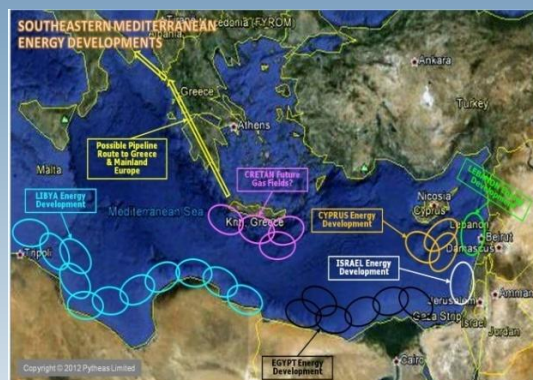
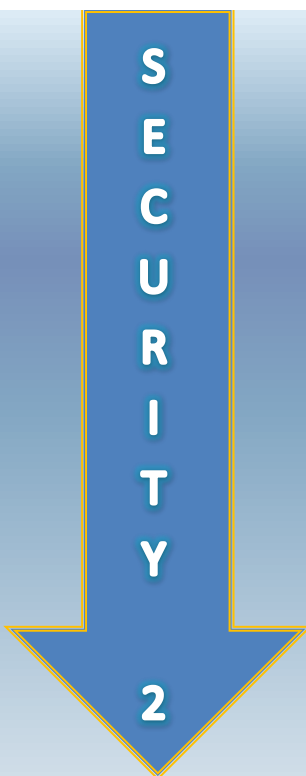
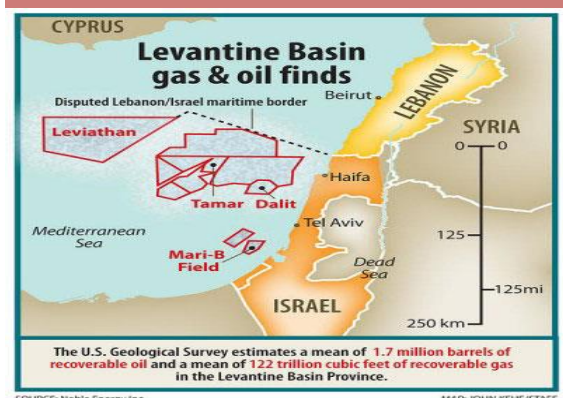




RIEAS Research Institute for European and American Studies



RIEAS EXECUTIVE TRAINING SEMINAR



Mediterranean and
North Africa Intelligence:
Contemporary Maritime
Security Threats

Edited by
Antonia Dimou &
Ioannis Nomikos

ATHENS AUGUST, 2015

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Mediterranean and North Africa Intelligence: Contemporary Maritime Security Threats

Conference Proceedings Series Editor:

Antonia L. Dimou

John M. Nomikos

Issue Editors:

Antonia Dimou

Ioannis Nomikos

Assistant Editor:

Eleni Iatridi

Cover Design:

Ioannis Anastasakis

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Research institute for European and American Studies

Kalavriton 1 Street Alimos, Athens 17456

Attica, Greece

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LIST OF INSTRUCTORS

(Background as of July 2015)

- **Antonia Dimou**, Senior RIEAS advisor, Associate at the Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan and Instructor at Webster University, Athens Campus.
- **Aya Burweila**, Senior RIEAS analyst, and Member of the International Advisory Board at Mediterranean Council of Intelligence Studies (MCIS)
- **Ioannis Kolovos**, RIEAS Editor, Illegal Immigration Newsletter
- **Amb. Ioannis Korantis***, Former head of the Greek Intelligence Service (EYP-NIS)

* Guest Speaker

John M. Nomikos, editor of this volume, is RIEAS Director.

Eleni Iatridi, assistant editor of this volume, is an internship researcher at the RIEAS.

Introduction

The Mediterranean region is in the center of a security nexus connecting Europe with Africa, Asia and the Middle East. New risks and threats to regional stability, emanating from chaotic situations in North African countries like Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt, include maritime security, piracy, illegal migration-human trafficking, the disruption of energy flows requires intelligence-sharing coordination and integrated resources between government actors (including military, coastguard, border control and police) in the Mediterranean and North Africa states.

This reality has prompted the Research Institute for European and American Studies (RIEAS) to organize the 2nd Executive Security Training Seminar titled: *"Mediterranean and North Africa Intelligence: Contemporary Maritime Security Threats."* The training seminar aimed to address Mediterranean and North Africa emerging risks and threats by recommending the enforcement of policy and security measures at national and regional levels.

To this end, the seminar's instructors with a diverse background ranging from politics, economics and the academia addressed a selected audience of senior officers from the Hellenic armed forces, the coast guard, the police and the intelligence agencies, and representatives of foreign diplomatic missions based in Athens.

The training seminar as part of the annual activities that are planned, implemented and supported organizationally by RIEAS concluded with the conduct of evaluation which demonstrated the need for the organization of a third sister seminar in 2016.

RIEAS, in accordance to its mission, will continue to assist regional and national decision-makers from the public and private sectors to deal with risks and threats through the utilization of the innovative and leading thinking of the institute's personnel and partners.

John Nomikos
RIEAS Director
Athens, August 2015

PREFACE

The East Mediterranean and North Africa are geopolitically significant regions which are, however, overwhelmed by security problems considered as vital ranging from interstate conflicts and transnational threats with most prominent illegal migration, human trafficking and terrorism. Equal important, the crisis in Syria and the challenges of a changing Egypt continue to drive regional politics and economics related to energy.

