



ΚΥΚΛΟΣ ΙΔΕΩΝ

για την εθνική ανασυγκρότηση

Greece and NATO: **Learning from History and Shaping a Joint Future**

The West, Greece and the New International Scene

Kyklos Ideon: Public Short Note
December 2022



This event is sponsored by
NATO's Public Diplomacy Division

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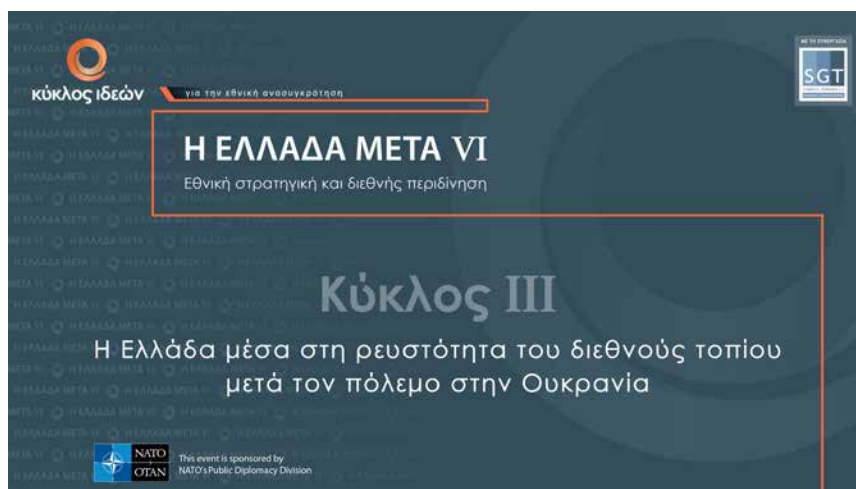
1. Introduction

Kyklos Ideon (Circle of Ideas), a forum for public debate and innovative thinking aiming to define a new and sustainable strategic role for Greece within Europe and globally, is closely monitoring international trends. In this context, it collaborates with NATO Public Diplomacy Division and jointly organizes events which aim at informing Greek public opinion about security dilemmas and the role of the Alliance in a changing world order. This task acquired special significance in 2022. The decision of Russia to invade Ukraine on 24 February 2022 marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of international relations. The “After the End of History” argument of Francis Fukuyama¹ arguably finds resonance in an era where President’s Vladimir Putin’s war of choice ignites questions about the future direction of the world and Russia’s position in this world. While the defense of Ukraine has become a priority for the West in order not only to protect the country and its people but also to prevent the advancement of Russia’s military forces, several politicians, scholars and experts are framing the war as a battle between democracy and autocracy. President Joe Biden frequently reiterates American commitment to stand by Ukraine as it is simultaneously defending democracy.

¹ After the End of History: Conversations with Francis Fukuyama: Fukuyama, Francis, Fasting, Mathilde: 9781647120863: Amazon.com: Books

Introduction

The response to Russian aggression in Ukraine, and the policies NATO should apply to better defend NATO nations became for this year of unusual circumstances, a major public debate issue in every European country. It has necessarily affected the debate on the present and future of the NATO-Greece relationships. This report presents, first, an introductory note on the evolving concept of NATO strategic alliance, as seen from Greece, and, second, the principal takeaways from three public round-table discussions organized by the Kyklos Ideon in the context of KYKLOS IDEON's "Ellada Meta VI" annual conference², as part of the project "A Special Year for Greece and NATO: Learning from History and Shaping a Joint Future", funded by the NATO's Public Diplomacy Division.



² 3-4.10. 2022: Η ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΜΕΤΑ VI: Εθνική στρατηγική και διεθνής περιδίνηση (ekyklos.gr)

2. The NATO Strategic Concept

The 2022 Madrid NATO Summit revealed the new strategic concept of the Alliance³. This concept sets out NATO's priorities, tasks and approaches for the next decade. In particular, it describes the new security environment, reaffirms the Alliance's values, and spells out its key purpose of ensuring collective defense for Allies. It further sets out its three core tasks of deterrence and defense, crisis prevention and management as well as cooperative security. The document defines Russia as the 'most significant and direct threat' to Allies' security, while addressing China for the first time and the challenges that Beijing poses toward Allies' security, interests and values. The document also states that climate change is 'a defining challenge of our time'. The strategic concept is updated roughly every decade and is NATO's second most important document. The previous version was adopted at the Lisbon Summit in 2010.

