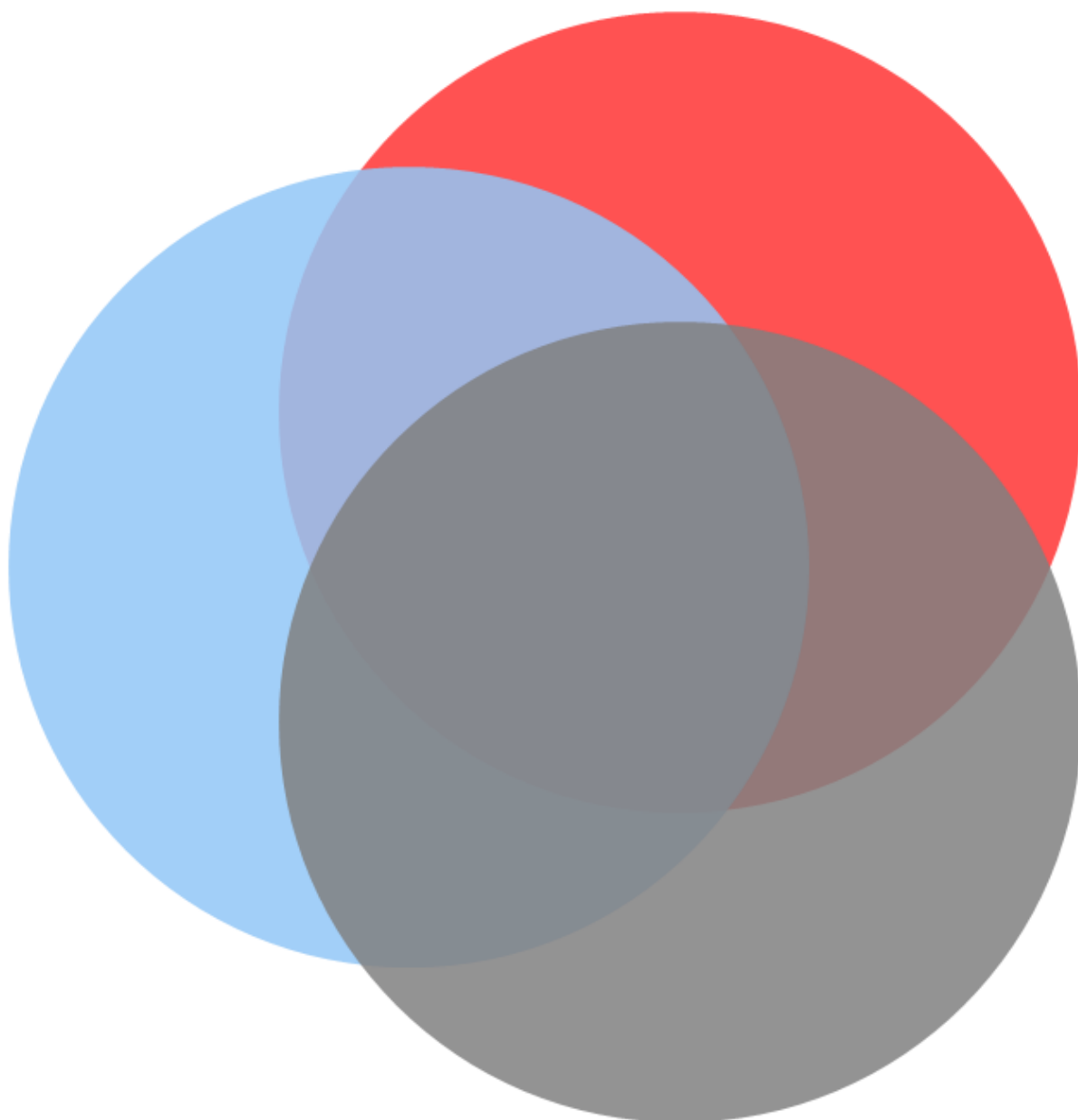


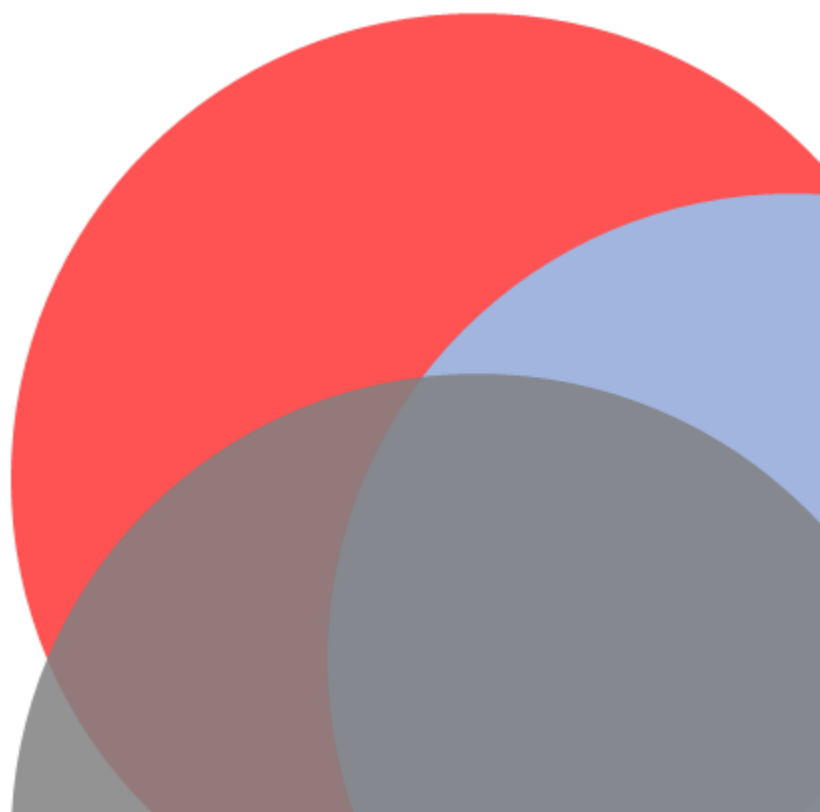
**ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ**  **ΕΛΙΑΜΕΡ**

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ & ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ  
HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

ANNUAL REPORT 2010

BUILDING  
KNOWLEDGE  
FOR  
POLICY





# Table of contents

- **ABOUT ELIAMEP** ..... 4
- **MESSAGE from the Director General**..... 5
- **RESEARCH** ..... 7
  - **European Integration**           **8**
    - Research Projects           9
    - Bodossaki Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship 16
    - Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellowship   17
  - **National & International Security & Regional Developments**           **18**
    - Research Projects           19
  - **Migration** **23**
    - Research Projects           24
    - Participation in International Networks       26
- **EVENTS & TRAINING PROGRAMMES**..... 27
- **PUBLICATIONS** ..... 36
  - ELIAMEP Thesis           36
  - ELIAMEP Policy Papers   39
  - ELIAMEP Working Papers 40
  - Other ELIAMEP publications       43
  - Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies   44
  - Publications by ELIAMEP’s Researchers       45
- **LIBRARY**..... 48
- **NETWORKS** ..... 49
- **PARTNERSHIPS**..... 50
- **ELIAMEP in the Press** ..... 52
- **MULTIMEDIA**..... 53
- **ELIAMEP Team** ..... 54
- **FINANCIAL STATEMENT**..... 66



## ABOUT ELIAMEP

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) is an independent, non-profit-making research and training institute, established in Athens in 1988. Over the years it has developed into one of the most respected and influential think-tanks in Greece, focusing on the study of a wide and highly diversified range of issues relating to some of the biggest challenges faced today by Greece, Europe and the world.

The Foundation's work is guided by the principles of scientific research, critical thinking and the free exchange of views and ideas, and aims at developing scientifically substantiated, policy-oriented responses to issues dominating the national and international public debate.