A major area of concern for the majority of regional countries involves the establishment of a maritime security regime that includes peace and security, territorial integrity and security from crimes at sea. No country can cement partnerships that realize its full potential while the regional maritime domain, similar to critical infrastructures, is run the risk of being exploited to cause harm to people and disrupt economic stability and prosperity.

What some of the challenges to stability present, the magnitude of their complexities and whether they can be addressed in the form of coordinated policies, have led to the formation of the agenda of the 2nd training executive seminar of the Research Institute for European and American Studies (RIEAS).

A central topic of the seminar was natural gas cooperation as driver to the securing of energy supply not only for the countries of the East Mediterranean but also for Europe. It is broadly acknowledged that the East Mediterranean is a complicated piece of real estate, thus infrastructure partnerships between countries, that have long-defined themselves in opposition to each other, can provide real incentives to develop a new psychology of normalization. The development and exploitation of gas resources in Israel and Cyprus, and downstream export economic options have been explicitly addressed in the seminar's context with special focus on maritime and pipeline security.

Equally primary theme has been the presentation of Libya and the likelihood to turn itself into a united state, a failed state, a partitioned state, or non-state. The factionalization that continues to dominate Libyan politics has fueled domestic instability, while the country's security forces have been easily routed by ISIS which has acquired advanced equipment, financial resources and training camps inside the territory of Libya. The use of Libya by Jihadists, as gateway to the Mediterranean Sea and as a key operating hub for illegal trafficking to Europe, has also been analyzed.

An additional core issue of the seminar was the presentation of policy responses to people trafficking with Greece serving as a case study. Migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, stateless persons and, under specific circumstances, internally displaced persons are usually victims of people trafficking. Thus, the combat of this crime entails on the part of Greece the enforcement of national and European policies alike.

In articulating their presentations, instructors provided concrete answers to complicated matters. As the chairman of the executive seminar noted in his concluding remarks, *"instructors successfully managed to enhance our understanding of complex issues"*.

This precisely has been the goal of RIEAS. In the context of its training activities, RIEAS sustains keen interest in the affairs of the East Mediterranean and North African regions and supports dialogue to identify contemporary risks and provide solutions.

Antonia Dimou,
Editor
Athens, August 2015

Mediterranean and
North Africa Intelligence:
Contemporary Maritime
Security Threats

FIRST DAY

ATHENS AUGUST, 2015

“East Mediterranean Energy Cooperation and Security Challenges”

Antonia Dimou

Ms Antonia Dimou's presentation focused on the regional development of hydrocarbon resources in Israel and Cyprus, including downstream developments and export options, and on a number of challenges to security of future gas infrastructures in the East Mediterranean.

She acknowledged that regional countries are at various stages of exploration and development which are however fraught by political risks and policy dilemmas and thus cooperation, conflict resolution and the creation of interdependency structures are prerequisites to unlock the potential of the Mediterranean and safeguard the unimpeded flow of future gas production.

Ms Dimou described Israel as a catalyst for regional energy cooperation citing that gas discoveries have strengthened Tel Aviv's energy security, decidedly contributed to the reduction of the country's dependence on foreign energy, and have provided the promise of economic advantages given that natural gas supplies direct income to the state treasury as a result of royalties and taxes paid by gas suppliers.

She explained that Israel is a leading country for regional energy cooperation because the preparations to extract gas from its major fields, Leviathan which represents the largest exploration success with gross mean resources of 22 Tcf of natural gas and Tamar considered as the largest deepwater natural gas discovery in the world in 2009, are already at advanced stages.

Ms Dimou pointed out that Israel looks into a combination of export options following Israel's High Court of Justice approval of a government decision to export 40 percent of the country's offshore gas discoveries. It is in this context, that priority is given to Jordan as disruptions of energy imports from Egypt have impacted the Kingdom's public budget and fiscal space for broader development goals. She also specified that the sale of Israeli gas to Jordan falls within Amman's broad strategy for transformational change in energy supply, including a diversification of natural gas imports from alternative sources in the region.

Ms Dimou reported that Noble Energy, a heavy foreign investor in Israel's fields, has signed a contract worth \$500 million to supply 66 billion cubic feet of gas from Israel's Tamar field to Jordan's Arab Potash and its affiliate Jordan Bromine. Leviathan partners Noble and Delek have also signed a non-binding letter of intent with Jordan's National Power Electric, which will act as buyer of the gas, to supply 1.6tn cubic feet over a fifteen-year period.

She informed participants that other investigated projects focus on the construction of a 25-kilometer pipeline that would connect northern Israel to northern Jordan, facilitating the supply of natural gas to major Jordanian manufacturing plants. The speaker signaled that infrastructure partnerships between Israel and Jordan can provide real incentives to normalize relations, given that the supply of cheap and reliable energy will bolster the kingdom's economy and that Leviathan partners' export earnings will increase.

Ms Dimou proceeded with the presentation of an additional option for the monetization of Israeli gas that centered on Egypt, which suffers from domestic gas shortages due to export obligations and a growing population. She identified that Cairo's political instability, heavy

regulations, and ceiling on onshore prices have transformed over the years the Arab country from a gas exporter into a heavy energy importer with two major LNG facilities in Damietta and Idku being virtually idle, despite that Egypt's total proven reserves are approximately 2.2 trillion cubic meters.