NATO condemns Russia's war against Ukraine in the strongest possible terms as a blatant violation of international law and an act of aggression that gravely undermines international security and stability. The Alliance stands with the people of Ukraine and its legitimate, democratically elected president, parliament and government. Its support is both political and military and has not started since 24 February 2022 but in the aftermath of Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014. The Madrid Summit Declaration welcomed efforts of all Allies engaged in providing support to Ukraine and focused on the commitment of the Alliance to assist them adequately, recognizing their specific situation. In tandem, NATO, jointly with Ukraine, decided on a strengthened package of support, which will accelerate the delivery of non-lethal defense equipment, improve Ukraine's cyber defenses and resilience, and help modernize its defense sector in its transition to strengthen long-term interoperability. In the longer term, the Madrid Summit

³ [NATO 2022 - Strategic concept](#)

The NATO Strategic Concept

Declaration also mentioned that the Alliance would assist Ukraine, and support efforts on its path of post-war reconstruction and reforms.

Obviously, most Western assistance provided to Ukraine has come in the form of bilateral arms transfers. That is because a significant part of the military materiel Ukraine needs belongs to the nations and not NATO. The Alliance, however, has played a critical role in coordinating the effort. Additionally, the degree of political solidarity exhibited by NATO is remarkable. Also, NATO is part of the US-led Ukraine Defense Contact Group which has been instrumental in delivering the military capabilities the Ukrainians need to turn back the Russians. Contact group members are also helping train Ukrainian service members in the use of these capabilities, and many nations are now looking at ways to help Ukraine defend itself in the long term. Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg frequently takes part in meetings of the Ukraine Defense Contact Group.

NATO's Article 5 security guarantee and its promise of collective defense provides Allies with the confidence that they can send weapons to Ukraine without diminishing their own security. Against this backdrop, the Alliance is striving to ensure that the war would not escalate and spread beyond Ukraine, which would be even more devastating and dangerous. Enforcing a no-fly zone would thus bring NATO forces into direct conflict with Russia. As far as the security of the Allies is concerned, the activation of NATO's defense plans and deployment of thousands of extra troops from both sides of the Atlantic after 24 February 2022 has sent a clear signal to Russia. Over 40,000 troops, along with significant air and naval assets, have been placed under direct NATO command in the eastern part of the Alliance. In addition, NATO rapidly established four new multinational battlegroups in Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia that complement the existing battlegroups in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. The eight battlegroups extend all along NATO's eastern flank, from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south. Last but not least, the determination of Finland and Sweden to join NATO demonstrates the powerful character of the Alliance as the most successful military organization in history.

3. The three panel within Circle of Ideas' "Ellada Meta" Conference

How the relationship between NATO and Greece may be affected by the new NATO Strategic Concept and the parallel evolutions in the US Foreign Policy and the EU debate on European strategic autonomy? Kyklos Ideon (Circle of Ideas) has organized three special discussions to respond to these questions, focusing on the current status of the world order in 2022 and also celebrating the 70 years of NATO-Greece relationship.. These special discussions took place on 3 October 2022. Politicians, experts, scholars and journalists engaged in conversations about the future direction of American democracy and foreign policy, the relevance of the EU strategic autonomy concept as well as NATO and Greek-Turkish relations. In particular, discussions were structured in three roundtables as follows:

Session: American Democracy and American Foreign Policy

- ▶ Constantina Botsiou (University of Piraeus)
- ▶ Constantinos Filis (American College of Greece)
- ▶ Spyridon Litsas (University of Macedonia)
- ▶ Katerina Sokou (Hi Kathimerini and Atlantic Council)
- ▶ Plamen Tonchev (Institute of International Economic Relations and MERICS)
- ▶ George Tzogopoulos (European Institute and ELIAMEP)

