



ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΩΣ  
UNIVERSITY OF PIRAEUS

UNIVERSITY OF PIRAEUS  
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, BUSINESS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN STUDIES  
POSTGRADUATE PROGRAM  
AMERICAN STUDIES: Politics, Strategy & Economics

## MASTER'S THESIS

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**TITLE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT GREEK – U.S.  
RELATIONSHIP THROUGH A HISTORIC PLACEMENT OF  
PATTERNS, PERIODS AND A MONITORING OF TODAY'S  
REALITY.**

Piraeus, 30 September 2022

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## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

This paper is dedicated to my wife Elena, a real-life hero, my son Lazaros and my daughter Marianthi, the diamonds of my life.

To my father's memory, and my mother with profound respect and gratitude.

Finally, I would like thank the three-member Committee for the assistance and the valuable directions that I received. With respect to Professor Aristotle Tziampiris, Associate Professor Foteini Asderaki and Assistant Professor Ioannis Konstantopoulos.

## PREFACE

On nature a large male wolf can weigh up to 80 kg<sup>1</sup> and an Asian elephant up to 5,5 tons,<sup>2</sup> around 50 times bigger. They do not have equal needs in the amount of food they consume to survive and their movement has different consequences in other animals surrounding them. If a wolf stands still in front of an elephant probably, he will lose his life. Considering ancient Greek literature, Aesop used animals to emphasize his storytelling and capture the imagination of his audience.

Greece is a country almost the size of a small state out of the 50 that consist the United States of America, the above difference is a good starting point in order to assess and understand the relationship among the two countries. The United States of America has a global view when interacts with other countries, whereas Greece has a regional view and partially global due to globalization and new technologies.

Walter Russel Mead argues that "American Foreign Policy is as a kaleidoscope, the U.S. by breaking all the training rules won all the prizes".<sup>3</sup> For Greece then the question might be, what rules to follow when they don't exist. An overview of the past and an analysis of the present, offers a good estimation about the interstate relations and is probably the way to improve even more the bilateral relationship in the future.

The guiding principles should be that of adaptation, prudence and insightfulness.

"Circumstances rule men; men do not rule circumstances"

Herodotus c. 484 BC - c. 425 BC.

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<sup>1</sup> Heptner, V. G.; Naumov, N. P. (1998). [Mammals of the Soviet Union Vol. II Part 1a, Sirenia and Carnivora \(Sea cows; Wolves and Bears\)](#). Science Publishers, Inc. USA. ISBN 978-1-886106-81-9. (last access 28.03.2022).

<sup>2</sup> Shoulder height, body mass, and shape of proboscideans, ASIER LARRAMENDI, <https://www.app.pan.pl/archive/published/app61/app001362014.pdf> (last access 28.03.2022).

<sup>3</sup> Walter Russel Mead, *Special Providence, American foreign policy and how it changed the world*, New York: Knopf, 2001, Copyright 2002 by Taylor & Francis Group, ISBN 0-415-93536-9, p. 72.

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## **ABSTRACT**

**AIM:** This paper tries to scrutinize the relationship between Greece and the United States of America by using as a primary tool American Studies Master's program. It analyses elements that affect this relation starting by a historic overview and continues further by estimating the current level of the Greek-US relationship. It traces, studies and assesses various levels of that interaction in a contemporary context, as well as tries to monitor drivers of change that lead the way to the future. In this context, the goal is to pursuit a general view about their prospect, to deduce proposals and useful conclusions for further enhancement.

However, the thesis of this paper is that US interests and events on a global dimension will define the Greek – US relationship, as Greece due to its size has limited capabilities to lead the way. Furthermore, Greece as a European Union member state has limitations on its decisions and the transatlantic relationship is a key driver to its relation with the US. In this vein, cooperation among western democracies should be strengthened on common challenges and threats to secure today's status of the big democratic alliance, versus authoritarian pushback that poses a significant call – out in the balance of power.

The paper is divided into four chapters. It starts with an historic adumbration of the Greek – US relationship, in order to set the basis of the interaction between the two countries. The attempt is to present the most important key moments that influenced the relation between the two countries and to distinguish certain periods with specific characteristics. The second provides an overview in today's situation in the political, defence, economy and information based on the DIME (Diplomacy – Information – Military – Economy instruments of power model), as well as to create a bridge from the perspective of traditional domains to new domains. The third looks at the transatlantic alliance, what US expects and seeks from EU, from Greece and how these can be associated with Greece's vital national interests. The fourth finishes with relative conclusions, recommendations and an epilogue.

**KEYWORDS:** Greece, U.S.A., Transatlantic, history, bilateral relations, evolution.

## INTRODUCTION

This work has as a primary goal to analyse in depth the current level of the Greek – American relationship, through a consistent monitoring of the developments between the two countries, for almost a year. The lingering question is; what is the state of affairs among Greece and the United States of America today? The methodology used includes a bigger picture, a targeted study of historical context on the common maritime tradition of the two nations and the basic geopolitical theories of the Anglo-Saxon way of thinking. In this context, the effort was to develop some patterns in the way the two states engage. This work also tends to express mainly the realist theory in international relations and how it sees the world and related policies between states in the global arena, through this lens.

To that end, the paper starts with Aesop and ancient Greek literature, presenting an analogy of the U.S. as an elephant and Greece as a wolf. Greece is a country roughly the size of a small U.S. state - having in mind the above difference in size, we can assess and understand the relationship between the two countries. In this way, the effort is to emphasize the difference of the two countries in their various elements of power and their global status.

Based on the above and in line with Walter Russel Mead, where he argues that, the American Foreign Policy is as a kaleidoscope and that the U.S. by breaking all the training rules won all the prizes, the question on the table for any Greek official or policy maker is, what rules to follow when such rules don't even exist? The answer could be that, an overview of the past and an analysis of the present, offers a good estimation about the interstate relations and is probably the way to improve the bilateral relationship even more in the future. This is a statement that this thesis argues it should be used as a guiding principle together with that of adaptation, prudence and insightfulness.

The paper is divided into four chapters. It starts with an historic adumbration of the Greek – U.S. relationship, in order to set the basis of the interaction between the two countries. The attempt is to present the most important key moments that influenced the relation between the two countries and to distinguish certain periods with specific characteristics.

In the first chapter, the starting point is the birth of the new Greek state and the position of the U.S. during that period concerning the Greek struggle for independence. Moving further, it presents the common maritime tradition of the two nations to structure a framework in order to analyse this relationship, using theories and beliefs of famous statemen, professors etc., like the seaman's point of view from Sir Halford John Mackinder, Sir Walter Raleigh, Dr. Georgios-Stylianos Prevelakis, Nicholas J. Spykman the American political scientist, Robert D. Kaplan etc., to include a broad worldview as a big picture and the U.S. side.

In the above context, a thorough research of the Greek Naval Review archive has been attempted in order to construct an approach coming from the Greek side, where one can distinguish two main periods in the Greek – U.S. relationship from the birth of the modern nation until the 60's. In the first period up to 1941, Greece sees an emerging maritime superpower from the other side of the Atlantic on a global level but it does not yet play any significant role in Greece's national interests. The second period starts after WWII and closes with the direct involvement of the U.S.

in Greece during the Civil War which seals Greece's position in the West and is followed by the entrance of Greece in NATO as a full member state shortly thereafter. Greece realizes that the U.S. has become a global superpower and positions itself on the same side as an ally in order to secure its vital interests. A new world is emerging, with two competing powers and philosophies, the period of Cold War and Greece having chosen where it stands.

The third period was quite problematic in the relation of the two nations. It was obvious that key interests of the U.S. were not aligned with the Greek ones and miscalculations from both sides had significant negative results, especially for Greece. The first chapter closes the historic study of the Greek – U.S. relations, as an effort to distinguish the relationship between the two countries in certain periods through time, in order to offer a more systematic assessment in the context of the big picture in international relations and by focusing in major events that influenced the interstate affairs.

The next chapter is focused on the current times and is distinguished as the fourth period of the Greek-U.S. relations. The decisive American leadership during the 2008 financial crisis that quickly expanded in the Eurozone, resulting in the Greek debt crisis, is chosen as a point that signalled the gradual improvement of the bilateral relations. At this point it has to be mentioned that regarding the relations between Greece and the United States of America one can find quite enough studies about certain periods. This thesis aims in creating a bigger picture of the Greek-U.S. relations in order to distinguish patterns and to identify new ones, in an area that has been understudied through the years.

Moving further, the second chapter provides a detailed analysis of the current level of relations between Greece and the U.S. The focus is on the basic elements of power, starting from a general policy overview, moving on to the defence and economic field, while also including an innovative blending of traditional and new domains. This approach was made possible through a consistent monitoring of officials' social media accounts on both sides, such as the Prime Minister of Greece but also from state sponsored public diplomacy materials, such as the official U.S. Embassy in Athens website.

The third chapter investigates the transatlantic alliance, what the U.S. expects and seeks from the E.U. and how the transatlantic partnership could deepen to address shared challenges. A part of this bigger scenery, includes also Greece with certain indicators that point an adjustment of U.S. priorities in the Eastern Mediterranean, where they place Greece in a central role. On the other side, Greece tries to secure its vital national interests by fitting them in this context and while in democracies different politicians in power at different points of time have different opinions, the key would be lock in a way common values and interests. In fact, as the U.S. wants to keep the global system stable as it works on its favor the role of Greece on that of a regional delegate.

The fourth chapter finishes with relative conclusions, recommendations and an epilogue. At first the two sides should invest on the promotion of existing structures but, in parallel an important factor is to take initiatives. For example, in a difficult case or condition, a U.S. policy maker will ask for alternatives or out of the box thinking and his Greek counterpart should be ready to offer them. Nothing should be taken for granted, freedom, prosperity and security demand continuous effort.



## CHAPTER 1: A historic view of the Greek – U.S. relations

### 1.1 The birth of the new Greek state

Starting with the key historical event for Greece in the last centuries, 200 years since the Greek Revolution of 1821 and the War of Independence, Philhellenism appeared as a positive breeze in America as well as in Europe. Especially, four Americans — Daniel Webster<sup>4</sup>, Samuel Gridley Howe<sup>5</sup>, Edward Everett<sup>6</sup>, and John Henry Hill<sup>7</sup> — became a living example of American Philhellenism by allocating their commitment in helping the Greeks gain their independence.

As the former US Ambassador to Greece Geoffrey Pyatt noted, in the *Walking with the Philhellenes* initiative: “some left their homes in the United States to fight in Greece, literally putting their lives on the line. Others became vocal supporters of the Greek revolution in America, raising money and in-kind support in what became one of the first real foreign policy debates in the young country of the US. And others came to Greece to help the new state develop its educational and cultural institutions. They all believed deeply that they had a civic duty to help Greece win and consolidate its independence”.<sup>8</sup>

President Monroe in his annual message stated (for the Greeks): “that the reappearance of those people in their original character, contending in favour of their liberties, should produce that excitement and sympathy in their favour which have been so signally displayed throughout the United States”<sup>9</sup> and in his famous message of December 2, 1823, confined itself in so far as Greece was concerned to a renewed expression of sympathy for the Greek cause and a prophecy that the Greek people would win emancipation from Ottoman rule.<sup>10</sup> Philhellenism was an emotion, intellectual men in America had as a point of reference ancient Greece while, they viewed in the Greek people fighting for their independence, a line that connected them with the myths, the values and the traditions of Leonidas, Miltiades and Alexander the Great. Therefore, they believed that the modern Greeks should be provided with strong support coming from the so-called western states, as an obligation due to the fact that western civilization held its origins in ancient Greek arts, philosophy and literature.

On 3 February 1830, with the signing of the London Protocol the Greek independence was recognized by Great Britain, France, and Russia. The United States decided to recognize the independence of Greece on November 7, 1837 and authorized the American minister at London

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<sup>4</sup> Discussion of the Greek question, in the House of Representatives. by Daniel Webster; Joel Roberts Poinsett; John Randolph; George Cary; Silas Wood; Ichabod Bartlett; Henry Clay; Timothy Fuller; United States. Congress House. [Discussion of the Greek question, in the House of Representatives](#). (last access 03.04.2022).

<sup>5</sup>The American Philhellenism and Philhellene Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, <https://www.eefshp.org/en/the-american-philhellenism-and-philhellene-dr-samuel-gridley-howe/> (last access 03.04.2022).

<sup>6</sup> North American Review, XVII. 392-422. The occasion of the article was a review by Everett of a new edition of *The Ethics of Aristotle*, revised and edited by A. Koraes.

<sup>7</sup> Hill girls' School, <http://www.hasi.gr/institutions/hill> (last access 03.04.2022).

<sup>8</sup> Ambassador Pyatt's Remarks at Unveiling of “Walking with the Philhellenes”, Geoffrey Ross Pyatt, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/ambassador-pyatts-remarks-at-unveiling-of-walking-with-the-philhellenes/> (last access 03.04.2022).

<sup>9</sup> Annual message of President Monroe, Dec. 3, 1822. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, II. 193.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Mead Earle, *American Interest in the Greek Cause, 1821-1827*, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Oct., 1927), pp. 44-63; Oxford University Press on behalf of the American Historical Association, Richardson, op. cit., II. 217.

to initiate official interaction with the country.<sup>11</sup> Of course in that period the United States was a new country without significant power in global terms to influence the Greek effort, but the most memorable event was, how closely connected the US society felt with the Greek struggle driven by shared ideals and values.

## 1.2 Maritime tradition and theorists

Greece as well as the United States of America are traditionally maritime powers, according to Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618), “for whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself”.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, as Dr. Georgios-Stylianos Prevelakis believes, the 21<sup>st</sup> century will belong to the sea. Having by far concluded the exploration and the capitalization of the continental resources, mankind turns now to the sea and the oceans.<sup>13</sup> Maritime power provides a common point of reference for the two countries, whereas Greece has a maritime tradition that goes back thousand years in the past, the United States is today the strongest sea power in the world and Greece as an important paradox, comparing to its size, controls a Greek-owned fleet which is the world’s largest cross-trading fleet.

As Sir Halford John Mackinder (1861-1947) expressed the seaman’s point of view: “the man-power of the sea must be nourished by land-fertility somewhere, and other things being equal—such as security of the home and energy of the people—that power will control the sea which is based on the greater resources”.<sup>14</sup> He continues with the seamen of Europe, the fact that they had greater mobility, allowed them to gain more power comparing to the land orientated people coming from Africa and Asia, for almost four centuries. Mackinder as an English geographer, academic and politician was influenced by US President Wilson and the concept to create a world safe for democracies, he introduced the theory of the World-Island and the Heartland, he believed that the new born state of America and the older in historical terms England had a remarkable parallelism and presented the Angle-Saxon way of thinking after WWI.<sup>15</sup>

He points out the saying of British Statesmen when they were in conversation with the defeated enemy: “who rules East Europe commands the Heartland, who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island and who rules the World-Island commands the World”.<sup>16</sup> As for his thinking about Greece he believes that: “the possession of it by a great Heartland power would probably carry with it the control of the World-Island, so the Macedonian history would be re-enacted and in this way he places a point of view that relates today’s thought of the US about the role of Greece in geopolitics”.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> A Guide to the United States’ History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Greece, <https://history.state.gov/countries/greece> (last access 03.04.2022).

<sup>12</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, “A Discourse of the Invention of Ships, Anchors, Compass, &c.,” *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt.*, vol. 8, p. 325 (1829, reprinted 1965).

<sup>13</sup> Georgios-Stylianos Prevelakis, *Wooden walls, Geopolitics of Greek networks*, Economica Publishing, Athens 2020, p. 244.

<sup>14</sup> H. J. Mackinder, M.P., *Democratic Ideals and Reality, A study in the politics of reconstruction*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1919, p. 45.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p.85.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p.186.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* p.204.

Nicholas J. Spykman (1893-1943) the American political scientist that contributed to the foundation of classical realism in American foreign policy and introduced the theory of containment, in some way updates Mackinder and argues that: "geography is everything, the United States was a great power less because of its ideas than because, with direct access to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, it was the most favoured state in the world from the point of view of location".<sup>18</sup> America's great power emerged because the United States ruled in the American continent and the western half part of the world, with, as Spykman says: "power to spare for activities outside the New World, so that it can affect the balance of power in the Eastern Hemisphere".<sup>19</sup>

He introduced the marginal areas of Eurasia as Rimland, the key to world power, not Mackinder's Heartland, because in addition to dominating Eurasia, the maritime-oriented Rimland was central to contact with the outside world.<sup>20</sup> According Robert D. Kaplan, both men are really talking about the same thing; "for Mackinder says that he who controls the Heartland is in the best position to capture the Rimland, which then provides through sea power the key to world domination and continues that Spykman, with his emphasis on the Rimland has the slight advantage here. Given the present state of the world, with Rimland upheavals in the Greater Middle East and tensions throughout South Asia, as well as the Korean Peninsula, Spykman with his concentration on the Rimland and his more complexified view of geopolitics seems almost contemporary".<sup>21</sup>

After the WWII, the struggle for Rimland continued into the Cold War, the US policy of "containment" under the proposal of the diplomat George Kennan in his Long Telegram<sup>22</sup> had elements from both Spykman and Mackinder. In this vein Henry Kissinger, practitioner of Realpolitik and with a prominent role in the US foreign policy between (1969-1977) writes, "limited war represents the only means for preventing the Soviet bloc, at an acceptable cost, from overrunning the peripheral areas of Eurasia," especially since, and continues, "the Soviet Union as the Heartland power possesses interior lines of communications that allow it to assemble a considerable force, at any given point along its periphery".<sup>23</sup>

It has to be mentioned that all critical battlegrounds during the Cold War where on the periphery of Soviet and Chinese communism like for example the Korean war, the war on Vietnam or the Russian invasion in Afghanistan. Robert D. Kaplan comments on that by saying: "This was Mackinder's world, but with the sensibility of Spykman".<sup>24</sup> The role of Greece

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<sup>18</sup> Nicholas J. Spykman, "Geography and Foreign Policy I," *The American Political Science Review*, Los Angeles, February 1938; Francis P. Sempa, "The Geopolitical Realism of Nicholas Spykman," introduction to Nicholas J. Spykman, *America's Strategy in World Politics* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> Spykman, *America's Strategy in World Politics*, p. 89.

