

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

HELLENIC REPUBLIC







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12th SE Europe Energy Dialogue Virtual, "In Search of a New Energy Direction"
December 10th, 2020



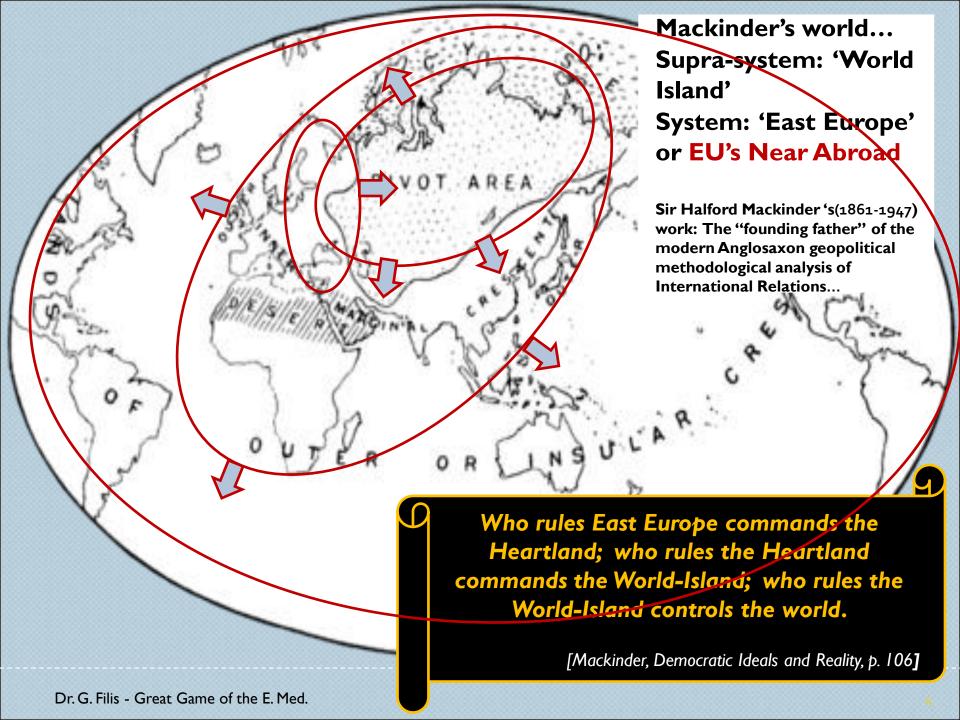
Content

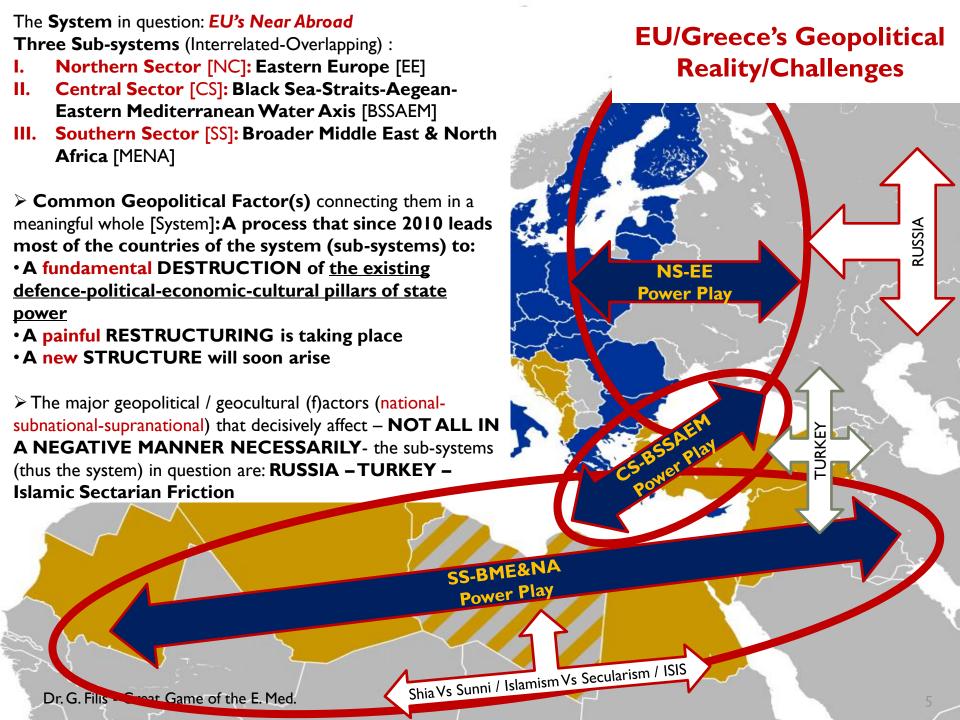
- I. DEFINING the Geopolitical System
- 2. ORDO AB CHAO: REACTING to the Current Geopolitical Challenges
- 3. Concluding Remarks

