

THE HALKI  
SUMMER SEMINAR  
1992

**Cooperation and Security in Europe,  
the Mediterranean and the Balkans**

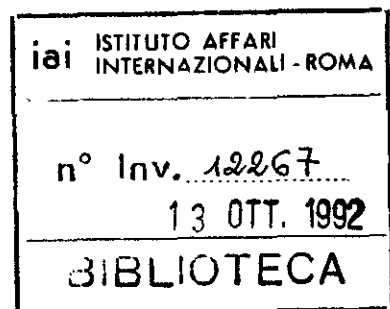


**DODECANESE ISLANDS, GREECE  
2-15 SEPTEMBER 1992**

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COOPERATION AND SECURITY IN EUROPE,  
THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE BALKANS  
Hellenic Foundation for Defense and Foreign Policy  
Halki, 2-14/IX/1992

- a. Conference schedule
- b. List of faculty and participants
  - 1. "The Maghreb and Mediterranean security: summary"/ Claire Spencer
  - 2. "International political, ideologic and psychological problems in the framework of the Black Sea cooperation zone"/ Victor Nadein-Raevskij
  - 3. "Romania: the evolution of the economic climate in the process of transition from the central planned economy to the market economy"/ Violeta Ciurel
  - 4. "Peaceful regulation of inter-ethnic conflicts is the guarantee of stability in the region: summary"/ Ashot Hovakimian
  - 5. "Russian policy in the Balkan region: summary"/ Elena Victorovna Eliseeva
  - 6. (Romania) / Anda Christina Filip





# THE HALKI SUMMER SEMINAR 1992

2-14 September 1992 - Halki, Greece

## **Cooperation and Security in Europe, the Mediterranean and the Balkans**

Conference Schedule

## Wednesday 2 September

14.00 Assembly point at the Piraeus harbour, Agios Spiridonas Church

16.00 Departure (with F/B "Rodanthi") / Registration (on board)

18.00 Official Opening

Welcome Address

**Michael SIOPSIS**,  
Secretary General,  
General Secretariat for Youth,  
Athens

Presentation of the **Halki Project**

Prof. **Thanos VEREMIS**,  
Director,  
Hellenic Foundation for Defense  
and Foreign Policy [ELIAMEP],  
Athens

Dr. **Shai FELDMAN**,  
Senior Research Associate,  
The Jaffee Center for  
Strategic Studies [JCSS],  
Tel Aviv

Dr. **Christophe CARLE**,  
Research Fellow,  
Institut Français de Relations  
Internationales [IFRI],  
Paris

21.30 Welcome Dinner

## Thursday 3 September

9.00-12.00 Panel Discussion: **The New European Security Setting**

Chairman: Prof. **Thanos VEREMIS**,  
Director, ELIAMEP,  
Athens

Panelists: Prof. **Bo HULDT**,  
Director-Designate,  
International Institute for  
Strategic Studies [IISS],  
London

Prof. **Michael STÜRMER**,  
Director,  
Stiftung Wissenschaft und  
Politik [SWP],  
Ebenhausen

**Alexandr YAKOVENKO,**  
Head,  
NATO, WEU and NACC Dept.,  
Directorate for Security  
and Cooperation in Europe,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Moscow

- 15.00            *Arrival at the island of Rhodes (via Paros, Santorini, Crete and Carpathos)*
- 15.00-17.00    *Sightseeing in Rhodes*
- 20:15           *Departure for the island of Halki*
- 21:15           *Arrival at Halki (accommodation arrangements)*

## **Friday 4 September**

### *SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST*

09.00-13.00    **SESSION I: Introduction to the Middle East and the Mediterranean**

Chairman:    **Dr. Shai FELDMAN**  
JCSS, Tel Aviv

Panelists:    **Prof. P.J. VATIKIOTIS,**  
Emeritus Professor,  
School of Oriental  
and African Studies [SOAS],  
University of London

**Dr. Roberto ALIBONI,**  
Director,  
Istituto Affari Internazionali [IAI],  
Rome

**Dr. Christophe CARLE**  
IFRI, Paris

13.00-18.00    *Lunch and Afternoon Break*

18.00-20.00    **SESSION II: Workshop**

Chairman:    **Prof. P.J. VATIKIOTIS,**  
SOAS, University of London

Participants: **Sameh ABDALLAH,**  
Head,

Al Ahran Office,  
Athens

**Christina PAPADOPOULOU,**  
PhD. Candidate,  
Fondation Nationale des  
sciences Politiques,  
Paris

**Claire Catherine SPENCER,**  
Consultant,  
Rockefeller Foundation,  
New York

**Stephanos VALLIANATOS,**  
Center for Islamic and  
Turkish Studies,  
Athens

**Samuel Nathan WIEDERMAN,**  
Research Assistant,  
JCSS, Tel Aviv

## **Saturday 5 September**

10.00-13.00      **SESSION I: The Arab-Israeli Peace Process**

Chairman:      Prof. **P.J. VATIKIOTIS,**  
SOAS, University of London

Panelists:      Dr. **Shai FELDMAN,**  
JCSS, Tel Aviv

Prof. **Sari NUSSEIBEH,**  
University of East Jerusalem

*(No Afternoon Session)*

## **Sunday 6 September**

*(No Morning and Afternoon Sessions)*

Excursion to Alimia (or Tilos)

21.00      *Dinner and Keynote Address*

(TBA)

## Monday 7 September

09.00-13.00      **SESSION I: Security and Arms Control Issues in the Mediterranean**