Its main activities include conducting scientific research, providing information and training opportunities to various groups of professionals, and promoting an informed public dialogue through awareness-raising initiatives, such as lectures and discussions, publications and online consultations. The Foundation also has a strong international presence, as it participates in important transnational networks and has developed partnerships with well-known institutions from Greece and abroad.

ELIAMEP's work is funded principally through grants awarded to it in support of specific research, training and/or awareness-raising projects, as well as the provision of research and training services to public and private institutions, both in Greece and abroad.

The Foundation is governed by a 13-member Board of Directors and a 10-member Honorary Council, which consist of prominent personalities from the fields of academia, politics, media, business and the military. It is staffed by a large number of research fellows, associates and interns, usually affiliated with it on the basis of specific projects, as well as a smaller number of permanent employees, who deal with the Foundation's day-to-day running and management.

For further information see [www.eliamep.eu](http://www.eliamep.eu)

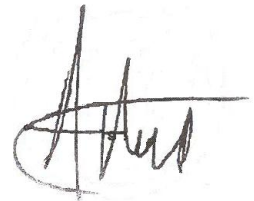


## MESSAGE from the Director General

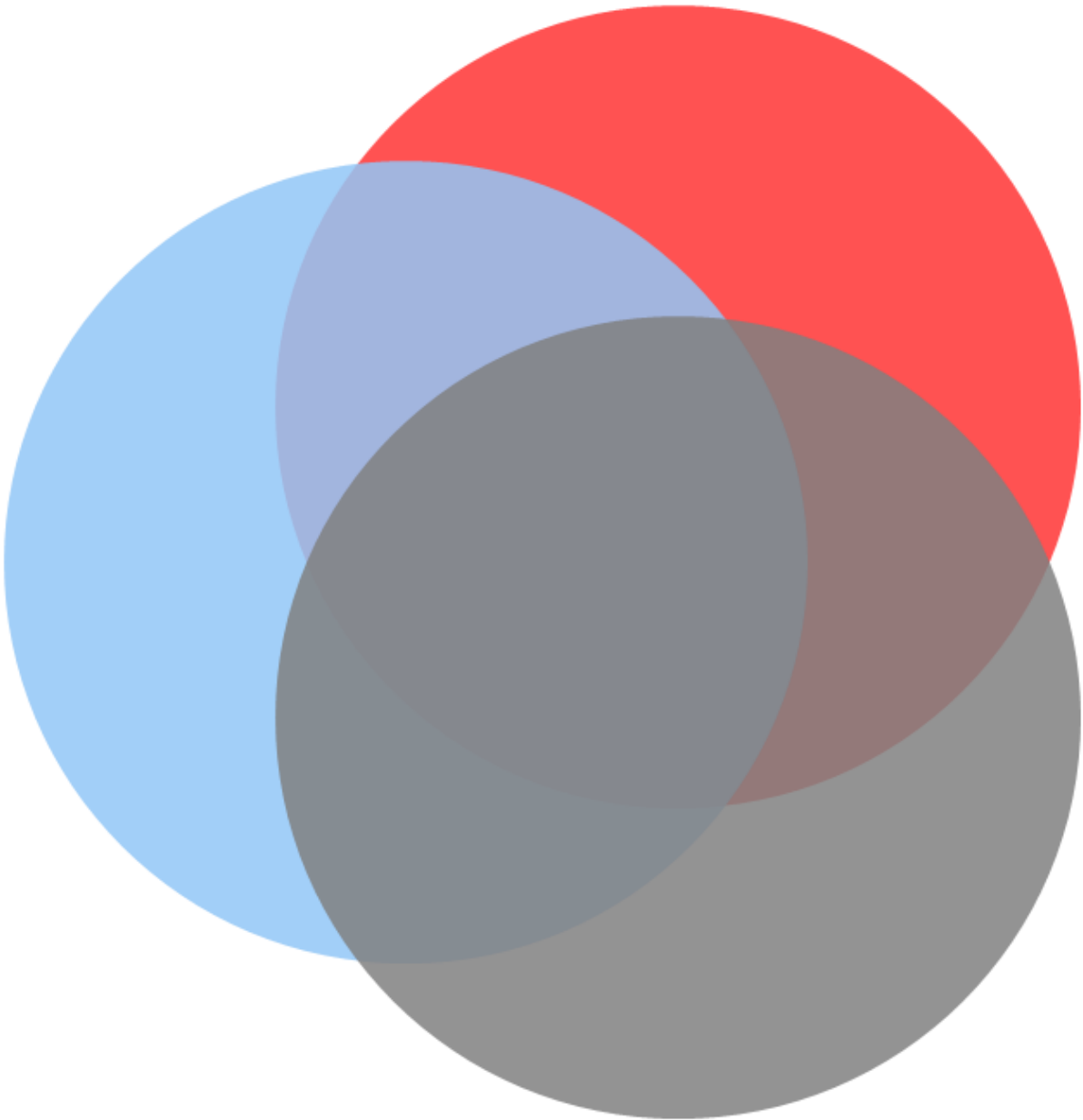
*2010 has been a very difficult year for Greece and ELIAMEP and a period of increasing introspection for Europe and a diminishing regional and global role and influence for the EU. ELIAMEP was faced with a dual challenge: on the one hand, to try to counter and reverse the strong feelings of euro-scepticism and introversion that swept the country as a result of the economic crisis; on the other hand, to seek new sources of funding as both state funding as well as support from “traditional” private sector funders in Greece has all but dried up and to maintain a high level and number of activities with a smaller budget. Our effort will be an uphill one as the crisis is expected to become deeper in 2011.*

*In terms of thematic focus of our activities, we maintained our strong interest in European political and economic developments. We devoted considerable resources on monitoring regional developments in Greek-Turkish relations, Southeastern Europe, and the Middle East (through our newly established Programme of Middle Eastern Studies). Following the pattern set in the past few years, ELIAMEP maintained an increased presence in areas such as migration policies, minorities and human rights, security sector reform, climate change and its impact on global and regional stability, and energy security. In the context of our cyber-activities, we launched a process of e-consultation on “Green development”. Despite our shift to electronic publications, however, a substantial number of books, articles and research papers have been published, in addition to four issues of the Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies.*

*In 2011, as a result of the evolving economic crisis, the emphasis will be on the challenges for European political and economic governance. We will also focus on the consequences of Arab revolts for the region itself and for Europe, and we will continue our activities in the fields of migration, energy politics and, of course, developments in Turkey and the Balkans. Countries of special interest will include China, Iran and Israel and we will try to promote meetings and exchange of visits with our respective counterparts. Finally, it will remain our standard policy to seek promoting institutional cooperation in our neighborhood through the strengthening of networks.*



Thanos Dokos





## RESEARCH

Research is one of the two main tools used by ELIAMEP to achieve its objectives. It is conducted in the form of individual or team projects by specialized research fellows and associates and involves not only “mapping the field”, but also identifying and developing alternative future scenarios and formulating corresponding realistic policy recommendations.

In recent years ELIAMEP has accumulated significant experience and expertise in research related to European integration and the future of Europe; migration and multiculturalism; security and international relations; conflict resolution and peace-building; democracy and civic participation; human rights; security issues related to climate change and energy; transatlantic relations; and, of course, political, economic and military developments in Greece’s wider neighbourhood, including the Mediterranean and the Middle East, the Balkans, the Black Sea and the Caucasus, with special emphasis on Greek-Turkish relations and Cyprus.

Currently ELIAMEP focuses on the following four major research fields:

- European Integration
- National & International Security and Regional Developments
- Transatlantic Relations
- Migration

# European Integration

---

The field of European integration traditionally belongs to ELIAMEP's key research areas. It focuses on political and institutional developments in the European Union, the Union's enlargement process and its external relations, as well as sectoral policies studied on the national level with a European perspective.