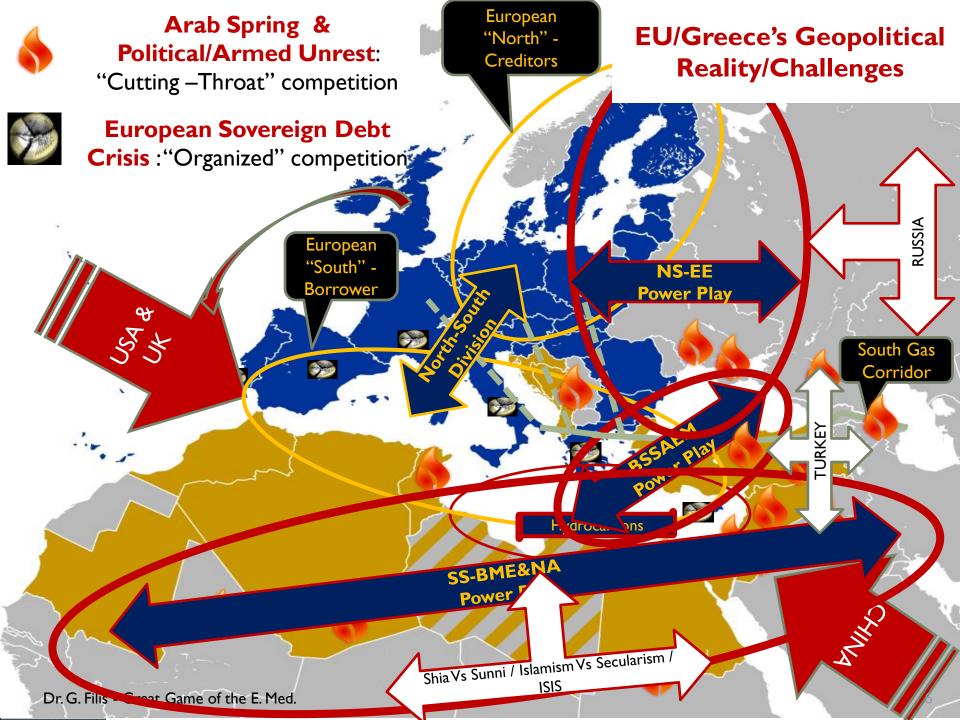


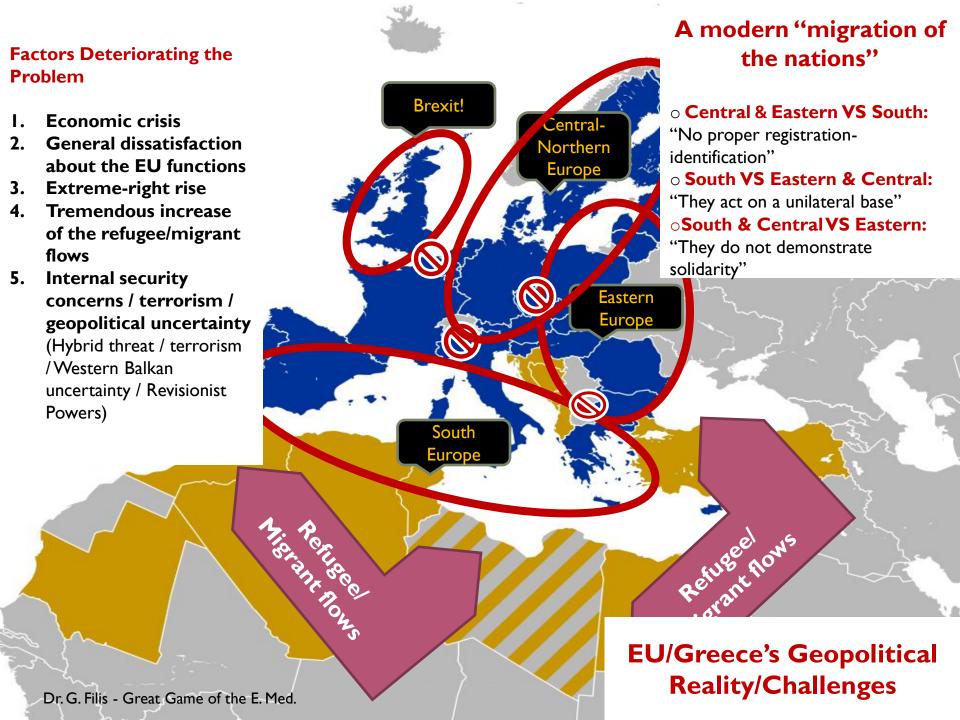
I. DEFINING the Geopolitical System

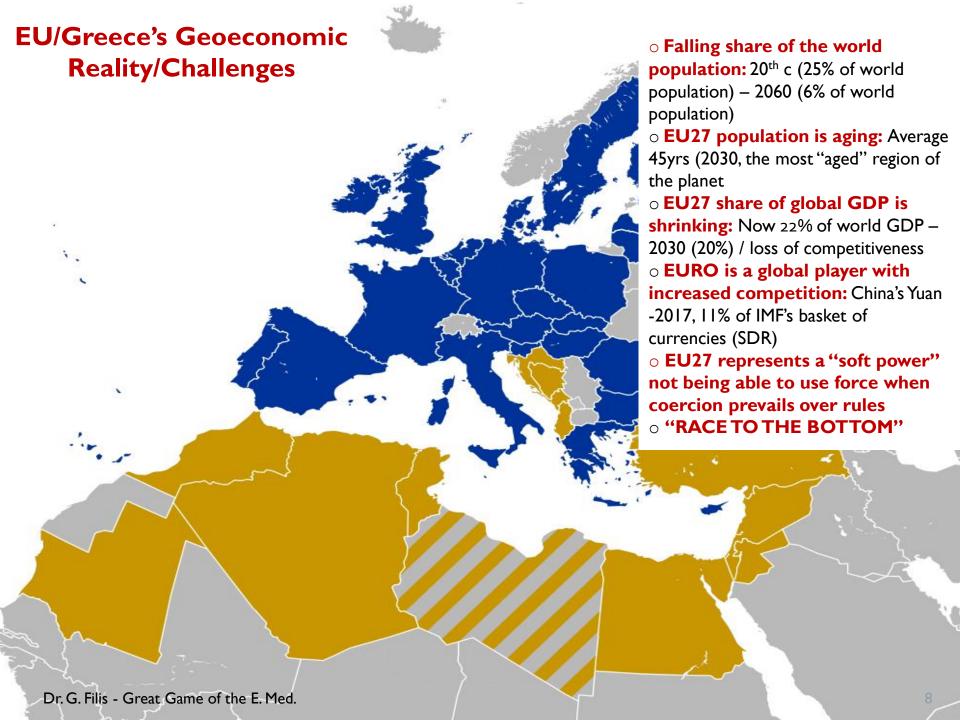














The four major forms	nt nower
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	Defence-Security	Economy		Politics	Culture
2.	State revisionism 'Cold War' conditions & militarization bilateral relations All types of armed conflicts (from full scale war to proxy war) Transfer of belligerent conditions to western societies De facto collapse of the WWI border arrangements & nation-building processes	Energy Security concerns Economic losses due to undergoing economic & trade war Socio- economic pressures due to human trafficking Articulation of alternative narratives regarding the global economic arrangements	2.	Political-societal arrangements fundamentally different of the Western-type democracies Based on obsolete experiences - incompatible and hostile to the Western paradigm Ruling elites — where they areseem well established, without serious opposition	Alternative to the European one identities which in the best case scenario are not hostile but incompatible to the West, in the worst case scenario are directly belligerent with the rationalistic framework of the European polity These alternative ideologies encompass expansionist / imperialist / fundamentalist connotations which overlap and collide not only with the European paradigm but between each other as well



The four major forms of power

Solidify Euro-Atlantic bonds

- Meaningful EU CFSP/CSDP