<sup>20</sup> Nicholas John Spykman, *The Geography of the Peace*, edited by Helen R. Nicholl (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1944), p. 43.

<sup>21</sup> Robert D. Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*, Random House, New York, Chapter VI, p. 67-68.

<sup>22</sup> "George Kennan's 'Long Telegram'," February 22, 1946, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, National Archives and Records Administration, Department of State Records (Record Group 59), Central Decimal File, 1945-1949, 861.00/2-2246; reprinted in US Department of State, ed., *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, Volume VI, Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1969), 696-709. <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116178>.

<sup>23</sup> Henry A. Kissinger, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (New York: Doubleday, 1957), pp. 125, 127.

<sup>24</sup> Robert D. Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*, Random House, New York, Chapter VI, p. 69.

according to the above theoretical framework works as a key gateway to serve the geopolitical interests of the American foreign policy planning. As a part of Rimland connecting the imaginary line from the Baltics, to Black Sea, the Aegean Sea and the eastern Mediterranean towards Middle East, Greece played a vital role in the U.S. policy of containment after WWII and the period of Cold War, but also until nowadays as the ongoing war in Ukraine has proved. Particularly today once more, after the Russian invasion in Ukraine, the role of Greece seems vital in securing NATO reinforcement and military mobility towards Eastern Europe throughout the port of Alexandroupolis, as Greece has secured in many ways the logistics support and the safety of the eastern flank of NATO.

### **1.3 United States through the lens of Greek Naval Review**

In an effort to lighten through a different angle the Greek – US relationship, due to common maritime heritage and interpretation, the Greek Naval Review archive is able to provide a helpful approach. The Greek Naval Review was born in 1917 and till 1941, a three-month edition was published periodically when it stopped for a short period because of the events of WWII, after the end of the war the publication started again, from 1945 until today. It should be mentioned though, that the Naval Review is mainly a naval operational and tactical orientated publication, but it includes some articles with interesting policy information and especially it presents aspects about the US from the Greek side.<sup>25</sup>

From 1917 till 1927, an interesting article presents the results of the Great Power Maritime Conference held in Washington 1921-22, about limitation of armament and Pacific and Far Eastern questions. It results with the finalization of the absolute supremacy on the seas by the British Empire and a settlement among big powers of that period (U.S.A., Britain, France, Japan, Italy).<sup>26</sup> In 1928, available data are being studied relative to the massive expenditures from the side of the US to their naval development strategy,<sup>27</sup> obviously a maritime giant is growing.

Moving further, in the annual report of the Ministry of the US Navy 1928, the tendency to increase main battle ships and personnel becomes a reality from the US side.<sup>28</sup> Interesting also is the reference to the statement of the US President Warren G. Harding in the opening of Washington Conference claiming: “We are not afraid of something, we do not serve any malign goal, we do not suspect any enemy, we do not pursue any territorial claim, we are happy with what we own, we do not oversee anything that belongs to others”.<sup>29</sup>

In this first period, up to 1941 when the publications stopped due to war, other information included armaments and tactics, such as the construction of the Saratoga air-craft carrier, submarine tactics, etc. The main deduction from that period is, that Greece sees an emerging maritime superpower from the other side of the Atlantic in a global level but, it is upfront that it does not play any significant role in Greece’s national interests.

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<sup>25</sup> Greek Naval History Service, <http://www.yin.mil.gr/>

<sup>26</sup> Greek Naval Review Jul-Aug 1926, Vol. XIII, Issue 68, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>27</sup> Greek Naval Review May-Jun 1928, Vol. XV, Issue 71, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>28</sup> Greek Naval Review May-Jun 1929, Vol. XVII, Issue 84, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>29</sup> Greek Naval Review May-Jun 1930, Vol. XVIII, Issue 93, Greek Naval History Service.

The second period starts after WWII, the general understanding is that a shift has been made as far as it concerns the content of the Greek Naval Review in regards US related articles. On 1946, there is an article about atomic bomb testing from the US magazine Collier's,<sup>30</sup> another one about the Operation in Okinawa from the US Naval Institute Proceedings,<sup>31</sup> while on 1949 there is a reference about the role of the US navy in WWII<sup>32</sup> and on 1950 the formation of the armed forces of the Atlantic Alliance was discussed as an answer against Russian expansionism, whereas the participation of Greece in this alliance as the author comments is of great importance.<sup>33</sup>

The following year includes the speech of the Secretary of Defence of the US Louis Jonson, he emphasizes to cooperation and the power that derives from it, moreover, he points out that the US prevents war, without waiting behind the sea to protect the free people of the world.<sup>34</sup> In the same context on 1953, an article analyses the attack on Pearl Harbour<sup>35</sup> and on 1954, a speech by Admiral Robert B. Carney about the creation of the US strategy on Chicago, is hosted in translation.<sup>36</sup>

The continuance of the research, drives to the most influential volume in the Greek Naval Review as far as it concerns the Greek-US relations as below, in 1955 at the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, the award-winning study from Commander Ralph E. Williams Jr (SC) U.S. Navy was published in March with the title "The moment of truth for America". It was translated in the Greek Naval Review of 1955 by Commander A. Chrisanthis and it described the security environment of that era.<sup>37</sup> As a breaking fact of that period was the ability of the Americans and the Soviets to totally destroy each other. Commander Ralph E. Williams claimed that the decisive indicator was not military dominance but just the sufficiency of nuclear weapons.<sup>38</sup>

In this context, Senator Knowland claimed: "Would the United States risk a full-scale war for Iran, Sweden, India, Finland, etc. The majority of the people living in New York has never seen a person coming from Iran, but they have an idea about what a bomb of ten mega-tons could result in the center of the town. So, having that in mind the British and the French might believe that co-existence is a better condition than non-existence, a reality that would lead them request from the U.S. forces, to abandon their territory". Especially, a small nation like Greece without nuclear weapons cannot be satisfied, if there is a possibility to be caught in the middle of a confrontation between two giants, because its existence would be in danger and that situation is creating a trend to stay neutral putting in danger the western coalition.<sup>39</sup>

As far as it concerns the democratic system of governance, Commander Ralph E. Williams points out that "the strong belief is that in the international arena of ideas, democracy will displace totalitarianism, free society with all of its consequences, divisions and obvious indecisiveness is able to flourish in the jungle of this period and win in the long-lasting battle

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<sup>30</sup> Greek Naval Review May-Jun 1946, Vol. XLIII, Issue 196, p.386, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>31</sup> Greek Naval Review Mar-Apr 1946, Vol. XLIII, Issue 195, p.227, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>32</sup> Greek Naval Review Jul-Aug 1949, Vol. XLX, Issue 215, p.21, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>33</sup> Greek Naval Review Jul-Aug 1950, Vol. LII, Issue 221, p.3-23, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>34</sup> Greek Naval Review Jan-Feb 1951, Vol. LIII, Issue 224, p.87, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>35</sup> Greek Naval Review Mar-Apr 1953, Vol. LVII, Issue 237, p.257, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>36</sup> Greek Naval Review Nov-Dec 1954, Vol. LX, Issue 247, p.305, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>37</sup> Greek Naval Review May-Jun 1955, Vol. LXI, Issue 250, Greek Naval History Service.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p.333.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.346.

through the freedom of thought”, an opinion that we acknowledge today is a proven reality. In his conclusion, the message from the side of America is that of hope for humankind, the real battle will be the fight of good against bad, philanthropy against hate and that freedom is more resilient than slavery.<sup>40</sup>

Additionally, in the Greek Naval Review of 1955 and in another article, Lieutenant Commander I. Passas provides a view of the United States in the world from a Greek perspective. He starts by putting a question on debate and asks: “What would be the lack of today’s world, if America did not play a leading role?”. In his effort to answer he analyses the concept of the conflict between two different worlds, the Western and the Eastern. Taking as granted the decline of European powers, he claims that without America the entire system of civilization would collapse and the humankind could return to a period of slavery, darkness and terror.<sup>41</sup>

Three key incidents of that period marked a new trend for decisive actions of the western world to increase its power: The response to Berlin blockage, the victory of Greece against the communists and the victory of the United Nations in Korea. The first step of actions by the United States was the “Truman Doctrine”, an action that was able put barriers to the unsaturated enlargement policy of the communist coalition. It was much more than military and economic support, a firm American strategy to help free nations against minorities military aggression and external pressure. The Greek example proved to every nation that moral power, faith and free spirit can resist to brutality and violence.<sup>42</sup>

During the three years of the Truman Doctrine development and after that, with the “Marshall Plan” that followed the United States provided almost 2 billion US dollars, to secure and safeguard the independence of Greece, and at the same time freedom worldwide. Never again in human history, a nation came with idealism and such altruism to enforce other nations. The program of the “Fourth Point” followed, with the statement by President Truman as follows: “Democracy maintains that government is established for the benefit of the individual, and is charged with the responsibility of protecting the rights of the individual and his freedom in the exercise of his abilities. Communism maintains that social wrongs can be corrected only by violence. Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change. Communism holds that the world is so deeply divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable. Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace.....Our efforts have brought new hope to all mankind. We have beaten back despair and defeatism. We have saved a number of countries from losing their liberty. Hundreds of millions of people all over the world now agree with us, that we need not have war--that we can have peace. The initiative is ours.... Events have brought our American democracy to new influence and new responsibilities. They will test our courage, our devotion to duty, and our concept of liberty. But I say to all men, what we have achieved in liberty, we will surpass in greater liberty. Steadfast in our faith in the Almighty, we will advance toward a world where man's freedom is secure. To that end we will devote our strength, our resources, and our

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.354.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p.369.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.373.



firmness of resolve. With God's help, the future of mankind will be assured in a world of justice, harmony, and peace".<sup>43</sup>

The above context laid the foundation for the birth of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization),<sup>44</sup> the free nations of the West believed that a collective defense system would be able to effectively confront the communist expansion. NATO in which Greece is a full member since 1951, has been the basis of security and safety of the West, and the United States is the soul of this political organization, the source from which the alliance drew its material and moral force. It has to be admitted that the United States have been not only the main contributor of NATO, but also, they adopted the principles of the alliance in their own national foreign policy transforming the goal of NATO to national ones.<sup>45</sup>

The American influence is obvious in the political, economic and military level since 1955. But the so called "Big Democracy" extends its influence also in the way of living, of thinking and acting. In an effort to define its characteristics Lieutenant Commander I. Passas calls the American spirit as the spirit of the free person, freedom far beyond policy matters that cross over in the fields of society, ethics, spirit and religion.<sup>46</sup> The dominant role of the United States is a rare case in historic terms. This superpower did not achieve supremacy through violence and the use of force, the effect that exercises to other countries comes from the benefits it offered to them, from its wealth, from the energy of its people and its brilliant leaders.

The journey in the Greek Naval Review archive, closes this second period with the direct involvement of the US in Greece, the confirmation that Greece belongs to the West and with the entrance of Greece in NATO as a full member state. It should be noted that the tendency in the Greek Naval Review volumes from that period and beyond, shows an increase in US related articles especially in the operational and tactical field. As a key deduction, Greece realizes that the US has become a global superpower and positions itself in the same side as an ally, to secure its vital interests. A new world is emerging, with two competing powers and philosophies, the period of Cold War and Greece, had chosen were it stands.

#### **1.4 The evolution of the bilateral relationship**

Even though Greece, made critical policy steps in the international arena with the participation in NATO<sup>47</sup> and later by coming closer to Europe with the agreement between Greece and the European Economic Community,<sup>48</sup> the internal scene realized various challenges with the Greek Civil War wounds being obvious in many cases. In the political atmosphere for example, the left political party Unified Democratic Left [EDA/Ενωμένη Δημοκρατική Αριστερά], gained noteworthy power,<sup>49</sup> while King Konstantinos II and Premier Georgios Papandreou<sup>50</sup> opposed

<sup>43</sup> Inaugural Address of Harry S. Truman, Thursday, January 20, 1949, [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/truman.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/truman.asp) (last access 11.02.2022).

<sup>44</sup> Why was NATO founded?, <https://www.nato.int/wearenato/why-was-nato-founded.html> (last access 11.02.2022).

<sup>45</sup> Greek Naval Review May-Jun 1955, Vol. LXI, Issue 250, Greek Naval History Service, p.385.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p.388.

<sup>47</sup> Chourchoulis, D., & Kourkouvelas, L. (2016). Greek perceptions of NATO during the Cold War. In E. Hatzivassiliou & D. Triantaphyllou (Eds.), NATO's first enlargement: A reassessment (pp. 31–48). London: Routledge.

<sup>48</sup> Lavdas, A. K. (1997). The Europeanization of Greece: Interest politics and the crises of integration. London: Macmillan.

<sup>49</sup> In the general elections of 1958 EDA moved up to the second position of the Greek political scale by obtaining 939,902 votes (24% of the Greek electorate) under tremendous pressure from the deep Greek state.

each other over the control of the army. Washington from its side seemed not interested to be involved in the Greek political life, it remained focused in the economic cooperation and was monitoring the developments inside the Greek political system.<sup>51</sup>

However, the United States of America was willing to intervene to safeguard the unity of NATO. During 1955, the Greek-Cypriot majority of Cyprus started the “Enosis” struggle, demanding from Britain to liberate the island from its colonial status and had as an aim the unification with Greece. London from its side was unwilling to acquiesce to any development that would affect its strategic and defense interests, particularly in the Middle East, an area of great importance to the maintenance of British power. A basic point in the British plans was Cyprus as an operational and logistics hub for the British air presence in the wider region or as a center for the interception of information in the underbelly of the Soviet bloc. This policy was against the long-standing demand expressed by the majority of Greek Cypriots, as early as 1878, for the end of colonialism in the island.<sup>52</sup> The result was the beginning of the EOKA cause, starting from April 1<sup>st</sup> 1955 till 1959, an anti-colonial struggle that combined internal policy collision, but also clashes between the two major ethnicities of Cyprus, the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot. This tensivity was fuelled up also even more, with the interventions by Britain, Turkey and Greece, each of them trying to promote their interests as much as possible.<sup>53</sup>

The Cyprus case caused a degradation in Greek-Turkish, Greek-British relations and marked roughly a period that gradually anti-Americanism started to appear in the Greek society. The negative feelings were fueled up also by many theories that supported a U.S. pivotal role the military junta of 1967, a tragic period for Greece.<sup>54</sup> Particularly, it has to be mentioned that when Denmark tried to criticize the lack of democracy in Greece inside NATO, the U.S. followed the basic rule in international relations which states that, for a military organization it was more important to weigh strategic interests against moral principles. This was a reality for the stronger members of the North Atlantic Treaty, primarily the US, and was to a large extent to determine NATO's attitude towards the colonel regime. The alliance held an opinion that, regardless of the developments at home, Greece remained a useful ally in a highly sensitive region.<sup>55</sup>

Especially, about the period before the implementation of the coup d'état in Greece, the American side was working against Andreas Papandreou in order to promote the candidacy of another political leader closer to its interests. But any action that the U.S. undertook in order to achieve its foreign policy goals, does not mean and it cannot support any theory of involvement

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<sup>50</sup> Georgios Papandreou was an important political figure of the twentieth-century in Greece. He served three times as the Prime Minister of Greece [1944–1945, 1963; 1964–1965]. He founded the Center Union [Enosis Kentrou] political party and he held the nickname the “Greek Oldman of Democracy. He was born in 1888 and died in 1968, while his farewell religious ceremony worked as a triggering event of the anti-junta struggle in Greece.

<sup>51</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas, *US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Power Politics and Ideology Under the Sun*, Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020, 1st ed. 2020 Edition, p.78.

<sup>52</sup> (Ο αγώνας της EOKA, 1955-1959 in Greek), Andreas Karyos, <https://www.kathimerini.gr/world/751757/o-agonas-tis-eoka-1955-1959/> (last access 22.09.2022).

<sup>53</sup> Andrew Novo, *The EOKA Cause, Nationalism and the Failure of Cypriot Enosis*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition 2020.

<sup>54</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas, *US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Power Politics and Ideology Under the Sun*, Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020, 1st ed. 2020 Edition, p.80.