Chairman:      Dr. **Christophe CARLE**,  
IFRI, Paris

Panelists:      Dr. **Shai FELDMAN**,  
JCSS, Tel Aviv

Dr. **Maurizio CREMASCO**,  
Senior Fellow,  
IAI, Rome

**George KATSIRDAKIS**,  
Defense Planning and  
Policy Division, NATO,  
Brussels

13.00-18.00      *Lunch and Afternoon Break*

18.00-20.00      **SESSION II: Workshop**

Chairman:      Prof. **Sari NUSSEIBEH**,  
University of East Jerusalem

Participants:      Dr. **Shai FELDMAN**,  
JCSS, Tel Aviv

**Nicholas PROTONOTARIOS**  
Defense Economist, IISS,  
London

## Tuesday 8 September

09.00-13.00      **SESSION I: Prospects for Cooperation and Confidence-Building  
in the Mediterranean**

Chairman:      Dr. **Maurizio CREMASCO**,  
IAI, Rome

Panelists:      **Ridha ABDHELHAFIDH**  
Chief Controller  
of Public Services,  
Prime Ministry,  
Tunis

Dr. **Roberto ALIBONI**,  
Director, IAI, Rome

Dr. **Christophe CARLE**,  
IFRI, Paris

**Petros LIACOURAS**,  
University of Athens



**Ana Beatriz JANEIRO MARTINS,**  
Senior Research Fellow,  
Centre for European Policy  
Studies [CEPS],  
Brussels

13.00-18.00      *Lunch and Afternoon Break*

18.00-21.00      **SESSION II: Prospects for Cooperation in the North-Eastern Mediterranean**

Chairman:      **Dr. Victor NADEIN-RAEVSKY,**  
Research Fellow,  
Institute of World Economy and  
International Relations [IMEMO],  
Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Moscow

Panelists:      **Blaga STOIANONA BOUKEVA,**  
Economic Editor,  
*Reporter 7*,  
Sofia

**Violeta CIUREL,**  
Senior Lecturer,  
Academy of Economic Studies,  
Bucharest

**Levan GOGOBERIDZE,**  
Deputy Chief, US Division,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Tbilisi

**Ashot HOVAKIMIAN,**  
European Dept.,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Yerevan

**Aylin ÖZMAN AKINÇI,**  
Bilkent University,  
Ankara

**Elena VICTOROVNA-ELISEEVA,**  
Scientific Editor and Researcher,  
IMEMO, Moscow

**Wednesday 9 September**

**COOPERATION AND SECURITY IN  
EUROPE AND THE BALKANS**

09.00-13.00     **SESSION I: The New European Security Framework**

Chairman:     **Dr. Roberto ALIBONI,**  
Director, IAI, Rome

*Political and Security Implications of the Maastricht Treaty*     **Prof. Michael STÜRMER,**  
Director, SWP,  
Ebenhausen

*The Role of NATO*     **George KATSIRDAKIS,**  
Defense Planning  
and Policy Division,  
NATO,  
Brussels

*The Role of the WEU*     **Dr. Maurizio CREMASCO,**  
IAI, Rome

*The Role of the US*     **Maria Rosaria ALONGI,**  
Deputy Director  
for European Studies,  
Center for Strategic  
and International Studies [CSIS]  
Washington, D.C.

*The Role of Russia*     **Alexandr YAKOVENKO,**  
Head,  
NATO, WEU and NACC Dept.,  
Directorate for Security  
and Cooperation in Europe,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Moscow

13.00-18.00     *Lunch and Afternoon Break*

18.00-20.00     **SESSION II: Workshop**

Chairman:     **Dr. Jérôme PAOLINI,**  
Institut Français des Relations  
Internationales [IFRI], Paris

Panelists:     **Alexis SEYDOUX,**  
Researcher, IFRI, Paris

**Mercedes GRACIA ALDAZ,**  
Editor, *El Periodico*, Madrid

**Guergui DIMITROV,**  
International Organisations Dept,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Sofia

## Thursday 10 September

### 09.00-13.30      **SESSION I: Developments in the Balkan Countries**

Chairman:    Prof. **Thanos VEREMIS,**  
Director, ELIAMEP,  
Athens

Dr. **Franz-Lothar ALTMANN,**  
Deputy Director,  
Südost -Institut,  
Munich

**Spyros ECONOMIDES,**  
Lecturer in  
International Relations  
LSE, London

Dr. **F. Stephen LARRABEE,**  
RAND Corporation,  
New York

**Carol REED,**  
Free-lance journalist

13.30-18.00      *Lunch and Afternoon Break*

### 18.00-20.00      **SESSION II: Workshop**

Chairman:    Prof. **Duygu SEZER,**  
University of Bilkent,  
Ankara

*Albania*    **Agim NESHO,**  
Director,  
Centre of Scientific  
& Technical Documentation,  
Academy of Sciences,  
Tirana

*Bulgaria*    **Blaga STOIANOVA BOUKENA,**  
Economic Editor,  
Newspaper Reporter 7,  
Sofia

*Romania*    **Anda Christina FILIP,**  
Romanian Association of  
International Law and  
International Relations [ADIRI],  
Bucharest

*Turkey* **Aylin TAFTALI [Ms]**  
Researcher in  
European Community In-  
stitute,  
University of Marmara,  
Instabul

## Friday 11 September

09.00-13.00      **SESSION I: The Yugoslav Crisis**

Chairman:      **Dr. Evangelos KOFOS,**  
Consultant on Balkan Affairs,  
ELIAMEP, Athens

**Dr. John ZAMETICA,**  
Lecturer,  
University of Westminster,  
London

*A Croatian View*      Ast. Prof. **Ksenija JURISIC,**  
Faculty of Political Science,  
University of Zagreb

*A Serbian View*      Ast. Prof. **Jelica STEFANOVIC,**  
Faculty of Political Science,  
University of Belgrade

13.00-18.00      *Lunch and Afternoon Break*

18.00-20.00      **SESSION II: Workshop**

Chairman:      **Maria Rosaria ALONGI,**  
CSIS, Washington, D.C.