In 2010 our Foundation conducted numerous research projects on a wide range of issues, such as the re-structuring of the European economic governance in view of the world-wide financial crisis, the impact of European financial resources on the Greek economy, the impact of media policies on democracy in European societies, religious freedom in Orthodox countries in Europe, etc., and produced a significant number of related academic and policy-oriented publications. In addition, we concluded two contracts with the European Parliament for the provision of independent expertise in the fields of AV policy and the EU enlargement process, Russia and the European Neighbourhood Policy. Last but not least, we continued taking active part in related debates and promoting the study of European relations through the participation of our researchers in numerous high-level international conferences, seminars and other activities.

For further information see <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/>







# Research Projects

## Evaluation and Further Exploitation of the European Financial Resources by Greece

*Funded by the Bank of Greece*

In 2010, ELIAMEP began work on a new study to assess the impact of policies funded by the EU budget on the course of the Greek economy.

The study's main objectives are:

- To validate important findings regarding the results and the implications of policies that were funded or co-funded by the EU over the course of previous programming periods;
- To describe and analyze parameters of the negotiation, as well as the Greek experience from each programming period;
- To provide a detailed presentation and analysis on the characteristics of the new EU programming period after 2013;
- To formulate substantial policy proposals, aiming at the optimal use of European financial resources at all stages (strategy, programming, implementation, etc).

The study will focus on policies financed or co-financed by the EU budget, more specifically:

- On development policy (infrastructures, human resources and productive investments), jointly funded by the Structural Funds, the Cohesion Fund and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD), and
- On the Common Agricultural Policy (markets, prices and relevant measures) funded by the European Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF).

Other EU policies, funded by the Community budget, will also be examined, albeit to a lesser extent: research and technology, education, trans-European networks, the environment, fisheries, public health and immigration policy. Finally, the implications of EU funding to candidate or potential candidate countries (Turkey and the Western Balkans) will be examined.

The study is divided into three parts. The first part (Study A) will include an assessment of previous programming periods from 1988 until today (with an emphasis on the two most recent ones, 2000-2006 & 2007-2013) and will include general and specific conclusions (according to each policy sector), resulting from the analysis of the assessments. The second part (Study B) will initially include an analysis and presentation of the parameters of the negotiation for the next programming period, focusing thereafter on the evaluation of the (potential) final result. The final part (Study C) will refer to the second and third phase of the negotiation, which will be covered by at least three working papers that will include additional conclusions and proposals. Study C will be completed with the processing of a Final Summary Report which will include all deliverables from Studies A, B and C, as well as an update of all conclusions and proposals.

The project is coordinated by Mr. George Glynos, Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow at ELIAMEP.

For further information see: <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/evaluation-and-further-exploitation-of-european-financial-resources-by-greece/>

## Identities and Modernities in Europe (IME)

Funded by the European Commission through the 7<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme (Specific Programme Cooperation, Theme 8: Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities)



Funded under  
Socio-economic  
Sciences & Humanities

The IME project on Identities and Modernities in Europe was launched in May 2009. This research project investigates the question of European identities and refers to a wide range of definitions of 'us, the Europeans' proposed and acted upon by various actors in and around the current European Union (EU). The project in particular investigates in what ways the development of European identities is linked to national identity discourses in each country. Special attention is paid also to the concept of 'modernity' and the different ways in which each country (its citizens, elites, state institutions and civil society actors) conceives of itself as more or less 'modern'. Nine countries are studied: Bulgaria, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. The project addresses three major issues regarding European identities: what they are, in what ways they have been formed and what trajectories they may take from now on. As such, IME intends to challenge the linear implication that lies behind literature on European identity/identities and approaches it instead as a variety of self definitions and a multiplicity of different paths towards modernity.

In 2010, the focus of the IME project has acquired special importance as the inherent contradictions of Greek modernity and of the country's being in but not of Europe have come to the fore in the context of the current acute financial crisis that the country is going through. It remains indeed to be seen in the coming months (and years) whether the current financial but also political and ethical crisis will bring in an alternative modernity that will succeed in combining the 'eastern' traditions of the country with its 'western' political institutions and geopolitical orientation.

The research team consists of Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, who is the project coordinator for ELIAMEP, Dr. Ruby Gropas and Ms. Hara Kouki.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/ime-%e2%80%93-identities-and-modernities-in-europe/>

### Project publications

- **Identity Construction Programmes of the State and the EU**  
*Ruby Gropas, Hara Kouki & Anna Triandafyllidou, May 2010*
- **Identity Construction Programmes of Non-State, Professional and Collective actors**  
*Ruby Gropas, Hara Kouki & Anna Triandafyllidou, October 2010*



## European Media Policies Revisited: Valuing and Reclaiming Free and Independent Media in Contemporary Democratic Systems (MEDIADeM)

*Funded by the European Commission through the 7<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme (Specific Programme Cooperation, Theme 8: Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities)*

MEDIADeM is a European research project on media policy-making processes in EU member states and candidate countries. Its purpose is to investigate the configuration of state media policies that target or conversely constrain the development of free and independent media. It is funded by the European Commission's Seventh Framework Programme and coordinated by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy. The project started on April 1st, 2010 and will last for three years.

MEDIADeM combines a country-based study with a comparative analysis across media sectors and types of media services. It examines the complex array of policy approaches and regulatory, co-regulatory and self-regulatory instruments that govern the media in 14 European countries, exploring their effects for media freedom and independence. Regulation and its design are placed in the domestic socio-political context while external regulatory pressures deriving from the action of the European Union and the Council of Europe in particular, are also analysed in detail. The aim is to identify those policy processes and tools that best promote media freedom and independence. MEDIADeM's country studies have been selected to reflect the diversity of European media regulatory models and the wide range of factors that influence media policy formulation and implementation. The countries covered by the project fall under the various models of media systems identified by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini in *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*: the Mediterranean or Polarised Pluralist Model (Greece, Italy, Spain), the Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model (Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany) and the North Atlantic or Liberal Model (the UK). Additionally, the project covers countries from Central and Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Estonia, Romania, Slovakia), as well as EU candidate countries (Croatia, Turkey).

The project is a joint interdisciplinary effort of 14 partner institutions. It will make a significant contribution to media policy development by advancing knowledge on how media freedom and independence can be safeguarded in Europe. It will thus be of particular interest to state and European policy makers, civil society and the public at large.

The research team consists of Dr. Evangelia Psychogiopoulou, who also coordinates the project both at consortium and at ELIAMEP level, as well as Dr. Dia Anagnostou and Ms. Anna Kandyla.

For further information see: <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/mediadem/>

### Project Publications

- **Background information report: Media policies and regulatory practices in a selected set of European countries, the EU and the Council of Europe**, *Mediadem Consortium, October 2010*
- **The formation and implementation of national media policies in Europe and their relationship to democratic society and media freedom and independence: A theoretical and analytical frame for the MEDIADeM project**, *Dia Anagnostou, Rachael Craufurd Smith and Evangelia Psychogiopoulou, October 2010*

### Project Events

- **Workshop on "Media policies: Country practices within the EU media regulatory framework"**, *Zagreb, 10 December 2010*

## Pluralism and Religious Freedom in Orthodox Countries in Europe (PLUREL)

*Funded by the European Commission through the 7<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme (Specific Programme People, Marie Curie Actions, Intra-European Fellowships)*

This project seeks to understand and explain limitations of religious freedoms for minority faith groups in majority Orthodox countries in Europe. Christian Orthodoxy is amongst the most obscured presences on the European religious scene: in spite of the inclusion of large Orthodox populations in the European Union with the last waves of EU expansion, awareness of Orthodoxy in its multiple expressions remains clouded and/or undeveloped beyond its borders. This gap in knowledge about Christian Orthodox contexts is particularly problematic as regards the question of religious freedoms, given the importance of protecting religious pluralism in today's increasingly diverse European societies. The project aims to provide insight into the factors influencing trends in protection or violation of religious freedoms in Orthodox contexts; to propose potential resolutions of problem areas through targeted reforms at the national and European level; to comment on the balance between the principles of subsidiarity and of pluralism as applicable to Orthodox contexts; and to contribute to theories of secularisation with empirically-based insights on the relationship between Orthodoxy, on the one hand, and democracy and pluralism, on the other.

