



THE HELLENIC PARLIAMENT FOUNDATION
FOR PARLIAMENTARISM AND DEMOCRACY

PROGRAMME

Global Crisis and Democratic Transition in Southern Europe: *a Political History*

13-14 December 2024 | Hall of the Senate, Hellenic Parliament, Athens, Greece

WORKING LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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FOR MORE INFO: <https://foundation.parliament.gr>

FRIDAY 13 DECEMBER

16:30-17:00 Welcome address
Constantine An. Tassoulas
President of the Hellenic Parliament

17:00-18:30 **Key actors in the Southern European transitions:
leadership, political parties, the military**

Chair: ANTÔNIO COSTA PINTO

Ioannis Tzortzis, *Taming the military by 'stick and carrot':
establishing the army's return to the barracks in Southern
Europe*

André Paris, *Between the ballot and the street: the military, political
parties and social movements in the Portuguese democratic
transition*

Victor Gavin, *Spain, the United States, and Western Europe:
navigating political transition after Franco*

Ioannis Chalkos, *The Greek transition: revisiting the issue
of leadership*

18:30-19:00 Coffee break

19:00-20:00 **The international system and the making
of Southern Europe I**

Chair: CHARLES POWELL

Antonio Varsori, *How to counter the shift to the left in Southern
Europe: the Western powers and the Italian crisis of the 1970s*

Nicolas Badalassi, *France and democratic transitions in southern
Europe: the reaffirmation of a Cold War policy in the
Mediterranean*

Ana Monica Fonseca, *The West German strategy of engagement
with the democratization of the Iberian Peninsula*

SATURDAY 14 DECEMBER

9:30-11:00 **Modernization and constitutional change
as enablers of the transition**

Chair: NICOLAS BADALASSI

George Kaminis, *The Constitution as a pathway
to the consolidation of democracy: the cases of Greece,
Portugal and Spain*

Braulio Gómez Fortes, *The democratic impulse within the
constituent assemblies of Portugal and Spain*

Fernando Guirao, *Did 'Europeanisation' matter? Southern Europe
in comparative perspective, 1959-77*

Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, *Modernization as a precondition:
the Greek case*

11:00-11:30 Coffee break

11:30-12:30 **International and transnational processes**

Chair: EVANTHIS HATZIVASSILIOU

Effie Pedaliu, *The clumsy 'South-Europeanisation'
of the Northern Mediterranean and its intricacies*

Eirini Karamouzi, *The unexpected protagonist: EEC
and the Southern European transition to democracy*

Frédéric Heurtebize, *US labor organizations and
democratic transitions in Southern Europe*

12:30-13:00 Coffee break

13:00-14:00 **"Small states" and the transitions**

Chair: EIRINI KARAMOUZI

Mogens Pelt, *From North to South: the Scandinavian countries
and the Southern European transitions*

Dionysis Chourchoulis, *Greece between the US and Europe, 1974-76*

Benedetto Zaccaria, *The missing transition: Yugoslavia
in the Southern European scenario of the 1970s*

17:00-18:30 The international system and the making of Southern Europe II

Chair: EFFIE PEDALIU

Vladislav Zubok, *Southern Europe in times of global shocks and détente: a Soviet angle*

Thomas Schwartz, *Henry Kissinger and the Cyprus crisis: foreign policy realism and American domestic policies*

Silvio Pons, *The Italian Communist Party and democratic transitions in Southern Europe (1974-75)*

Elena Calandri, *New world coming: the Mediterranean of the 1970s, and the making of the XXI century*

18:30-19:00 Coffee break

19:00-20:30 Roundtable Discussion

Chair: ANTONIO VARSORI

Nikiforos Diamandouros / Antònio Costa Pinto / Charles Powell / Elena Calandri

ACADEMIC COMMITTEE

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