<sup>55</sup> (Η ελληνική χούντα και το διεθνές σύστημα in Greek), Antonis Klapsis,, <https://www.kathimerini.gr/society/561824482/i-elliniki-choynta-kai-to-diethnes-systima/> (last access 22.09.2022).



from the U.S. side in favour of the military officers that violated democracy in Greece. Specifically, John M. Maury (CIA agent in Greece) underlined «...some embassy staffers suggested the possibility of a covert CIA operation to encourage the candidacy of moderate pro-Western elements to strengthen the anti-Papandreou forces at the polls. The initial reaction of American ambassador Phillips Talbot to the proposal was ambivalent. For a deep believer in both the evils of military dictatorship and the sinfulness of CIA covert operations, it was not any easy choice. However, as tensions mounted and rumours multiplied senior members of the “country team” met in January, 1967, to examine the problem and concluded that a Papandreou victory would seriously damage vital U.S. interests in the eastern Mediterranean, weaken NATO’s southern flank and seriously destabilize Greek-Turkish relations, then strained by the Cyprus situation. These conclusions were reported to the ambassador who, after some prodding by members of his staff, agreed to recommend to Washington a modest covert program to support moderate candidates in a few “swing” districts. In late February, National Security Council representatives in Washington considered but ultimately disapproved these proposals. The argument was that the United States was already heavily committed in Southeast Asia and that the time had come for the Greeks to take care of themselves».<sup>56</sup>

Moreover, Louis Klarevas argues about the relations between leading members of the Greek junta and the U.S.: «...all of the junta’s leadership had known ties to the American security community. The argument, however, that familiarity with someone makes you responsible for their actions is about as convincing as the argument that college professors are guilty for their students’ crimes. The implication is that, because some American representatives had professional connections to the junta leaders, the United States must have had a role in staging the coup; guilt by association».<sup>57</sup> The American side probably was surprised on April 21, 1967, when it received the information about the political developments in Greece and there is no clue that it orchestrated that authoritarian progress. According Philips Talbot, the head of the U.S. diplomacy in Greece, its mission had limited knowledge regarding the military establishment that appeared loyal to their leadership, the majority of the government members were held in custody, it tried to convince the junta leadership not to proceed in any atrocities and finally, it estimated that no hostilities were taking place in the other major cities of Greece.<sup>58</sup>

Even though, the American side is responsible for cold realism and open-door policy regarding its positioning towards the military junta in Greece, one should keep in mind the big picture of that period rooted in the thinking of the U.S. foreign policy establishment, and this was the Cold War era antagonisms. Unfortunately, populism in Greece fuelled up negative feelings in the society, while the Turkish invasion, twice within few weeks during summer 1974 in Cyprus,

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<sup>56</sup> Maury, M. J. (May 1, 1977). The Greek Coup: A case of CIA Intervention? No, says our man in Athens. The Washington Post. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1977/05/01/the-greek-coup-a-case-of-cia-intervention-no-says-our-man-in-athens/47abdd1e-a843-4f43-8057-ac26125be76d/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.60c5165e6cdb](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1977/05/01/the-greek-coup-a-case-of-cia-intervention-no-says-our-man-in-athens/47abdd1e-a843-4f43-8057-ac26125be76d/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.60c5165e6cdb)

<sup>57</sup> Klarevas, L. (2004). Were the Eagle and the Phoenix birds of a Feather? The United States and the Greek Coup of 1967. Hellenic Observatory – European Institute. Discussion paper no. 15. London: London School of Economics and Politics. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/HellenicObservatory/Assets/Documents/Publications/Past-Discussion-Papers/DiscussionPaper15.pdf>

<sup>58</sup> Foreign Relations of the United States. (2000). 1964–1968, vol. XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Washington: United States Government Printing Office (a) <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d200>; (b) <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d273>; (c) <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d276>; (d) <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v16/d300>.

detoxicated the image of the U.S. even more.<sup>59</sup> Turkey since that period and until today occupies the northern part of Cyprus,<sup>60</sup> while lately has started to support two states and two different nations solution, as the only peaceful way on the island of Cyprus for a permanent settlement. That means to recognize the pseudo state established by Turkey in 1983, that no other country accepts and has been condemned by UN Security Council resolutions 541 and 550.<sup>61</sup>

The U.S. for its own reasons did not intervene, partly because it wanted to undermine the political authority of Archbishop Makarios for his policy choices<sup>62</sup> and mainly because Greece hesitated to intervene dynamically in the unjustified invasion coming from Turkey in Cyprus. One could claim of course, that Greece was in a very weak position because in that period it had to deal with major internal problems, coming from the period of the dictatorship and moving towards democracy.<sup>63</sup> For that reason, the U.S. did not have to try and settle down a serious conflict between two NATO members, Greece and Turkey, while in parallel secured its positioning in the critical area of the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>64</sup>

On the other hand, as Michael Rubin (Senior Fellow, AEI) points out, in this, " Turkey had a friend in Kissinger. Kissinger saw an opportunity to appease Turkey. There is no American reason why the Turks should not have one-third of Cyprus, Kissinger counselled President Gerald Ford, who had assumed the presidency just days before.<sup>65</sup> The Turkish tactics are right — grab what they want and then negotiate on the basis of possession, he added. Kissinger privately greenlighted the land grab in conversations with Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit."<sup>66</sup>

He continues by saying "Turkey, after all, would not defect to the Soviet sphere if Washington vetoed the occupation, nor was the U.S. powerless: In 1956, President Dwight Eisenhower stood up to Britain and France over their attack on Egypt over the Suez Canal nationalization. The conflict strained NATO, but the alliance both survived and became stronger for a definitive end to the conflict. In today's reality the problem is not simply Erdogan but rather that Kissinger's moves signaled to the broader Turkish establishment that aggression works. Kissinger flattered the Turkish notion that size matters. No matter what their provocation, Turkish leaders now believe that Washington will defer to their size and throw any smaller country under the bus. Not only does the northern part of Cyprus therefore remain Europe's last occupied territory, but Erdogan now believes force might win him possession of Greece's Aegean Islands. Kissinger was wrong, and it will take crippling sanctions on Turkey, an end to the Cyprus military

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<sup>59</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas, *US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Power Politics and Ideology Under the Sun*, Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020, 1st ed. 2020 Edition, p.88.

<sup>60</sup> Fouskas, V. (2001). Reflections on the Cyprus issue and the Turkish invasions of 1974. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 12(3), 98–127.

<sup>61</sup> *Foreign Relations of the United States*. (2000). 1964–1968, vol. XVI, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, [https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un\\_documents\\_type/security-council-resolutions/page/4?ctype=Cyprus&cbtype=cyprus#038:cbtype=cyprus](https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un_documents_type/security-council-resolutions/page/4?ctype=Cyprus&cbtype=cyprus#038:cbtype=cyprus) (last access 28.09.2022).

<sup>62</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas, *US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Power Politics and Ideology Under the Sun*, Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020, 1st ed. 2020 Edition, p.89.

<sup>63</sup> Kassimeris, C. (2008). Greek response to the Cyprus invasion. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 19(2), 256–273.

<sup>64</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas, *US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Power Politics and Ideology Under the Sun*, Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020, 1st ed. 2020 Edition, p.89.

<sup>65</sup> White House 1974 Cyprus Meeting: Kissinger Backed Turkey Over Greece, TNH Staff, <https://www.thenationalherald.com/white-house-1974-cyprus-meeting-kissinger-backed-turkey-over-greece/> (last access 23.09.2022).

<sup>66</sup> Scowcroft West Wing Office Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library. <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0332/033200204.pdf> (last access 23.09.2022).

embargo, and further U.S. deployments in the Eastern Mediterranean to right historic wrongs and deter new conflict. In the meantime, Kissinger should apologize to Greece and Cyprus. There would be no better way to signal to Turkey that its age of imperialism is over.”<sup>67</sup>

This tragic period for Greece and Cyprus, the two Hellenic states, closes with the collapse of the military junta and leaves an open wound in the relation between Greece and the United States of America. The information coming from Scowcroft West Wing Office Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library are characteristic, as they documented the anti-American sentiment that had been widespread in Greece and the belief that the U.S. abandoned Greece in its hour of need and tilted toward the Turks. In addition, Greece’s withdrawal from the military aspects of NATO was the first significant official manifestation of this anti-Americanism while a Greek official referred it as an “indirect slap” at the allies and especially the United States. Finally, it should be mentioned that the decision was well received by the Greek people and the military.<sup>68</sup>

Another important issue that signalled anti-Americanism among the Greek society and caused serious problems between the two countries, was the appearance of a terrorist group with origins coming from the left political spectrum, the 17 of November.<sup>69</sup> The 17 of November was responsible for the assassination of Richard Welch, the CIA station chief in Athens on the 23 December 1975, as it openly claimed to have committed that criminal action through a letter in Greek newspapers after one day. In parallel, the terrorist group accused the U.S., that cynically intervened in other countries to safeguard its interests, whereas the CIA and the American imperialism caused harm to Greece.<sup>70</sup> This type of terrorism poisoned the Greek-U.S. relations for almost 30 years.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century has as landmark the historical rise of the United States to the status of a great power and after Cold War, to the sole superpower, or else the “Unipolar Moment”.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, the end of the Cold War did not make the Greek-Turkish better, but step by step even worse. For that reason, the U.S. came again as a firefighter in the Imia Crisis in order not to let the clash get out of control. The Imia complex is comprised by two rocky islets the Small one and the Big. During a naval incident Turkey questioned the Greek sovereignty over the Imia islets and a series of events brought the two countries in the prospect of war. The U.S. tried to deescalate the situation and find a way to resolve it. The proposed solution was a diplomatic one and the two sides accepted to withdraw troops and flags from the islets, after the American intervention in order to avoid a breakout of war. It has to be mention also that, the Greek Prime Minister of that period, Mr. Kostas Simitis, thanked the U.S. openly for its role as a mediator while the other political parties accused him for betrayal. An assessment of that episode, clearly

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<sup>67</sup> Henry Kissinger should apologize for serving Turkish imperialism, Michael Rubin, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/opinion/henry-kissinger-should-apologize-for-serving-turkish-imperialism> (last access 23.09.2022).

<sup>68</sup> Scowcroft West Wing Office Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0332/033200204.pdf> (last access 24.09.2022).

<sup>69</sup> Lekea, K. I. (2014). 17N’s philosophy of terror: An analysis of the 17 November revolutionary organization. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

<sup>70</sup> (Η ιστορία της «17N» από τον Πάυλο Σερίφη in Greek), Eva Karamanoli, <https://www.kathimerini.gr/society/127916/historia-tis-17n-apo-ton-paylo-serifi/> (last access 24.09.2022).

<sup>71</sup> Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment”, Foreign Affairs: America and the World (1990/91), which introduced the idea of American unipolarity. That essay was adapted from the first annual Henry M. Jackson Memorial Lecture, September 18, 1990.

puts Greece on the loser's role, as Turkey provoked a scheduled crisis and without shooting a single bullet created a forbidden area for both countries.<sup>72</sup>

Moreover, Turkey managed to open a discussion about sovereign rights and construct effectively the Turkish theory of "grey zones" in the Aegean. Building on that, Turkey also called the shots in the NATO Madrid summit, with the "Madrid Declaration" of 8 July, 1997, where Greece was quick to recognize Turkey's "legitimate and vital" interests in the Aegean and to commit to "avoiding unilateral actions".<sup>73</sup> The U.S. deserves the credit for keeping the peace in the Aegean Sea and safeguarding the unity of NATO but, from a Greek point of view this happened at the expense of the national integrity of Greece. Furthermore, the U.S. Ambassador in Greece, Thomas Niles characteristically confesses: "We knew by the time we took this position that the Greeks were right on the sovereignty argument. The Turks knew that we knew their position was very weak. When we refused to take a position, it sent a signal back to the Turks that we prepared to countenance or not do anything about aggressive Turkish behaviour toward the Greeks on the territorial issues in the Aegean. We did not want to offend an important ally, Turkey, but what this led to was a succession of Turkish claims and statements about the Aegean territorial issues that poisoned the relationship with Greece even further".<sup>74</sup>

The third period of the historic view that refers to the Greek – U.S. relations, closes with The Macedonian "Name" Dispute. After the fall down of Yugoslavia in 1991, a new state emerged as "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", claiming the right to use the Macedonia term for official use, to exploit the Greek-Macedonian history and the reputation of Alexander the Great. This dispute provoked instability in the area for more than 25 years, it included long lasting and deeply rooted clashing views related with nationality, history, territorial claims and interstate relations. The resolution came with the Prespa Agreement of 2018, under the auspices of the United Nations, with a change in the name of the new country, called these days North Macedonia and other agreements concerning language, identity and other supplementary fields.<sup>75</sup>

The above issue caused a skirmish between Greece and U.S. in the NATO Bucharest Summit, where Greece stayed in its position even if the pressure was high by the U.S., as the Prime Minister of Greece in that period Konstantinos Karamanlis launched what Athens has been consistently announcing for a long time, that without a solution to the naming issue with FYROM there would be no invitation. The day before the summit the President of the United States George Bush estimated: «Tomorrow, in recognition of the progress they have made, NATO will take a historic decision on the accession of three Balkan countries, Croatia, Albania and Macedonia» and continued "There is a problem with one particular country, but I am optimistic that we can resolve it".<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas, *US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Power Politics and Ideology Under the Sun*, Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020, 1st ed. 2020 Edition, p.94.

<sup>73</sup> From the Imia crisis to the Madrid Declaration, Tom Ellis, <https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/254278/from-the-imia-crisis-to-the-madrid-declaration/> (last access 24.09.2022).

<sup>74</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas, *US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Power Politics and Ideology Under the Sun*, Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020, 1st ed. 2020 Edition, p.94.

<sup>75</sup> Matthew Nimetz, Former Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and former Special Envoy of President Bill Clinton, *New York, USA, Nationalities Papers* (2020), 48: 2, 205–214 doi:10.1017/nps.2020.10,

<sup>76</sup> (Το ελληνικό βέτο απέτρεψε την ένταξη in Greek), Athanasios Ellis-D. Antoniou, <https://www.kathimerini.gr/politics/318119/to-elliniko-veto-apatrepse-tin-entaxi/> (last access 24.09.2022).

At the end FYROM stayed out of NATO and the alliance made the following statement regarding the issue: «We recognise the hard work and the commitment demonstrated by the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to NATO values and Alliance operations. We commend them for their efforts to build a multi-ethnic society. Within the framework of the UN, many actors have worked hard to resolve the name issue, but the Alliance has noted with regret that these talks have not produced a successful outcome. Therefore, we agreed that an invitation to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will be extended as soon as a mutually acceptable solution to the name issue has been reached. We encourage the negotiations to be resumed without delay and expect them to be concluded as soon as possible».<sup>77</sup>

The third period was quite problematic in the relation of the two nations. It was obvious that key interests of the U.S. were not aligned with the Greek ones, miscalculations from both sides and especially for Greece had significant negative results. Furthermore, as Greece was trying to recover from WWII and the destructive civil war of (1946-1949), the state institutions were weak and many times unable to protect key national interests, while the U.S. as a superpower had its own interests to serve with a global perspective. The argument of Madeleine Jana Korbel Albright, an American diplomat and political scientist who served as the 64th United States secretary of state from 1997 to 2001, is enlightening: “Some accuse us of having a double standard. In reality, we have a single standard based on our assessment of the approach most likely to achieve results that serve U.S. interests and ideals”. Madeleine K. Albright (1998).

The first chapter closes the historic view of the Greek – U.S. relations, as an effort to distinguish the relationship between the two countries in certain periods through time, in order to offer a more systematic assessment in the context of the big picture in international relations and by focusing in major events that influenced the interstate affairs. The next chapter takes us in today’s reality and is distinguished as the fourth period of the Greek-U.S. relations. As a point that signaled the gradual improvement of the bilateral relation is chosen the decisive American leadership during the 2008 financial crisis that resulted the eurozone crisis and consequently the Greek debt crisis.

Greece, found support from the other side of the Atlantic while its European allies and especially Germany harassed Greece in many ways and even tried to force it abandon the Eurozone. Undoubtedly, Greeks made wrong economic choices but they cannot be accused of being lazy and improvident. The restrictive economic measures and the downscale of the economy drove Greece into deeper recession, while the EU seemed unwilling or incapable to respond effectively. This resulted a ten years retreat for the European economy and fuelled up the emergence of populist political parties and forces inside the European societies in Greece, but also in Italy and Spain. The U.S. having a better view of the situation and possible spill over effects in a global scale, tried to encourage Europeans to create a proper bailout mechanism and turn the European Central Bank into a serious economic warrior. At the end the eurozone was saved by Americanization, while Greece realized again the level of the American leadership

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<sup>77</sup> Bucharest Summit Declaration, issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Bucharest on 3 April 2008. [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official\\_texts\\_8443.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm) (last access 24.09.2022).



especially across the West and how much work needs to be done in the European Union to nourish coherence.<sup>78</sup>

## CHAPTER 2: Current Greek – U.S. relations

### 2.1 A policy overview

As it is stated in the highest political level by Foreign Minister Nikos Dendias, the Greek-American relations enjoy their most advantageous level in its history. Recently, a strong shift for better cooperation in the mutual relations between the two countries has taken place in multiple domains and to a variety of levels. Besides that, it is a bi-party support in the United States that Greece, is a reliable ally and a safe reach of long living American presence. The common exchange of ideas and views in different issues, in Athens as well as in Washington, and the conversations for regional issues confirm the impressive improvement in the interstate relations.<sup>79</sup>

Taking as a point of reference the 200 Bicentennial anniversary of the Greek revolution, President Joseph R. Biden hold his first telephone call with Prime Minister Konstantinos Mitsotakis on 25 March 2021, after he took office, where he committed himself for deeper improvement of bilateral relations, he expressed his esteem for the continuous development on defense cooperation, reaffirmed his support to Greece as a cornerstone of NATO in the Southeastern neighborhood and realigned himself once more in the UN based solution for Cyprus.<sup>80</sup>

Moreover, Prime Minister Konstantinos Mitsotakis had a discussion with Secretary of State Antony Blinken on 06 December 2021, as far as it concerns the bilateral relations. In this conversation the renewal of the MDCA for 5years was highlighted but, also the decisive role of Greece for the safety and security of Europe. A common ascertainment was that Greece is a valuable and reliable partner and a pillar of stability in the wider region of the East Med and the Balkans. Furthermore, the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State discussed the significance of enhancing the economic relations between the two countries, they focused on the dynamics of the bilateral relations and emphasized the importance of solidarity and stability in Europe.<sup>81</sup>

In addition, on 09 December 2021 the Prime Minister of Greece after an invitation from the President of the United States of America participated in a forum for Democracy, where in his intervention underlined how important is trust that citizens should have to the state and the significant role that checks and balances play within the democratic system. He emphasized also

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<sup>78</sup> John Cassidy, The Real Cost of the 2008 Financial Crisis, The aftermath produced a lost decade for European economies and helped lead to the rise of anti-establishment political movements here and abroad., The New Yorker, September 17, 2018 Issue, “A World of Woes.”