The project commenced in September of 2010. Dr. Fokas began her work by drawing up a list of potential interviewees in Romania and Bulgaria, establishing contact with them and arranging an interview schedule. In October she travelled to Bucharest and conducted 25 interviews there with religious leaders (of both the majority church and minority religions); legal advisors for religion-related court cases; NGO representatives; and academics working in the areas of Orthodoxy and religious freedom. In November the same process was repeated in Sofia. December was dedicated to the transcription of the interviews.

The project is run by Dr. Effie Fokas and supervised by Prof. Thanos Veremis.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/plurel/>



## Provision of Independent Expertise to the European Parliament in the field of Audiovisual Policy

The purpose of this project, which was launched in September 2010 upon conclusion of a framework service contract with the European Parliament, is to provide independent expert advice on a number of issues coming within the audiovisual policy mandate of the European Parliament (EP)'s Committee on Culture and Education (CULT). The project is coordinated by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy and draws on the expertise of an interdisciplinary team of academics and researchers who specialise in audiovisual policy. Expertise is offered in such fields as the implementation of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive; the Media 2007 Programme; the protection of cultural diversity in the audiovisual sector; the fight against piracy and the protection of authors' and artists' rights in the digital environment; safeguarding the EU's audiovisual heritage; media pluralism; and media literacy, among others.

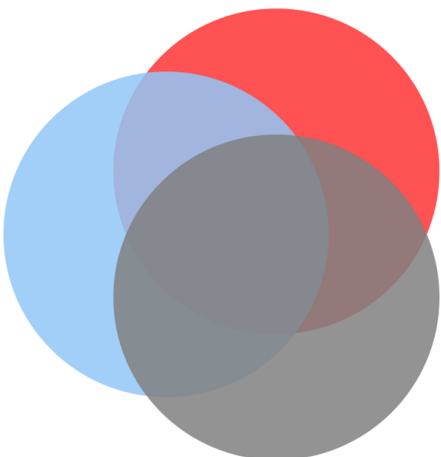
The project is coordinated by Dr. Evangelia Psychogiopoulou.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/provision-of-independent-expertise-to-the-european-parliament-in-the-field-of-audiovisual-policy/>

## Provision of Independent Expertise to the European Parliament regarding the EU Enlargement Process, Russia and the European Neighbourhood Policy

The objective of the framework contract is to provide the European Parliament, upon request, with expertise on a wide range of foreign policy subjects related to enlargement issues and to developments in, and EU relations with, Eastern neighbours and Russia. This expertise is provided by a network of institutes lead by IRIS (Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques). ELIAMEP is represented in the network with 6 specialized research fellows who provide their expertise in the following fields: enlargement issues in general; developments in Croatia, FYROM and Turkey; the Western Balkans: regional issues, Kosovo; the Black Sea Synergy; and, human rights and democracy promotion in the countries and regions covered by the contract.



## RECOWOE - Reconciling Work and Welfare

*Funded through the 6<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme (Priority 7 - Citizens and governance in a knowledge-based society)*

RECOWOE is a Network of Excellence of the Sixth Framework Programme (FP6) on “Reconciling Work and Welfare in Europe”. The paramount objective of the project is to create a European research network capable of overcoming the fragmentation of existing research on questions of work and welfare in Europe. The aim is to promote the research excellence required in identifying and understanding the multiple tensions between work and welfare, as well as strategies for managing or resolving them.

In 2010, ELIAMEP continued its participation in and contribution to Work Packages 1 and 4 of the Network, now in its fourth year. ELIAMEP is active in two different tasks of the network, namely, a task focusing on the usages of Europe by national welfare policy makers and the Europeanization of social policy in EU Member States, which is included in Work Package 4; and a task on the politics of flexicurity and in particular the reception of EU-inspired models of flexicurity in labour relations and employment policies of EU Member States, included in Work Package 1. With regard to the first of these tasks, in 2010, Dr. Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, who represents ELIAMEP in the network, completed the field research on the topic of the usages of Europe in Greek policy-making in employment, pensions and social assistance policies between 1980 and 2010 and presented a paper on it at a meeting organized at the Centre for European Studies (CEE) at Sciences-Po Paris in November. With regard to the second of the above tasks, in 2010, he also completed field research on the topic of the politics of flexicurity in Greece and presented a paper on this at a meeting organized at Bocconi University, Milan, in September. In addition, ELIAMEP was also represented by Ms. Mytro Stasinopoulou, ELIAMEP junior researcher, in the fourth Annual RECOWOE Integration Week which was held in Nantes from June 8-12th, 2010, and was organized by the *Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Ange Guépin* (Nantes, France) and the Centre for European Studies (CEE) at Sciences-Po Paris.



ELIAMEP is represented in the network by Dr. Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/recwowe-reconciling-work-and-welfare/>

## Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the Academic Network (LISBOAN)

*Funded through the Lifelong Learning Programme of the European Union (Erasmus Programme - Erasmus Academic Networks)*



The LISBOAN network, which was launched in 2010, is one of the teaching and research networks funded by the European Union in the field of social sciences. Specifically, the network receives funding from the EU's Life Long Learning Programme. The acronym of the network's name stands for Linking Interdisciplinary Integration Studies by Broadening the European Network. There are 6-7 partner institutes from 32 European countries. The University of Cologne is the lead partner and the network's director is Professor Wolfgang Wessels, one of the world's leading academics on European Union affairs.

The LISBOAN network is not a collaborative project, leading to the delivery of specific products created together by partner institutions. Rather it is a transnational group of academics and experts who focus on research-based teaching and best practices in teaching on the Lisbon treaty. The network serves, then, as a focal point where academic and institutes doing teaching and research on the European Union converge.

ELIAMEP is represented in the network by Dr. Ruby Gropas and Dr. Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos.



# Bodossaki Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship

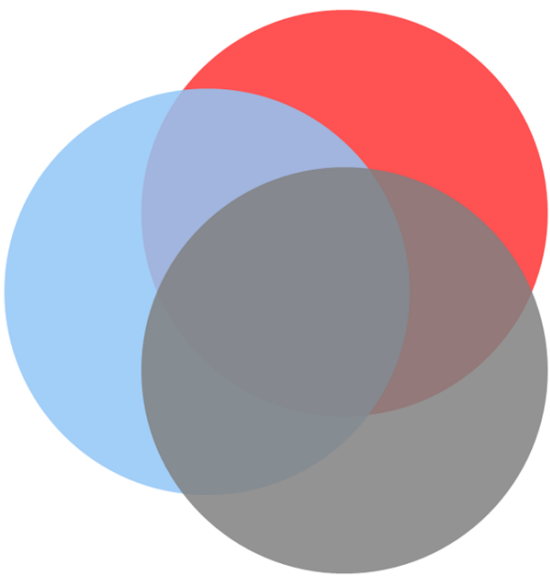
## Funded by the Bodossaki Foundation

In an effort to upgrade ELIAMEP's involvement in traditional issues of foreign and defence policy in areas and fields such as European integration, the Balkans, Greek-Turkish relations, the Mediterranean and the Middle East, transatlantic relations and other important issues of international politics, ELIAMEP launched, in 2010, a new post-doctoral research fellowship with the kind support of the Bodossaki Foundation. Along with the Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellowship, this new research post, supported by the Bodossaki Foundation, will further ELIAMEP's ambition to establish more research fellowships in Greece and contribute to educating a new generation of scientists, researchers and experts to staff international organisations, public and private sector entities and university departments.