Moderated by Apostolos Mangiriadis (ERT)

The poster is for a panel discussion titled "H ELLADA META VI" (Greece After VI), part of the "Circle of Ideas" (Kyklos Ideon) series. The main theme is "Εθνική στρατηγική και διεθνής περιδίνηση" (National Strategy and International Circulation). The specific panel is "18:20 - 19:30 Πάνελ 2: Αμερικανική δημοκρατία και αμερικανική εξωτερική πολιτική" (Panel 2: American Democracy and American Foreign Policy). The event is moderated by Apostolos Mangiriadis (ERT). The panelists are: Constantina Botsiou (University of Piraeus), George Tzogopoulos (European Institute and ELIAMEP), Plamen Tonchev (Institute of International Economic Relations and MERICS), Kostas Yfanti (University of Macedonia), Constantinos Filis (American College of Greece), and Spyridon Litsas (University of Macedonia). The poster also features logos for NATO, OSCE, and SGT, and mentions that the event is sponsored by NATO's Public Diplomacy Division.

The three panel within Circle of Ideas' "Ellada Meta" Conference

Session: Is the Debate about the EU Strategic Autonomy Relevant?

- ▶ Costas Botopoulos (former MEP)
- ▶ Panagiotis Ioakeimidis (University of Athens)
- ▶ Dimitris Kourkoulas (former alternate Minister of Foreign Affairs)
- ▶ George Pagoulatos (Athens University of Business and Economics and ELIAMEP)
- ▶ Loukas Tsoukalis (Science Po and ELIAMEP)
- ▶ Ioannis Voulgaris (Panteion University)

Moderated by Lena Flitzani (SKAI) and Angelos Kovaioi (To Vima)

The poster is for a panel discussion titled "17:05 - 18:15 Πάνελ 1: Διατηρεί το ενδιαφέρον της η συζήτηση για τη στρατηγική αυτονομία της ΕΕ;" (Panel 1: Does the discussion about EU strategic autonomy remain of interest?). It is part of the "ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΜΕΤΑ VI" conference, which focuses on national strategy and international relations in the wake of the war in Ukraine. The event is moderated by Angelos Kovaioi and Lena Flitzani. The panelists include Giannis Voulgaris, Panagiotis Ioakeimidis, Dimitris Kourkoulas, Costas Botopoulos, Giorgos Pagoulatos, and Loukas Tsoukalis. The poster also features logos for the Circle of Ideas, SGT, and NATO.

ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΜΕΤΑ VI Εθνική στρατηγική και διεθνής περιδίνηση
Η Ελλάδα μέσα στη ρευστότητα του διεθνούς τοπίου μετά τον πόλεμο στην Ουκρανία

17:05 - 18:15 Πάνελ 1: Διατηρεί το ενδιαφέρον της η συζήτηση για τη στρατηγική αυτονομία της ΕΕ;

Ευζητούν:

Γιάννης Βούλγαρης
Ομότιμος Καθηγητής Πολιτικής Κοινωνιολογίας Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο

Παναγιώτης Ιωακειμίδης
Ομότιμος Καθηγητής Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών

Δημήτρης Κούρκουλας
πρώην Υφυπουργός Εσωτερικών και Πρέσβης της ΕΕ

Κώστας Μποτόπουλος
Νομικός Δημοσιολόγος, πρ. Ευρωβουλευτής

Γιώργος Παγουλάτος
Γενικός Διευθυντής ELIAMEP, Καθηγητής ΟΠΑ

Λουκάς Τσουκάλης
Πρόεδρος Δ.Σ. ELIAMEP, Καθηγητής Sciences Po, Παρίσι, Ομότιμος Καθηγητής Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών

Συντονίζουν:
Άγγελος Κωβαίος Δημόσιονομος
Λένα Φλιτζάνη Δημόσιογράφος

Δευτέρα, 3 Οκτωβρίου 2022

ΚΥΚΛΟΣ Ιδεών

SGT

NATO ΟΠΑΝ This event is sponsored by NATO's Public Diplomacy Division

Session: NATO and Greek-Turkish Relations (70 years NATO-Greece relationship)

- ▶ Ino Afentouli (Institute of International Relations)
- ▶ Dimitris Karaitidis (Ambassador ad. hon.)
- ▶ Dimitris Keridis (New Democracy MP and Panteion University)
- ▶ Stelios Perrakis (Panteion University)
- ▶ Sotiris Rizas (Academy of Athens)
- ▶ Konstantinos Yfantis (Panteion University)
- ▶ Ioannis Alexios Zeppos (Ambassador ad. hon.)

