

Abstracts

VAN COUFOUDAKIS

THE U.S. AND THE SEARCH FOR STABILITY IN S.E. EUROPE AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Recent developments in Southeastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean raise serious concerns about regional stability and about the long term consequences of American policy in this region.

The paper reviews how the search for regional stability determined American policy since 1947 and, especially, since the end of the Cold War. The Post-Cold War crises in the Balkans became a new source of friction in US-European relations. American interventions in problems such as those in Bosnia, Kosovo and Imia temporarily defused these problems. However, a future resolution of these problems may create a new source of regional instability. Since 11 September 2001, the “war on terrorism” became the new focus of American foreign and security policy. As in the past, American policy continues to rely on unholy alliances with unsavory regimes to attain its objectives. This is likely to lead to “blowback” situations contributing to greater regional instability.

DAVID WISNER

THE EVOLUTION OF US POLICY-MAKING TOWARD SOUTHEAST EUROPE IN THE POST-COLD WAR PERIOD

US policy toward the Balkans in the 1990's seemed at once to give a new, post-Cold War preeminence to Southeast Europe, and to maintain a sort of status quo in the manner in which policy was actually formulated. Using an analytical scheme designed by Kegley and Wittkopf, this essay seeks to understand this apparent paradox, and to elucidate the tentative points at which a new policy paradigm emerged, particularly after 1995. The paper closes with contemporary observations by policy insiders which presage both the Kosovo crisis of 1999 and the National Security Doctrine of George W. Bush.

GEORGIOS SPYROPOULOS

THE NEW "NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA"

This article discusses the three different perceptions, based on three different traditions, which shaped the American foreign policy since 1990 until nowadays, with the present administration to be adherent of the last of these three, the Jacksonian one. In this frame, US "National Security Strategy", announced in 2002, adopted the doctrine of prevention and pre-emptive action, thus allowing US to act unilaterally against whomever they consider having "aggressive" intentions. Even if Bush administration tried to present the new doctrine as the result of 11th September's events, it is more than clear that it had already been conceived by the neoconservatives almost 10 years ago. What is most disquieting, however, to the international community is the fear of what is going to be happening in the sphere of the international relations if the "pre-emptive strikes" policy of Bush's administration finally prevails.

THEODORE A. COULOUMBIS

ANTI-AMERICANISM IN GREECE: TIME TO OVERCOME IT

This paper identifies the roots of anti-Americanism in Greece by listing a number of political differences between Greeks and American administrations of the past, especially in the 1967-1974 period.

It differentiates the concept of anti-Americanism in Greece from marginal racist reactions that target the American people as opposed to specific leaders and administrations. The paper focuses on the major transformations in Greece (especially after its entry in the European Union) and concludes that today—given the convergence of values and interests—there are no longer any reasons for sustaining the memories of the past.

FOTINI BELLOU

US POLICY IN BOSNIA: FROM OBSERVATION TO LEADERSHIP
TRANSATLANTIC DISAGREEMENTS IN MANAGING THE CRISIS

The policy preferences of Washington towards the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) reflected the US stance regarding post-Cold War engagement in

civil wars. It also reflected efforts to identify and project a Euro-Atlantic cooperation model in international crisis management. Abstention from commitment to an international peacekeeping operation, with US troops on the ground in order to implement an agreed peace settlement, was the premise by which US policy towards the war in BiH was formulated from 1992 to mid 1994. As this stance gradually began to tarnish relations with its European allies, Washington shifted its policy towards a piecemeal engagement. It was becoming obvious that a risk-free US leadership in BiH was challenging Washington's status within NATO. In the face of serious European questions regarding the substance of US leadership in European security, Washington opted to lead international action (diplomatic and military) so as to end the war in BiH in the summer of 1995. This incidentally re-confirmed America's leadership position and image in the context of European security.

ARISTOTLE TZIAMPIRIS

THE IMPACT OF THE KOSOVO CONFLICT AND 9/11 ON GREEK-AMERICAN
PERCEPTIONS AND MISPERCEPTIONS

The paper will focus on the dynamic relationship between the United States and Greece in the aftermath of the Cold War. Emphasis will be placed on the analysis of US interventions in the Balkans and the ways in which they were perceived by Greece's government and people. It will be argued that despite popular notions of confrontation, there ultimately exists a productive and complementary relationship that despite differences, has the potential of promoting stability and development in South Eastern Europe.

PHAEDON J. KOZYRIS

DELAYED LEARNING FROM KOSOVO: ANY CHANCE FOR COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS
OF FACTS AND LAW?

In this piece, written in 1999 with a Postscript of 2003, the author examines whether the conditions for humanitarian intervention had been met for the NATO intervention in Kosovo. His negative conclusion is based not only on the absence of UN Security Council authorization but also on the blatant failure to exhaust all peaceful means, especially the use of unacceptable ultimatums to Yugoslavia at Rambouillet. In addition, there was excessive and disproportionate use of force and sides were taken against one of the two

communities in a conflict for which both had some share of responsibility. Further, this was not only a matter of human rights but also of the preservation of the territorial integrity and unity of the state which required a more comprehensive approach.

A review of history shows the complexity of the situation, with both sides bearing some of the blame, and emphasizes the need for impartial and compassionate international action. Instead, the Serbs were demonized and there was a cowboy-style shoot out which has produced predictably a continuing and expensive instability in an environment of lawlessness leading to the ethnic cleansing of the Kosovo Serbs. In conclusion, it is to be regretted that this ill-advised action has given a bad name to humanitarian intervention with no decent end in sight.

In the Postscript, the author further expresses his grave concern about the modern use of massive barbarous firepower in ways that cause incredible and indiscriminate suffering to civilians, and the attempts to justify it as "collateral damage", which is even ironic when carried out under the banner of humanitarian intervention or preventing the use of weapons of mass destruction.

SPYRIDON SFETAS

FYROM IN THE CONTEXT OF AMERICAN POLICY (1995-2001)

During the Yugoslav war (1991-1995) the American policy supported FYROM's territorial integrity and called upon the Tirana government to harness the Albanians in FYROM. The objective of the Americans was to avert the spill-over of the crisis from Kosovo into FYROM. But after the Dayton agreement and NATO's military intervention in Yugoslavia the Albanian Question in Kosovo entered into a new dynamic phase. The new situation had its repercussions on FYROM where the Albanians demanded the status of equal nation. With the American support they succeeded in gaining a large autonomy (the agreement of Ohrid, 2001), but their aim is the secession from FYROM. Probably the Americans want to control the Balkan region due to the importance of Corridor 8 and so this fact upgrades the position of the Albanians in the Balkans as a counterbalance to the Balkan states.

*DAVID L. PHILLIPS*COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
INDEPENDENT TASK FORCE REPORT: BALKANS 2010

David L. Phillips, formerly the deputy director of the Center for Preventive Action at the Council on Foreign relations of New York and a member of the Council's Task Force, *Balkans: 2010*, analyzes the root of conflict in the South Balkans. His presentation describes the task force's methodology, offers ideas enhancing trans-Atlantic cooperation, and suggests a phased process for addressing the question of Kosovo's political status. Phillips underscores the inevitability of Kosovo's independence through mutual agreement. He also proposes a formula for compensating Belgrade for its investment in Kosovo's development.