Following an open selection procedure, the first Bodossaki Postdoctoral Research Fellowship at ELIAMEP was awarded to Dr. George Tzogopoulos. During the first quarter of his term, from September to December 2010, Dr. Tzogopoulos explored how the Greek crisis was viewed by global media. His research was based on collecting empirical data as well as on conducting interviews with foreign correspondents and journalists. He presented parts of his work in 'The Media and the Crisis' event organized at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by ELIAMEP, the German Embassy in Athens, DAAD and Freie Universität in December. His working paper is expected to be published in the first quarter of 2011. In the fourth quarter of 2010 Dr. Tzogopoulos also taught in the Winter School 'Doing Politics in the Face of Economic and Financial Crises: European Realities and Perceptions' and contributed as a commentator to various international and domestic news organizations such as L'Express, Bild and NET.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/bodossaki-postdoctoral-research-fellowship/>







# Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellowship

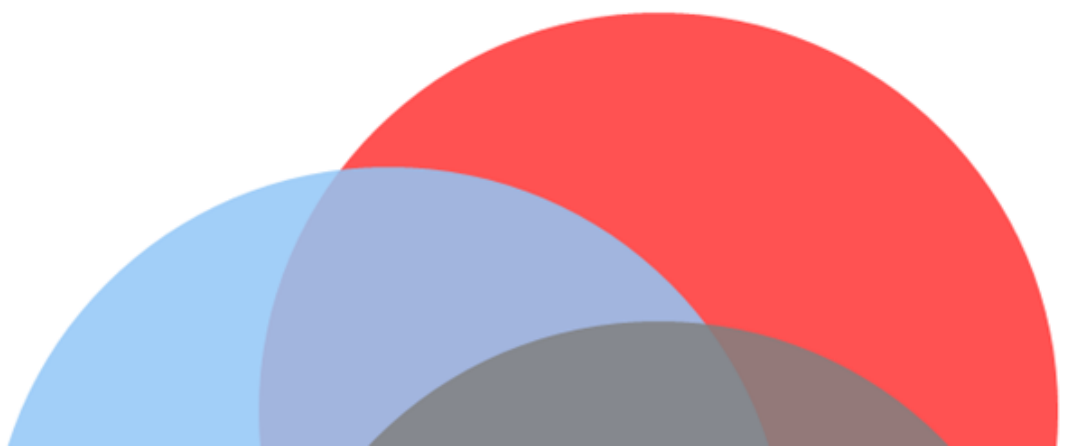
## Funded by the Ioannis F. Costopoulos Foundation

Since 2007, ELIAMEP hosts a Research Fellowship on European Affairs with the support of the I. F. Costopoulos Foundation. The fellowship aims to promote the research and policy-oriented activities of ELIAMEP in the fields of European integration and the future of the EU and to support Greece's research potential by offering both younger as well as more accomplished researchers an opportunity to further develop their career within a high-level working environment.

For the academic year 2009-2010 the Fellowship was held by Mr. Georgios Glynos, a former senior official at the European Commission with significant experience in matters related to the operation of European institutions, as well as the configuration and implementation of the Union's policies, such as the economic and monetary, regional, social and enlargement policy. During his term, Mr. Glynos made a significant contribution to the promotion of the study of the financial aspects of the European integration at ELIAMEP. At the same time, through his participation in a series of high-level events and a strong presence in the media, he contributed to the provision of well-documented information on the roots of the current economic crisis as well as alternative scenarios for tackling it.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/stavros-costopoulos-research-fellowship/>

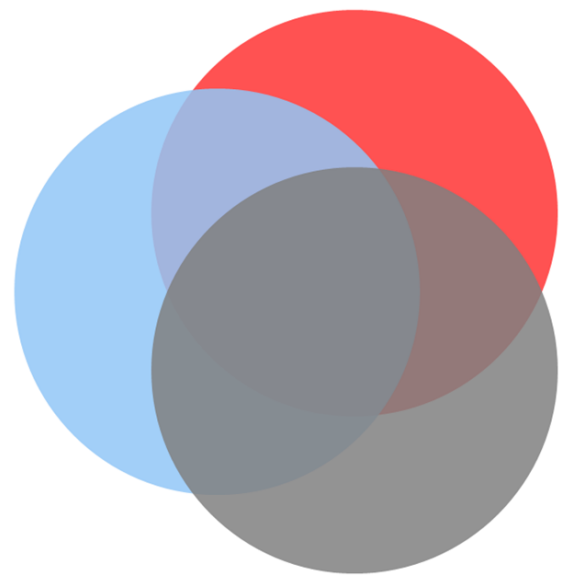


## National & International Security & Regional Developments

---

National and international security and regional developments have been at the core of ELIAMEP's research activities since its establishment. Based on the premise that national, regional and international security are closely linked, this research area covers a wide range of geographic and thematic topics. Greek foreign and security policy and Greece's role in the European security architecture and the Mediterranean are high up on the priorities list of this research cluster. Special emphasis is put on the Cyprus issue and Greek-Turkish relations in view of Turkey's EU vocation and the consequent changes in its society, politics and foreign policy. Furthermore, ELIAMEP explores a number of thematic and functional issues. Good governance, energy security, and asymmetric threats, such as international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, or transnational criminal networks, are studied in terms of the new challenges they pose for the security sector. In parallel, ELIAMEP's projects address political and security developments as well as regional cooperation in the Middle East and Southeastern Europe, the future of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), and other initiatives, such as the new European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI) as well as the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). Activities include expert meetings, workshops and conferences, conflict resolution and training seminars, working and policy papers and cooperation among networks of institutes.

For further information see <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/security/>





# Research Projects

## Middle Eastern Studies Programme

ELIAMEP has launched a new Programme on Middle Eastern Studies (PMES). The Programme will aim to offer insight and knowledge about developments in the broader Middle East to the Greek foreign policy community and public opinion. In its first year of operation, it focused on the role and foreign policy of a number of major countries in the region, including Iran, Israel and Turkey. Among the objectives of the PMES was to publish a series of policy papers and shorter essays in the series of *ELIAMEP THESIS* and *Working Papers*, and to organize various workshops and lectures. A number of young, yet already established, researchers and analysts were active in the framework of ELIAMEP's Programme of Middle Eastern Studies. Namely:

- Dr. Yiannis Grigoriadis, Assistant Professor, Bilkent University, Ankara and Research Associate at ELIAMEP, who worked on Turkey's relations with and role in the Middle East, as well as the role of Islam on regional states' foreign policy
- Dr. Evangelos Venetis, a researcher at the Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, TCMO Institute, University of Leiden and Research Associate at ELIAMEP, who focused on Iranian foreign policy, Iran's role and influence in the Gulf region and the Middle East and the prospects for Greek-Iranian relations
- Dr. Stephanos Vallianatos, International Relations Department, Hellenic Foundation for Culture and Research Associate at ELIAMEP, who studied Egypt's regional role and Greek-Egyptian relations
- Ms. Maria Ververidou, Expert at the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Research Associate at ELIAMEP who examined the economic activities of Turkey in the Middle East
- Mr. Pantelis Touloumakos, PhD candidate, Univ. of Thessaloniki, and Junior Research Associate at ELIAMEP who studied the concept of neo-ottomanism, with a special focus on minorities, and Turkey's regional role

### Project Events

- Lecture by Jean-Pierre Filiu on "The Nine Lives of Al-Qaida", Athens, 19 May 2010
- Discussion on "The new round of peace talks between Israelis and Palestinians: Is there any hope for progress?", Athens, 27 September 2010

### Project Publications

- The Davutoğlu Doctrine and Turkish Foreign Policy, *ELIAMEP Working Paper No. 8* by Ioannis N. Grigoriadis
- Acts and dimensions of the Islamic capital in Turkey: the MÜSİAD and TUSKON business groups, *ELIAMEP Working Paper No. 10* by Maria Ververidou
- Short Dictionary of Greek-Turkish relations, *ELIAMEP Working Paper no 11* by Dr. Thanos Dokos
- Short dictionary' of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, *ELIAMEP Working Paper No 12* by Dr. Thanos Dokos
- Analysing Turkish foreign policy: the role of governmental organizations in the context of Ankara's development diplomacy, *ELIAMEP Working Paper No. 13* by Pantelis Touloumakos
- Greek-Iranian relations & their significance to the European Union, *Policy Paper no. 14* by Dr. Evangelos Venetis

Other experts from Greece and the region were invited to contribute to the Programme's activities. The Programme was coordinated by Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director-General of ELIAMEP, who also worked on issues such nuclear proliferation in the Middle East, and the role of Israel, EU's and NATO's regional initiatives.