<sup>79</sup> Greek-US relations taken to new level, Vassilis Nedos, <https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/1170000/greek-us-relations-taken-to-new-level/> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>80</sup> Readout of President Joseph R. Biden, Jr. Call with Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis of Greece, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/03/25/readout-of-president-joseph-r-biden-jr-call-with-prime-minister-kyriakos-mitsotakis-of-greece/> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>81</sup> Mitsotakis, Blinken talk ahead of PM’s Russia trip, [https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/1173252/mitsotakis-blinken-speak-ahead-of-pm-s-russia-trip/?utm\\_source=dlvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/1173252/mitsotakis-blinken-speak-ahead-of-pm-s-russia-trip/?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter) (last access 12.03.2022).

in the progress of the Greek economy, the utility that digital services provide to the society, the fight against corruption and the promotion of transparency.<sup>82</sup> Finally, on 02 February 2022, Secretary of State Mr. Blinken in a letter to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs showed his appreciation for the long-standing support of Greece in ISAF, and RSM in Afghanistan, as well as in the recent evacuation efforts in that country.<sup>83</sup>

In terms of regional cooperation, the interest of the United States for the Mediterranean basin and especially for the dynamics of the three-party agreements with Greece, Cyprus and other states was proven in action from the participation, for the first time, of the former Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo, on Israel in March 2019,<sup>84</sup> and besides that with the continuous support from the side of the U.S. of the 3+1 format. Until today, various board meetings have taken place on the operational level in order to determine fields of cooperation and ways to promote them.

On December 2021, a three-party meeting took place in the heads of state level, that Israel coordinated where each country presented a proposal for specific domain cooperation. In this context, the Greek side proposed with a non-paper to the American, relative to the political and operational advancement of the 3+1 format (Greece, Cyprus, Israel + U.S.A.) to the establishment of a four-party format. This paper gives the main ingredients of the proposed advancement in close relation with the possibilities of further broadening the field of cooperation between the four countries, with emphasis given to policy and the geo-strategic dimension.<sup>85</sup>

The strategic dialogue between Greece and the United States of America was launched on 2018 and includes regional cooperation, security and defense, law enforcement and counterterrorism, trade and investment, energy, people to people ties, challenges in the humanitarian level and disaster relief. The first Strategic dialogue took place in Washington on December 2018, and it was a landmark in the bilateral relations as it laid the foundation for close cooperation in the institutional level.<sup>86</sup>

The second phase took place in Athens on October 2019 in the same context, and reaffirmed the testament of the two countries in intensive and constructive engagement, highlighted the strength of the bilateral relationship and confirmed the mutual desire of the United States and Greece to deepen cooperation.<sup>87</sup> Following that path, the first amendment of the MDCA was

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<sup>82</sup> Prime Minister GR. (2021, December 21). To strengthen democracy, we must face down the continued threat posed not just by authoritarianism but by populism too. After a decade of economic crisis, Greeks understood the need for real change, backing a reform agenda that was patriotic rather than nationalistic, [Twitter post]. Retrieved from

<https://twitter.com/PrimeministerGR/status/1469013656197345280>

<sup>83</sup> Blinken Thanks Greece for Having Troops in Afghanistan for NATO, The National Herald, <https://www.thenationalherald.com/blinken-thanks-greece-for-having-troops-in-afghanistan-for-nato/> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>84</sup> The Former Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo – Travel to Beirut, Jerusalem, and Kuwait City, March 19-23, 2019, <https://il.usembassy.gov/the-secretary-of-state-michael-r-pompeo-travel-to-beirut-jerusalem-and-kuwait-city-march-19-23-2019/> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>85</sup> Joint declaration after the Greece – Cyprus – Israel trilateral summit, <https://primeminister.gr/en/2021/12/07/28153> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>86</sup> Joint Statement Regarding the Inaugural United States-Greece Strategic Dialogue, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/joint-statement-regarding-the-inaugural-united-states-greece-strategic-dialogue/> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>87</sup> Joint Statement Regarding the Second United States-Greece Strategic Dialogue 2019, <https://www.mfa.gr/usa/en/the-embassy/news/joint-statement-regarding-the-second-united-states-greece-strategic-dialogue-2019.html> (last access 12.03.2022).

signed<sup>88</sup> and on September 2020 a high-level review was made when Mr. Pompeo visited Greece.<sup>89</sup>

The third phase of the strategic dialogue took place in Washington on October 2021, where the fields of cooperation expanded in environmental issues, humanitarian challenges and disaster preparedness.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, the two ministers of foreign affairs, Foreign Minister Nikos Dendias and U.S. Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken signed the second amendment of the MDCA. Beyond the expansion of a five-year term duration of the agreement, new territories were also added in Greek soil for U.S. forces stationing. The two parties restated their determination for mutual protection of territorial integrity against any action that poses a threat for peace including an armed attack, but also, they reasserted their commitment to deter and oppose such activity.<sup>91</sup>

Another milestone in policy relations is the increased cooperation of Greece with the Congress, in which a big and quite active team of friendly members promote the Greek interests through the Congressional Hellenic Caucus.<sup>92</sup> Equal important is the cooperation with the Congressional Hellenic Israel Alliance with the aim to enhance the cooperation between Greece, Cyprus, Israel and U.S.A., and to bring up bills of direct national interest of Greece.<sup>93</sup>

A special and productive relation has been built with the President of the Committee of External Affairs of the Congress, Mr. Bob Menendez, who recently, was honored by the Presidency of Greece.<sup>94</sup> Particularly, the bill that Senator Bob Menendez and Senator Marco Rubio passed with the title “Eastern Mediterranean Security and Energy Partnership Act of 2019” was included in the defense budget of 2020 (NDAA 2020 - National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2020) of the United States. The main points among others, is the authorization of Foreign Military Financing (FMF) assistance for Greece, the authorization of International Military Education and Training (IMET) assistance for Greece and Cyprus, it lifts the prohibition on arms sales to the Republic of Cyprus and authorizes the establishment of a United States-Eastern Mediterranean Energy Center to facilitate energy cooperation between the U.S., Israel, Greece, and Cyprus.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> U.S. Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo participates in a signing ceremony of the U.S.-Greece Mutual Defense Agreement with Greek Foreign Minister Nikolaos Dendias in Athens, Greece, on October 5, 2019, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/secretary-michael-r-pompeo-and-greek-foreign-minister-nikolaos-dendias/pompeo-dendias/> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>89</sup> Joint Statement Regarding the High-Level Review of the U.S.-Greece Strategic Dialogue, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/joint-statement-regarding-the-high-level-review-of-the-u-s-greece-strategic-dialogue/> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>90</sup> Joint Statement on Third United States – Greece Strategic Dialogue, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/joint-statement-on-third-united-states-greece-strategic-dialogue/> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>91</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs Nikos Dendias’ interview with newspaper “Kathimerini tis Kyriakis” and journalist Vassilis Nedos (17.10.2021), <https://www.mfa.gr/en/current-affairs/statements-speeches/minister-of-foreign-affairs-nikos-dendias-interview-with-newspaper-kathimerini-tis-kyriakis-and-journalist-vassilis-nedos-17102021.html> (last access 12.03.2022).

<sup>92</sup> Congressional Caucus on Hellenic Issues, <https://maloney.house.gov/issues/foreign-affairs/congressional-caucus-on-hellenic-issues-0> (last access 14.03.2022).

<sup>93</sup> Launch of the new Caucus “Congressional Hellenic-Israeli Alliance” (2/13/2013), <https://www.mfa.gr/usa/en/the-embassy/news/launch-of-the-new-caucus-congressional-hellenic-israeli-alliance-2132013.html> (last access 14.03.2022).

<sup>94</sup> Greek honor for US Senator, <https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/1166945/greek-honor-for-us-senator/> (last access 14.03.2022).

<sup>95</sup> Menendez-Rubio bill reshaping US policy in eastern Mediterranean, <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/ranking/release/congress-passes-menendez-rubio-bill-reshaping-us-policy-in-eastern-mediterranean> (last access 14.03.2022).



Furthermore, after an initiative also by Senator Menendez the “US-Greece Defense & Inter-parliamentary Partnership Act” was included to the defense budget of the U.S. for 2022 (NDAA 2022). Beyond the political meaning of these actions, where Greece is mentioned as an example of an ally and a pillar of stability in the region, the bill includes predictions for: a) The Congress proposes loans in order Greece to synchronize its armed forces. b) Requires the Secretary of Defense, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, to submit a report to Congress on Greece’s defense needs and how the United States will seek to address such needs through transfers of excess defense equipment to Greece. c) Authorizes European Recapitalization Incentive Program (ERIP) assistance to Greece to support Greece’s transition away from Russian-produced military equipment. d) Authorizes increased budget for the training of the Greek military personnel in the U.S. – 1,8 m.\$ (IMET - International Military Education and Training. e) Authorizes the establishment of an interparliamentary group among Cyprus, Greece, Israel and the United States to serve as the legislative component of the 3+1 process launched among the governments in March 2019. f) Authorizes expedited delivery of any future F-35 aircraft ordered by Greece.<sup>96</sup>

The bilateral cooperation with the US is at an all-time high and ever growing at all levels. Greece, as a pillar of stability in the region, responds responsibly, with self-restraint, but also with determination; the main constant is the full respect of the International Law. The two countries have deepened their relationship in recent years in response to growing security challenges in the region. Greece is a reliable and indispensable ally for the United States. Security, stability and prosperity are the main elements of Greece’s strategic vision for its neighborhood. The effort to further this vision by working together with other regional partners such as Israel, Egypt, Cyprus, UAE, Saudi Arabia and others is welcomed by the U.S. administration. The Strategic Dialogue has proven its worth and has given the opportunity to conduct a broad overview of all the multifaceted cooperation, streamline it and make it more effective, as well as to plan ahead, setting concrete targets and facilitating new ways of cooperation.

Besides that, the signing of the Second Amendment Protocol to the MDCA proves that defense cooperation has been breaking new ground and will provide a more stable foundation for long-term planning and for a more visible U.S. Armed Forces footprint in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. It is very encouraging that the new Administration is willing to actively promote democracy, the rule of law and International Law, including human rights; Greece’s foreign policy has always been guided by these principles and values. It is equally heartening that the US wants to take a leading role in dealing with global challenges such as the pandemic and climate change, these are priority issues for Greece also.

The adoption of the “Eastern Mediterranean Security and Energy Partnership” and the “US-Greece Defense and Inter-parliamentary Partnership Act” were extremely positive steps both for bilateral cooperation and the stability in the East Mediterranean region. The 3+1 (Cyprus, Greece, Israel, and the United States) cooperation scheme remains a valuable forum for the

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<sup>96</sup> US-Greece defense and interparliamentary partnership act of 2021, <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/chair/release/menendez-rubio-applaud-sfrc-passage-of-us-greece-defense-and-interparliamentary-partnership-act-of-2021> (last access 14.03.2022).

stability of the region. The political upgrading of the cooperation, with a new meeting of the Foreign Ministers and, possibly, its evolution in a regular fully-fledged quadrilateral forum of cooperation would enable it to leverage its full potential, allow for a more strategic orientation and have a multiplier effect.

## 2.2 Defence cooperation

The bedrock of the Greek-American defense cooperation is the Mutual Defense Cooperation Agreement (MDCA) that was ratified by the Greek Parliament in 1990.<sup>97</sup> The 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment was ratified on 31 Jan 2020<sup>98</sup> by the Greek Parliament and the 2<sup>nd</sup> was signed on 14 Oct 21.<sup>99</sup> In the second Amendment, in terms of new provisions, there were new Greek territories included, the renewal was extended for a period of five years at first and then an open-ended extension with the possibility to cancel it after written statement by one of the two sides, calculating a two-year deadline for realization.<sup>100</sup>

MDCA today includes Souda Bay as it did from the beginning, but adds also new territories like an Air-base in Larissa, a camp in Volos, the port and a camp in Alexandroupolis and the exercise field of Litochoro. The implementation of the agreement will lay the foundation for investments by the U.S. in places where they are deployed and will have a positive impact for economic development as well as operational usage for both sides. Moreover, a wide range of activities including training, logistics, infrastructure and cooperation through the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) and Excess Defense Article (EDA) is predicted to expand.<sup>101</sup>

After the 3<sup>rd</sup> Strategic Dialogue between Greece and U.S., in the Joint Statement regarding defense cooperation the U.S. side pointed out, the significance of a series of Greek armaments investment such as the upgrade programs of the F-16 Fighting Falcons, the S-70B Aegean Hawk helicopters, the P-3B Orion long-range aircraft and the forthcoming acquisition of the new MH-60R SEAHAWK helicopters. In addition, U.S. welcomed the Greek interest for the Lockheed Martin F-35 Lightning II multirole combat aircraft program and expressed appreciation that Greece continues to exceed the 2014 Wales Summit pledge to spend at least 2 percent of GDP on defense and 20 percent of its defense budget on modernizing major equipment.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Mutual Defense Cooperation Agreement in Greek, <https://www.gdpeads.mod.mil.gr/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/N.1893-1990.pdf> (last access 25.03.2022).

<sup>98</sup> Mutual Defense Cooperation Agreement in Greek Amendment, [http://www.et.gr/idos-nph/search/pdfViewerForm.html?args=5C7QrtC22wHUdWr4xouZundtvSoClrL8g-i4vJQsN8HtlI9LGdkF53UIxsx942CdyqxSQYNuqAGCF0IfB9HI6qSYtMQEkEHLwnFqmgJSA5UkHEKavWyL4FoKqSe4BIOTSpEWYhszF8P8UqWb\\_zFijNJCdrvVxyUAhUTEWxA8N0TAosvUWgBZQazZhhi829fe](http://www.et.gr/idos-nph/search/pdfViewerForm.html?args=5C7QrtC22wHUdWr4xouZundtvSoClrL8g-i4vJQsN8HtlI9LGdkF53UIxsx942CdyqxSQYNuqAGCF0IfB9HI6qSYtMQEkEHLwnFqmgJSA5UkHEKavWyL4FoKqSe4BIOTSpEWYhszF8P8UqWb_zFijNJCdrvVxyUAhUTEWxA8N0TAosvUWgBZQazZhhi829fe) (last access 25.03.2022).

<sup>99</sup> Signing of Protocol of Amendment to the Mutual Defense Cooperation Agreement with Greece, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/statement-by-secretary-antony-j-blinken-signing-of-protocol-of-amendment-to-the-mutual-defense-cooperation-agreement-with-greece/> (last access 25.03.2022).

<sup>100</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs Nikos Dendias' interview with the newspaper "To Vima tis Kyriakis" and journalist Angelos Athanasopoulos (10.10.2021), <https://www.mfa.gr/en/current-affairs/statements-speeches/minister-of-foreign-affairs-nikos-dendias-interview-with-the-newspaper-to-vima-tis-kyriakis-and-journalist-angelos-athanasopoulos-10102021.html> (last access 25.03.2022).

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Joint Statement on Third United States – Greece Strategic Dialogue, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/joint-statement-on-third-united-states-greece-strategic-dialogue/> (last access 25.03.2022).

During 2021, in the military training and cooperation field an important increase of engagements took place that multiplied and enhanced interoperability between the two countries. Some indicative examples are the support from the Greek side during exercise “ATLANTIC RESOLVE” for the deployment of U.S. forces to eastern Europe through the port of Alexandroupolis on 2021,<sup>103</sup> common special operations training like the exercise “STOLEN CERBERUS 21” from 08 to 22 May 2021<sup>104</sup> and the participation of the Hellenic Navy and Airforce in combat scenarios with the USS DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER Carrier Strike Group in the broad sea region south of Crete from 11 to 13 March 2021, when the Prime Minister of Greece Mr. Konstantinos Mitsotakis visited the U.S. aircraft carrier.<sup>105</sup>

In the education domain apart from exercises and in action training, Greek and U.S. military and civilian personnel are being trained side by side in the main NATO training center in Germany (NATO School Oberammergau – NSO),<sup>106</sup> and there is also a number of Greek officers that are being trained in the U.S. with full scholarship through IMET (International Military Education Training).<sup>107</sup>

As Ambassador Geoffrey R. Pyatt expressed the view of the American side, on the induction ceremony for the first of 1,200 Armored Security Vehicles M1117 which will be provided to the Hellenic Armed Forces, the U.S. is making an investment because “a Greece which is stronger and more secure makes our alliance stronger and more secure, and therefore makes the United States stronger and more secure. This example of USD 970 million of equipment provided to Greece at no cost under Excess Defense Article program (EDA) is indicative of the tremendous progress in Greek – U.S. relations”.<sup>108</sup>

Besides that, Ambassador Pyatt in the discussion on how the two countries can work together to strengthen stability, security and prosperity in the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond, he mentioned that “the United States views Greece as a key partner in achieving U.S. and NATO security priorities in the Eastern Mediterranean and southeastern Europe. The defense and security relationship enjoys strong bipartisan support across the U.S. government and has rapidly expanded in both scope and size, and now includes participation in 15 major annual named exercises. U.S. and Greece stand together in every major conflict of the 20th century, people-to-people ties are remarkable and when the two countries work together, there is little

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<sup>103</sup> Ambassador Pyatt’s Remarks at Atlantic Resolve Distinguished Visitors Day, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/ambassador-pyatts-remarks-at-atlantic-resolve-distinguished-visitors-day/> (last access 25.03.2022).