She outlined Israel's dual energy policy vis-a-vis Egypt which on the one side centers on the sale of gas from Leviathan and Tamar fields, and on the other looks into using Egypt's LNG facilities as export terminals to reach markets like Europe and Asia. As stressed, already partners of Israel's Tamar field have signed a non-binding letter of intent to export up to 2.5 trillion cubic feet of gas over 15 years via the Damietta LNG plant in Egypt operated by Union Fenosa Gas, a joint venture between Spain's Gas Natural and Italy's ENI. Similarly, Leviathan partners reached a preliminary agreement with British Gas (BG), a British oil and gas company, to negotiate a deal to export gas to BG's liquefied natural gas plant in Idku (northern Egypt) via a new undersea pipeline.

The speaker continued with another export option to immediate neighbors which includes a subsea pipeline from Israel's Leviathan field to Turkey, and expressed that this is currently considered politically non-viable. The reason is a widespread consensus in Israel that without a political reconciliation between the two countries, any advancement of an export agreement remains remote. Ms Dimou stressed that reservations are also expressed regarding financial security in any future framework energy agreement between Israel and Turkey, with suggestions centering on that financial security can be provided by a third party such as the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the U.S. Export-Import Bank, or the German Euler Hermes company.

Ms Dimou proceeded with the presentation by explicitly referring to the Israel-Palestine front, as discussions revolve around the Palestinian control of the West Bank's energy industry with the enforcement of a deal signed between Leviathan partners and the Palestine Power Generation Company, which foresees the purchase of \$1.2 billion worth of Israeli natural gas over a 20-year period. She assessed that for the gas to be shipped to the Palestinian power plant in Jenin, which will permit Palestinians to produce their own electricity and create jobs in the West Bank, construction of a 10-kilometer gas pipeline from Northern Israel has to materialize.

Ms Dimou continued with Cyprus as a country that has changed tides for natural gas given that energy discoveries can turn the island into a net natural gas exporter. She evaluated that the recent declaration of commerciality for the Aphrodite gas field by Noble, Delek and Avner Oil partners confirms the existence of substantial recoverable natural gas reserves in Block 12 of Cyprus' Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). She also noted that commerciality of Aphrodite field presents a milestone to Cyprus' transition from the stage of hydrocarbons exploration to that of exploitation, and a significant step towards the monetization of the island's indigenous natural gas reserves, both for domestic use, as well as exports.

The speaker explicitly described Cyprus multi-dimensional energy policies citing the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding with Egypt on gas cooperation for the downstream exploitation of output from the Aphrodite field; and, the inauguration of a tripartite partnership between Cyprus, Egypt and Greece with the signing of the Cairo declaration in November 2014 on maritime security and energy cooperation. She conceded that the Greek dimension in any regional partnership is important because of Greece's strategic location at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa that can cuddle Cyprus-Egypt as well as Israel-Cyprus energy cooperation by linking gas pipelines away from war risk zones.

Ms Dimou outlined that, noticeably, a vote of confidence related to the island's regional energy standing is conceded by major oilfield services companies, such as Halliburton and Schlumberger that have based operations for the East Mediterranean in Cyprus.

Concurrently, she recommended that the island's policies need to center on the creation of a Cypriot sovereign wealth fund, preferably based on the Norwegian model, to recycle revenues, and the establishment of a regional sponsor-supported non-governmental organization or council that would include energy companies, energy industry service providers, energy industry associations, and other related stakeholders in the region.

Once established, the council could seek government participation from the littoral states of the Eastern Mediterranean. It could then become a point of reference and also an avenue of communication between governments and industry, as well as a clearinghouse for ideas and plans for mutually beneficial energy development in the region.

Ms Dimou went ahead with the security of oil and gas infrastructures emphasizing that security needs to be prioritized in the Eastern Mediterranean and acknowledging the need of a collective regional response given that terrorism, human trafficking, and illegal migration pose major threats to the security of the oil and gas industry. According to the speaker, a thorough examination of effective security measures finds that the Australian experience could be an efficient guide for the East Mediterranean taking into account its successful utilization to improve the security framework of the oil and gas infrastructure in the Gulf of Mexico.

She provided recommendations on extending and hardening security exclusion zone boundaries in order to increase the safety and security of offshore facilities from unlawful or unauthorized intrusion and threats, through the introduction of a three-tiered approach to security zoning for all offshore facilities. She made intelligible that the first would be a cautionary zone of 15 nautical miles; the second an area to be avoided of 5 nautical miles; and the third an exclusion zone between 1 and 2.5 nautical miles, with approval to enter granted only by the facilities' operator.

Ms Dimou identified physical threats to East Mediterranean energy supply in the context of pipeline and maritime security. She specifically noted threats to pipeline security emanate from the fact that not only most oil and natural gas pipelines run above-ground and extend over hundreds of miles, making them highly visible and difficult to protect, but also because pipelines are prime symbolic targets, seen as representing foreign influence & economic or political inequality.

When it comes to maritime security, she stated that threats are grave because oil and LNG tankers are slow moving and rarely well-defended, while offshore platforms and ports are vulnerable, and global shipping lanes that pass through chokepoints could be targets, thus raising the prospects of a serious impact on world energy supply.

Ms Dimou concluded that the East Mediterranean gas discoveries provide a golden opportunity for energy security and cooperation, an opportunity that must not be neglected.