Participants:      **Pascale GAUCHER,**  
E.C. Commission, Brussels

**Krenar LOLOÇI,**  
Law Faculty,  
University of Tirana

**Spiros POLYCANDRIOTIS,**  
E.C. Commission, Brussels

**Marina VICHOU,**  
Journalist, *Messimvrini*,  
Athens

**Dr. John ZAMETICA,**  
Lecturer,  
University of Westminster,  
London

## Saturday 12 September

09.00-13.00      **SESSION I: The EC vis-a-vis Eastern and Southeastern Europe**

Chairman:      Prof. **Loukas TSOUKALIS**,  
Faculty of Political Science,  
University of Athens &  
College of Europe, Brugges

Panelists:      Dr. **Franz-Lothar ALTMANN**,  
Deputy Director,  
Südost-Institut,  
Munich

*Roberto ALIBONI*

Dr. **Jérôme PAOLINI**,  
IFRI, Paris

13.00-18.00      *Lunch and Afternoon Break*

18.00-20.00      **SESSION II: Democratic Institutions and Human Rights**

Chairman:      Prof. **Christos ROZAKIS**,  
Member,  
European Commission for  
Human Rights,  
Council of Europe,  
Strasbourg

Panelists:      Dr. **F. Stephen LARRABEE**,  
RAND Corporation,  
New York

Dr. **Victor NADEIN-RAEVSKY**  
Research Fellow,  
MEMO, Moscow

## Sunday 13 September

*(No Morning Session)*

18.00-19.00      *Concluding Remarks*

Assoc. Prof. **Yannis VALINAKIS**  
Deputy Director, ELIAMEP,  
Athens

Dr. **Shai FELDMAN**,  
Senior Research Associate, JCSS,  
Tel Aviv

Dr. **Christophe CARLE**,  
Research Fellow, IFRI,  
Paris

19.00              *Award of Certificates*

**Viron POLYDORAS**,  
Deputy Minister,

20.30            *Farewell Reception*

**Monday 14 September**

10.00            *Departure from the Halki harbour*

12.00            *Arrival at Rhodes*

12.00-17.00    *Free time*

17.30            *Departure of participants from the Rhodes harbour (F/B "Patmos")*

**Tuesday 15 September**

10.00            *Arrival at the Piraeus harbour*

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# THE HALKI SUMMER SEMINAR 1992

2-14 September 1992 - Halki, Greece

## **Cooperation and Security in Europe, the Mediterranean and the Balkans**

List of  
Faculty and Participants



## **ALBANIA**

1. **Krenar LOLOÇI**  
Law Faculty, University of Tirana
2. **Dr. Agim NESHO**  
Director, Centre of Scientific and Technical Information and Documentation,  
Academy of Sciences, Tirana

## **ARMENIA**

3. **Ashot HOVAKIMIAN**  
European Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Senior Scientist, Academy of Sciences, Yerevan

## **BULGARIA**

4. **Gueorgui DIMITROV**  
International Organisations Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sofia
5. **Blaga STOLANOVA BOUKEVA [Ms]**  
Economic Editor, newspaper *Reporter 7*, Sofia

## **CANADA**

6. **Spiros POLYKANDRIOTIS**  
Expert, Unit "Emergency Aid & Civil Protection", E.C. Commission, Brussels

## **COUNCIL OF EUROPE**

7. **Professor Christos ROZAKIS**  
Member, European Commission for Human Rights, Council of Europe, Strasbourg

## **CROATIA**

8. **Ante BARISIC**  
Assistant, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb
9. **Ast. Professor Ksenija JURISIC [Ms]**  
Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb

## **CYPRUS**

10. **Petros Telesphoros NACOUZIS**  
Lawyer, LL.M. International Law, University of Hull

## **E.C.**

- 11. Ioannis Miltiadis NICOLAIDIS**  
Assistant to a MEP, Brussels
- 12. Pascale GAUCHER [Ms]**  
Expert, Emergency Aid, E.C. Commission, Brussels  
Consultant in European Affairs

## **EGYPT**

- 13. Sameh ABDALLAH**  
Head, Al Ahram Office, Athens
- 14. Mr. Emad Gad BADRAS**  
Researcher, International Relations,  
Centre for Political and Strategic Studies,  
Cairo

## **FRANCE**

- 15. Dr. Christophe CARLE**  
Research Fellow,  
Institut Français des Relations Internationales [IFRI], Paris
- 16. Helen LOUKERI [Ms]**  
Researcher, Fondation pour les études de Défense Nationale [FEDN], Paris
- 17. Dr. Jérôme PAOLINI**  
Institut Français des Relations Internationales [IFRI], Paris
- 18. Alexis SEYDOUX**  
Researcher, Institut Français des Relations Internationales [IFRI], Paris