<sup>104</sup> (Διμερής Άσκηση Ειδικών Επιχειρήσεων Ελλάδας – ΗΠΑ με την Επωνυμία «STOLEN CERBERUS» in Greek), <https://geetha.mil.gr/dimeris-askisi-eidikon-epicheiriseon-elladas-ipa-me-tin-eponymia-stolen-cerberus/> (last access 25.03.2022).

<sup>105</sup> Greek Prime Minister visits USS Dwight D. Eisenhower in Souda Bay, By U.S. Sixth Fleet Public Affairs, <https://www.c6f.navy.mil/Press-Room/News/Article/2546784/greek-prime-minister-visits-uss-dwight-d-eisenhower-in-souda-bay/> (last access 25.03.2022).

<sup>106</sup> <https://www.natoschool.nato.int/>

<sup>107</sup> US-Greece defense and interparliamentary partnership act of 2021, <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/chair/release/menendez-rubio-applaud-sfrc-passage-of-us-greece-defense-and-interparliamentary-partnership-act-of-2021> (last access 14.03.2022).

<sup>108</sup> Ambassador Pyatt’s Remarks at the Opening Ceremony for Arrival of M1117 Armored Security Vehicles, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/ambassador-pyatts-remarks-at-the-opening-ceremony-for-arrival-of-m117-armored-security-vehicles/> (last access 14.03.2022).

that they cannot accomplish". He concludes by saying that "thanks to this enduring alliance and partnership both are safer, more secure and prosperous".<sup>109</sup>

Finally, as the Chief of the Hellenic National Defense General Staff General Konstantinos Floros stated in the International Crisis Management Conference "ATHENA '21", "Greece sees cooperation as a key tool among allies, synergies and solidarity guide actions taken by the Greek side, not only with words but also with deeds. Greece has a stance of a security provider, not a security consumer and uses defense diplomacy to build bridges".<sup>110</sup> In this vein, during the visit of the American Hellenic Institute – AHI, he emphasized the importance of continuous improvement of the relations between the two countries.<sup>111</sup>

### 2.3 Economic cooperation via the crown of energy

Regarding economic relations the U.S. consists the most important economic partner over the Atlantic for Greece for 2020, ranking 9<sup>th</sup> as a client and 15<sup>th</sup> as a supplier. Even if the tourism sector was downgraded, Greece maintains a surplus of 614,6 m. euros. Between January-August 2021 the trade increased about 11,59%.<sup>112-113</sup>

Especially, in the field of energy cooperation, the United States of America stand for the differentiation of energy supplies and express their contrast in the enforcement of the Russian natural gas supplies towards Europe. For this reason, they support the establishment of infrastructure for improving energy security and to reduce the energy dependency from Russian natural gas, trying in parallel the fast increase of exports of American natural gas.<sup>114</sup>

The Greek interests are in line with the American ones, taken as granted the TAP and the LNG Terminal of Rebithousa, as well as the plans to create energy hubs, such IGB (Interconnector Greece-Bulgaria), the connection pipeline between Skopje and Greece and the under construction FSRU of Alexandroupolis, that contribute to the dis-engagement of the broader region from Russia. Onward multiple opportunities for industry cooperation in the field of sustainable energy production exists where the U.S.A. has the know-how, and in Greece the dynamic is really high.<sup>115-116</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Ambassador Pyatt's Remarks at ATHENA 2021, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/ambassador-pyatts-remarks-at-athena-2021/> (last access 25.03.2022).

<sup>110</sup> (Χαιρετισμός Αρχηγού ΓΕΕΘΑ στο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Χειρισμού Κρίσεων «ΑΘΗΝΑ 2021» in Greek), <https://geetha.mil.gr/chairetismos-archigoy-geetha-sto-diethnes-synedrio-cheirismoy-kriseon-athina-2021/> (last access 25.03.2022).

<sup>111</sup> (Επίσημη Επίσκεψη του American Hellenic Institute – AHI στο ΓΕΕΘΑ in Greek), <https://geetha.mil.gr/episimi-episkeptoy-american-hellenic-institute-ahi-sto-geetha/> (last access 14.03.2022).

<sup>112</sup> (Με θετικό πρόσημο το εμπορικό ισοζύγιο με τις ΗΠΑ στο 5μηνο in Greek) <https://www.naftemporiki.gr/afieromata/889852/me-thetiko-prosimo-to-eboriko-isozygio-me-tis-ipa-sto-5mino/> <https://m.naftemporiki.gr/story/17> (last access 13.03.2022).

<sup>113</sup> Trade in Goods with Greece, <https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c4840.html> (last access 13.03.2022).

<sup>114</sup> Joint Statement on the U.S.-EU Energy Council, Media Note, Office of the Spokesperson, <https://www.state.gov/joint-statement-on-the-u-s-eu-energy-council/> (last access 13.03.2022).

<sup>115</sup> State aid: Commission approves €166.7 million Greek public support for construction of LNG terminal in Alexandroupolis, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP\\_21\\_3045](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_21_3045) (last access 13.03.2022).

<sup>116</sup> Statement on East Med Energy Cooperation, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/statement-on-east-med-energy-cooperation/> (last access 13.03.2022).

On January 2022, the American side proposed with a non-paper that the U.S. is not interested for the project of the East-Med pipeline. According that paper, the U.S. has as a target the protection of the environment and new sustainable sources of energy production that exclude natural gas. In parallel, they notice that the project is not economically livable, as well as it can create new tensions in the area that are not for the prosperity of the surrounding countries. They move their interest to the IGB and the FSRU, that can be constructed quickly and with a reasonable cost. In this paper it is also mentioned that electric connectivity planning such as “EuroAsia” and EuroAfrica” have greater importance in the area.<sup>117-118</sup>

On the other side of the Atlantic and in particular the Israeli side an interesting article from the economic paper The Marker of Haaretz on the 19<sup>th</sup> January 2022, from the journalist Israel Fisher comments that the pipeline to Europe was from the starting point convicted to failure and after the U.S. non paper the prospect has been diminished. The journalist points out that the main reasons for failure was economic, environmental but most importantly, geopolitical. As far as it concerns Israel, it is still committed to the issue mainly because it does not wish to be seen as following American energy policies and directions in regards economic ties with Europe.<sup>119</sup>

Inside the American political system regarding the East-Med pipeline, two members of the Congress Gus M. Bilirakis and Nicole Maliotakis in a letter dated 18 February 2022 to Ms. Naz Durakoglu, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Legislative Affairs, claim that it is simply not true that the United States did not reverse its position. Despite its lack of financial support, the United States had expressed diplomatic support for the project and recall the Joint Statement regarding the second U.S. – Greece strategic dialogue,<sup>120</sup> the Joint Statement regarding the high – level review of the U.S. – Greece strategic dialogue and the section 203 of the EastMed Act.<sup>121</sup>

They continue that if the Administration classifies its position as a clarification or a reversal it is against the positions taken by the previous administration, by members of the Congress and odds American Law. Besides that, the two Congressmen expand their high critical view to the Administration by saying that even if the logic was commercial viability, the issue should be discussed with allies and partners and that the State Department skipped several key steps to reach its own conclusion. Finally, they mention that this decision contradicts U.S. policies

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<sup>117</sup> U.S. voices misgivings on EastMed gas pipeline -Greek officials, Reporting By Lefteris Papadimas and Michele Kambas; additional reporting by Ari Rabinovitch in Israel and Tuvan Gumrukcu in Turkey; editing by David Evans and Marguerita Choy, <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/us-voices-misgivings-eastmed-gas-pipeline-greek-officials-2022-01-11/> (last access 13.03.2022).

<sup>118</sup> @USAmbassadorGR, (2022, January 17), A nice @HellenicLeaders graphic on our energy policy priorities in the Eastern Mediterranean, [Twitter post]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/USAmbPyatt/status/1482959840246960128>.

<sup>119</sup> U.S. Fear of Putin, Erdogan Spells End of Israel's Natural Gas Pipeline to Europe, Israel Fisher, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/u-s-fear-of-putin-and-erdogan-spells-the-end-of-israel-s-gas-pipeline-to-europe-1.10547064> (last access 13.03.2022).

<sup>120</sup> U.S. Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo participates in a signing ceremony of the U.S.-Greece Mutual Defense Agreement with Greek Foreign Minister Nikolaos Dendias in Athens, Greece, on October 5, 2019, <https://gr.usembassy.gov/secretary-michael-r-pompeo-and-greek-foreign-minister-nikolaos-dendias/pompeo-dendias/> (last access 20.03.2022).

<sup>121</sup> Menendez-Rubio passes bill reshaping US policy in eastern Mediterranean, <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/press/ranking/release/congress-passes-menendez-rubio-bill-reshaping-us-policy-in-eastern-mediterranean> (last access 20.03.2022).



regarding energy security and diversification for European allies as regards Europe's dependency on Russian natural gas. By taking options of diversification of energy supplies off the table the U.S. helps only malign influences from Russia, Turkey and Iran that have been identified in the EastMed Act.<sup>122</sup>

Another view that might explain the U.S. stance about the EastMed pipeline is offered by Nikos Tsafos, a senior fellow with the Energy Security and Climate Change Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C., dated on 26 October 2020. He supports that the rise in tensions between Greece and Turkey is linked, somehow to energy and tries to explain the situation and how several conflicts fuel up the current environment. He refers to the conflict over Cyprus and the conflict over Maritime Boundaries, but fails to mention that every country in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean is in favor of creating EEZ (Exclusive Economic Zone) under the basis of United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), except Turkey. In this article he articulates why the East Med pipeline is unlikely to be built due to challenging economics, low energy prices and policies to clean energy transition.

Moreover, its highly interesting where he mentions that all eight wells that Turkey has drilled in the Eastern Mediterranean, some in disputed areas and some not, have come up dry. Finally, he calls the U.S. to play a central role in negotiations to lower tensions. Both parties value strong relationship with the U.S. according his view, he suggests to ground diplomacy on hard energy facts and validates that both sides should pull back, as there is less at stake than the parties think and they should commit to a substantive dialogue.<sup>123</sup>

On February 24, 2022 the Russo-Ukrainian War started after a frozen dispute in the east part of Ukraine dating from 2014. This war tends to alter the global energy system as the West took measures to punish Russia economically and imposed mass sanctions. One may describe the present energy moment as a game changer for fast energy transition and as Mr. Nikos Tsafos illustrates with certain examples it is possible. The Netherlands plans to build more offshore wind farms in the next years to achieve an increase in energy capacity, in order to accomplish its climate goals and in parallel reduce its energy dependency on Russian gas.<sup>124</sup> France uses subsidies, for "virtuous" home heating and cuts drastically these for gas usage. In this vein, France also plans to extend the life circle of its modern nuclear reactors for ten years.<sup>125</sup>

In addition, as the war in Ukraine continues, Italy decided to construct new wind farms,<sup>126</sup> Germany wants to increase solar tenders to 20 gigawatts by 2028 from about five gigawatts now,

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<sup>122</sup> Bilirakis and Maliotakis statement,

[https://bilirakis.house.gov/sites/bilirakis.house.gov/files/wysiwyg\\_uploaded/Bilirakis%20Malliotakis%20Rebuttal%20to%20Department%20of%20State.pdf](https://bilirakis.house.gov/sites/bilirakis.house.gov/files/wysiwyg_uploaded/Bilirakis%20Malliotakis%20Rebuttal%20to%20Department%20of%20State.pdf) (last access 20.03.2022).

<sup>123</sup> Getting East Med Energy Right, Nikos Tsafos, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/getting-east-med-energy-right> (last access 20.03.2022).

<sup>124</sup> Netherlands ramps up plan for doubling offshore wind capacity by 2030, Reporting by Bart Meijer; Editing by Robert Birsel, <https://www.reuters.com/business/environment/netherlands-ramps-up-plan-doubling-offshore-wind-capacity-by-2030-2022-03-18/> (last access 20.03.2022).

<sup>125</sup> Belgium on verge of delaying 2025 nuclear power exit, Reporting by Philip Blenkinsop, editing by Marine Strauss and Barbara Lewis, <https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/belgium-poised-delay-2025-nuclear-power-exit-2022-03-17/> (last access 20.03.2022).

<sup>126</sup> The Med gets first offshore wind farm as Italy vows energy revolution, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220316-the-med-gets-first-offshore-wind-farm-as-italy-vows-energy-revolution> (last access 20.03.2022).

keeping them at that level until 2035, according the energy minister.<sup>127</sup> The European Commission wants to double home-grown biomethane production to 35 billion cubic meters per year by 2030, based on recent information.<sup>128</sup> In this broader changing environment Chevron Chief Executive Michael Wirth said on Monday, 7<sup>th</sup> March 2022, at the CERAWEEK energy conference that “a Mediterranean Sea pipeline that could carry gas from Israel to European customers is a possible”. Europe's energy crisis, which has exploded the cost of living, has brought again on the table the discussion about the EastMed pipeline.<sup>129</sup>

## 2.4 Blending or integration of traditional and new domains

Besides the traditional domains of policy, military and economy the two countries have developed further collaboration in new domains, while the prospects are limitless. For example, the U.S. Embassy is to working with local partners to strengthen Greece's growing film industry, it supports skill building and training for film professionals, like the workshops offered on the island of Syros, for Animasyros (an international animation festival and forum) but also in Athens.<sup>130</sup> This cultural interaction takes place also, in other places like Thessaloniki and in the town of Drama in northern Greece, where the new action film “Tin Soldier” starring Robert De Niro and Jamie Foxx, made its filming and brings connection across people.<sup>131</sup>

Equally important are the academic bridges between Greece and the U.S., like the MSc American Studies in University of Piraeus<sup>132</sup> with the collaboration from the New York University - SPS Center for Global Affairs,<sup>133</sup> the first MSc in American Studies in Greece dedicated to interdisciplinary study of politics, strategy and economics, achieving internationalization through collaboration.<sup>134</sup> The education domain is going to be developed even further, as in the near future, 29 U.S. Universities will come in Greece with their representatives in order to explore fields of cooperation according Alan Goodman, CEO of the Institute of International

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<sup>127</sup> Germany to speed renewables push due to Ukraine crisis, Reporting by Markus Wacket and Tassilo Hummel, writing Paul Carrel and Emma Thomasson, <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/germany-hike-onshore-wind-solar-tender-volumes-document-2022-02-28/> (last access 20.03.2022).

<sup>128</sup> Commission doubles ambition for EU biomethane production from agricultural waste, Natasha Foote, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/agriculture-food/news/commission-doubles-ambition-for-eu-biomethane-production-from-agricultural-waste/> (last access 20.03.2022).

<sup>129</sup> Chevron CEO says Israel gas pipeline could supply Europe amid crisis, BEN ZION GAD, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/article-700615> (last access 20.03.2022).

<sup>130</sup> @USEmbassyAthens, (2022, September 26), #DCMOlson: The Embassy is proud to work w/ local partners to strengthen Greece's growing film industry. That's why we're supporting skill building and training for film professionals, including the workshops offered on the beautiful island of Syros for @Animasyros & in Athens. [Twitter post]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/USEmbassyAthens/status/1574308148244090881>.

<sup>131</sup> International Films Being Shot in Greece This Summer, Evangelos Bouyioutis, <https://www.greece-is.com/news/greek-locations-turn-into-international-film-sets/> (last access 26.09.2022).

<sup>132</sup> <http://americanstudies.des.unipi.gr/> (last access 26.09.2022).

<sup>133</sup> <https://www.sps.nyu.edu/homepage/academics/divisions-and-departments/center-for-global-affairs.html> (last access 26.09.2022).

<sup>134</sup> Academic bridges between Greece and the U.S.: Internationalization through collaboration, Academic, SiG News, <https://studyingreece.edu.gr/academic-bridges-between-greece-and-the-u-s-internationalization-through-collaboration/> (last access 26.09.2022).

Education (IIE) of the USA.<sup>135</sup> The Minister of Education and Religious Affairs, Mrs Niki Kerameus said that this event will take place in November 2022.<sup>136</sup>

Another field of cooperation is climate change as Greece is trying to be a driver of change, whereas it took the initiative to host the “Our Ocean Conference” in 2024. The rotating “Our Ocean Conference”, which was first organized in 2014, is an initiative by the US former Secretary of State and current Special Presidential Envoy for Climate John Kerry. Mr. John Kerry said in a videotaped message at an event in Athens: “Greece does what it usually does: it leads an effort to make a difference for the entire planet”. Some of the latest efforts in climate change include, building new ships with no carbon footprint and others overfishing, marine pollution, green energy and the production of electricity by renewable sources coming from Africa.<sup>137</sup>

Greece should also investigate possible domains of cooperation where the U.S. is a global leader through research and innovation. For example, emerging and disruptive Technologies (EDT), cyber, space and quantum applications. Particularly quantum applications, are not limited within their own domain but also support other key areas such as Artificial Intelligence Systems and Quantum Communications can further increase the resilience of Communication infrastructure. Initial developments in the private sector, standardization organizations, and at the national level can take place and allow assessing the challenges, risks, and opportunities that Quantum Technologies may bring. The two countries should not only keep the developments in its horizon scanning efforts to ensure situational awareness but also take initiatives to enhance relevant discussions, create structures to engage in research and ensure common agreed strategic objectives. In the space field, Greece should try to cooperate with the U.S. to utilize the experience and examples of corresponding structures and programs, so that Space, functions as a power multiplier.

