eleni Micha from the University of Athens, Nicholas Hatzis from City University and Dogu Ergil from Ankara University were among the speakers in this workshop coordinated by Dr Anagnostou, Research Fellow, ELIAMEP

Lecture on "Thucydides and Democratic Peace Theory" by Bruce Russett, Professor of International Relations, Dean Acheson Chair, Yale University

Athens, 8th June 2006

The Onassis Foundation and its Scholars' Association, in cooperation with ELIAMEP and the Hellenic Political Science Association hosted a lecture on 'Thucydides and Democratic Peace Theory', where Greek academics and representatives of the political sphere had the opportunity to confer with Professor Bruce Russett on the impact of power and political systems on

war behaviour. The lecture compared ancient Greece and contemporary international relations on politics and the degree of democratization. Although it is hard to find evidence of democratic peace in Thucydides' volume, Professor Russett argued that Greek states—or what he referred to as radical democracies—were somewhat less likely to fight with each other than with exterior enemies.

The characteristics of democracy in ancient Greece and today were analysed in depth. Particular attention was paid to the pacifist and expansionist tendencies of democracies, as well as their ability to mobilize resources, to engage in warfare and win wars. The role of institutions was identified as a cornerstone of the democratic peace theory.

Bruce Russet (continued)

It was noted that the low degree of institutionalization in the Greek city-states provided weak restraints to state behaviour. On the contrary, today, strengthened democratic institutions are undoubtedly a factor conducive to peace

between like-minded democracies. The lecture concluded with a discussion between academics, MPs, ambassadors and scientists of various backgrounds on the role leaders play in promoting peace.

It was argued that their most valuable contribution to the

international system is the creation of institutions to restrain those less prudent. Moreover, the significance of all three components of the 'triangle' in preserving peace was highlighted, since economic cooperation, democratization and institutionalization tend to walk hand-in-hand.

Globalisation and reform

Athens, 26th June 2006

ELIAMEP organized a public debate on globalisation and the kind of reforms that are required in order to meet contemporary challenges.

Caridimos Tsoukas from the University of Warwick and ALBA focused on the qualitative implications of globalization on our every day reality. He argued that the much needed reforms are regrettably, though understandably, faced with the reaction of citizens largely because of worldwide conditions of instability and insecurity, and the short-term and reactive approach to policy-making.

The discussion continued with Theodoros Pelagidis, University of Piraeus, who astutely focused on the rent-seeking dimension of vested interest groups while highlighting the weaknesses of the legislature, and the bureaucratic states as well as the role of the public and mass media.

A different perspective to globalization was taken on by the politicians that participated on the panel. Nikos Georgiadis, Member of Parliament for New Democracy, offered a more policy-oriented approach highlighting that any sort of reform effort needs the government to make very clear to the wider public: where things currently

stand and what the goals are; how will reforms be undertaken, at what pace and at what cost? Equally important is the issue of how success or progress will be measured?

Konstantinos Kartalis from the University of Athens and President of the Institute of Strategic and Development Studies (ISTAME) argued that greater public support for reforms requires expectations of greater job security and clarifications as to what the welfare state stands for today.

The public debate was coordinated by Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP.



From left to right, Caridimos Tsoukas, Nikos Georgiadis, Loukas Tsoukalis, Konstantinos Kartalis, Theodore Pelagidis.

The event was organized with the support of EU-CONSENT.

Immigrants, policies and migration systems

Athens, 30th June–1st July 2006

ELIAMEP hosted the first project meeting of the research project **MIGSYS : Immigrants, policies and migration systems: An ethnographic comparative approach**.

This project is funded by the Foundation for Population, Migration and Environment, Switzerland and was launched in February 2006.

Fifteen experts on migration from Belgium (University of Liege), Canada (University of Toronto), Germany (European University Viadrina, Frankfurt a O), Greece, (ELIAMEP and EKKE), Hungary (Central European University, Budapest), Italy (IOM, Rome), Poland (Centre for Migration Research, Warsaw University), Spain (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona), the UK (University

of Sussex, Brighton) and the USA (University of St Louis, Missouri) took part in this meeting to present current migration patterns and trends. Working versions of the case studies will be available from ELIAMEP's website and a comparative analysis will follow. The second project meeting will take place in Athens in February 2007.