## **GEORGIA**

- 19. Levan GOGOBERIDZE**  
Deputy Chief, US Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tbilisi

## **GERMANY**

- 20. Dr. Franz-Lothar ALTMANN**  
Deputy Director, Südost-Institut, Munich
- 21. Professor Michael STÜRMER**  
Director, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen

## **GREECE**

- 22. Ekavi ATHANASSOPOULOU [Ms]**  
PhD. Candidate, School of Oriental and African Studies [SOAS], University of London
- 23. Spiros COUROUPIS**  
PhD. Candidate, King's College, University of London
- 24. Catherine GRIGORIOU [Ms]**  
PhD. Candidate, London School of Economics and Political Science [LSE]
- 25. Constantinos KAIPOULOS**  
Lecturer, Ionian University, Corfu
- 26. Gabriel KAMBOUROGLOU**  
Postgraduate student, Faculty of Law, Aristoteles University, Thessaloniki
- 27. Dr. Georgios KOSTAKOS**  
PhD. International Relations, University of Kent at Canterbury
- 28. Evangelos KOFOS**  
Consultant on Balkans Affairs, ELIAMEP, Athens
- 29. Maria LAPATSANI [Ms]**  
PhD. Candidate, Athens University
- 30. Peter LIACOURAS**  
LL.M. International Law, Yale University  
Assistant and PhD. Candidate, Athens University
- 31. Adamis MITSOTAKIS**  
PhD. International Relations, University of Nanterre
- 32. George MOURTOS**  
M.A. War Studies, King's College, University of London  
Expert, Ministry of National Defense, Athens
- 33. Dr. Yannis NIKOLAOU**  
PhD. International Law, University of Nice
- 34. Christina PAPADOPOULOU [Ms]**  
PhD. Candidate, Fondation Nationale des sciences Politiques (IEP section Monde Arabe), Paris
- 35. Ioannis RAGIES**  
PhD. Candidate, Lancaster University
- 36. Christos SIORIS**  
PhD. Candidate, Moscow University
- 37. Stella STERGIU [Ms]**  
M.A. International Relations, Reading University
- 38. Professor Loukas TSOUKALIS**  
Faculty of Political Science, University of Athens  
College of Europe, Bruges
- 39. Assoc. Professor Yannis VALINAKIS**  
Deputy Director, Hellenic Foundation for Defense and Foreign Policy [ELIAMEP], Athens

**40. *Stefanos VALLIANATOS***

M.A. West European Politics, Essex University  
Research Fellow, Center for Islamic and Turkish Studies, Athens

**41. *Professor Thanos VEREMIS***

Director, Hellenic Foundation for Defense and Foreign Policy [ELIAMEP], Athens

**42. *Constantinos ZIAVRAS***

PhD. Candidate, Athens University

## **ISRAEL**

**43. *Dr. Shai FELDMAN***

Senior Research Associate, The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies [JCSS], Tel Aviv

**44. *Anat KURZ [Ms]***

Head, Project on Low Intensity Warfare and Terrorism,  
The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies [JCSS], Tel Aviv

**45. *Samuel Nathan WIEDERMAN***

Research Assistant, The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies [JCSS], Tel Aviv

## **PALESTINIANS**

**46. *Professor Sari NUSSEIBEH***

University of East Jerusalem

## **ITALY**

**47. *Dr. Roberto ALIBONI***

Director, Istituto Affari Internazionali [IAI], Rome

**48. *Dr. Maurizio CREMASCO***

Senior Fellow, Istituto Affari Internazionali [IAI], Rome

**49. *Federica MORONI [Ms]***

Researcher, Istituto Affari Internazionali [IAI], Rome

## **NATO**

**50. *George KATSIRDAKIS***

Defence Planning and Policy Division, NATO, Brussels

## **PORTUGAL**

**51. *Ana Beatriz JANEIRO MARTINS [Ms]***

Senior Research Fellow, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels

## **ROMANIA**

**52. Violeta CIUREL [Ms]**

Senior Lecturer, International Economics, Academy of Economic Studies, Bucharest

**53. Anda Cristina FILIP [Ms]**

Assistant to the Director of the  
Romanian Association of International Law and International Relations [ADIRI], Bucharest

## **RUSSIA**

**54. Dr. Victor NADEIN-RAEVSKY**

Institute of World Economy and International Relations [IMEMO],  
Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

**55. Elena VICTOROVNA ELISEEVA [Ms]**

Scientific Editor and Researcher, Department of International Relations,  
Institute of World Economy and International Relations [IMEMO], Moscow

**56. Alexandr YAKOVENKO**

Head of NATO, WEU and NACC Dept.,  
Directorate for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow

## **SERBLA**

**57. Milovan RADAKOVIC**

Researcher, Center for European Studies,  
Institute for International Politics and Economics, Belgrade

**58. Ast. Professor Jelica STEFANOVIC [Ms]**

Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade

## **SPAIN**

**59. Mercedes GRACIA ALDAZ [Ms]**

PhD. Candidate, International Relations, Universidad Complutense de Madrid  
Editor, newspaper *El Periodico*, Madrid

**60. Maria Dolores OLIVAN HIJOS [Ms]**

PhD. Candidate, Arab Studies, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid  
International Relations programme, Fundación José Ortega y Gasset, Madrid