Regarding terrorism, the defeat of ISIS (Islamic State) in the field does not mean that the phenomenon has ended, as there was no effective treatment of the relevant generative causes. In this framework, Greece and the U.S. should not exclude the inevitable resurgence of "ISIS-like" groups possessing chemical, biological and radiological agents who would carry out organized "dirty bomb" attacks against European and American cities. Building on that, exchange of information is critical and Greece may investigate the possibility to participate in the Five Eyes (FVEY) intelligence alliance. Other important security challenges the two countries could mutually work on and benefit from each other are hybrid threats,<sup>138</sup> the migration issue<sup>139</sup> and

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<sup>135</sup> (29 αμερικανικά πανεπιστήμια προτιμούν Ελλάδα in Greek), Apostolos Lakasas,

<https://www.kathimerini.gr/society/561957094/29-amerikanika-panepistimia-protimoy-n-ellada/> (last access 26.09.2022).

<sup>136</sup> Niki Kerameus, @nkerameus, (2022, September 22), (Για την εξωστρέφεια των πανεπιστημίων μας, για τα 30 ΑΕΙ που έρχονται στην χώρα μας τον Νοέμβριο αλλά και για την έναρξη της σχολικής χρονιάς με σημαντικές καινοτομίες, σήμερα το πρωί στην εκπομπή @koinoniaoramega με τους @vulgari\_anthikai @jordanxas, in Greek), [Twitter post]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/nkerameus/status/1572953323606609920>.

<sup>137</sup> US Climate Envoy John Kerry Addresses ‘Our Ocean’ Conference in Greece, Tasos Kokkinidis, <https://greekreporter.com/2022/07/26/john-kerry-our-ocean-conference-greece/> (last access 26.09.2022).

<sup>138</sup> <https://www.hybridcoe.fi/hybrid-threats-as-a-phenomenon/>, The European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats.

<sup>139</sup> The Future of Migration in the European Union, Future scenarios and tools to stimulate forward-looking discussions, Alice Szczepanikova, Tine Van Crielinge, JRC Science Hub, European Commission science and knowledge service, Science for Policy Report European Union 2018. p. 18-21.



the instrumentalization of migrants by malign actors.<sup>140</sup> It has to be mentioned for instance, that the dispute between Egypt and Ethiopia is an alarming security danger for the southern flank of NATO. The concept of Ethiopian Renaissance as a key issue for its very survival, recalling that for Egypt it constitutes a reason for declaring war, which, combined with a food crisis, would cause massive immigration waves from two countries (Egypt, Ethiopia) each of which has a population of almost 100 million inhabitants.

In the context of regional stability regarding the Eastern Mediterranean, agreements like the "Abraham Accords"<sup>141</sup> and the Negev initiative,<sup>142</sup> offer opportunities for cooperation between Israel, Arab countries, the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The U.S. can be invited to be a member in all the tripartite-multilateral cooperation schemes of the Eastern Mediterranean, it can guarantee with its status their prestige and Greece has to try to achieve the U.S. commitment on that. In an advanced scenario, some form of regional security architecture could result from the possible amalgamation of all cooperative schemes.

Likewise, Greece and the U.S. can work hand in hand in the significant domain of resilience by implementing the NATO Baseline Resilience Requirements. These include continuity of government and critical government services, effective response on uncontrolled movement of people, resilient food and water resources, the ability to deal with mass casualties, resilient civil communications systems, resilient energy supplies and resilient transport systems. Resilience is first and foremost a national responsibility but working together with friends and allies both in the NATO context, as well as in a bilateral level can be more effective.<sup>143</sup>

The second chapter, has as a last reference in the analysis of the current Greek – U.S. relations the memorable presence of the Prime Minister of Greece Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis in the U.S. Capitol where he delivered address to joint session of Congress.<sup>144</sup> At this historic moment U.S.-Greece diplomatic relations have never been better, while this invitation is a rare honour reserved for prominent international leaders and Prime Minister Mitsotakis visit presented an opportunity to elevate regional and functional issues to Biden, the U.S. Congress, and the American public.<sup>145</sup> As the U.S. Ambassador in Greece Mr. George J. Tsunis pointed out "Aristotle's Rhetoric taught us that the ethos, logos, & pathos are the key elements of persuasion.

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<sup>140</sup> Belarus: Declaration by the High Representative on behalf of the European Union on the instrumentalisation of migrants and refugees by the regime, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2021/07/30/belarus-declaration-of-the-high-representative-on-behalf-of-the-eu-on-the-instrumentalisation-of-migrants-and-refugees-by-the-regime/> (last access 27.09.22).

<sup>141</sup> The Abraham Accords Declaration, <https://www.state.gov/the-abraham-accords/> (last access 27.09.22).

<sup>142</sup> The Negev Summit Furthers Arab-Israeli Normalization, Lucy Kurtzer-Ellenbogen, Ambassador Hesham Youssef, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/03/negev-summit-furthers-arab-israeli-normalization> (last access 27.09.22).

<sup>143</sup> Resilience, civil preparedness and Article 3, [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_132722.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_132722.htm) (last access 27.09.22).

<sup>144</sup> Nancy Pelosi, @SpeakerPelosi, (2022, May 17), Join me live as I welcome His Excellency @KMitsotakis, Prime Minister of the Hellenic Republic to the United States Capitol, [Twitter post]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/SpeakerPelosi/status/1526559400244219905>.

<sup>145</sup> U.S. and Greece Take Strategic Partnership to New Heights, Jake Sotiriadis, John Sitalides, <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/us-and-greece-take-strategic-partnership-new-heights-202444> (last access 27.09.22).

The Prime Minister of Greece's historic speech to a joint session of Congress perfectly exemplified it. He inspired us all on the need to defend democracy and the rules based international order".<sup>146</sup>

The U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, SFRC Chairman Mr. Bob Menendez added that he was honored to host the Prime Minister of Greece in the Capitol. The US-Greece partnership and friendship, rooted in shared values, have never been stronger. The U.S. and Greece commitment to democracy and to security and economic prosperity in the Eastern Med is ironclad.<sup>147</sup> In this vein the Vice President of the U.S. Mrs. Kamala Harris noted on that day, 18<sup>th</sup> of May 2022, "Today, I presided over a joint meeting of Congress with Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis of Greece. The ties between our two countries are strong and growing deeper every day".<sup>148</sup> Moreover, Mr. Endy Zemenides the executive director of the Hellenic American Leadership Council (HALC) argued that "the Prime Minister of Greece demonstrated a level of political maturity that no one expected from Greece, Greece's brand received such a boost as Ancient Greek democracy has long been a source of inspiration in the US, now modern Greek democracy is becoming a paradigm".<sup>149</sup>

All in all, as the Professor of International Relations Theory Mr. Spyros Litsas commented, "Greece communicated its smart power from Washington to the rest of the globe",<sup>150</sup> while the prominent journalist of Greece Mr. Alexis Papachelas, added that the Greek prime minister's address to a Joint Meeting of the U.S. Congress was very effective in terms of promoting Greece's image to the world and in parallel he mobilized the most vital parts of the Greek diaspora, where particularly in the U.S., is a superweapon.<sup>151</sup> Finally, as Mr. Manos Karagiannis, Associate Professor of International Security at Kings College London and the University of Macedonia mentions, "Greece is recognized as an important pillar of stability in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean by the U.S. At a time when Ankara is playing the role of a shrewd neutral, Athens is seen as a reliable ally that contributes immeasurably to the defense of Ukraine. The principle of preserving the existing borders returns to the top of U.S. priorities, with all the positive implications this implies for Greek security".<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> George J. Tsunis, @USAmbassadorGR, (2022, May 17), Aristotle's Rhetoric taught us that the ethos, logos, & pathos are the key elements of persuasion. @PrimeministerGR's historic speech to a joint session of Congress perfectly exemplified it. He inspired us all on the need to defend democracy & the rules based international order. [Twitter post]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/USAmbassadorGR/status/1526653743072256002>.

<sup>147</sup> Senate Foreign Relations Committee, @SFRCdems, (2022, May 17), Honored to host @PrimeministerGR in the Capitol following our Joint Meeting of Congress. The US-Greece partnership & friendship, rooted in shared values, have never been stronger. U.S. and Greece's commitment to democracy & to security & economic prosperity in the Eastern Med is ironclad. [Twitter post]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/SFRCdems/status/1526633551067852807>.

<sup>148</sup> Vice President Kamala Harris, @VP, (2022, May 18), Today, I presided over a joint meeting of Congress with Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis of Greece. The ties between our two countries are strong and growing deeper every day, [Twitter post]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/VP/status/1526734313332654080>.

<sup>149</sup> A paradigm, Opinion Endy Zemenidis, <https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/1185007/a-paradigm/> (last access 27.09.22).

<sup>150</sup> Spyros Litsas, (2022, May 18), If I was to give one short to @PrimeministerGR's speech in the #USCapitol yesterday is "Greece communicates its Smart Power from #WashingtonDC to the rest of the globe". This was a day to remember for all Greeks in front of our closest allies the U.S. [Twitter post]. Retrieved from [https://twitter.com/Spyros\\_Litsas/status/1526794963136151554](https://twitter.com/Spyros_Litsas/status/1526794963136151554).

<sup>151</sup> A very good moment, Alexis Papachelas, [https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/1184624/a-very-good-moment/?utm\\_source=dvr.it&utm\\_medium=twitter](https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/1184624/a-very-good-moment/?utm_source=dvr.it&utm_medium=twitter) (last access 27.09.22).

<sup>152</sup> (Επίσκεψη Μητσοτάκη στις ΗΠΑ: Τελικός απολογισμός in Greek), Manos Karagiannis, <https://www.liberal.gr/epikairota/episkepsi-mitsotaki-stis-ipa-telikos-apologismos> (last access 27.09.22).

## CHAPTER 3: A vision in today's context

### 3.1 Transatlantic Relations

In its mission statement U.S. Joint Regional Strategy, the State Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs (EUR) and USAID Bureau for Europe and Eurasia (E&E), places the context about the principal goal of U.S. engagement with Europe, that is to preserve and strengthen the West as a community of nations united by shared sacrifice and a commitment to common defence, democratic values, fair trade, and mutual strategic interests. As America and Europe are the West and the heart of the Free World, preserving the West cannot happen without Europe, Europe is the central pillar of U.S. international alliances and by far the largest economic relationship and a strong and free Europe is of vital importance to the United States.

To that end, the U.S. aims to empower the western alliance and to push allies in order to become more capable and prepared to manage any kind of crisis or threats. The U.S. honours its obligations in the framework of the transatlantic Alliance and has stationed capable forces to defend Europe. From the other hand, there are quite enough allies in Europe that do not fulfil their commitments in defence spending. For that reason, all allies should push forward investments for defence expenditure, diversification of energy resources, enhance resilience, promote innovation and in this way to counter malign international actors.<sup>153</sup>

Furthermore, U.S. seeks to secure Europe's eastern frontier, across the line from the Baltics, to Black Sea, the Aegean Sea and the eastern Mediterranean towards Middle East vis a vis the Russian Federation, but also towards China global ambitions. The war on Ukraine has made the situation even more complex, as it is the second invasion in European soil after the Turkish invasion in Cyprus in 1974. The imagination coming from theorists like Francis Fukuyama, written in an article for the journal the National Interest in 1989 entitled "The end of History"<sup>154</sup> has collapsed, in fact competitors to modern democracy are pushing back strongly and the ongoing war in Ukraine can drive the world from a new cold war, to a frozen conflict or even a Russian Federation with another leader agreeing to a new European security structure.<sup>155</sup>

In Europe's southern frontier the U.S. sees migration as the most important issue that needs homegrown efforts and local solutions, especially through collaboration with all stakeholders and by focusing on root causes. The U.S also has just recently upgraded its presence in Eastern Mediterranean, especially in Greece and aims to stabilize the area from the one hand and from the other to keep Turkey close to the West. In the case of Cyprus, the U.S. supports the establishment of a bizonal, bicomunal federation. All in all, the target seems like a challenging

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<sup>153</sup> Joint Regional Strategy, Europe, January 01, 2019, available at [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/JRS\\_EUR-EE\\_UNCLASS\\_508\\_CMC.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/JRS_EUR-EE_UNCLASS_508_CMC.pdf)

<sup>154</sup> What Is Fukuyama Saying? And to Whom Is He Saying It?, James Atlas, <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/10/22/magazine/what-is-fukuyama-saying-and-to-whom-is-he-saying-it.html> (last access 30.09.2022).

<sup>155</sup> How will the Russia-Ukraine war reshape the world? Here are four possible futures. Mathew Burrows and Robert A. Manning, [https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/content-series/the-big-story/how-will-the-russia-ukraine-war-reshape-the-world-here-are-four-possible-futures/?mkt\\_tok=NjU5LVdaWC0wNzUAAAGDmhU7Bqje6X0VsGTkmdPjM51mHNv3osaKB\\_Vydge9RiYU7HITiAtV-R6bXxtmH-9lWwHh1hNz2AOqELdOQ6yOH3mWPjYKbKWkt6V29ysqtQ](https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/content-series/the-big-story/how-will-the-russia-ukraine-war-reshape-the-world-here-are-four-possible-futures/?mkt_tok=NjU5LVdaWC0wNzUAAAGDmhU7Bqje6X0VsGTkmdPjM51mHNv3osaKB_Vydge9RiYU7HITiAtV-R6bXxtmH-9lWwHh1hNz2AOqELdOQ6yOH3mWPjYKbKWkt6V29ysqtQ) (last access 09.04.2022).

puzzle, the U.S. has as a goal to promote American values to compete for positive influence against authoritarian rivals, while at the same time to align resources with strategic priorities.<sup>156</sup>

The Greek Professor of International Relations Constantine Arvanitopoulos argues that, “common interests, together with common principles and values, constituted the bedrock of the post-war partnership between Europe and the US. NATO became an alliance of both interests and values. Throughout the Cold War there were occasional rifts or misunderstandings. From time to time the alliance has come under strain due to differences over policy, diverging interests in other parts of the world, disagreements on burden sharing and misperceptions that arose because of the unsynchronised nature of the historical development of the two continents. Yet despite occasional disagreements, the alliance has not only held together but become the basis of the Western liberal order, which many countries from around the globe have joined.”<sup>157</sup>

Additionally, a group of experts and former government officials from Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) and the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) called upon strategists from the United States and Europe to discuss the crisis in the transatlantic relationship and to propose a strategy to revive and strengthen it, this project has the title “Stronger Together, A Strategy to Revitalize Transatlantic Power.” The result was various proposals to manage challenges and included suggestions in thematic areas like Economics and Trade, Security and Defence, China, Russia, Energy Policy and Climate Change, Democracy, Technology, Middle East and North Africa. Three strategic goals were proposed that include priority objectives as it follows:

- 1) Rebuild the bonds of trust at the heart of the alliance and revitalize allied democracies.
- 2) Commit to a joint strategy to meet global challenges and defend liberalism.
- 3) Transform political, military, technological and economic capacity to be the most effective force for freedom and rules-based order in a challenging world.

Out of this Strategy to Revitalize Transatlantic Power, the most important article that involves Greece and contributes to the value of this thesis is that for the Eastern Mediterranean. In this framework, as Nathalie Tocci, Director of the Istituto Affari Internazionali and Honorary Professor at the University of Tübingen; Former Special Advisor to HRVP Federica Mogherini claims, “in the Eastern Mediterranean, the European Union has to face the consequences of its own non-neutral predicament, making U.S. facilitation key.”

And continues, “With Greece and the Republic of Cyprus in the EU and Turkey outside and with increasingly acrimonious relations between Turkey and France, the EU, institutionally, is simply disqualified as a credible first fiddle in the Eastern Mediterranean. Be it in reviving the push for a bi-zonal and bi-communal federation in Cyprus or in restarting negotiations between Greece and Turkey on the delimitation of territorial waters, national airspaces, exclusive economic zones and the status of a few uninhabited islets in the Aegean, the EU cannot be a

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<sup>156</sup> Joint Regional Strategy, Europe, January 01, 2019, available at [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/JRS\\_EUR-EE\\_UNCLASS\\_508\\_CMC.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/JRS_EUR-EE_UNCLASS_508_CMC.pdf)

<sup>157</sup> Constantine Arvanitopoulos, *The Renewal of Vows, A New Transatlantic Chapter for Europe and America*, 2019 Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies.

credible mediator. The U.S. has a far more legitimate role to play. At times this is indirect through the UN's role in Cyprus or NATO Secretary General's facilitation between Greece and Turkey, at the very least to ensure that de-confliction mechanisms are in place. On other issues, it can be more direct: key in this respect will be a U.S. push to ensure that the East Med Gas Forum, which currently features an impressive number of players in the region including Greece, Cyprus, Israel, Egypt, the Palestinian Authority, Jordan and Italy, is extended without preconditions to Turkey. Regional cooperation, including on energy matters, is positive so long as it works to bridge across rather than cement regional divides."<sup>158</sup>

On June 2022, NATO launched its new Strategic Concept, a sixteen-page document underlining the Alliance's future path, a benchmark of the Transatlantic Relationship and is some way a directive that drives U.S. policy towards Europe.<sup>159</sup> This paper emphasizes shared democratic values amongst its members and places the Alliance as a bulwark of the rules-based international order, a relatively new and important mission for NATO.<sup>160</sup> Even though NATO has clearly demonstrated Russia as the top challenge the recognition of the "persistent threat of terrorism" reflects a continued focus by certain allies. The concept outlines the three core tasks of the Alliance as follows: Deterrence and Defence, Crisis Prevention and Management and Cooperative Security. It is clear that the concept uses the same three core tasks but brings back deterrence to the forefront and increases the focus on resilience at home across societies and nations. NATO's Article 5 is frequently cited, but someone can see a growing importance of articles 3 and 4. Specifically on that Greece's role in article 3 is crucial as a key gateway, as article 3 helps to give NATO the means to fulfil its core tasks, in particular, that of collective defence through resilience and civil preparedness, Greece with the town of Alexandroupolis is ideally situated to help the United States and its allies alleviate logistical bottlenecks extending to the east from the heart of the European continent.<sup>161</sup>

The transatlantic community is bounded together by common values: individual liberty, human rights, democracy and the rule of law. It remains firmly committed to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty, while the Euro-Atlantic area is not at peace. The threats are global and interconnected, such as authoritarian actors, with Russia at the top due to its war against Ukraine, terrorism and the challenge that the People's Republic of China constitute, which appears for the first time as such in a NATO strategic concept. In the new concept are outlined also the significance of cyberspace, emerging and disruptive technologies, the erosion of arms control and the interconnection between climate change and security. Apart the way the Alliance is planning to achieve its core tasks, there is a reminder of NATO's nuclear capabilities and highly interesting is the perception that hybrid operations could reach the level of armed attack and invoke Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

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<sup>158</sup> Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs Harvard Kennedy School 79 JFK Street Cambridge, MA 02138, Copyright 2020, President and Fellows of Harvard College Printed in the United States of America p.1, 3-10, 84.

