

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

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-crises****Session I:**

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



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: Ino Afentouli, Executive Director IDIS

13:45-15:00 Break**15:00-15:30 *Energy Opportunities and Challenges in the East Mediterranean***

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

**15:30-16:30 *What future for Ukraine?*
*In cooperation with The Harriman Institute, Columbia University***

Speakers:

- Harry 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
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

17:00-17:15 Break**17:15-17:45 *Greece as energy hub of Europe***

- Stavros Papastavrou, Minister of the Environment and Energy
In conversation with:
- George Mantelas, Director, TA NEA



17:45-18:30 *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:*
- Mihalīs 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 Strokos, 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 Kourtellis, 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:

- 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 Defense
- Anastassios Rozolis, Chairman of the BoD of the Hellenic Manufacturers of Defense and Security Material Association-SEKPY
- 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

ΕΤΑΙΡΟΙ
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