## **SWEDEN**

**61. Professor Bo HULDT**

Director-Designate, International Institute for Strategic Studies [IISS], London

## **TUNISIA**

**62. *Ridha ABDELHAFIDH***

Chief Controller of Public Services, Prime Ministry, Tunis

## **TURKEY**

**63. *Professor Duygu SEZER***

University of Bilkent, Ankara

**64. *Aylin ÖZMAN AKINÇI [Ms]***

PhD Candidate, Department of International Relations, Bilkent University, Ankara

**65. *Naylin TAFTALI***

Assistant Researcher in European Community Institute of the Marmara University

## **UNITED KINGDOM**

**66. *Nicholas PROTONOTARIOS***

Defence Economist, International Institute for Strategic Studies [IISS], London

**67. *Claire Catherine SPENCER [Ms]***

Consultant, Rockefeller Foundation, London

**68. *Professor P.J. VATIKIOTIS***

Emeritus Professor, School of Oriental and African Studies [SOAS], London

**69. *Dr. John ZAMETICA***

Lecturer in European Security, University of Westminster, London

## **UNITED STATES**

**70. *Maria Rozaria ALONGI [Ms]***

Deputy Director of European Studies,  
Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.

**71. *Dr. F. Stephen LARRABEE***

RAND Corporation, New York

**72. *Carol REED [Ms]***

Journalist, Correspondent for American and European magazines and newspapers

**73. *Celia SEGCEL [Ms]***

Independent Consultant on Conflict Resolution

## **UNESCO**

**74. *Myriam KARELA [Ms]***

Division of Youth and Sport Activities, UNESCO, Paris

**75. B. RADOYKOV**

Division of Youth and Sport Activities, UNESCO, Paris

**OBSERVERS**

**76. Dr. Christos FRANGONIKOLOPOULOS**

PhD. International Relations, University of Kent at Canterbury

**77. Dr. Irene LAGANI [Ms]**

Lecturer, Democritos University of Thrace, Komotini

**78. Spilios LIVANOS**

M.A. International Relations, Reading University

**79. Constantinos LOIS**

M.A. European Studies, Reading University

**80. Mary PINI [Ms]**

Journalist, Newspaper Eleftherotypia, Athens

**81. Dimitrios TRIANTAPHYLLOU**

Ph.D. Candidate, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

**82. Marina VICHOU [Ms]**

M.A. West European Politics, Essex University  
Journalist, newspaper *Messinurini*, Athens

**ADDENDUM**

**83. J.Riley SEVER**

Press Attache  
USA Embassy

**84. Spyros Economides**

Lecturer, LSE

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(1)

**Workshop Session I**  
**The Middle East and the Mediterranean**

**The Maghreb and Mediterranean Security**  
(Summary by Claire Spencer)

The roots of instability in the Maghreb are demographic, economic and socio-political. Only the rise of Islamism as a protest movement and an increase in external migration have had overspill effects beyond the immediate region. Military threats are contained within the region itself, and are confined to the low-intensity conflict in the Western Sahara and the maintenance of domestic peace against Islamist insurgents. Since the mid-1980s, there has been an increase in popular uprisings against regimes which, despite recent moves towards democratization, have witnessed few changes since the independence of the Maghreb from France.

The common link between the domestic demonstrations and riots of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, is the youthfulness of most insurgents. Rapid demographic increases have combined with insufficient levels of economic growth to satisfy the employment market, which in tune has provoked reactions against the lack of real political and economic liberties within the region. Surplus labour also represents a pressure on neighbouring European states, as the number of North Africans attempting to enter the European Community has risen.

The growth of Islamic activism is a symptom as much as a cause of this unrest. Its roots are varied, and not entirely new to the Maghreb, but Islamism combines a national appeal with the most rejectionist form of opposition to current political systems and leaders. Incremental, and even rapid changes in the official system have done little to address fundamental dislocations in Maghrebi societies. These include the limited distribution of economic and political gains since independence, the failure of constitutions to safeguard civil liberties, and few attempts to integrate the concerns of the growing numbers of educated young within official systems. Underlying this are forms of patronage and clientelism which not only dominate relations at the upper echelons of power, but permeate the whole of society.

In the short term, the resolution of Islamist threats to political establishments is the most immediate concern to the leaderships of Tunisia and Algeria. In both states, the confrontation between radical Islamists and security forces has narrowed the political field and hindered the development of more moderate and cohesive alternatives. Opening the debate to moderate Islamists is one way of breaking down these extremes. Addressing the root causes of Islamist dissent and official corruption will take longer, and requires broader-based support than accompanied recent attempts in Algeria to bring past transgressors to trial. The influence of Islamism has been limited in Morocco by the special position occupied by King Hassan II, as a spiritual as well as temporal leader. Islamist reactions to widespread corruption nevertheless exist, and have combined with the volatility of popular protests to prompt constitutional reforms.

Military solutions have little history in the Maghreb, army leaders preferring to control events from behind the scenes. The current military-backed regime in Algeria has a narrow legitimacy, which will lead to an increasing reliance on force if the democratic process is not re-started within two years. Expectations of positive change have been raised since the opening of political systems in the late 1980s, which in turn has focused official attentions on addressing the most pressing of economic problems.

Economic growth has been largely posited on the response of European trading partners, accounting for 75% of trade relations. Short term debt has limited the availability of public funding to create new employment and generate domestic food supplies, around 25-30% of which is imported. Despite competing demands, it is in the long-term interest of Europe to assist in economic restructuring programmes, rather than face the consequences of deterring larger numbers of migrants. The future stability of the Maghreb will be increasingly determined by popular demands and pressures, the external effects of which will only be limited by the development of more stable political and economic systems.