- EU Maritime Security Strategy
- I. Russia: A modus vivendi (avoid new Cold War / accept each others legitimate security concerns / Ukraine: Minsk Agreement)

Defence-Security

2. Turkey: Continuous cooperation
(EU-accession talks should remain alive / EU should demonstrate solidarity to Greece-Cyprus legitimate interests / Cooperation on the migration-refugee crisis (based on the Common Statement March2016 & Greek-Turkish agreements)

3. MENA:

- Support Kurds (in Syria-Iraq)
- ISIS: treated as Hostes Humanis Generis
- Back Egyptian government
- Avoid Sunni-Shiite full scale war
- Mediate on the Palestinian conflict
- Viable reaction to the de facto redrawing of the map

- Further develop a comprehensive Energy Policy
- Solidarity –with no exceptions- on the migration/refugee problem

Economy

- . Russia: Trade war is counter-productive: harms member-states, some of them might (re)act unilaterally / Energy relations need to change not to collapse
- 2. Turkey:

The energy bond between Ankara and Athens has to be strengthened (i.e. TAP)

3. MENA: Humanitarian aid
/ facilitate peace process &
financial/technical aid to
decrease the human flows
(restructuring / creation
of jobs)

 Through "soft power" try to engage the neighboring ideologies into a cooperative and mutually beneficial synergy

Culture

Politics

- Engage new ruling elites to dialogue & cooperation
- The 'Caliphate':
 Conclude the
 complete elimination
 of its last territorial
 remnants



EU March 2017: The "Beginning of the End" or the "End of the Beginning"?