Other activities included the preparation for a bilateral meeting of strategic dialogue between Greek and Iranian think-tanks to take place in 2011 and similar meetings with think-tanks from other key countries from the region (such as Israel) and joint initiatives with other European think-tanks. Emphasis was also given to the strengthening of existing relationships and the exploration of opportunities for cooperation with networks and selected institutes in the Middle East and the EU with similar research interests: for example, the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI), the successor network to EuroMeSCo, the Al-Jisr Project (a joint initiative between the EU and the Gulf countries), and the German Marshall Fund of the US's (GMFUS) Mediterranean Studies Programme. Finally, high priority was given to seeking additional funding to secure the continuation and expansion of the Programme.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/security-regional-developments/programme-on-middle-eastern-studies/>

## Early Warning Systems: From Analysis to Action

*Funded through the EU's Instrument for Stability*

The Initiative for Peacebuilding - Early Warning Analysis to Action (IfP-EW) is a consortium led by International Alert and funded by the European Commission. It draws on the expertise of 10 members comprising civil society organizations, networks and universities and 3 associates with offices across the EU and in conflict-affected countries. It aims to develop and harness international knowledge and expertise in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding to ensure that all stakeholders, including EU institutions, can access strong, independent, locally-derived analysis in order to facilitate better informed and more evidence-based policy and programming decisions.



THIS INITIATIVE IS FUNDED  
BY THE EUROPEAN UNION

While the specific activities and objectives of IfP-EW are distinct from those of IfP they build on its strengths and experiences, identifying some of the key, relevant but not always obvious issues that are challenges to peace. Accordingly IfP-EW undertakes the following objectives:

- Exploring the multiple drivers of fragility and conflict in a wide variety of contexts across five global regions.
- Using locally-derived analyses in a number of under-explored, overlapping areas to inform conflict prevention and crisis response strategies and policies.
- Understanding the critical systemic constraints to early action and strengthening institutional approaches to early response. Improving collaboration and strengthening networking among research institutions, think-tanks, academic and civil society organisations.

Specific objectives:

- To increase understanding of (i) the factors which catalyse violence and turn fragility into open, widespread violence, and (ii) the systemic blockages and policies which constrain institutions from acting fully and promptly on available analyses.

IfP-EW focuses on multiple themes across multiple regions and is organised in a framework of four interconnected clusters. Thematically the action includes: climate change; improving institutional capacity; media and information flows, and youth, identity and security. Geographically the action covers - in addition to EU member states - Africa (Cape Verde, DRC, Guinea Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Uganda), the Americas (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico and Venezuela) and Asia (Armenia, India, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan and Timor Leste).

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/security-regional-developments/initiative-for-peacebuilding/>

## Successful Security Policy Transfer: When, How and Why? (SEC POL TRANSFER)

*Funded by the European Commission through the 7<sup>th</sup> Framework Programme (Specific Programme People, Marie Curie Actions, Intra-European Fellowships)*

The influence of the US and Britain over Greek domestic security policies has long been a highly controversial subject. This two-year project seeks to map the fluctuations in the degree and forms of influence exerted over time by the US, Britain and the EU over Greek policies against organised crime and terrorism. In so doing, the project aims to assess the extent to which policy transfer has been effective as hoped for or, indeed, as feared, and to examine what may be responsible for different outcomes. Equally, the research seeks to explore the degree of responsibility held by national elites for policy content in these areas.

Over the course of 2010, the research project engaged with officials at the Ministry of Citizen Protection in Greece and at the Foreign and Home Offices in the UK, whilst interviews were conducted with Greek and British practitioners in the field of security, as well as with two former British ambassadors. In addition, research was conducted on the ways in which organised crime and political violence have been regarded as interrelated phenomena in Greece, the evolution of public perceptions of crime and attitudes towards the punishment of crime in Greece over the last thirty-five years through a political economy perspective, and the management of international co-operation against organised crime. Research findings were presented at international academic conferences and prepared for publication (see below). Invited commentaries on contemporary socio-political upheavals in Greece were also provided to news services of international media outlets, including the BBC and Politiken.

The project is run by Dr. Sappho Xenakis and supervised by Dr. Thanos Dokos.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/security-regional-developments/successful-security-policy-transfer-how-and-when/>

### Project Publications

- **Resisting Submission? The Obstinance of “Balkanist” Characteristics in Greece as Dissidence against “The West”**  
*Sappho Xenakis, in L. K. Cheliotis (ed.), Roots, Rites and Sites of Resistance: The Banality of Good, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010*
- **Pride and Prejudice: Comparative Corruption Research and the British Case<sup>1</sup>**  
*Sappho Xenakis, in Crime, Law and Social Change 54(1)*
- **Political Corruption and Organised Crime in Central and South-Eastern Europe**  
*Sappho Xenakis, in Europa Publications (ed) Central and South-Eastern Europe 2011, London: Routledge*
- **What’s Neoliberalism Got to Do With It? Towards a Political Economy of Punishment in Greece**  
*Leonidas Cheliotis & Sappho Xenakis, in Criminology and Criminal Justice (special issue on ‘Neoliberal and Penalty: Reflections on the Work of Loïc Wacquant’, ed. L. K. Cheliotis), 10(4)*

---

<sup>1</sup> Note: This paper won the 2011 Young Criminologist Award of the European Society of Criminology.

# Migration

For almost a decade now, ELIAMEP has been actively contributing to the Europe-wide debates and efforts to provide policy responses addressing the social and political challenges posed by migration within our rapidly changing European societies.

For further information see [www.eliamep.gr/en/category/migration](http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/migration)

v



## Research Projects

### The Fundamental Rights Situation of Irregular Immigrants in the European Union (FRIM)

*Funded by the Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union*

The purpose of this project, which was launched in late 2009 by a consortium of partners lead by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development, was to examine key aspects of the social situation of irregular immigrants in the European Union, in order to assess the extent to which their fundamental rights are respected and protected. Areas covered by the research included health, housing, education, social care, employment status and fair working conditions and access to remedies against violations and abuse.

The project was completed in 2010. ELIAMEP's Migration Research Team lead the Domestic Work Case Study across Europe as well as the research on the employment situation of irregular migrants and their related access to basic labour rights. The Comparative Report on the general study and on the Domestic Work case study will be launched in spring 2011.

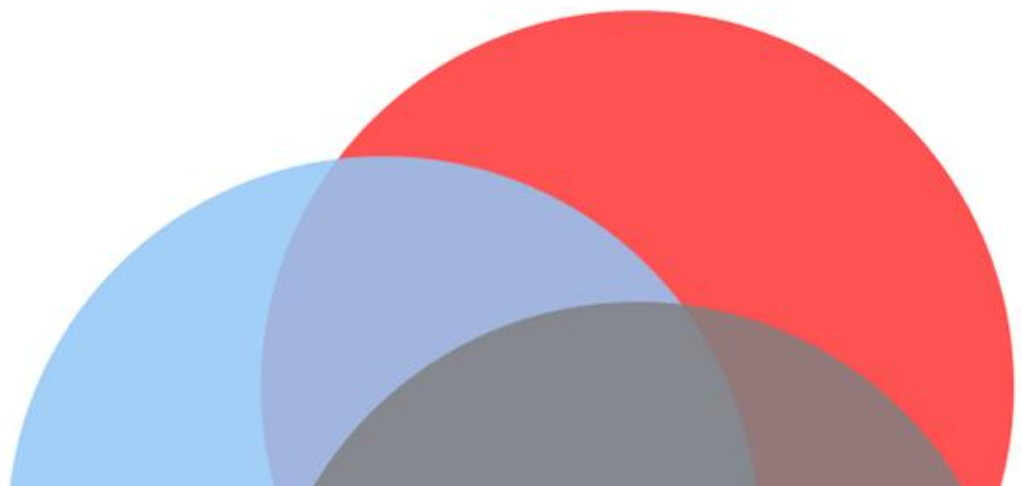
The findings of this research will provide policymakers with a solid scientific basis with which to take actions required to ensure that the fundamental rights of irregular immigrants are protected. By examining current problematic situations and documenting good practices, this project also intends to give practitioners practical tools to promote the rights of irregular immigrants.