For more information contact: Anna Triandafyllidou (anna@eliamep.gr) or Ruby Gropas (ruby@eliamep.gr).

ELIAMEP's Team during the first half of 2006

Some news about us...

Dia Anagnostou

In March 2006, Dia Anagnostou, Research Fellow with ELIAMEP, participated in the Geneva Center for Security Policy meeting of experts on minorities held in Maastricht. The meeting was convened with the goal of formulating concrete measures for the protection of minorities in Kosovo.

In May, Dia Anagnostou together with her fellow coordinator Anna Triandafyllidou participated in the 4th meeting of the EUROREG project (FP6) hosted by the University of the Basque Country research team in Bilbao. The case study reports are available on ELIAMEP's website. As coordinator of the forthcoming JURISTRAS project (FP6), Dr. Anagnostou also participated in the project management conference organised by the European Commission (DG RTD) in Brussels in 8-9 June. On 3 June 2006, Dia hosted on behalf of ELIAMEP in Athens the workshop entitled *The European Court of Human Rights, protection of civil rights and minorities: state compliance and domestic reform*. This is part of a broader set of actions on

"Reflecting upon crimes against humanity and human rights in the 20th century" coordinated by Kingston University and funded with a Jean Monnet grant by the EC Commission (DG EAC).

Ekavi Athanassopoulou

Dr. Athanassopoulou, Senior Research Fellow with ELIAMEP published an article on "Transatlantic Relations Caught Up By Reality", with the *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Spring 2006 [111-136].

Theodore Couloubis

On 11th January, Prof. Couloubis, General Director of ELIAMEP chaired a conference organised by the Foundation on "The Future Status of Kosovo: Euroatlantic integration or a return to a time of conflict?" He also chaired the conference jointly organized by ELIAMEP, the Austrian Embassy and the Institute for Greek-German relations at the University of Athens on "Search for a European Identity." Prof. Couloubis has delivered lectures to the Greek National Defence Academy on Greek foreign policy priorities and on international developments.

During the past six months, he has coordinated numerous ELIAMEP events on the Balkans and Greek-Turkish relations. He also participated in the VII FONSI Workshop on "Rethinking the EU's Strategy in the Western Balkans" in Thessaloniki with the Bertelsmann Foundation and the Balkan Trust for Democracy.

Thanos Dokos

In March, Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director of Studies at ELIAMEP, lectured on "The Eastern Medi-

terranean, Turkey and its relations to the EU" at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. He also attended a workshop on "Democratic transitions in Europe and Latin America: What relevance for the Arab world?" organised by FRIDE and the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI) in Madrid and on the 25th he participated in the annual assembly of ARI. On April 6, he delivered a paper on "EuroAtlantic Strategy for the Black Sea Region: Practical steps towards partnership" at a conference on "International Security and Cooperation in South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea Region" organised in Athens by the Hellenic Ministry of National Defence and the Harvard Black Sea Security Program. And on the 25th of April, he chaired an Extraordinary General Assembly of EuroMeSCo in Paris.

In late April, Dr. Dokos participated in the "Brussels Forum on Transatlantic Challenges in a Global Era" organised by the German Marshall Fund of the US. In May 8, he lectured at the 20th Information and Training Seminar for Euro-Med Diplomats, organised by the Academy for Diplomatic Studies in Malta. On May 12, he attended a workshop organized by the IAI and the Bertelsmann Foundation in Rome, on "The Southern dimension of ESDP: Italy- Greece- Portugal-Spain", where he presented the Greek perspective.

Dr. Dokos participated in a panel on "Turkey and the EU: A common threat assessment?" at a seminar organised in Istanbul by the Center for European Security Studies and the Istanbul Policy Center

on the 12th of June and, a few days later, he presented a paper on "Peacekeeping Cooperation between NATO and the EU After 9/11", in an international conference on peacekeeping organised by the Hellenic Centre for European Studies in Delphi, Greece.