- March 1,2017: White Paper for the future of Europe
 - Road-map for EU's future structure (EU27) 5 scenarios
- March 6, 2017: "mini-Summit" of Versailles
 - France-Germany-Italy-Spain: EU27 "multi-speed Europe or the EU will collapse" (Fr.)
- March 25, 2017: Rome Declaration (60th anniversary from the treaties of Rome)
 - "We will act together, at different paces and intensity where necessary, while moving in the same direction...Our union is undivided and indivisible"
- March 29, 2017: BREXIT process has been activated

QI:The Future of the El Scenarios, no Clear Ans

The five scenarios: policy overview

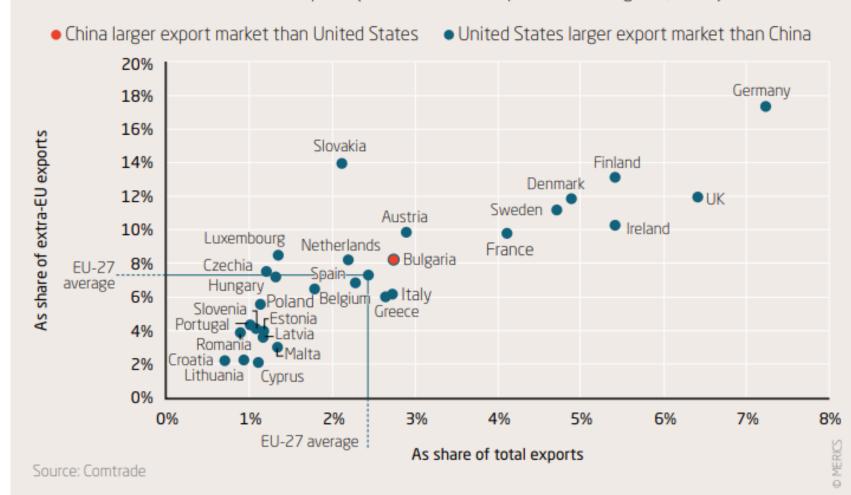
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	Carrying on	Nothing but the single market	Those who want more do more	Doing less more efficiently	Doing much more together
Single market & trade	Single market is strengthened, including in the energy and digital sectors; the EU27 pursues progressive trade agreements	Single market for goods and capital strengthened; standards continue to differ, free movement of people and services not fully guaranteed	As in "Carrying on", single market is strengthened and the EU27 pursues progressive trade agreements	Common standards set to a minimum but enforcement is strengthened in areas regulated at EU level; trade exclusively dealt with at EU level	Single market strengthened through harmonisation of standards and stronger enforcement; trade exclusively dealt with at EU level
Economic & Monetary Union	Incremental progress on improving the functioning of the euro area	Cooperation in the euro area is limited	As in "Carrying on" except for a group of countries who deepen cooperation in areas such as taxation and social standards	Several steps are taken to consolidate the euro area and ensure its stability, the EU27 does less in some parts of employment and social policy	Economic, financial and fiscal Union is achieved as envisioned in the report of the Five Presidents of June 2015
Schengen, migration & security	Cooperation in the management of external borders stepped up gradually, progress towards a common asylum system; improved coordination on security matters	No single migration or asylum policy, further coordination on security dealt with bilaterally, internal border controls are more systematic	As in "Carrying on" except for a group of countries who deepen cooperation on security and justice matters	Cooperation on border management, asylum policies and counter- terrorism matters are systematic	As in "Doing less more efficiently", cooperation on border management, asylum policies and counter-terrorism matters are systematic
Foreign policy & defence	Progress is made on speaking with one voice on foreign affairs, closer defence cooperation	Some foreign policy issues are increasingly dealt with bilaterally, defence cooperation remains as it is today	As in "Carrying on" except for a group of countries who deepen cooperation on defence, focusing on military coordination and joint equipment	The EU speaks with one voice on all foreign policy issues; a European Defence Union is created	As in "Doing less more efficiently", the EU speaks with one voice on all foreign policy issues; a European Defence Union is created
EU budget	Partly modernised to reflect the reform agenda agreed at 27	Refocused to finance essential functions needed for the single market	As in "Carrying on"; additional budgets are made available by some Member States for the areas where they decide to do more	Significantly redesigned to fit the new priorities agreed at the level of the EU27	Significantly modernised and increased, backed up by own resources; a euro area fiscal stabilisation function is operational
Capacity to deliver	Positive agenda for action yields concrete results; decision-making remains complex to grasp; capacity to deliver does not always match expectations	Decision-making may be easier to understand but capacity to act collectively is limited; issues of common concern often need to be solved bilaterally	As in "Carrying on", a positive agenda for action at 27 yields results; some groups achieve more together in certain domains; decision-making becomes more complex	Initial agreement on tasks to prioritise or give up is challenging; once in place, decision-making may be easier to understand; the EU acts quicker and more decisively where it has a greater role Filis - Great Game of	Decision-making is faster and enforcement is stronger across the board; questions of accountability arise for some who feel that the EU has taken too much power away from the Member States the E. Med. 14