<sup>159</sup> NATO new strategic concept, <file:///C:/Users/jkmar/Downloads/290622-strategic-concept.pdf> (last access 28.09.2022).

<sup>160</sup> Decipher nato's new strategic concept, Atlantic Council authors, [https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/our-experts-decipher-natos-new-strategic-concept/?mkt\\_tok=NjU5LVdaWC0wNzUAAAGFXfi2yLfHAj5If484NRiQwc9GkSEjzJGBxZ86E5SmY8yd5t9H-AIRk6n8fEyhDhE1MfDeEtyWXGH4xwCgBs0DgqFOTCG\\_2\\_J\\_hJR\\_3ro1tA](https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/our-experts-decipher-natos-new-strategic-concept/?mkt_tok=NjU5LVdaWC0wNzUAAAGFXfi2yLfHAj5If484NRiQwc9GkSEjzJGBxZ86E5SmY8yd5t9H-AIRk6n8fEyhDhE1MfDeEtyWXGH4xwCgBs0DgqFOTCG_2_J_hJR_3ro1tA) (last access 28.09.2022).

<sup>161</sup> Resilience, civil preparedness and Article 3, [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_132722.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_132722.htm) (last access 28.09.2022).



Closing the effort to mention some key points out of the new NATO Strategic Concept, it signalizes also a recognition that the Indo-Pacific developments directly affect the Euro-Atlantic security. By enhancing cooperation with new and existing partners in the Indo-Pacific, there is a sign that countries from that region could be invited to become a member / partner of NATO and adding on that it might bring upon the deployment of NATO assets in the area.<sup>162</sup>

### **3.2 What U.S. wants from Greece**

The U.S. sees Greece as a pillar of stability in a complicated region, its geographical position puts Greece in an important place especially, as far as it concerns U.S. national security and energy priorities. Moreover, the U.S. political system has seen that the support Greece acquired during its economic crisis and most recent the migration crisis from the side of the US, altered the feelings of anti-Americanism and opened the path for a fruitful future. In this context, the mission of the U.S. Embassy in Athens is to take advantage of the current situation and expand the breadth and depth of the bilateral relationship, particularly in security, investment, trade, and people-to-people engagements. The U.S. would like Greece, to expand its security and defence role in the region and through this way will seek U.S. investment and trade opportunities. Two other priorities are the advancement of Greece's role in the European energy sector and education reform. Working under this framework, the U.S. aims to counter external influence in Greece by other global adversaries, in their efforts to benefit from Greece's geopolitical importance, to exploit structural vulnerabilities and destabilize the region, and to incite anti-Western sentiment.

The active participation of Greece in strengthening regional and global security protects also American homeland and its interests. Greece and U.S. enjoy a high level of defence cooperation, U.S. pays high importance in the "un-sinkable air-craft carrier" in Souda Bay, but also with the other locations added recently (Alexandroupolis, Larissa, etc.), U.S. forces are able to come in or go out in their planning during NATO exercises or other missions, in multiple ways. In addition, Greece is a country that it is committed to spend at least two percent of GDP on defence, although its economic difficulties it is not a "free rider" and seeks also for U.S. financial assistance for sustaining and modernizing its military systems and platforms. Greece and the U.S. are trusted partners on law enforcement issues, counterterrorism, border security cooperation, whereas, the Hellenic Coast Guard has enhanced counter terrorism and maritime security interoperability.

A long-lasting cooperation between the two countries will result joint investigation procedures, collaboration, usage of common international tools and help advance Greece's ability to detect and disrupt criminal and terrorist activity. U.S. encourages Greece to take a leading role in the integration of western Balkans into the EU and NATO, a mean to reduce regional conflict and tensions. As far as it concerns Greek – Turkish relations the U.S. promotes ongoing engagement between the two countries to improve their relationship and reduce the possibilities of an accidental military confrontation. The 2016 Turkish coup d'état attempt, migration pressure and long-lasting airspace and maritime disputes are seen as causes of concern by the U.S. side. The

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<sup>162</sup> NATO new strategic concept, <file:///C:/Users/jkmar/Downloads/290622-strategic-concept.pdf> (last access 28.09.2022).



U.S. wants Greece to support the “Prespes Agreement” along with North Macedonia and to improve further their relations, as full NATO member states and allies. In the case of Cyprus, U.S. encourages continued joint engagement.

The U.S. has as a target to strengthen and develop civil society, educational, and cultural institutions by promoting common values to reduce foreign influence in cultural and religious spheres, counter disinformation, and foster a new generation of leaders with favourable views towards the United States and its values. In this vein, the U.S. aims to counter malign Russian and Chinese influence, particularly through education as a key to future prosperity, improved governance and management, support to democratic institutions and transparency in governance. Another priority is Greece’s northern region, where the U.S. sees increased Russian malign influence and Chinese economic encroachment, with an effort to reinstate a position at Consulate General in Thessaloniki to support economic developments and counter adversaries influence by increasing U.S. presence and engagement.

U.S. policy on Greece has as a driver the 2017 National Security Strategy, it places Greece in the wider framework of the EUR Joint Regional Plan, where if the U.S. manages to help Greece strengthen its ability to protect itself, this will also help in supporting U.S. military activities in the area. Specifically, improved defence relationship with Greece concerns and affects four Combatant Commands: European Command (EUCOM), Central Command (CENTCOM), Africa Command (AFRICOM), and Special Operations Command (SOCOM). Moving to regional interactions, the U.S. supports stability, economic development and to reduce as much as possible Russian involvement in the region. Finally, the U.S. aims in economic cooperation, better governance, energy resilience, information literacy, counter propaganda, democratic empowerment, strong civil society, educational ties and holistic development.<sup>163</sup>

### **3.3 The stance of Greece**

As the Prime Minister of Greece Mr. Mitsotakis stated, “as a fundamental principle, Greece respects the territorial integrity, the sovereignty and the independence of all states. Therefore, Greece unequivocally condemns revisionist acts that run against these values. The culture and the achievements of 21st century must not allow for the world to roll back to outdated conditions of violence and the settlement of international disputes by force. Europe has suffered greatly from such ideas. The entire democratic world must stand up to historical revisionism at gunpoint”.<sup>164</sup>

In same framework, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Dendias declared “Greece views the Eastern Mediterranean region as an area of stability and prosperity, where all countries, all peoples should be able to enjoy peace and security. A member of the EU, a member of the NATO alliance, Greece actively promotes synergies and regional partnerships based on International Law and the International Law of the Sea, But, within the big framework of the United Nation’s Charter. While advancing bilateral relations to new heights, Greece has also

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<sup>163</sup> Integrated Country Strategy, Greece, August 17, 2018 available at <https://www.state.gov/wpcontent/uploads/2019/01/Greece.pdf>

<sup>164</sup> Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis’ statement at the start of the meeting of the Governmental Council of Foreign Affairs and National Defense, <https://primeminister.gr/en/2022/02/24/28715> (last access 10.04.2022).

pioneered multilateral formats of cooperation dealing with a wide variety of fields. In this way, Greece expresses the voice and fortify the efforts of all those that are committed to safeguarding peace, stability and development. This is the Greek response to the many challenges in the Eastern Mediterranean and the wider neighbourhood.<sup>165</sup> Under these circumstances, Greece has as a primary goal the protection of the existing status quo, especially vis a vis Turkey and for that reason its defence policy is characterized as defensive and deterrent.

As far as it concerns Greek – U.S. relationship, from the “Third Greece - United States Strategic Dialogue” the following should be pointed out, both nations are highlighting their ever-stronger bilateral and transatlantic relationship based on shared values and interests. The two nations work together in support of the rules-based order, international law and human rights obligations. Both emphasized the value of respecting sovereignty, sovereign rights, international law of the sea, and established structures to limit conflicts and hostility. Furthermore, Greece and the United States declared their firm backing in the integration and progress of the Western Balkans and their belief to the good enforcement of the Prespa Agreement. Closing, both will expand educational interaction, they expressed their commitment to work on innovative initiatives and other like film industry, culture and technology.<sup>166</sup>

The problems arise though when, as Mr. Endy Zemenides (executive director at the Hellenic American Leadership Council) named it, the U.S. “follows dangerous double standards”. He comments: “In the Aegean, Turkey maintains an invasion force just miles from inhabited Greek islands, regularly violates Greek airspace (with American jets to boot) and has pre-declared war in the event that Greece exercises its rights under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Given U.S. proclamations on Ukraine, the U.S. response to the formal challenge to Greece’s sovereignty by Turkey’s ambassador to the United Nations (“the sovereignty of Greek islands is not in question”) should have included a criticism of Turkey’s force posture and warmongering vis-a-vis Greece”, and continues “President Joe Biden declared that the present crisis “is about more than just Russia and Ukraine.” By the same token, Turkey’s belligerence in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean is about more than Greco-Turkish relations. For all the hand-wringing going on over what the consequences would be for NATO if Russia invaded Ukraine, there is too little consideration of how easily the Alliance could be obliterated from within because of Turkey’s aggression toward Greece.....It is time for the US to start treating the Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean as bigger than a Greco-Turkish dispute. Continuing to get this wrong only enables Russia in Ukraine and China in the South China Sea...”<sup>167</sup>

The Greek political system probably understands that, the U.S. as a superpower has its own priorities in a global perspective but on the other hand, if it takes a lot of sacrifices to keep Turkey in the West, Greece will exercise any tool available not to be Iphigeneia. Moreover, is

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<sup>165</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs Nikos Dendias’ Lecture on “Implementing the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea: the Aegean Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean as a case study” at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) (Oslo, 16.02.2022), <https://www.mfa.gr/en/current-affairs/statements-speeches/minister-of-foreign-affairs-nikos-dendias-lecture-on-implementing-the-un-convention-on-the-law-of-the-sea-the-aegean-sea-and-the-eastern-mediterranean-as-case-study-at-the-norwegian-institute-of-international-affairs-nupi-oslo-16022022.html> (last access 10.04.2022).

<sup>166</sup> Joint Statement on Third Greece - United States Strategic Dialogue (October 14, 2021), <https://www.mfa.gr/en/current-affairs/statements-speeches/joint-statement-on-third-greece-united-states-strategic-dialogue-october-14-2021.html> (last access 10.04.2022).

<sup>167</sup> Dangerous double standards, Endy Zemenides, <https://www.ekathimerini.com/opinion/1177805/dangerous-double-standards/> (last access 10.04.2022).

should be pointed out that strange opinions like that expressed by Ms Nathalie Tocci, in respectful efforts to advance Transatlantic relations, do not help. It is naïve or at least weird, to support that Turkey should be included without preconditions in the East Med Gas Forum. Turkey self-excludes itself from this cooperation, as it does not comply with UNCLOS and the common accepted, by the majority of the international community, right of the islands to Exclusive Economic Zones. It is characteristic that, in the whole Eastern Mediterranean region Turkey agrees only with one, itself.<sup>168</sup> It is alarming to see that Ms Nathalie Tocci, with its background as a Special Advisor to HRVP Federica Mogherini makes that assessment and any possible reasons behind it.

Finally, since the beginning of the Russian invasion Greece has adopted a clear, principled and unambiguous stance, alongside its allies and partners. This stance is shaped by its own experiences in history and its geopolitical choices, as Greece has always stood on the right side of history. Revisionism poses a new challenge to world peace, the threat of war against sovereign nations is dangerous and the devastating consequences of the unprovoked and illegal use of force flow to other nations and destabilize the global balance. Greece has called for the immediate cessation of attacks against civilians, expressed its readiness to participate in humanitarian missions and to put in place conditions for safe evacuation.<sup>169</sup>

### 3.4 Common references

As we may be entering a world of multidimensional brinkmanship,<sup>170</sup> the big picture is that the United States of America in the context of great power competition wants to weaken Russia as much as it is possible (US Defence Secretary Lloyd Austin on 25 April 2022, told reporters the US wants to see "Russia weakened to the degree that it can't do the kinds of things that it has done in invading Ukraine"),<sup>171</sup> but in the foreign policy planning of the U.S. the focus is on China. The U.S. wants to maintain and keep the global system of balance stable as it works in its own favour. On that, Greece strongly supports the existing status quo, it rejects revisionism and it shares U.S. thinking. Moreover, the two countries share ideas and values, value democracy, have a common maritime tradition and have fought shoulder to shoulder in every major global conflict.

There is an encouraging indicator for Greece that the U.S. has started to change its priorities in the region and to place Greece in the centre. Building on that, the strategic importance of Greece geographically, as Mackinder had made also and the fact that, it is the place where the West and the East meet, Greece tries to build on that reality and aligns itself with the U.S. strategic interests. Of course, the American political leadership, no matter the political party in office, has

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<sup>168</sup> Settling East Med EEZ disputes: A Path Ahead, Dr. Charles ELLINAS, Policy Brief #134/2020, ELIAMEP, <https://www.eliamep.gr/en/publication/%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%B5%CF%85%CE%B8%CE%B5%CF%84%CF%8E%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%82-%CF%84%CE%B9%CF%82-%CE%B4%CE%B9%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%BF%CF%81%CE%AD%CF%82-%CE%B1%CE%BF%CE%B6-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1/> (last access 10.04.2022).

<sup>169</sup> Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis' speech at the 77th UN General Assembly, <https://primeminister.gr/en/2022/09/23/30248> (last access 28.09.2022).

<sup>170</sup> Robert D. Kaplan, The revenge of Geography, What the map tells us about coming conflicts and the battle against fate, Random House, New York, Copyright © 2012 by Robert D. Kaplan, p.80.

<sup>171</sup> Ukraine war: US wants to see a weakened Russia, Matt Murphy, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61214176> (last access 28.09.2022).

mainly realistic views and at the end consequently ethos, instincts and aggressiveness will come secondary.<sup>172</sup>

Greece has to strengthen its efforts to cooperate even closer with the U.S. in the fields of diplomacy, economy, research and innovation, information sharing, military interoperability, energy security, climate change, education, culture by bringing together societies and people, hybrid threats, terrorism, global challenges and security risks. Expanding on all of these domains, the two countries should enhance their interaction with a view on the future and initiatives like the Foresight Symposium «FUTURE LAB INITIATIVE», that took place in Athens on 22-23 March 2022, can offer possible solutions in emerging problems and challenges. In this way, foresight studies can prepare both countries to understand better global trends and be prepared to respond more effectively.<sup>173</sup>

While it is a reality that the U.S does not speak with one voice, in fact like all democracies, different politicians in power at different points of time have different opinions. It has to be highlighted that changing political views from time to time in both countries, does not affect the strategic relationship at bilateral level so it will continue to remain strong. A possible way to manage that is by building strong bonds, people to people ties and cooperation in the institutional level.

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<sup>172</sup> Spyridon N. Litsas, *US Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean, Power Politics and Ideology Under the Sun*, Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2020, 1st ed. 2020 Edition, p.86.

<sup>173</sup> (Τι κάνει στην Ελλάδα ένα στέλεχος του αμερικανικού Πενταγώνου; in Greek), Protagon Team, <https://www.protagon.gr/epikairota/ti-kanei-stin-ellada-ena-stelexos-tou-amerikanikou-pentagwnou-44342467710> (last access 28.09.2022).

## CHAPTER 4: Conclusions – Recommendations

### 4.1 Conclusions

The relationship between Greece and the United States of America throughout time can be divided in four distinctive phases with certain characteristics. Particularly during the birth of the Greek state in 1821, the U.S. was a “young” state in a period of survival and ascend after the American civil war. The two countries shared common values and ideas like democracy and freedom among others, but due to the hard reality of self-preservation they had limited relations. The second phase starts near the beginning of the first WWI till the end of the Greek civil war on 1949 and a little further in 1950’s. The U.S. gradually becomes one of the great world powers and after WWII one of the two epicenters of strength with the Soviet Union, the Cold War begins. On the other side Greece having fought two World Wars, the Balkan Wars, and the devastating civil war, it grows and expands because its political choices place Greece in the right side of the history always side by side with the U.S. As a result, the cost that Greece pays for its decision to belong to the West is tremendous and after the civil war the state is very weak. However, the U.S. comes and supports Greece as the leader of the free world and the two countries enjoy a period that come very close. It must be mentioned though that, there is no proper balance, as the weakness of Greece and the interventionism of the U.S. become obvious and form the conditions for the deterioration of the interstate relations in the years to come.