Moderated by Christos Michailides (ERT)

The three panel within Circle of Ideas' "Ellada Meta" Conference

The poster is for a panel discussion titled "NATO και ελληνοτουρκικές σχέσεις" (NATO and Greek-Turkish relations) held on October 3, 2022, at 19:35-20:35. The event is part of the "Ellada Meta VI" conference, which focuses on the national strategic and international environment of Greece. The panel is moderated by Iuliana Iulianu. The speakers are: Iñaki Añel, former Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and NATO Liaison Office; Iannis Alexios Zepos, former Deputy Secretary General of NATO; Dimitris Kairidis, Professor of International Relations at the University of Athens; Dimitris Karaitidis, former Ambassador; Stelios Perrakis, Member of Parliament and former Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Sotiris Rizas, Director of the Center for International Peace Research at the University of Athens. The event is sponsored by NATO's Public Diplomacy Division. Logos for the Circle of Ideas, SGT, NATO, and OTAN are also present.

Principal takeaways from the three sessions:

The War in Ukraine

- ▶ The war in Ukraine is leading to a de facto change of borders in Europe. The previous conflict on European soil (in the Balkans) did not have these characteristics.
- ▶ The support provided by the West to Ukraine is unprecedented. The lack of appetite for a direct involvement in the conflict causes some asymmetry, however.
- ▶ The support of democracy via military means has been a particularly delicate mission in the last two decades. The future outcome of the Ukraine conflict will be significant in that regard.
- ▶ The unity of the West is critical as long as the conflict in Ukraine is evolving.

The Role of the EU and NATO:

- ▶ The role of the European Union in the new world order is particularly difficult. The West, as a strategic concept, is being currently revitalized, under the US umbrella and finds Europe in an awkward position.
- ▶ While the war in Ukraine functions as a wake-up call for Europe, the active stance of the US is currently offering a security life jacket to it. But Europe ought to be prepared for a new type of isolationism in the US (especially in times of crisis such as the ongoing war in Ukraine).

The three panel within Circle of Ideas' "Ellada Meta" Conference

- ▶ It is debatable whether the European Union is able to function as a reliable and powerful actor and fill a (potential) geopolitical void. Although this is the only safe way forward, the task is arduous.
- ▶ The role of France (principally at the military level) is of cardinal significance for the future evolution of European defense projects, and EU-NATO conversations. On the same wavelength, relations between the European Union and the United Kingdom (after Brexit) will acquire a special significance.

Democracy and Technology:

- ▶ American democracy has to be strengthened domestically. Such as reinforcement will have a positive impact on American foreign policy, mainly in the competition between democracies and autocracies and the new antagonism between the United States and China.
- ▶ Technological progress and the relationship between democratic governance and technological achievements will play a role in shaping the balance of power in the new world order.
- ▶ Cybersecurity is becoming an element that is crucial for the safe organization of elections in Western democracies.

NATO and the Eastern Mediterranean:

- ▶ Greece's disenchantment with NATO's stance concerning Greek-Turkish relations is understandable. Greece's constructive criticism aims at safeguarding its national position within the Alliance.
- ▶ In spite of Greece's fair criticism, Greek-Turkish relations could have taken an even more dangerous turn without NATO. A Greek-Turkish conflict will have serious ramifications in the Southern Flank.
- ▶ The North Atlantic Council has not emerged as an ideal body where Greek-Turkish problems could be discussed. The Luns Rulings have had an impact on this development in parallel with the general interpretation of aspects of Greek-Turkish relations by the Alliance.
- ▶ NATO's new strategic concept entails a 360-degree approach. Within this framework, the role of the Mediterranean is relevant and deserves special attention.