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SESSION I: Future prospects for Cooperation in the Area:  
Regional Initiatives

Dr. Victor Nadein-Raevsky  
Research Fellow  
INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMY  
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL, IDEOLOGIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN  
THE FRAMEWORK OF THE BLACK SEA COOPERATION ZONE

As a matter of fact, the integral parts of the two former empires arranged in Istanbul on the problem of Regional cooperation. Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey were parts of a huge Ottoman Empire. As for the others - Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Moldavia, Russia and Ukraine only a year ago were the members of the Soviet Union and before - parts of Russian empire.

Regretfully, but through the history of bilateral relations of the two empires there were 14 wars among them, mutual hatred and misunderstanding. Of course there were also periods of stable peace, of trade and exchange. Now the peoples of the countries of this region came to a logical conclusion that the only way for their future relations is cooperation, but not war. That is the most positive factor of the declaration, signed in Istanbul.

It is necessary to mark some objective obstacles on the way of the effective function of the "Black sea Common market" the road to which was paved by the Istanbul documents. First group of these obstacles is connected with the complex of international relations in the region and the nearby political arena. The second one can be seen in the bilateral relations of the eleven states. The third complex of problems can be seen in some ideological doctrines spoiling the bilateral relations and bearing potential threat to the situation in the region in the whole. And at last the fourth group of potential threats to the system of the Black sea cooperation lies in the field of domestic policies of the countries involved. It is obvious that some of these obstacles may influence upon the situation together and some of them may be clearly seen as independent factor of the international or bilateral relations.

1. One of the main positive factors that makes it possible to turn from the era of confrontation to the stage of international cooperation in the field of the international relations is the fall of the totalitarian communist system, that lead in the past to the East-West confrontation and spoiled the international relations in the world. This bipolar system lead to the micro conflicts, involving the superpowers whose participation in these conflicts only aggravated the situation. At the same time this system, based on the factor of nuclear treat was a factor that stabilized the world system in the whole. Besides the macro level of the international relations we may point at the regional factors of instability. One of the oldest among them is the Israeli-Arab conflict, the Iranian attempts of the "Islamic Revolution" export, the crisis in Yugoslavia that is "domestic" and international at the same time, the Cyprus problem that is the "domestic", bilateral (for Greece and Turkey), regional and all-world problem (the UN peacekeeping forces, and UN diplomats are involved here).

2. The factors of the bilateral relations that may destabilize the new system of international collaboration lie in the field of regional conflicts, bilateral tension as we can see in the Greek-Turkish relations, in the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict that is step by step involving new regional powers, etc.

3. One of the latest examples of ideological factor gravely affecting the bilateral and regional relations can be seen in the so called "Macedonian" republic that inherited from the communist regime nationalistic doctrines, insulting the national feelings of the Greek people. The best way for the solution of this severe misunderstanding and the growing confrontation is of course the solution of all the items on bilateral basis between Greece and Skopje.

Another example is the Pan-Turkic sentiments in the Turkophone republics of the former Soviet Union and Turkey. Of course Turkey and Russia have no common borders except for the one across the Black sea, but the growing nationalism in the Turkophone regions may become a serious obstacle in the relations of the two countries, if to take into consideration that about 10 million of the Turkic speaking peoples live on the territory of Russia. A very positive action of the last period is the position of the Turkish leaders who stress their negative attitude towards Pan-Turkism.

4. As for the third group of factors bearing the destabilizing potential it is necessary to mark the policy of the countries towards their national minorities that is still a problem for some of the regional states, their respect for the human rights of their own citizens, economic stability and the lack of the effective free market mechanism essential for the future "Black sea Common market" system that is only being developing now in Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union.

The existence of serious obstacles on the way of creation of the new organization does not mean that it is necessary to leave the idea for the better times. On the contrary, countries involved may use their cooperation for the solution of not only the economic problems, but the political as well. Because the more common they will have in their interests they will have, the better mutual understanding through the growing interdependence they can achieve. May be in future a broad cooperation of Greek and Turkish businessmen on the huge markets of Russia and other former soviet republics will help to achieve a better mutual understanding in the solution of the bilateral problems.

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R O M A N I A

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC CLIMATE  
IN THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION FROM THE CENTRAL PLANNED ECONOMY  
TO THE MARKET ECONOMY

Violeta Ciurel  
Academy of Economic Studies - Bucharest

After 1989, Romania, as an Eastern European country has been confronted with great economical problems because, as well as these countries, decided as an objective condition for the future progress, the transition from the central planned economy to the market economy.

This transition which has never been foreseen by the economists, politicians or sociologists appears as a new phenomenon of the world economic and social history; it is also a novel experience and we are all the witnesses of it

Romania has already begun one of the most important periods in its history; it is a very difficult period of great changes of transition from an authoritarian structure based on state ownership to a completely different structure based on private ownership and creating new institution based on and supporting private enterprises.

The way choosed by Romania for this transition is the shock therapy, The Parliament and the Government have begun restructuring the economy according to the free-market principles. The legal basis for a market economy has been partly created and, at present Romania is on the way of large scale privatization of state property which is the most important condition for achieving the transition to a real market economy. In this respect, there have been enacted more than 140 laws in about two years; the most important are the privatization law, the law of land ownership, the law on banking activity, the law concerning the statute of the National Bank of Romania, the foreign investments law and so on.