The research team consists of Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou, who is also the project coordinator for ELIAMEP, Dr. Thanos Maroukis and Ms. Michaela Marouf.



For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/migration/frim%20%93the-fundamental-rights-situation-of-irregular-immigrants-in-the-european-union/>





## Treatment of Third-Country Nationals at the EU's External Borders

*Funded by the Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union*

This project, launched in late 2010 by a consortium of partners lead by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development, focuses on the treatment of third-country nationals in relation to their civil and social rights. It will collect information from irregular migrants at entry points and reception centers of the participating countries, local authorities, fishermen and sea patrol, border guards and informed persons, in order to identify possible shortcomings as well as good practices in the way border checks are conducted at the main entry points into the European Union. In this way, the project aspires to assist policymakers and practitioners to enhance the quality of border checks at crossing points.

This is a two-phase project. In Phase I, which will begin in early 2011, research will focus at the maritime border area, which is divided into 7 case studies in 5 EU countries (Greece, Malta, Cyprus, Italy and Spain) and several non-EU countries. ELIAMEP will coordinate the research activities in Greece, Cyprus and Turkey and the relevant case studies. Phase II of the project will cover 10 border crossing points: 5 land borders crossing points (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Greece and Spain) and 5 air border crossing points (France, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany and the United Kingdom). This part of the research will also include interviews with representatives of third-country authorities. ELIAMEP will coordinate the research at the land border crossing from Turkey to Greece as well as the drafting of the foreseen case study. Complementing the innovative primary research is a review of the training received by border guards on Fundamental Rights. The aim of this review will be to highlight the effectiveness, sufficiency and potential gaps of the training offered.



The research team consists of Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou, who is also the project coordinator for ELIAMEP, Dr. Thanos Maroukis, Despoina Syrri, Angeliki Dimitriadi and Kleopatra Yousef.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/migration/treatment-of-third-country-nationals-at-the-eu%e2%80%99s-external-borders/>



# Participation in International Networks

## European Web Site on Integration

In 2010, Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou, Head of ELIAMEP's Research Team on Migration, was appointed National Coordinator for Greece at the European Web Site on Integration.

This website is an initiative of the European Commission, aiming to provide policy makers and practitioners working on integration throughout Europe with a tool for the exchange of information and good practice. Among others, it includes information on funding opportunities for integration projects; a documentation library for integration-related documents (legislation, reports, policy papers, etc); examples of integration “good practice” in a range of thematic areas; a directory of other members of the integration community around Europe, including potential project partners, etc.

Prof. Triandafyllidou, aided by ELIAMEP Junior Research Fellow, Ms. Marina Nikolova, is in charge of updating the website with news and information from Greece.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/migration/>

## OECD SOPEMI

In 2010, Prof. Triandafyllidou was also appointed SOPEMI Correspondent for Greece at the OECD. The Continuous Reporting System on Migration (known under its French acronym, SOPEMI, from *Système d'observation permanente des migrations*) was established in 1973 to provide the OECD member countries with a mechanism for the timely sharing of information on international migration, the collect of migration statistics as well as the improvement of their comparability, and to serve the basis for an annual OECD report on international migration.



## EVENTS & TRAINING PROGRAMMES

The organization of events and training programmes is the second tool used by ELIAMEP to achieve its objectives. ELIAMEP organises events with the aim of exchanging and developing new ideas, disseminating information among scholars and policy-makers and contributing to the wider debate about issues of European and foreign policy and international affairs. These events include briefings and lectures, delivered by distinguished guest speakers, round-table discussions and public debates, workshops, organized in the framework of its research programmes, as well as training seminars for high-ranking officials and policy-makers.

For further information see: <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/events/>

In 2010 ELIAMEP organized the following events and training programmes:

**Winter School - Doing Politics in the Face of Economic and Financial Crises: European Realities and Perceptions,**  
*Athens, 10-14 December 2010*

---

The Center for Global Politics at the Freie Universität Berlin, in co-operation with the Hellenic Foundation of European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), offered a winter school programme on “Doing Politics in the Face of Economic and Financial Crises: European Realities and Perceptions”. Following the evaluation of the submitted applications, twenty seven Greek and foreign students were chosen by the programme selection committee to participate in the Winter School. The training involved attending presentations and participating in working groups, under the supervision of Greek and German teachers, as well as producing papers and presentations. It took place in Athens between 10 and 14 December.

**Event - The Media and the Crisis-The European Debt Problem in the Public Debate**  
*Athens, 7 December 2010*

---

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), the German Embassy in Athens, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and the Center for Global Politics, Berlin organized a panel discussion on “The Media and the Crisis - The European Debt Problem in the Public Debate”. This event brought together distinguished Greek and German journalists as well as policy makers to assess the debate concerning the management of sovereign debt crises in Europe and its political implications for European integration. The event took place on Tuesday 7 December 2010 at the Y. Kranidiotis Amphitheatre at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**Event - The financial crisis in Greece: an opportunity for change**  
*Athens, 23 November 2010*

---

Taking part in the debate regarding “the next day” for Greece, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organized a public discussion on “The financial crisis in Greece: an opportunity for change”. The panel included Kostis Chatzidakis, MP and former Minister; Petros Markaris, Writer; Alekos Papadopoulos, former Minister; and Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP, and was moderated by Mr. Ilias Kanelis, journalist. The event took place on Tuesday 23 November in the auditorium “Th. Karatzas” of the National Bank of Greece.



**Event - Aftershocks: Economic Crisis and Institutional Choice**  
*Athens, 18 November 2010*

---



In its effort to contribute to the public debate on the exploration of institutional choices for addressing the consequences of the crisis, the Hellenic Foundation of European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), in cooperation with PAPAISIS Publications, organized the presentation of the Greek edition of the book “Aftershocks: Economic Crisis and Institutional Choice”. The book was presented by Mr. Stefanos Manos (former Minister, President of the political movement DRASSI), Mr. Yannis Papantoniou (former Minister, President of the Centre for Progressive Policy Research), Professor Loukas Tsoukalis (University of Athens, President of ELIAMEP), and Professor Anton Hemmerijck (VU University of Amsterdam, former Director of the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR), and one of the editors of the book. HE the Ambassador of the Netherlands in Greece Mr. Cornelis van Rij made the introductory remarks. The event took place on Thursday 18 November in the “Y. Kranidiotis” Auditorium at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**Conference - Reaching out to the Balkans in times of crisis**  
*Athens, 12-14 November 2010*

---

At a critical point for the Western Balkans region, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), in cooperation with the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington D.C., organized a 2-day conference entitled “Reaching out to the Balkans in times of crisis”. Our goal was to bring together experts from think-tanks and NGOs, academics and government officials from the US, EU member states and the Western Balkans, in an effort to help focus attention on the obstacles to reform in the region and coordinating the transatlantic policy towards the Western Balkans. The conference was held in Athens from 12 to 14 November.