“Libya after Liberation: National, Regional & Maritime Security Threats”

Aya Burweila

Ms Aya Burweila presented the volatile political and security situation in Libya and outlined that Libya faces the dilemma of becoming a failed or recovering state. The establishment of a stable Libya through a genuine path to solving the conflict that has divided the country into two competing sets of parliaments, governments and military coalitions is a major challenge. She cited Alexander Downes who examined 100 cases of "foreign imposed regime change" dating from 1816, and acknowledged that his findings are applicable to the case of Libya. Specifically, Downes' timely conclusion is that when foreign interventions oust an existing leader and impose a wholly new government, the likelihood of civil war more than triples.

Ms Burweila proceeded with the citation of the International Crises Group which has articulated that prolonged military campaigns and attendant instability present strategic threats to Libya's neighbors. In fact, besides fuelling a large-scale refugee crisis, they are raising the risk of infiltration by al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, whose networks of activists are present in Algeria, Mali and Niger. The speaker supported that all this, together with mounting bitterness on both sides, will constitute a heavy legacy for any post-Qaddafi government.

On the impact of foreign imposed regime change on Libyan national and regional security, she also reported the inferences of Goran Piec and Daniel Reiter who examined 42 "foreign imposed regime changes" since 1920 and concluded that when interventions "damage state infrastructural power" they also increase the risk of subsequent civil war. Similarly, she indicated the estimate of Jeffrey Pickering and Mark Peceny, according to which military intervention by liberal states has only very rarely played a role in democratization since 1945.

Ms Burweila proceeded with the identification of militias and terror groups that are active in Libya with most prominent the Al-Zintan Revolutionaries' Military Council; the Al-Qaqa Brigade; the Al-Sawaiq Brigade; Misrata Brigades; the 17 February Martyrs Brigade; the Ansar al-Sharia Brigade; the Rafallah al-Sahati Brigade; the Libya Shield Force Western Brigade; the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG/ AQIM); and, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). She conceded that Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Syria, countries of Western Europe and of the Sahel and Sahara Region, such as Mali and Niger, are immediately threatened by Libyan insecurity.

Ms Burweila made explicit reference to the phenomenon of "lone wolves" and their links to overseas terrorist groups providing the example of the simultaneous June 2015 terrorist attacks that took place in Tunisia where a Sousse resort attack by the Islamic State led to 38

victims, in France where an unclaimed attack was carried out on an American gas cylinder plant in the Southeast, and in Kuwait where an attack on the Shia Imam Sadiq Mosque claimed by the Islamic State led to 25 victims. She articulated that it does not come as surprise that the three attacks happened on the first anniversary of the declaration of the Islamic State's Caliphate.

The speaker described that lone wolves profile has become well established in recent years and the general impression is that all have been steeped in a broader environment of violent activism, extreme conservatism, homophobia and anti-semitism for many years before they acted. Thus they are "lone actors/wolves" only in terms of the actual organization and execution of a terrorist attack, since their world view is shared by a significant number of people. She pointed out the significant role of advertising in the social media by the Islamic State for reasons of recruitment, admitting that an increasing number of followers who have either been inspired by or actually fought for the Islamic State were pumped in social groups, such as twitter and facebook.

Ms Burweila updated participants on the arms flow out of Libya since 2011 that poses a serious threat to regional security and singled out small arms, anti-tank mines, rocket-propelled grenade launchers, light machine guns, crates of ammunition and rockets, truck-mounted heavy machine guns, anti-aircraft artillery MANPADS (Man-Portable Air Defense Systems), and Russian-made Strela anti-aircraft missiles. The speaker proceeded with a detailed account on the existing ISIS training camps in Libya outlining that the ISIS central base where gunmen are believed to have received training is near Sabratha, approximately 40 miles west of Tripoli, at al-Ajaylat, a former military compound on the outskirts of the city. Other training camps include those in the cities of Derna which is a port city in Eastern Libya, and Benghazi, the second largest city of the country.

The speaker stressed that the use of Libya as a training basis is driven not only by geopolitical considerations that lie in the Arab country's geographic centrality and access to the Mediterranean sea, but also by the imperative to exploit the security weaknesses in neighboring Egypt and Tunisia. She elaborated that ISIS links to Tunisia are indisputable shewing the massacre in the Imperial Marhaba hotel in Sousse, a beach resort of Tunisia that was conducted by a Tunisian lone wolf who killed 30 British nationals out of the 38 victims. Responsibility for the attack was claimed by ISIS Libya, while assessments on the consequences of the attack on tourism, a main pillar of the Tunisian economy, predict a loss of about \$500 million for the second semester of 2015. The speaker supported that the endangering of Tunisia's national security by ISIS was evidenced by an earlier 22-victim terrorist attack in March 2015 on the Bardo National Museum and was revealed that the two suicide gunmen spent two months of militant training in Derna, Libya, received weapons and managed to cross borders undetected in late 2014.

Ms Burweila informed participants on the challenges to Tunisia's national security posed by ISIS Tunisian fighters asserting that there are estimates of approximately 1,500 Tunisian fighters, active in Libya, who have received training and are armed, and will undoubtedly return to their home country at some future point. The illegal infiltration of foreign fighters over the common Tunisian-Libyan border that stretches over 500 kilometers is difficult to prevent given that the Tunisian army has limited and outdated armament to impose strict air and ground control. Even worse, the speaker confirmed that, according to the Tunisian Interior Ministry, hundreds of Tunisian fighters in ISIS ranks have returned to Tunisia, and some are active as sleeper cells, while others have already joined the ranks of the Ansar al-Sharia brigade. The situation is further burdened by the fact that Tunisia accommodates almost 2 million Libyan nationals and thus suffers from economic and social insecurity.