The privatization has started in June 1992 and provides the free and equal distribution to the population of 30% of the state-own capital. It is envisaged that this process will represent a strong incentive for the economic agents. Prior to this date, certain companies belonging mainly to the light industry and tourism were offered for the process of "early privatization". Starting with this summer, about 6000 commercial companies (estimated in value of 1460 billion lei, i.e. 53% of the value of assets in the Romanian industry) will undergo the privatization process. Other 340 commercial companies (1200 billion lei) will remain under the state control.

The privatization process includes also measures affecting housing, agricultural land (80% of the agricultural land will be owned by private persons).

In the same time, there have been adopted measures referring to the liberalization of domestic prices and to the elimination of the state subsidies in more rounds. Similar measures have been adopted for restructuring of enterprises in the view of elimination the previous system of industrial centrals and conversion of state-owned enterprises into commercial companies and state-owned autonomous entities (so-called "regies autonomes").

The liberty granted to private initiative has been given birth to more than 300,000 new enterprises.

The liberalization of foreign trade was started by abolishing the state monopoly over this sector of the economy. It is presumed that in 1992, the private economic agents will achieve at least 50% of the export volume of Romania.

The liberalization of foreign exchange market which was made in parallel with the liberalization of foreign trade represents an other important measure in our economic reform. At present, it is used the rate of exchange daily established by the banks participating at auctions.

For attracting foreign investments in Romania, the law includes provisions able to secure foreign investors guarantees and facilities as well as full and unlimited use of the results. A study drawn up by the Economic Commission for Europe (United Nations) places Romania and Hungary among the countries with the most permissive and liberal legislation for attracting foreign capital. Between 1990 and July 1st, 1992 were set up 13,432 commercial companies with partners from about 100 countries having a total capital of 390 million USD. The main flows of investors come from Western Europe (45%), Middle East (25%), Asia (17%) and North America (6%). Important partners are France, Great Britain, USA, Germany, Italy, Turkey, with activity mainly in services, commerce, building sector.

The developing of banking sector represents only a part of the financial reform. In this respect, in 1990, the functions of the National Bank of Romania have been separated by the functions of the other new-created commercial banks. The law governing the central and commercial banking activity creates a modern banking system in Romania which is still affected by the lack of the necessary banking infrastructure.

Although Romania has registered so far a significant progress in its transition to a market economy, it became evident that there are some limits in what can be achieved by the country alone without a substantial support from outside. The complex transition from a central planned economy to a market economy is not at all an easy task. The obstacles, many of them not even imagined at the beginning of the process have appeared, so that Romania is now confronted with certain problems, otherwise, common to all the ex-communist countries (decrease of production, deficits of the trade balance and of the balance of payments, increases of the inflation rate, unemployment etc.). However, at this moment of assesment of the potential of the Romanian economy it is necessary to point out that its unfavourable evolution (mainly during the last decade) as well as the difficulties it faces during this period of transition are a direct result of carrying out a thoroughly unsuitable economic model, which only succeeded to disturb an economic climate otherwise favorable.

The assesment of the potential of the Romanian economy has revealed that many of its braches require an urgent readjustment in order to reach the international levels of competitiveness and to improve the living standard of population. Moreover, the process of industrial readjustment should be accompanied by substantial innovation efforts and by training the labour force.



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DR. ASHOT HOVAKIMIAN  
ARMENIAN ACADEMY  
OF SCIENCES, YEREVAN

PEACEFUL REGULATION OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IS THE GUARANTEE OF  
STABILITY IN THE REGION

SUMMARY

Armenia is traditionally connected with the states and people of Mediterranean and the Balkans. Practically in all states of the Mediterranean basin there live many Armenians, descendants of those who had a narrow escape from the genocide of Armenians of 1915 in the Ottoman Empire.

For the second time during this century, Armenians managed to restore their statehood on part of their historical motherland. The main aspect of Armenian foreign policy is to establish friendly relations with all countries and in the first place with its direct neighbours. Being a point of intersection between East and West and a boarder between Christian and Islamic Worlds, Armenia can play a great role in communicating and cooperating with the two civilizations.

All prospects and programmes of cooperation and development undergo great difficulties because of the incessant military aggression of the neighbouring Azerbaijan against sovereign Nagorno-Karabagh Republic.

It is considered in Armenia that the conflict in Nagorno-Karabagh can be solved only by peaceful, political means, by mutual concession and compromises. We highly appreciate any proposals of mediation, aimed at establishing peace and towards a just solution to the problem. Mediterranean and Balkan states can set up a special committee for preventing and forecasting international conflicts from the Balkans to the Caucasus.

Armenian authorities demonstrated more than once their good will and readiness to establish neighbouring relations with the Republic of Turkey, but unfortunately Turkey has lost its neutral position and openly takes Azerbaijan's expansionistic and neo-colonial aspirations under its protection.

Great responsibility in peaceful regulation of the conflict in the Balkans lies on the neighboring states, which must promote the quest for peace. In this connection one cannot but be worried by the desire of certain forces for the reinforcement of their influence in the southern parts of the former Yugoslavia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina and by their efforts to give inter-ethnic conflicts religious implication. These forces should reserve their one-sided and preconceived judgment of the situation in the Balkans and should not send their military contingents to those regions of the Balkans and the Caucasus where their actions could be hardly called neutral and peace-making.

Mediterranean, Balkans, and Caucasus must become a connecting link in communications between West and East, North and South. The Republic of Armenia is ready to make its valuable contribution to promote security and develop cooperation in the Black Sea-Mediterranean region.