Answe 21:The Future of the E cenarios,

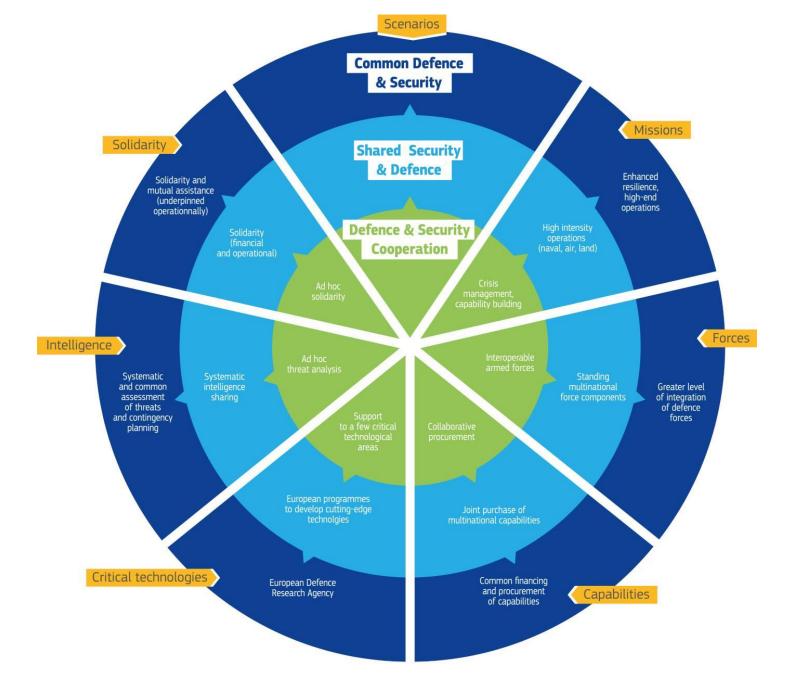
Germany, Ireland and Scandinavia are most export-dependent on China

China share of total and extra-EU exports (EU member states plus United Kingdom, 2019)





Clear Answe QI:The Future of the El Scenarios, no Clear Ans



Defence

Total amount

% of GDP

% of total defence expenditure

- Personnel
- Equipment (equipment procurement and R&D)
- Other
- Operations and maintenance

Investment per Soldier

Equipment procurement and R&D

Duplication of Systems in

Number of types of weapon systems*

Examples:

Main battle tanks

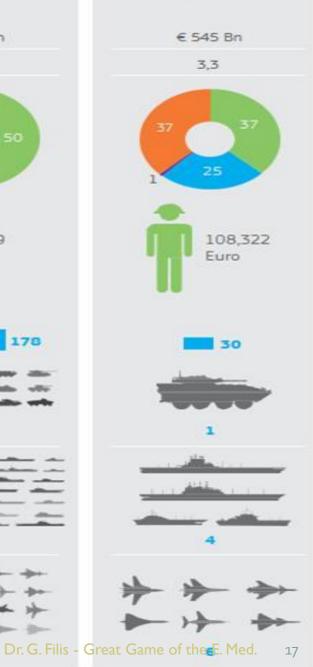
Destroyers/frigates

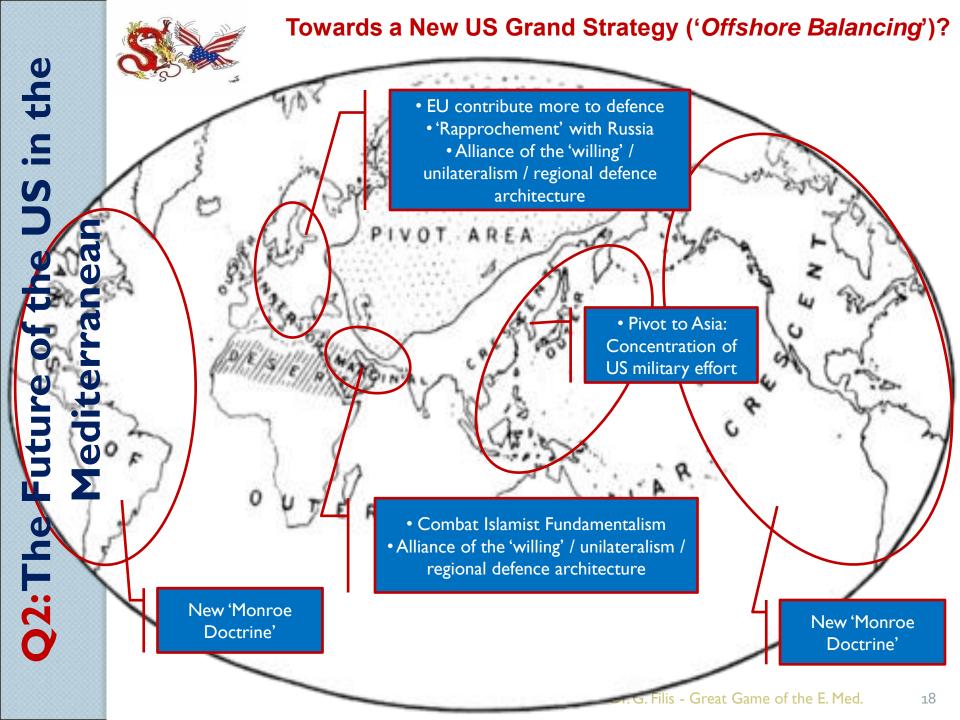
Fighterplanes

*For selected weapon systems categories



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THE FIVE EYES HAVE DEVELOPED THESE PROGRAMS:



UNITED KINGDOM



PRISM: COLLECTS INFORMATION FROM AT LEAST 9 MAIN US INTERNET COMPANIES

STATEROOM: DATA COLLECTION PROGRAM INVOLVING INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS, RADIO, AND INTERNET TRAFFIC



TEMPORA: COMPUTER SYSTEM USED TO INTERCEPT ONLINE AND TELEPHONE TRAFFIC

MUSCULAR: SURVEILLANCE PROGRAM SIMILAR TO PRISM

XKEYSCORE: COMPUTER PROGRAM USED TO SEARCH AND ANALYSE GLOBAL INTERNET DATA





NEW ZEALAND

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



Q3:What the US (and the UK) Really Want from/for the EU?



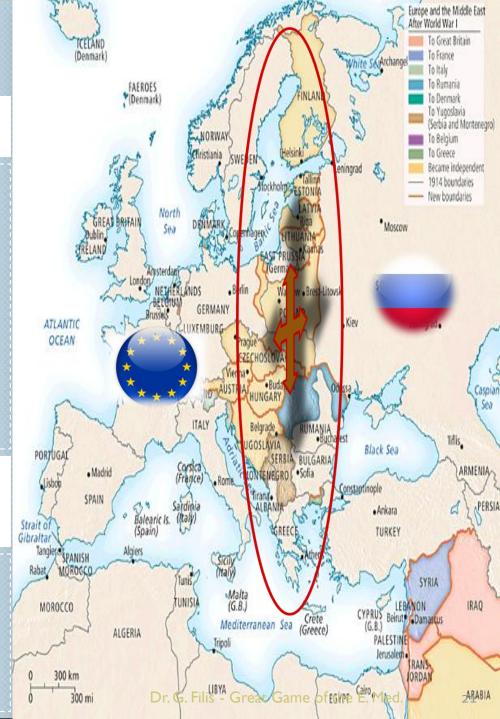


The Anglo-saxon traditional Geopolitical theory suggests that...

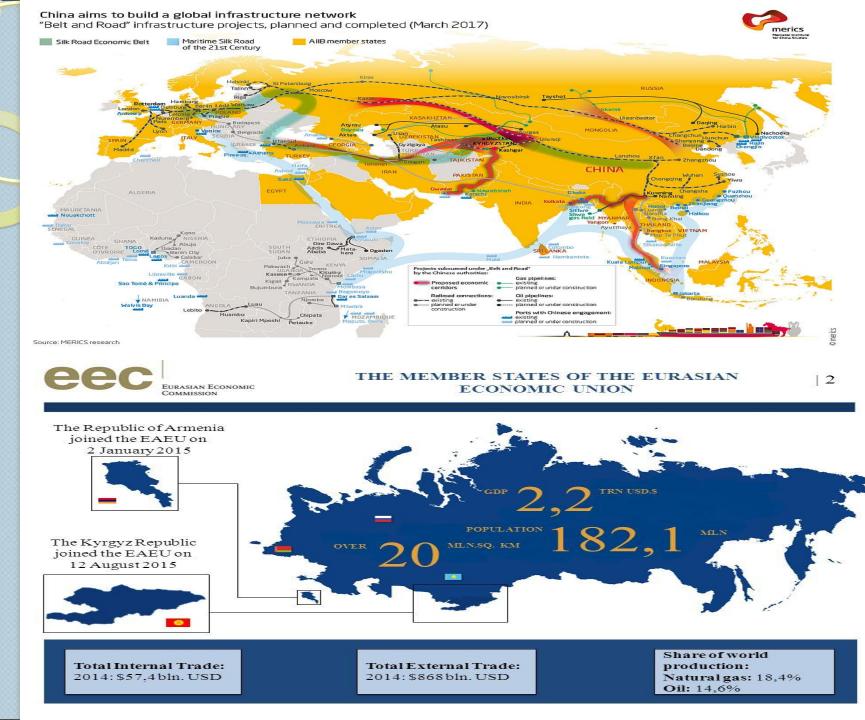
- Continental Europe should never be 'unified' under a sole continental power
- Europe, should **never be 'interlinked' to Russia** (Heartland / Pivot area)
- If Europe will be 'unified' and if this Europe will be 'connected' with Russia then **the emerging power** of the combined forces of these two geopolitical actors might **threaten Anglosaxon geopolitical supremacy** on the World Island and then on the planet