He also delivered briefings, in April, May and June, on regional security issues during the visits of the Jordanian, and Pakistani Defence Academies and the US War College to Athens, as well as to a group of Turkish journalists participating to a NATO Tour.

Effie Fokas

On 12-13 June Dr. Fokas, Research Associate with ELIAMEP, took part in an international symposium on 'Europe between Islam and the United States: Current Trends and Future Options', jointly sponsored by the Institute of International Relations, University of Warsaw; the Centre for Dialogue, La Trobe University (Australia); and the Polish Institute of International Affairs. She presented a paper examining the place of religion in contemporary Turkish politics and in contemporary EU developments.

Ruby Gropas

Ruby Gropas, Research Fellow with ELIAMEP, authored the state of the art paper on *After multiculturalism – Will Europe develop new forms of cultural and social integration?* for the Visions of Europe project coordinated by College of Europe, Bruges. This was presented at the project workshop held in early March at Sciences Po in Paris.

In co-operation with Elli Siapkidou, Junior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, Ruby authored and produced the information booklets on *Europe: A Community of Values*. Dr. Gropas participated in the VII FONSI Workshop on “Rethinking the EU’s Strategy in the Western Balkans” organized in Thessaloniki (5-7 May) and also presented a paper on *Kosovo: possible scenarios and consequences for international relations* for the Greek Diplomatic Academy at the Democretian University of Thrace, Komotini, on 18 May. She presented the EMILIE research project at the FP6-7 Project Management Conference organised by the EC Commission in Brussels (8-9 June).

Anna Triandafyllidou

Senior Research Fellow of ELIAMEP, Anna Triandafyllidou participated in an international conference on *Visions of Europe: After multiculturalism – Will Europe develop new forms of cultural and social integration?*, organised by the College of Europe in collaboration with Sciences Po, Paris, 10 March 2006. She presented a paper on *Multiculturalism at the end of the road. What next for Europe?* to an international audience of graduate students. Anna Triandafyllidou participated in a workshop on immigrants and civic activism with representatives of immigrant associations in Greece organised by ELIAMEP and presented on immigration pressures in the EU25. She also gave a lecture on immigration challenges and migration policy at the Greek Diplomatic Academy in Athens in March 2006.

Aristotle Tsiampiris

Dr. Tsiampiris, Research Associate with ELIAMEP, took part in the Balkan Conference on Regional Cooperation and the European Perspective. This international conference was held in Sofia (31st May–4th June) organised by the European Institute, The Centre for Southeast European Studies and the Diplomatic Institute.

Loukas Tsoukalis

Over the last six months, Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP and Special Adviser to the President of the European Commission, frequently participated in meetings in Brussels. Among other things, he also took part in the conference on the *Sound of Europe* organized by the Austrian Presidency in Salzburg; he was a speaker at the round table on UK Foreign Policy organized by the CER in collaboration with the Foreign Office; he was a member of the research project on the *European Social Model* by Policy Network and participated in several national debates on the subject; he spoke in the opening session of the *Strategy Group on the Future of Europe* organised by Bertelsmann Stiftung in Berlin.

In the spring, he also lectured on EU-Russia relations in Moscow and on the post-referendum EU crisis in Montreal and Ottawa. Prof. Tsoukalis participated in several ELIAMEP events in Athens: he spoke on the challenges of a European identity in the conference jointly organized with the Austrian Embassy and the Institute for Greek-German relations at the University of Athens; on media and public

opinion; and chaired ELIAMEP’s Annual Lecture delivered by Commissioner Olli Rehn. Loukas Tsoukalis also lectured at the College of Europe, Brugge and at the Institut de Sciences Politiques, Paris.

Thanos Veremis

On 1st June 2006, he spoke on Turkey and Europe at the conference on “Greece, Turkey and the EU: Domestic Parameters, External Variables” organized in Istanbul by ELIAMEP in cooperation with the Hellenic Observatory - the European Institute, London School of Economics and the Center for European Studies, Istanbul Bilgi University.