When it comes to the national security challenges of Egypt and beyond, Ms Burweila prioritized the threat of arms flow to Jihadist hands over Sinai and presented the February 15 , 2013 UN Report by the Security Council Group of Experts which explicitly states that: *"While trafficking from Libya to Egypt represents a challenge primarily for Egypt's internal security, in particular in relation to armed groups in the Sinai, some of the materiel appears to have crossed Egypt to further destinations, including the Gaza Strip"*. The speaker underlined that internal security in Egypt becomes more complicated with threats to social cohesion emanating from the massive return of Egyptian workers at a time when government authorities lack the ability to provide returnees with employment opportunities. Evidently, Egypt is preoccupied with the war against ISIS that beheaded 21 Egyptian citizens in early 2015 as well as the fight against indigenous armed groups.

Ms Burweila continued the presentation with the identification of maritime security threats offshore Libya and maintained that maritime piracy is more prevalent off the coast of failed or weak states. She provided the example of a 2014 incident of piracy that was immediately resolved by Navy Seals, who boarded and freed the oil tanker "Morning Glory" that was seized by rebel militias. She recognized, however, that the risk of piracy is not evenly distributed across the world's oceans, despite similar failed state scenarios with most representative comparisons to Somalia.

Ms Burweila also centered on the challenge of human trafficking to Europe pointing out that at the shortest distance, the western end of the Libyan coast is only 290 miles from the Italian island of Lampedusa. She underpinned that emigration by sea is a timeless dream, and the price of passage for one migrant is almost \$1,600 compared to \$5,000 under Qaddafi's rule, according to information obtained by smugglers and migrants around Tripoli. Dark-skinned Africans sail for less than lighter-skinned Moroccans, Syrians and Tunisians, because smugglers assume that the latter can easily afford the journey financially. The speaker contended that human trafficking, which represents a 170 billion industry in 2014 alone, is reinforced by the fact that border controls are seldom, corruption is rampant, and the coast guard rarely inspects open seas, and thus, this reality raises the prospect of Jihadi tourists.

Ms Burweila admitted that Libya's proxy "Revolution" has turned into a proxy War. She underscored the role of Qatar and Turkey in backing the illegal jihadi government and militias based in Tripoli on the one side, and the part of the UAE and Egypt in supporting the democratically elected and internationally recognized government of Libya based in Tobruk on the other side. She referred to the US mediation efforts to broker a deal between both sides and end the civil war so that peace and stability is restored in Libya that climaxed with the Camp David Summit of June 2015.

Ms Burweila concluded with a set of policy recommendations that are as follows: Exertion of diplomatic pressure by Western powers on countries supporting Islamists in Libya, and respect of Libyan autonomy and democracy; Provision of logistical support and expertise to Libyan coastguard; Pressure on Gulf allies to stop the flow of funds to mujahideen in North Africa, Syria, and Iraq; Military support of the democratically elected government of Libya to prevail against extremists; Strengthening counter-radicalization efforts on social and mainstream media, and other cultural institutions.

Mediterranean and North Africa Intelligence: Contemporary Maritime Security Threats

SECOND DAY

ATHENS AUGUST, 2015

“How NOT to Combat Illegal Immigration (!): Greece’s Immigration Policy”

Ioannis Kolovos

Mr. Kolovos presented the evolving problem of illegal immigration in Greece and introduced policies to combat the phenomenon. He provided official published data according to which there are 462,319 residence permit holders, 135,478 are in the process of renewal, while 68% of residence permit holders originate from Albania. When it comes to the number of illegal immigrants, it is officially estimated at around 300,000-350,000 people, despite that, a Greek non-profit private think tank reckons the overall number of illegal immigrants in Greece at about 470,000 people in 2010.

The speaker cited a former head of the National Intelligence Service who argued in 2009 that there were approximately 1.8 million immigrants in the country, out of whom only 600,000 participated in successive regularization efforts. Mr. Kolovos underscored the existence of worrying demographic trends attributed to Greece’s low birth rates, an ageing population and a rapid demographic decline. He quoted Manolis Drettakis, an Economics and Business Professor of Athens University, who has indicated that, by 2060, if the rate of immigrant influx remains at unstable levels, the population of immigrant origin will reach 2,392,531 and that of Greeks 8,902,133. Thus, it is deemed that immigrants will constitute almost 21% of the Greece’s total population by 2060.

Mr. Kolovos acknowledged that social cohesion which is fundamental for the Greek society to progress toward development goals is jeopardized by foreigners who resort to serious crimes with a reported percentage, ranging from 29% in thefts-burglaries to 37% in robberies, as released by the Hellenic Police for 2014. Additionally, he collocated that 57.6% of all inmates in Greek prisons are foreigners with nominal numbers of 6,590 out of a total of 11,447 prisoners, while according to the Greek Ministry of Public Order, the number of

arrested foreign criminals during the period 1998-2012 has more than tripled, with numbers attesting from 6,094 in 1998 to 20,265 in 2012.