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*RUSSIAN POLICY IN THE BALKAN REGION*

SUMMARY

The downfall of the totalitarian regimes in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has changed the geopolitical situation in Europe and in the Balkans. As a result of the disintegration of the USSR a new independent state - the Russian Federation was established and recognized as a successor of the former Soviet Union. The foreign policy of our state is just forming and its political concept is being elaborated. Russia has abandoned its ideological approach to foreign policy affairs. Nevertheless the present Russian leadership has no complete and comprehensive concept of foreign policy based on perception of its national and state interests in the Balkan region. These Russian interests sometimes don't coincide with those of the former Soviet Union. For instance, now the Balkans are not of such strategic importance as during the Cold War period. Nowadays Russian positions and influence in the region have weakened.

Russian policy towards the Yugoslav crisis - a key issue in the Balkans today can hardly be called consistent, for government of Russia seeks to coordinate its actions with the Western countries, on the one hand, and to pursue its own policy concerning the settlement of the Yugoslav conflict, on the other hand. The main stages of this policy are: recognition of Slovenia's and Croatia's independence soon after EC's recognition of them, using its right of veto and

voting against the expulsion of Serbia and Montenegro from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, then joining in the United Nations' sanctions against Yugoslavia and finally recognition of Macedonia's independence. It should be stressed that Russian leadership's decisions to support the UN resolution as well as to recognize Macedonia's independence were estimated differently by various political and social groups of Russia society. The stand of Parliament towards Yugoslavia differs considerably from that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As for bilateral relations between Russia and the other Balkan states all of them are developing in their own way. For example, Russian-Turkish contacts have recently strengthened not only on a bilateral basis but also in the framework of subregional cooperation of the Black Sea countries. This Turkish initiative is considered to be useful and holds prospects for Russia.

Probably, the Russian attitudes towards certain Balkan issues will be corrected and changed. It depends on a number of internal and external factors such as Russian domestic politics, development of the situation in the Balkans and so on.

<sup>Victorovna</sup>  
Elena Eliseeva

MEMO, Russia

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For the past two and a half, almost three years, since December 1989, Romania has been going through a difficult and demanding period of economic, political and even social transition and change. Economically, from a rigid, ultracentralized planned economy, with all it implies, to a flexible, more efficient, market-oriented one. Socially, from an artificially-induced homogeneous society, in which peasants, workers and intellectuals alike were molded into the so-called "superior, new type of man", to a more healthy, varied society based on strong moral principles. Politically, from the tyranny of autocratic communist rule to a free, modern democracy.

Unfortunately however, the inner difficulties and menaces of transition are accompanied by potential threats and sources of instability from outside. One has only to look at a map of Romania and its neighbors to see that it is practically surrounded by such dangers : of a political nature (the sometimes openly antagonistic attitude of Hungary in what concerns Transylvania and the Hungarian minority living in Romania); of a military nature (civil war in Yugoslavia and in the Transnistria region of Moldova); of an ecological nature (the technologically out-dated and unsafe nuclear plant at Kozlodui, Bulgaria).

Under all these circumstances, Romania's security concerns are legitimate and fully justified. With the breakdown of the Warsaw Pact Treaty, which in spite of all its injustices and constraints still ensured a certain stability in our part of the world, Romania and the other former socialist countries now find themselves in the situation in which a solid defence structure no longer exists.

Thus, in order to protect and increase its national security, Romania's foreign policy is conceptually based on five main pillars :

(1) the national element, which includes solid military training, efficient ties between the main institutions of state (Government, President, Parliament, Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), national reconciliation and a revitalized economy.

(2) bilateral relations, by building a network of cooperation and good neighborliness ties with all its neighbors, foreseeing emergency consultations in case of need. Treaties promoting such ties have already been signed with more distant, but influential countries on the continent, such as Germany, France,



Italy, Greece, Turkey, as well as with neighboring Bulgaria, and at the present moment negotiations are under way with Russia, Moldova and Hungary.

(3) development of the CSCE process, which, by including all European states, as well as the United States and Canada, and by tackling issues in their full complexity (political, economic, military, human rights, etc.), has real chances of becoming an efficient instrument for promoting and stimulating broad cooperation between all the member states.

(4) cooperation with the main European economic, social and political institutions: with the ~~CEE~~, by beginning negotiations for association; with EFTA, through the Common Declaration for Cooperation, signed in December 1991; with the Council of Europe, by participating as an observer in the deliberations of the Parliamentary Assembly and finalizing the stages towards the acceptance of Romania as a full member; with WEU and NATO, by developing contacts, exchanges and concrete programs of cooperation (mainly of a scientific and educational nature), participating in the sessions of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and of the North Atlantic Assembly.

(5) encouraging subregional programs of cooperation in the Balkans, in the Black Sea region and along the Danube River, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE process, and with the goal of accelerating the development of participating countries and of narrowing, as soon as possible, the economic gap separating them from the other, more developed countries of Europe.

By creating a network of subregional economic cooperation programs, a certain stability is ensured in the respective region, inevitably contributing to the general stability of the continent. For now, more than ever, security no longer implies just political and military relations, but also economic power and well-being. From this point of view, subregional cooperation may be seen as a significant part of the efforts made by all the countries of Europe to create a single European space.

Each of the three distinct, but at the same time interdependent, forms of subregional economic cooperation - in the Balkans, in the Black Sea region and along the Danube River - of which Romania is an active and constructive partner, will be analyzed from the point of view of their structure, content and suggested aims.

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