Prof. Panayiotis Ioakeimidis, Member of the Board of Directors of ELIAMEP, also took part in the panel focusing particularly on the EU dimension of Greek-Turkish relations.

Sappho Xenakis

On 23rd-24th June, Sappho Xenakis, Research Associate with ELIAMEP participated in an international conference on *Corruption and Organised Crime: Bridging Criminal and Economic Policies* in Sofia, Bulgaria. The conference was organised by the Centre for the Study of Democracy.

More news about our team:

Sappho Xenakis successfully defended her DPhil on *'International Norm Diffusion and the Development of Greek Policy Against Organised Crime, 1989-2001'* at Oxford University in June 2006.

INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES WITH ELIAMEP

ELIAMEP offers a **six-month unpaid internship** from September 2006 to February 2007 with the **Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**.

The journal is produced by ELIAMEP and published by Taylor & Francis (Routledge, London) - more information is available from our website. Interested applicants should have an excellent command of English; prior experience with copy-editing / publishing is an asset.

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Annual Institutional Subscription, 4 issues

Print ISSN 1468-3857 £234 US\$379
A subscription to the print edition includes free access for any number of concurrent users across a local area network to the online edition, ISSN 1743-9639.

Online only £222 US\$360

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New ELIAMEP Publications

Occasional Papers (in English)

OP06.02. Integrating the Balkans in the European Union: Addressing social capital, the informal economy and regional co-operation challenges in Southeast Europe
Ruby Gropas

Postgraduate Notes (in English)

PN06.07. Anti-Americanism and opinion makers in Greece during the war on Iraq, 2003
Anna Elisabeth Tsakona

Publications within EU- CONSENT Network of Excellence

ELIAMEP/ Team 3 (WP II/III) May 2006

- ♦ "Economic governance and political choices in the enlarged EU: An overview." State of the Art paper by Nikos Koutsiaras
- ♦ "Developing programming and administrative capacity for EU cohesion policy in the new member states: some lessons from Greece." by George Andreou

Reports on regions, minorities and European integration published within the EUROREG Research Project

May-June 2006

(FP6—Coordinated by ELIAMEP)

- ♦ **A case study on Muslims in Western Thrace, Greece** by Dia Anagnostou & Anna Triandafyllidou
- ♦ **A case study on the Basque nation in Spain** by Igor Filibi Lopez & Pedro Ibarra
- ♦ **A case study on the Italo-Slovene border** by Enrica Rigo & Enrico Rahola
- ♦ **A case study on Muslim minorities (Turks and Muslim Bulgarians) in the SCR of Bulgaria** by Galina Lozanova, Bozhidar Alexiev, Georgeta Nazarska, Evgenia Troeva-Grigorova & Iva Kyurkchieva
- ♦ **A case study on Hungarians in Romania** by Rozalia Bako, Ruxandra Noica, Razvan Stan & Alina Pippidi Mungiu



Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies

Special Issue on: Environmental Sustainability and Collaboration in South Eastern Europe (Vol.6: 3, September 2006)

Guest Editor: Prof. William Moomaw, The Fletcher School, Tufts University

Includes articles by:

Mihaela Papa 'Rethinking conflict prevention in South Eastern Europe: An emerging environmental security agenda?'

Ioli Christopoulou and Vivi Roumeliotou 'Uniting people through nature in Southeast Europe: The role (and limits) of NGOs in the Transboundary Prespes Park.'

Emmanuella Doussis 'Environmental protection of the Black Sea. A legal perspective.'

Una Matko, Maja Ilic and Lidija Popovic 'The new ecological issue off the coast of Montenegro: An Algae Invasion. An Opportunity for Regional Cooperation?'

G.G. Aperghis and Martin Gaethlich 'The natural environment of Greece – an invaluable asset being destroyed.'

Nicholas A. Ashford and Christi Electris 'The role of the US-Greek Initiative for Technology Cooperation with the Balkans in constructing a unified environmental technology plan in the region.'