The speaker acknowledged increased unemployment and poverty among foreigners as two of the major “symptoms” of a non-existing immigration policy in Greece, and reported a Labor Force Survey conducted in the 1st quarter of 2015 which shows that the unemployment rate of foreign nationals has been much higher compared to Greeks with respective percentages of 34.8% compared to 26%. When it comes to the levels of poverty, the National Statistics Authority data reveals that the vast majority of the foreign population between the ages of 18-64 years old is in danger of poverty by 68.3%, while the percentage for Greeks is 37.6%. He also identified the problem of ghettoisation as consequence of the non-existing immigration policy in Greece and provided examples of ghettos between inmates in the prisons of Korydalos and Patra.

Mr. Kolovos explicitly displayed the most representative flaws in Greece’s immigration policy. The first flaw is the domino of successive regularizations which has prompted Greece to send out the wrong message to immigrants’ countries of origin. As stated by the speaker, a widespread impression was cultivated that Greece is “soft touch” and if someone somehow makes it into the country, this person will undoubtedly get a chance of regularization. Additionally, Greek governments, by offering regularization, essentially rewarded the breach of law either by illegal immigrants or by Greek nationals who employed illegal labour force.

The speaker professed that past consecutive efforts for ex-post facto legalization in 1997, 2001, 2005, and 2007 were conducted with failing processes, related to the validity and reliability of immigrants’ supporting documentation, thus favoring document forgery and corruption among civil servants. Mr. Kolovos pinpointed trends for 2015 labeled as worrying, and articulated that actions and statements by Greek cabinet members point in the wrong direction with most prevailing the abolition of detention centers, the granting of travel documentation and work permits. He informed participants that the inflow of illegal immigrants through the sea-border of Greece with Turkey more than tripled in the first quarter of 2015 compared to the same period of 2014, and that repatriations of illegal immigrants to their countries of origin have decreased, with a significant finance gap for voluntary repatriation programs since the end of June 2015. The speaker quoted as counterproductive statements made by the leadership of Immigration policy that the Greek government is planning to legalize illegal immigrants who have been in the country for ten years.

Mr. Kolovos proceeded with the issue of integration and provided Eurostat data according to which foreigners who live and work in Greece represent 8.5% of the country's population, and only 1.4% out of them originates from European countries while 7.1% comes from countries outside the European Union (EU). It is also evidenced that the EU average for the total foreigner population is 6.6% while the average for the non-EU foreigner population is 4.1%, thus denoting that Greece has a larger foreign population compared to that of the EU average which originates from outside the EU in a more sizeable scale than the relevant EU average.

Mr. Kolovos emphasized on the parameters of Islamic fundamentalism and cited a 2009 US State Department report on terrorism which confirmed that Greece is increasingly an EU entry point for illegal immigrants coming from the Middle East and South Asia and that there is concern that the country could be used as a transit route for terrorists traveling to Europe and the United States. As characteristically noted; *"The number of illegal immigrants entering Greece, especially through the Aegean Sea, increased dramatically in 2008 and 2009, with more than 100,000 illegal immigrants, nearly half of whom originated from North Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, arrested each year"*.

The speaker presented a US Embassy confidential telegram dated November 4th 2009 that quoted a former Minister of Citizens' Protection who confirmed the existence of suspicions that Greece has turned into a *"logistics base,"* but with no *"serious networks"* yet in place. He also presented a 2014 US State Department report on terrorism which emphasized that *"The porous nature of Greece's borders remained a concern. While Greek border authorities have had success in stemming the flow of illegal migration at the land border with Turkey, their ability to control large-scale illegal migration via sea borders is limited. Recent regional upheavals have intensified illegal migration to and through Greece via the Greek Aegean islands"*.

Mr. Kolovos addressed the issue of Islamic fundamentalism in Greece by providing participants published data which confirms the operation of 75 unofficial mosques in 2010 compared to 68 in 2009, with 23 being founded by Pakistani and 15 by Bangladeshi immigrants. He displayed information released by the general secretariat of the Greek ministry of Education that the population of Muslim immigrants in Attica is approximately 150,000 people, out of whom only 28,000 have legal residence permits, and the number of active illegal mosques is estimated to 120.

The speaker referred to successful national security efforts conducted by Greek authorities to deal with Islamic fundamentalism in 2004 due to the Athens Olympic Games. He informed participants that the Police requested the lifting of the telecommunications' confidentiality during 2004 for 425 suspects, including 65 who were suspected for participating in organized crime; 14 anarchists; and, the remaining 346 were suspects for national security reasons.

In an effort to explore a European solution to the problem of illegal migration, Mr. Kolovos pointed out parts of the 2008 European Pact on Immigration and Asylum that was signed by EU Member States. The most representative articles predict that the EU immigration policy should take account of the priorities, needs and reception capacities determined by each Member State and that it is for each Member State to decide on the conditions of admission of legal migrants to its territory and, where necessary, to set their number. Additionally, the speaker highlighted that the European pact foresees that illegal immigrants on Member States' territory must leave that territory and that member States should "use only case-by-case regularization, rather than generalized regularization".

Mr. Kolovos proceeded with an evaluation of 25 years of Greece's immigration policy stating that successive Greek governments never endeavored to estimate the actual needs of the labor market in immigrant and unskilled labor as well as the carrying capacity of the country's infrastructure. Thus, Greece failed to set a reliable forecast for immigrant workers needed in the labor market, which could be reviewed on a regular basis. Additionally, Greece absolutely failed in the repatriation of illegal immigrants and, most important, the country applied four times the self-defeating policy of ex-post facto regularization.