...thus, the "Solution" includes:

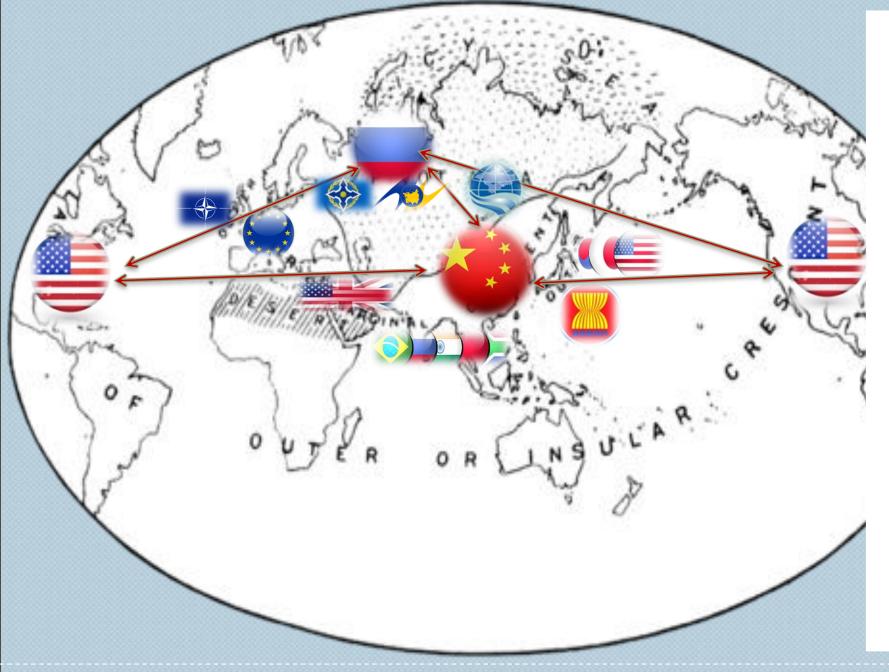
- This kind of "architecture" in Western,
 South and Central Europe that will not
 allow the emergence of a really cohesive
 entity
 - A "buffer/controlled zone" in E. Europe







Q5:Who is the main adversary for each (f)actor?



ANKARA ISTANBUL GREECE TURKEY Self-declared Republic of Northern Cyprus **KEY** Continental shelf claimed by Libya **AEGEAN SEA CRETE** Continental shelf claimed by Turkey Turkey EEZ Greece EEZ Cyprus EEZ Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) Turkish survey area Turkish survey area MEDITERRANEAN SEA LIBYA **EGYPT** Aegean On Edge: Greek & Turkish **Military Strength Compared** Selected military equipment/personnel of Greece and

Turkey compared in 2020*



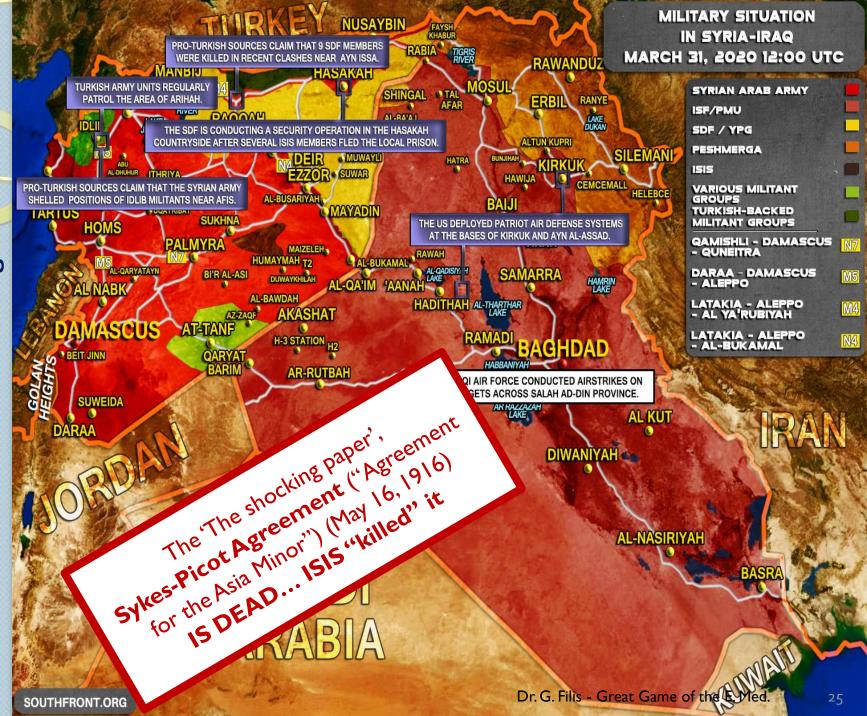
transport total includes aerial refuelling aircraft.

