



ATHENS SECURITY FORUM 2025

REDEFINING EUROPEAN SECURITY
The Challenges for NATO and EU

November 11-12, 2025
The Hellenic Armed Forces Officers' Club

The 2025 edition of the Athens Security Forum convenes at a pivotal moment for the Euro-Atlantic security architecture, with a particular focus on the Eastern Mediterranean's Southern Flank. Situated at the crossroads of escalating tensions in the Middle East and the enduring conflict in Ukraine, the region is undergoing a profound recalibration of strategic priorities, alliances, and threat perceptions. This year's forum explores how regional actors—state and non-state alike—are repositioning themselves within a restructured geopolitical landscape. The agenda foregrounds questions of strategic posture, interdependence, and identity politics, examining how shifting power dynamics and normative frameworks are reshaping the Southern Flank's security landscape. To navigate these complexities, the forum brings together a high-trust cohort of thought leaders from Europe, the United States, India, and the Middle East. Participants include senior diplomats, security analysts, area studies scholars, and political decision-makers, fostering a multidisciplinary dialogue that bridges policy, intelligence, and academic insight.

PROGRAM

Tuesday, November 11, 2025

11:15 Registration

12:00 Welcome & Introductory Remarks

- Kostas Ifantis, Professor, Panteion University & President, IDIS
- George Mantelas, Director, TA NEA
- Marian Wendt, Head, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung for Greece and Cyprus

12:15-12:45 **Opening address**:

Georgios Gerapetritis, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Chair: Dionysis Nasopoulos, Editor-in-Chief, TA NEA

12:45-13:00 Europe in the era of multi-crisis

Session I:

 Javier Colomina, Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy, NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for the Southern Neighborhood (tbc)

Chair: Ino Afentouli, Executive Director IDIS







13:00-13:45 **Session II**

Speakers:

Klaus Welle, Academic Council Chairman, Wilfried Martens Center

 Dimitris Kairidis, MP, Vice-President, Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, Hellenic Parliament

 Konstantinos Lavdas, Professor & President, Department of International, European and Regional Studies, Panteion University

Chair: Jenny Kapellou, Director, Hanns Seidel Stiftung for Greece and Cyprus

13:45-14:30 Break

14:30-15:45 Energy Opportunities and Challenges in the East Mediterranean

14:30-15:00 Session I

Stavros Papastavrou, Minister of Energy and Environment (tbc)
 In conversation with

Leonidas Stergiou, Editor-in-Chief, TA NEA

15:00-15:45 **Session II**

Speakers:

 Antonia Dimou, Non-Resident Fellow, Center for Middle East Development, University of California.

 Dr. Amit Mor, CEO, Eco Energy Financial & Strategic Consulting and a Senior Lecturer at Reichman University

15:45-16:30 What future for Ukraine?

In cooperation with The Harriman Institute, Columbia University

Speakers:

Haris Theoharis, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Alex Cooley, Claire Tow Professor of Political Science, Barnard College

Michael Kimmage, Director of the Wilson Center's Kennan Institute (remote)

Chair: Panagiota Manoli, Associate Professor in Political Economy of International

Relations, University of Peloponnese

16:30-17:00 Taking the pulse of US-Greek relations

Speakers:

 Alexandra Papadopoulou, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in conversation with:

Viktoria Dendrinou, Athens Bureau Chief, Bloomberg News







17:00-17:30 Break

17:30-18:30 A new division of labor between NATO and EU: a European defense identity

Speakers:

Laurence Auer, Ambassadrice de France en Grèce

Thanos Dokos, National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of Greece

Dimitrios Kottas, CEO, Delian Alliance Industries

Elena Lazarou, Director General, ELIAMEP

Chair: Marilena Koppa, Professor and Provost, Panteion University, former MEP

18:30-19:15 A Grand Strategy for Europe

Speakers:

Tasos Chatzivasileiou, MP, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Dr. Mark Speich, Secretary General of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

19:15-19:45 Address

Nikos Dendias, Minister of National Defence

Chair: Kostas Ifantis, Professor, Panteion University & President, IDIS

19:45-20:15 The Authoritarian Resurgence in World Politics

 Alex Cooley, Claire Tow Professor of Political Science, Barnard College In conversation with:

Mihalis Mitsos, Editor-in Chief, TA NEA

Wednesday, November 12, 2025

10:00-14:30 The China Challenge

10:00-10:40 Session I: Repivoting the Chinese Economy in an Age of World Disorder

Speaker:

Dr. Sun Xin, Senior Lecturer in Political Economy, King's College London

Discussant: Konstantinos Tsimonis, Assistant Professor in Chinese Politics, Panteion

University; Academic lead, IDIS China Program







10:40-11:40 Session II: China, Europe and technology leakages between military Ecosystems

Speakers:

 Dr. Rao Swasti, Associate Professor and associate Dean for Global Initiatives at O.P. Jindal Global University, India.

 Dr. Ilya Roubanis, Senior Fellow, China Programme, Institute of International Relations

Chair: Konstantinos Tsimonis, Assistant Professor in Chinese Politics, Panteion

University; Academic lead, IDIS China Program

11:40-12:00 Break

12:00-12:40 Session III: Tracking China-Europe academic engagements: assessing

scope, transparency, and risks

Speaker:

Matej Šimalčík, Executive Director of the Central European Institute of Asian

Studies

12:40-13:30 Session IV: The Dragon Caught in the Island of Calypso: Revisiting the

interplay of investment and geopolitics in Piraeus

Speakers:

 Plamen Tonchev, Head of Asia Unit, Institute of International Economic Relations (remote)

 Clark Banach, Program Director, Aletheia Research Institution; Teaching Professor, Canisius University, US (remote)

 Dr. Ilya Roubanis, Senior Fellow, China Programme, Institute of International Relations

Chair: Dr. Dimitrios Stroikos, IDIS China Program postdoctoral fellow, Head of the space

policy project, LSE IDEAS, MSCA Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Bologna

13:30-14:30 Break

14:30-15:30 The Transformation of the Levant

In cooperation with RUSI

Speakers:

 Ambassador Jonathan R. Cohen, RUSI Distinguished Fellow, International Security

Dr. Burcu Ozcelik, Senior Research Fellow, Middle East Security

Chair: Christos Kourtelis, Assistant Professor in European Public Policy, Panteion

University





15:30-16:00 Break

16:00-17:30 Exploring a new paradigm in foreign policy

16:00-16:30 Session I

- Evangelos Venizelos, former Vice-President of the Government and MFA In conversation with:
- Ino Afentouli, Executive Director, IDIS

16:30-17:30 Session II

Speakers:

- Konstantinos Arvanitopoulos, Professor, Panteion University & Director, Karamanlis Foundation, former Minister of Education
- Yannis Valinakis, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Athanassios Platias, Professor Emeritus, University of Piraeus; President of the Council of Foreign Affairs
- Panayotis Tsakonas, Professor, Athens University

Chair: Dimitri Triantafyllou, Professor of International Politics, Panteion University

17:30-18:30 Exploring a new paradigm in security and defense policy

Speakers:

- Harry Papasotiriou, Professor, Panteion University.
- Evripidis Tsakiridis, Chief of Staff, Office of the Deputy Minister of National
- Dr Dimitrios Stroikos, Head of the space policy project, LSE IDEAS

Chair: Konstantina Botsiou, Professor, University of Piraeus & Secretary General, The Council of Foreign Relations