Mr. Kolovos concluded with a set of policy recommendations that focus on: Regular estimates of the labor market needs for migrant labor; Effective guarding of the land and sea borders; Improvement of the repatriation rate of illegal immigrants that can be achieved through a mix of diplomatic efforts, bilateral agreements, concerted EU efforts and repatriation programs. Special focus must be given on an agreement with Turkey which is one of the main transit countries of illegal immigrants to Greece and, thus, Europe; Rationalization of the number of legalized immigrants by not renewing residence and work permits of non-EU citizens and by introducing voluntary repatriation programs; Ensuring the compliance of employers to labor legislation especially as far as illegal labor is concerned, and enforcement of harsh penalties to those who employ illegal immigrants; Refraining from new regularization efforts; and, the setting national security and community cohesion as a main immigration policy-making criteria.

“Illegal Migration Challenges on National Security”

Ambassador Ioannis Korantis

Ambassador Ioannis Korantis presented the challenge of Islamic radicalization, illegal migration and their impact on Greece's national security. He acknowledged that Europe has become an incubator for Islamist meditation and that, slowly but steadily, an extensive and well-organized network of mosques, charities, and Islamic organizations has been established. He maintained that Islamic radicalism has consolidated presence in North Africa and Libya in particular as well as in Syria that heads towards becoming a pariah state.

Ambassador Korantis showed evidence derived by EU countries' coordination in the fight against terrorism and illegal immigration, according to which ISIS utilizes Libya as a gateway to Europe either in the form of supporting smugglers to bring migrants into European countries or in the form of disguising its members as illegal migrants. He maintained that not only ISIS funds terrorism through people trafficking but also important, it utilizes immigration routes to smuggle fighters into Europe.

The speaker displayed the ISIS map of the world released in 2014 that entails a five-year plan of expansion into European countries, such as Spain, Greece, Cyprus and Eastern Europe as far as Austria, with alleged ambitions to form a caliphate on the basis that the dissolution of the Ottoman empire and the signing of the Sykes-Picot agreement was part of a calculated policy to divide the Muslim world. He thus conceded that European countries and notably Greece need to enforce a counter-terrorism strategy to monitor and detect Islamic militants.

Ambassador Korantis contended that Greece needs to deal efficiently with the massive influx of immigration and informed participants that unofficial data suggests that Greece hosts approximately 1.9 million illegal immigrants. He disclosed the statement of former

Prime Minister Antonis Samaras who admitted that by 2013 the country was infiltrated by around 1.5 million migrants mainly through maritime areas.

The speaker pointed out that despite the fact that Greece introduced more effective land border controls especially after the construction of an 18 km wall along the river of Evros, the country is facing maritime immigration which is technically and legally difficult to address. The reason is that in accordance with international law, the idea of a maritime border does not exist because the sea is considered as free area where the right to peaceful passage has to be respected, while the law of the sea does not facilitate the fight to counter illegal immigration via the maritime route.

As maintained by ambassador Korantis, the situation becomes even more complicated because illegal immigrants attempting to reach European countries is estimated that they manage successfully by deliberately sinking ships or boats so that the Safety of Life At Sea and Search And Rescue conventions which set imperative sea rescue obligations and coordination between States under the Maritime Rescue Coordination Center are activated.

He evidenced a number of illegal migration networks that provide online information to refugees and migrants which might be useful on their journey to Greece including counseling and useful contacts to avoid imprisonment and deportation. Illegal immigrants' links to such networks is proven by the fact that, as disclosed by the Greek police, when arrested immigrants paradoxically carry mobiles with Greek sim cards, while many deny to providing their real identity and country of origin. He claimed that given the existence of strong intelligence apparatuses in the majority of the countries of migrants' origin, if the correct information is obtained by the Greek authorities at the place of migrants' first reception, then intelligence sharing and cooperation between Greece and third countries will efficiently address the issue of migrants' authentic identification.

Ambassador Korantis identified Turkey as the main country where smuggling networks arrange migrant transfers in the entire Aegean sea, perceived as the eastern route, to enter Europe illegally via Greece. He articulated that human smuggling is a profitable business and cited data provided by Greek investigators who interrogated an arrested Turkish smuggler who confessed that he illegally transferred immigrants to Greece, and

that for every 500 individuals, he earned \$50.000, equaling to \$1000 per head. He also admitted that the 2002 readmission protocols between Greece and Turkey as well as the one signed between the EU and Turkey have not managed to solve the problem of smuggling because implementation has remained minimal.

The speaker singled out measures and policies to tackle with the problem of illegal migration in Greece, with most prevailing the following: (a) Support multilateral efforts to redefine international law on Search and Rescue with concrete provisions for offering help to those who are in actual need and not to those who deliberately place themselves in need, and thus blackmail national authorities; (b) Strengthen cooperation on the security, intelligence and military levels between Greece and other European countries to fight terrorism. Special focus needs to be given to individuals -with links to terrorism- who hold European passports and thus have the right as EU citizens to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States; and, (c) Warn the initiation of diplomatic actions against migrants' originating countries and threaten the temporary interruption and/or the definite cease of EU funding to countries that provenly support illegal migration.

When it comes to the countering of Islamic radicalism in Greece, ambassador Korantis underpinned that Greek authorities need to act as follows: Monitor the Islamic extremist ideology; Cultivate a culture of intelligence that favors cooperation at inter-state levels to investigate, check and verify individual or organizational data; Equip security authorities with the necessary legal and technical capabilities to tackle radicalism; and, Spread the political understanding that generosity and hospitality is one thing, while jeopardizing national security and the livelihood of Greek citizens is another.