** 2019 for Greece, 2015 for Turkey. Sources: The Drive, armedforces.eu, news reports

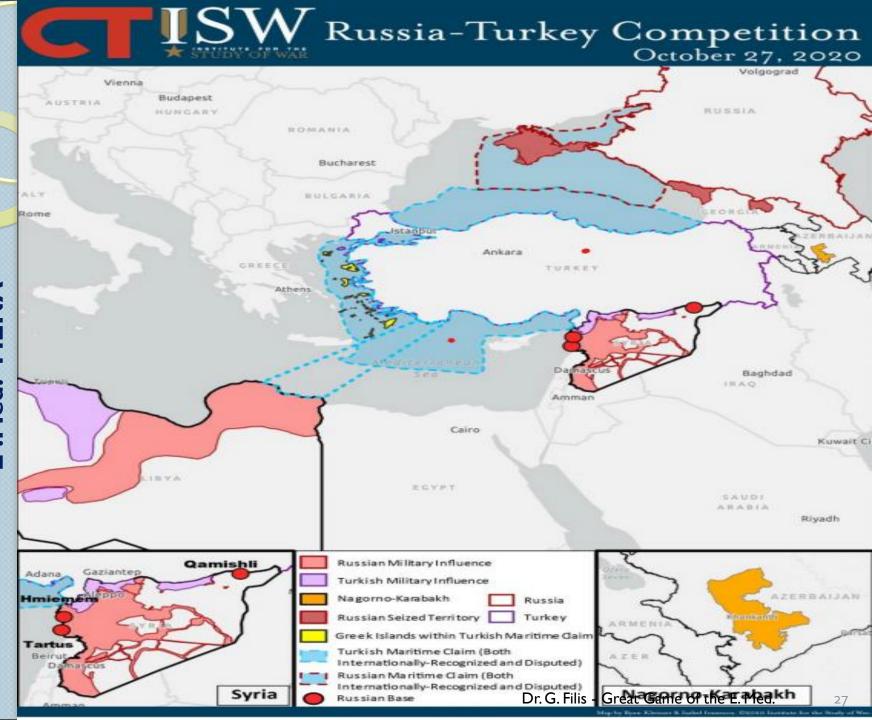












Q7:Towards a New-Medivalism?

[Hedley Bull (1932-1985), The Anarchical Society – A Study of Order in World Politics?, 1977]

The nation-state is not the sole source of power in the international scene, a complex network-grid of overlapping authorities (subnational-national-supranational) and overlaying allegiances has been developed

Five characteristics which provide *prima facie* the proof of this trend:

- Regional integration projects
- Dismantlement of existing state-formations
- Restoration of a practice of the use of military / coercive force from non-state agents
- 4. Emergence of Supranational Organizations
- Global integration through technological advancements



- EU's/Greeces' Near Abroad, a geopolitical system which covers EU's neighboring Eastern & Southern space involves three major geopolitical (f)actors Russia, Turkey, Islamic Sectarian Friction, and undergoes a fundamental restructuring in all the main pillars of power (defence-security, economic, political, cultural)
- These transformations result to an increased level of challenges and threats.
 - Security: EU/Greece has to respond to all kinds of armed conflicts and prepare to defend its vital interests within its interior & adjunct Seas.
 - Economy: Energy-security issues, human trafficking & the financial crisis are pressing and demand a cumulative response.
 - Political & cultural parameters: EU/Greece will have to prepare itself to coexist and/or confront with political systems and identities that in the best case scenario are not compatible or are semi-compatible with the European standards, in the worse case scenario are explicitly hostile and belligerent
- 3. EU needs to solve its main existential issue of internal legitimacy / future direction as it has been emerged through the ashes of the financial, refugee and COVID-19 crises,.

- 4. Greece's important geopolitical position decisively contributes on the geopolitical / geoeconomic / geocultural posturing of the West in general.
- 5. The chaotic conditions in EU's 'Near Abroad,' the current internal legitimacy deficit along with the policies of the other major extraregional geopolitical (f)actors in the geopolitical system in question could be approached through an **explanatory model** that includes
 - A major re-conseptualization of the main priorities of the world powers,
 - A closer scrutiny of the main geopolitical tradition as it has been developed in the Anglosaxon world and
 - A deeper debate on the true nature of an emerging international system which departs from the more secure, simplistic and understandable Westphalian paradigm and emulates a more aggressive, complex, chaotic full of challenges and opportunities though, romantic (?) Neo-Medieval one.



[Mackinder, Democratic Ideals and Reality, p. 107]