The third phase starts with the beginning of the EOKA cause and ends with the U.S. intervention in favor of Greece, in the period of the economic crisis, approximately in 2010-2015. From the one hand, Greece has many internal problems regarding the function of the state and fails to defend properly core national interests, and from the other the U.S. exercises hard hints of realism in its foreign policy, sometimes staying neutral and sometimes by taking decisions against Greece, always of course in the way the Americans thought it served its own national interests. This situation albeit among allies, created a downgrading of the bilateral relations and exploded anti-Americanism in Greece. An external observer could argue that Greeks tend to always blame the others for their faults, while the U.S. clearly valued more Turkey than Greece as an ally, considering only that size matters. The U.S. during that period enjoys its transformation from one of the global powers of the world to the only superpower, the so called “unipolar moment”, a time when the U.S. is accused by many of its allies, for acting aggressively and unilaterally. The reality is, that Greece for the first time since its independence suffered territorial losses in the case of Imia but also ethnic in the case of Cyprus. The fourth phase illustrates the period of the last eight to five years which brings us in today’s reality, where the two countries have reached an all-time high-level cooperation and lifted their relation to the strategic level. It seems that, as Greece is an EU member and a more mature state, the balance is better in comparison with the second phase between U.S. and Greece, an element that signifies better prospects for the future.

It has already been mentioned that the Greek-American relations enjoy their most advantageous level in its history. The level of cooperation expands from the traditional domains to new domains and the prospects seem endless. The U.S. engages Greece depending on the situation, sometimes as a subset of the E.U. (for example in trade) and sometimes in a bilateral level (as expected regarding security issues) in the Eastern Mediterranean basin. In that area, one can

notice geopolitical instability where Greece is located at the center and colliding powers meet at a tangent coming from the Baltics to the Persian Gulf.<sup>174</sup> On its side Greece tries to create a more advantageous environment in the area with principles closer to the Greek ones. Furthermore, Greece uses new sources of power and traditional ones with the goal to achieve multiplier effects, through this way the ambition is to achieve internal and external balance. Therefore, Greece constructs a narrative, that can be attractive to other countries and aligns itself with the U.S. interests as much as possible.

In the above-mentioned effort, the importance of the American factor for Greek interests is decisive and therefore, securing as much as possible American support for its national goals is imperative. The two main parameters that define the American attitude towards Greece and Hellenism are, on the one hand, capabilities and, on the other hand, the willingness of Greece to contribute to the implementation of the American plans. As the global political-economic order is in flux, efforts to construct a new global order may arise that will shape relations around the world and Greece should be ready to take its role next to the U.S. in this procedure.<sup>175</sup> It is a fact that no one can predict the future, but as history has taught Greece, in turbulent times you must place yourself in the right side of it.

Greece is trying to consist of a valued ally and strategic partner by advancing U.S. interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, it embraces a commitment to defense and security cooperation with U.S., it contributes significantly to NATO, U.S. missions, it helps U.S. support of Ukraine and American officials express their gratitude like U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Joe Dunford, Then-Secretary of defence James Mattis, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and U.S. Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt.<sup>176</sup> In this vein Greece declares to be a pillar of stability in the region by increasing its defense expenditures, by participating actively in the collective security of NATO and the EU, and by being a security provider and not just a consumer. In addition, Greece enhances its military capabilities and its crisis response mechanisms by implementing whole of government and whole of society approach. A strong Greece means a stronger U.S. and a safe geopolitical environment results the advancement of the U.S. interests. Towards a new level of ambition Greece and the U.S., can work hand in hand for safety and prosperity of their own people.

The summary presentation of Greece's position in the previous chapters in the regional and international space, requires a continuous interpretation of the political situation shaped by the constant changes at the regional and global level and, of course, a redefinition of national goals based on the new dynamic links that are growing around its environment. National interests are secured in this new dynamic nexus of relations, through a mild but active participation in the operational system of international relations, where the possible will be separated from the desirable, to avoid any costly choices.

In addition, the broader issues of, energy security, the fight against international terrorism, organized transnational crime, hybrid threats, emerging and disruptive technologies, climate

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<sup>174</sup> Athanasios G. Platias & Christos Hadjiemmanuil, *Elliniki ypsili stratigiki*, Dialogoi me tin igesia tis choras, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, June 2022, Eurasia Publications.

<sup>175</sup> Dani Rodrik, Stephen Walt, Harvard Kennedy School, May 24, 2021, How to Construct a new global order, p. 1-2.

<sup>176</sup> AMERICAN HELLENIC INSTITUTE 1220 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036, 202.785.8430, [www.aheworld.org](http://www.aheworld.org).



change, space, resilience, cybersecurity, religious and minority freedoms as well as respect for human rights will play a decisive role in bilateral relations and Athens will be called upon in the coming years for a more "enhanced" coupling with the American positions. Finally, a personal view, the strength of the current relationship between Greece and the U.S., is deeper, it is across peoples, not just government arms.

## 4.2 Recommendations

First, the two countries should invest in the existing structures of cooperation and especially in the forthcoming fourth phase of the strategic dialogue, where discussions will take place to analyze the current situation in a global but also regional level, to assess the progress in previous decisions and to decide steps to move forward. During that procedure the American policy makers might ask specific prioritized recommendations or out of the box ideas, the U.S. will not know what else Greece is currently doing, so Greece could place some of those ideas on the table, for example a proposal for a yearly cyber group under the National Security Council of the U.S.

Key consideration will be on how Greece and the U.S. can work together on challenges coming from China. While Greece has as a priority the problems coming from Turkey, the policymakers of Greece should be ready to take hard decisions in the case of China to gain support mutually vis a vis Turkey. Especially for Turkey, Greece has always to be ready to analyze the current situation, its complexities, and specific recommendations regarding Greek-Turkish relations to its American counterparts. Moreover, Greece must realize that the U.S. will not fight a war that does not belong to itself. As the ongoing war on Ukraine has shown us, the Greeks should be prepared to defend their core national interests and they must communicate their red lines to everyone. After Greece has fulfilled its national duty, Greece might expect and welcome the U.S. or any other ally, to assist in a way that always serves its own interests.

In the case of China, the U.S. believes that the Chinese leadership under Xi Jinping is not peaceful nor beneficial. As the Secretary of State Antony Blinken outlined the Biden administration's policy toward China, describing Beijing as the "most serious long-term challenge to the international order. He argued "We will compete with China to defend our interests and our vision for the future,"<sup>177</sup> The U.S. wants to change the security environment within which China operates and to achieve that, three are the main pillars: (a) strengthening American capabilities, (b) align Allies and partners, without forming an anti-Chinese coalition and (c) compete with China, projecting a positive vision for the future, however, keeping the channels of communication open. Building on that, Greece must be ready to support American capabilities and align itself the U.S. without projecting anti-Chinese stance. An out of the box idea, might be an initiative from the side of Greece to bring together the two giants to cooperate in issues like climate change, where they can find common ground and Greece will play a positive role for both. On the other hand, Greece should also be ready to take hard decisions, for example if NATO assets are going to be deployed in the Indo-Pacific and the U.S. asks for Greek participation.

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<sup>177</sup> Blinken says China is a serious long-term challenge but the U.S. does not want a new Cold War, Amanda Macias, <https://www.cnbc.com/2022/05/26/secretary-of-state-antony-blinken-speaks-on-us-policy-toward-china.html> (last access 28.09.2022).

Greece has secured 97 commitments, for its candidacy to the UN Security Council for the election to the post of non-permanent member for the period 2025-26, whereas the main message of its candidacy is: "80 years of the UN Charter: its fundamental principles are as relevant as ever". The goal is therefore to promote these principles, which are also the basic values of Greek foreign policy. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states. Full respect for the principles of International Law, including the International Law of the Sea. The prohibition of the use of force or even the threat of use of force. The peaceful resolution of disputes based on International Law and, where necessary, with recourse to the International Court of Justice in The Hague".<sup>178</sup> This means that Greece could sometimes be a co-sponsor of some draft solutions for worthwhile global issues and might be able to help the U.S. in its global policies.

The Capitol riot on 6 January 2021 was an incident that shocked the United States of America when supporters of former President Donald Trump stormed in a bid to thwart the certification of Joe Biden's election victory.<sup>179</sup> Donald Trump, and Trumpism as an ideology, has opened a Pandora's box of hate into the American mainstream<sup>180</sup> and worsened internal cleavages in the political system, racial issues, the quality of U.S. democracy etc. As the history of American democracy is the struggle of the dis-empowered to be treated as "citizens" entitled to and enjoying all rights and protections, and to access power there is a continuous struggle to balance liberty, equality, and order.<sup>181</sup> This increased polarization as well as economic problems in the society, has turned the interest of the U.S. political system inside the country. For that reason, Greece must analyze in depth (through a special committee), those issues that concern the USA daily and to facilitate in issues where that it is possible. Greece and U.S. for example, can enhance crisis management tools and encourage the sharing of best practices between the two countries in national training and exercises.

In addition, the two strategic partners could strengthen experience sharing and the impact of awareness raising and mobilisation of populations in the face of crises. Crisis preparedness and response contribute to building resilience but achieving that also requires extensive preparation for future crises. Improving the resistance of the various economic and social sectors to violent and/or lasting shocks is part of this. Enterprisingly, Greece could propose depending on its capability in cases where the U.S is exercising retrenchment from its global and allied commitments, to cover up in some way the U.S., like in the case of the deployment of Greek Patriot Anti-Air missile battery system in Saudi Arabia.<sup>182</sup>

Greece should actively participate in the annual initiatives of the USA for Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, Country Reports on Terrorism, International Narcotics Control

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<sup>178</sup> (Εξασφάλιση 97 δεσμεύσεων για την υποψηφιότητα της Ελλάδας στο Συμβούλιο Ασφαλείας του ΟΗΕ in Greek), Aggeliki Papathanasiou, <https://www.ertnews.gr/eidiseis/ellada/exasfalisi-97-desmeyseon-gia-tin-yoposifiotita-tis-elladas-sto-symvoylio-afaleias-toy-oie/> (last access 28.09.2022).

<sup>179</sup> Capitol riots timeline: What happened on 6 January 2021?, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-56004916> (last access 30.09.2022).

<sup>180</sup> What the Capitol insurgency reveals about white supremacy and law enforcement, Rashawn Ray, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/how-we-rise/2021/01/12/what-the-capitol-insurgency-reveals-about-white-supremacy-and-law-enforcement/> (last access 28.09.2022).

<sup>181</sup> Capitol Siege, By MICHAEL KUNZELMAN, LINDSAY WHITEHURST and ALANNA DURKIN RICHER, <https://apnews.com/hub/capitol-siege> (last access 28.09.2022).

<sup>182</sup> (Αναχώρησαν για Σαουδική Αραβία οι Patriot in Greek), Newsroom, <https://www.kathimerini.gr/society/561498844/anachorisan-gia-saoydiki-aravia-oi-patriot/> (last access 30.09.2022).

Strategy Report, International Religious Freedom (a report of great importance for Greece due to the Muslim minority in Thrace), Investment Climate Statements (in order Greece welcomes U.S. FDI's - Foreign Direct Investments), To Walk the Earth in Safety (a commitment to conventional weapons destruction programs, supporting stability around the world) and The Trafficking in Persons Report.<sup>183</sup>

The two allies can create a multifaceted monitoring mechanism to analyze global trends of the 21st century and find common ground in terms of national interests. For instance, the Global Risks Report 2021, 16th Edition, published by the World Economic Forum,<sup>184</sup> the U.S. National Intelligence Council's Global Trends report, March 2021<sup>185</sup> and the 15th Annual Edition 2022 Tech Trends Report by the Future Today Institute<sup>186</sup> are sources that can generate out of the box ideas, can help explore structural forces, emerging dynamics, can bring out trends that will influence business, government, education, media, and society in the coming years. Building on the above, Greece must find links of engagement in the top U.S. Think Tanks to come close in policymakers, new political talents and party leaders, civil society, to propose agendas concerning the relations of the two countries, to craft initiatives, to structure research hubs and generate innovative ideas. All these efforts will bring people-to people ties even closer and mutual respect and understanding can lead Greece and U.S. even closer.

As it has already been mentioned Greece has to mobilize the Greek diaspora in the U.S. as it is a powerhouse inside the American society. The Greek American community can nurture the bilateral relations in a higher level. Mr. Endy Zemenides, the executive director of the Hellenic American Leadership Council (HALC), a profound member of the Greek American community, has argued that "Greece must engage more Greek Americans in its effort to gain American support". In this context, Greece must record all the influential Americans with Greek origin in the U.S. and to try to engage them through the Greek embassy to promote Greek interests. That attempt will require more staff working for the Greek Embassy, a cost that will pay off in the future. Also, as he specifically mentioned, "Greece should avoid the mistake to try to engage the diaspora in the U.S. through the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, as the majority has not any connection with it, they desire engagement with government officials, and this is something that Greece must understand". To that end, Greece can replicate Israeli programs that have been approved successful to boost Greek diaspora ties and deepen the connection between Greeks abroad and Greece.<sup>187</sup>

Finally, in the military domain the cooperation is based on NATO and bilateral agreements, while the implementation is taking place in multiple areas like the operational, education, industry etc. Greece and U.S are operating and training shoulder to shoulder to achieve interoperability of forces, a key component to counter threats and challenges, while Greece also, should request from the U.S. closer cooperation with the U.S. Cyber Command and interagency

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<sup>183</sup> Reports and Publications, <https://www.state.gov/department-reports/> (last access 28.09.2022).

<sup>184</sup> The Global Risks Report 2021, 16<sup>th</sup> Edition, 2021 World Economic Forum, available at <http://wef.ch/risks2021> (last access 30.09.2022).

<sup>185</sup> Global Trends 2040, A more contested world, <https://www.dni.gov/index.php/gt2040-home>, (last access 30.09.2022).

<sup>186</sup> The Future Today Institute's 15th Anniversary Tech Trends Report, <https://futuretodayinstitute.com/trends/> (last access 30.09.2022).

<sup>187</sup> New programs boost Israel-Diaspora ties, Natan Sharansky, <https://www.jewishagency.org/new-programs-boost-israel-diaspora-ties/> (last access 30.09.2022).

cooperation to deal with hybrid threats. Furthermore, Greece must propose to the American side the support to the Eastern Flank of NATO through the port of Alexandroupolis by guaranteeing supply from the south towards Bulgaria and Romania and to ensure reliability in support of Allied capabilities in peacetime and in crisis in the area. In this vein another step is the case of expanding NATO's fuel supply to the east by expanding existing installations inside Greece from the town of Kavala to Alexandroupolis and beyond to Bulgaria and Romania.<sup>188</sup>

Concerning NATO's nuclear deterrence policies, Greece can play a constructive, if not leading, role as the West approaches this sensitive issue in the coming years. Athens could investigate under what conditions it could become one of the pillars of European nuclear deterrence. As the airport of Araksos in Greece used to host nuclear weapons in the past, a discussion must open about the operational capabilities of these installations and whether the U.S. will be welcomed to upgrade the storage structures security systems.<sup>189</sup> Decentralizing nuclear deterrence, is a part of a strategy in the mind of defence planning in the U.S., that it is included in the concept of decentralizing deterrence. Greece must become a part of this planning demonstrating deterrence by denial and deterrence by resilience, through a set of credible forces in the multi domain environment of the future, whereas the U.S. will seek cooperation and interaction to mutually counter forthcoming threats and challenges. In other words, a resilient ecosystem of common forces and defence.<sup>190</sup>

### 4.3 Epilogue

Any relation between states is a marathon, while the question about how close two countries can cooperate has no answer. At first, it depends on common interests according to the realist school of thought, or on shared ideas and values according to the idealists, while the constructivism stands somewhere in the middle. The relationship of Greece and the United States of America has a great momentum, but the Greek policymakers have always to be careful as the "special" weight of the two is not equal in the international system. The United States of America can be a very dangerous country if something goes wrong. The invasion of Russia in Ukraine has labelled an historic revolution in the global arena while today a leadership crisis follows drastic shifts in the international correlations.

Global powers competition, increased arms expenditure, energy security, migration flows, food and climate crisis and hybrid threats create an explosive mix that challenges state resilience, allied relations, internal cohesion, cooperation, and common understanding. Greece must be able from the one hand to promote democratic values and from the other to be pragmatistic. The spending of valuable political and diplomatic capital will have to be aligned with the present circumstances of each time, in a world where give and take is continuous, fluid coalitions

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<sup>188</sup> («Σούδα 2» με νέα επέκταση – Βαθαίνει η αμερικανική παρουσία στο λιμάνι της Αλεξανδρούπολης in Greek), Vassilis Nedos, <https://www.kathimerini.gr/politics/foreign-policy/562048276/soyda-2-me-nea-epektasi-vathainei-i-amerikaniki-paroysia-sto-limani-tis-alexandroypolis/> (last access 30.09.2022).

<sup>189</sup> (Θα υποδεχθούν πυρηνικά όπλα η Σούδα και ο Αραξός; In Greek), Ybonni-Stefania Efstathiou, Vassilis Kappis, <https://www.kathimerini.gr/opinion/561445405/tha-ypodechthoyn-pyrinika-opla-i-soyda-kai-o-araxos/> (last access 30.09.2022).

<sup>190</sup> Unified Threats Need Decentralized Deterrence, Jacob Helberg, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/05/11/unified-threats-need-decentralized-deterrence/> (last access 30.09.2022).

appear, great powers change their thinking in a win-win mentality and that reality shapes the new normal.

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