Ambassador Korantis deduced that illegal immigrants opt to enter Europe instead of wealthy Arab countries, such as Qatar and the UAE, where they can perform their religious duties and explore employment opportunities, because the latter enforce strict legislation that severely penalizes illegal entrance, while the legal systems in Europe are perceived as extremely loose. He concluded with a worrying note that illegal migration, if not coped efficiently, is likely to increase nationalistic and racist trends in European countries, including Greece.

Mediterranean and North Africa Intelligence: Contemporary Maritime Security Threats

INSTRUCTORS' BIOGRAPHIES

ATHENS AUGUST, 2015

ANTONIA DIMOU

SENIOR RIEAS ADVISOR AND INSTRUCTOR AT WEBSTER UNIVERSITY, ATHENS CAMPUS

Antonia Dimou is Senior Advisor at the Research Institute for European and American Studies (RIEAS), Athens, Greece. She is also a Middle East & Persian Gulf Intelligence Unit Director at the Institute for Security and Defense Analysis (ISDA). She is also a fellow at the Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan and senior fellow at the Center for Middle East Development (CMED), University of California, Los Angeles, United States since 2006. She holds a Certificate on American National Security from Harvard University and a Certificate on Terrorism and Counter-terrorism from Georgetown University. She speaks English and Arabic fluently and has a working knowledge of Iranian.

AYA BURWEILA

SENIOR RIEAS ANALYST AND INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD MEMBER AT MCIS

Aya Burweila is a Senior Analyst at the Research Institute for European and American Studies (RIEAS). She was born in Benghazi, Libya. She holds a Certificate in Terrorism Studies from the Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at the University of St. Andrews's School of International Relations, Certificate in Conflict Analysis and Interfaith Conflict Resolution from the United States Institute of Peace, and M.A. in International Relations and Affairs from the University of Indianapolis and a B.A. in Political Science from the University of La Verne. Her work has been published by the International Journal for Intelligence and

Counterintelligence, the Oxford Law Society Journal as well as being distributed by the Canadian Center for Intelligence and Security Studies and the International Security Network (ISN). Aya Burweila is an expert on Islamic Fundamentalism and Energy Security as well as she is a Member of the International Advisory Board for the Mediterranean Council of Intelligence Studies (MCIS).

IOANNIS KOLOVOS

RIEAS EDITOR, ILLEGAL MIGRATION NEWSLETTER

Ioannis Kolovos holds a BSc in Business Administration by the Athens University of Economics and Business, an MA in Public Relations by the Manchester Metropolitan University and an MA in Political Communication by the University of Sheffield. Since 2009 he is RIEAS' research associate on the issue of illegal immigration and immigration policy. He also is the author of the books "Pandora's Box: Illegal Immigration and Regularisation in Greece" (Athens: Pelasgos Publications, 2003), "and "Immigration Policy and Immigrant Integration: the Case of Greece" (Athens: Pelasgos Publications, 2011).

AMBASSADOR IOANNIS KORANTIS

FORMER HEAD OF GREEK INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

Ambassador Ioannis Corantis was born on 17 July 1948 in Athens, Greece. He was graduated on 1967 from the Lycée Français d' Athènes and later on 1972 he graduated from Law School of University of Athens. He has also graduated from the American University, Washington D.C. In 1991 he was placed as Deputy Permanent Representative of Greece to the Council of Europe (Strasbourg) and then in the Greek Permanent Representation to the EU (Brussels). In 1997 he was designated as Director of Balkan Affairs at the Foreign Ministry in Athens. He has served also as

ambassador of Greece in Saudi Arabia (1994), Turkey (1999) and Belgium (2002). On 22/11/2004 Ambassador Ioannis Corantis took over the management of the Greek Intelligence Service (EYP-NIS), where he remained until 14/07/2009. In the parliamentary elections of 2009 he was first elected as Deputy to head of the ballot of State for the Popular Orthodox Party. In 2005 he was awarded to the Grand Cross (Megalostavros) of the Order of the Phoenix and maintains with Presidential Degree the title of Ambassador as honor. He is married to Evie Meleti-Coranti and they have 3 children together.

Mediterranean and North Africa Intelligence: Contemporary Maritime Security Threats

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TITANIA HOTEL

(52 PANEPISTIMOU STREET, 10TH FLOOR)

1st DAY, Thursday – 16 July 2015

16:45-17:00 Registration

**17:00-17:15 Ioannis (John) M. Nomikos
(RIEAS Director)**

Welcome Greetings

**17:15-18:00 Antonia Dimou
(RIEAS Senior Advisor on Middle East Affairs)**

“East Mediterranean Energy Cooperation and Security Challenges”

18:00-18:20 **coffee break**

18:20-19:30 **Aya Burweila**
(RIEAS Senior Analyst on North African Affairs)

**“Libya After Liberation: National, Regional and Maritime Security
Threats”**

2nd DAY, Friday – 17 July 2015

17:30-18:30 **Ioannis Kolovos**
(RIEAS Editor, Illegal Immigration Newsletter)

“How NOT to Combat Illegal Immigration!: Greece’s Immigration Policy”

18:30-18:50 **coffee break**

19:00-19:30 **Ambassador Ioannis Corantis**
(Guest Speaker)

19:30-19:45 **Ceremony: The MINAS NOMIKOS AWARD FOR SECURITY
RESEARCH EXCELENCE**



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