**Discussion - The future of Kosovo after the Hague**  
Athens, 12 November 2010

---

In view of its long-standing interest in Balkan politics and attempting to elaborate on the future of Kosovo after Hague, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organised a panel discussion on the subject. Speakers included Mr. Vetton Surroi (Chairman of the Board, Foreign Policy Club, Pristina) and Ambassador (ret.) Alexandros Mallias (Special Advisor, ELIAMEP). The discussion was moderated by Professor Thanos Veremis (Vice-President of ELIAMEP) and held on 12 November in the ‘Yannos Kranidiotis’ Amphitheatre of the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



**Discussion - Greek-Turkish relations: current status, future prospects**  
Athens, 8 October 2010

---

In the aftermath of the Turkish referendum of 12 September many analysts did not hesitate to foresee the beginning of a new era in the country. In this context an issue of high interest is related - inter alia - to the evolution of Greek-Turkish relations. Taking part in the debate, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organised a panel discussion on the topic. Speakers included Dr. Ibrahim Kalın (Chief Advisor to the Prime Minister of Turkey, Ankara), Mr. Omer Celik (Vice Chairman, AKP and Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the Party, Ankara), Ms Paulina Lampsa (PASOK’s International Relations Secretary) and Dr. Thanos Dokos (Director General, ELIAMEP). Professor Theodore Couloumbis (Vice President of ELIAMEP) moderated the discussion. The event took place at the Y. Kranidiotis Amphitheatre in the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 8 October.



**Event - The future of Kosovo after the Hague**  
Thessaloniki, 27 September 2010

---

Navarino Network, in cooperation with the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), organized a panel discussion on “The future of Kosovo after the Hague”. The panel included Mr. Vetton Surroi, Chairman of the Board, Foreign Policy Club, Prishtina; Ms. Venera Hajrullahu, Executive Director, Kosovo Civil Society Foundation, Prishtina; Ambassador (ret.) Alexandros Mallias, Special Advisor, ELIAMEP; Moderator: Dr. Dimitris Keridis, Associate Professor, University of Macedonia; Director, Navarino Network. The discussion was held as part of “Navarino Mondays” event series in Thessaloniki.



### Lecture - How to prevent another global financial crisis?

Athens, 23 September 2010

---

There is a lively debate in academic and political circles as to the lessons drawn from the current financial crisis and the remedies required for a future one to be prevented. In its interest in this highly significant topic the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy organised a lecture by Professor Leszek Balcerowicz (Economist, former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Poland, former President of the National Bank of Poland and Chairman of the BRUEGEL - think tank) with the participation of Nikos Christodoulakis (Professor at the Athens University of Economics and Business and former Minister of Economy and Finance for Greece) as a commentator and Loukas Tsoukalis (Professor at the University of Athens and President of ELIAMEP) as a moderator. The event took place on Thursday 23 September at the Headquarters of the Bank of Greece.



### Event - How to cope with the crisis?

Chania, 11 September 2010

---

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organised an event on “How to cope with the crisis?”. The speakers addressed three critical fields: “Economy” - by Prof. Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP; “State” - by Alekos Papadopoulos, former minister; “Society” - by Prof. Thanos Veremis, Vice-President of ELIAMEP. The discussion was moderated by Minos Zombanakis, economist and member of ELIAMEP’s board. The event took place at the Architectural Center of Messogiou in Chania, Crete, on Saturday 11 September.

### Roundtable discussion - South-Asia & Europe: lessons learned

Athens, 21 July 2010

---

ELIAMEP organized a closed discussion with H.E. Ambassador Mohamed Mijarul Quayes, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of Bangladesh, to discuss how the region of South Asia interfaces with the process of European integration and to present an assessment of any comparisons that can be drawn from the dynamics of integration in the region. The event was held on 21 July at ELIAMEP’s premises.



**Conference - Economic Governance in the Eurozone and the EU: Drawing Lessons from the Crisis**

*Sounio, 10-13 June 2010*

At a critical juncture for Europe and in view of the pressing need to discuss the issues, challenges and priorities facing economic governance in EU-27 and the eurozone in particular, ELIAMEP dedicated its 7th Annual European Seminar to “Economic Governance in the Eurozone and the EU: Drawing Lessons from the Crisis”.

A group of leading thinkers and policy-makers was brought together to draw lessons from the ways in which Europe has so far coped with the crisis and reflect on its broader political and social consequences. During this meeting, the adequacy of the Union’s crisis management mechanisms and the role of individual member countries were examined, and alternative scenarios for economic governance were discussed.



The seminar was organized in cooperation with Bruegel and with the support of the Lifelong Learning Programme (Jean Monnet Information and Research Activities) of the European Union.

**Roundtable discussion - Europe in crisis?**

*Athens, 10 June 2010*

As Greece is currently in the center of the economic crisis in Europe and on the occasion of the launch of the Greek translation of the report ‘An EU “fit for purpose” in the global age: can we rise to the challenge?’, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) and the Europe Direct Information Centre at ELIAMEP organised an open discussion on “Europe in crisis?”. The panel included Lord Liddle, Chairman of the Policy Network in London, Prof. Jean Pisani-Ferry, Director of Bruegel in Brussels, Prof. Andre Sapir, Senior Fellow at Bruegel in Brussels and Prof. Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP. The discussion was moderated by Mr. Foivos Karzis, Journalist.



The event took place on Thursday 10 June in the “Y. Kranidiotis” Auditorium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**Conference - Our Money, My Europe: The Limits of Solidarity**

*Brussels, 8 June 2010*

On 8 June 2010 a joint conference between the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) & the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) was held in Brussels, Belgium. The meeting focused on: “Our Money, My Europe: The Limits of Solidarity. The Internal and external impact of the euro zone crisis”. The MEP Jorgo Chatzimarkakis from the Free Democrats in Germany hosted the proceedings in the European Parliament. Alongside SWP researchers Daniela Schwarzer and Dušan Reljić, speakers included Jens Bastian, Senior Research Fellow, ELIAMEP; Jorgo Chatzimarkakis, MEP; Janis Emmanouilidis, Senior Policy Analyst, EPC; Giorgos Glynos, Stavros Costopoulos Fellow, ELIAMEP; and Ian Traynor, Europe Editor, The Guardian.



### Discussion - Social unrest and regime changes

Athens, 1 June 2010

In view of the Greek financial crisis, austerity measures and the social unrest that have followed, ELIAMEP organized a closed discussion on Tuesday 1 June on the topic of “Social unrest” with Professor Stathis Kalyvas, Prof. of Political Sciences and Director of the Program on Order, Conflict and Violence, Yale University.



### Lecture - The Persistence of Empire in Eurasia

Athens, 14 May 2010



The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), the Program in Hellenic Studies, Princeton University, and The Princeton Club of Greece organized a lecture by Mark R. Beissinger, Professor of Comparative Politics in the Politics Department of Princeton University on “The Persistence of Empire in Eurasia”. The event took place at ELIAMEP’s offices on 14 May and was moderated by Professor Thanos Veremis, Vice President of ELIAMEP.

### Bilateral Meeting between ELIAMEP & the Foreign Policy Club

Prishtina, 22-25 April 2010

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) is continuing its monitoring and analysis of developments in Kosovo since 1995. Responding to an invitation by the Foreign Policy Club (think tank) in Pristina, a delegation visited Kosovo from 22 to 25 April. The delegation comprised of: Prof. Thanos Veremis, Vice-President of ELIAMEP, Dr. Evangelos Kofos and Ambassador (Ret.) Alexandros Mallias, Special Advisors to ELIAMEP, Dr. Jens Bastian, Senior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, Ms Elizabeth Phocas, Deputy Director, ELIAMEP and Dr. Yannis Armakolas, Researcher, Hellenic Center for European Studies (EKEM). Other participants included the journalists Filios Stagkos, NET, Stavros Tzimas, Kathimerini, Sophia Papadopoulou, Athens News Agency, Katerina Oikonomakou, Eleftherotypia and Apostolos Fotiadis correspondent of Inter Press Service in Belgrade. During their visit to Kosovo, they had meetings with representatives from politics, civil society and the media. Among them the President, Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister of the “Republic of Kosovo”, Mr. Fatmir Sejdiu, Mr. Hashim Thaci and Mr. Skender Hysani, and the Leader of the opposition Mr. Ramush Haradinaj. In addition, the delegation held meetings with leaders of the Bosniak, Turk and Roma communities. They also met with Father Savva at the historical Decani Monastery to discuss the protection of the Serbian Orthodox Monastic Community in Kosovo. The protection of historical monasteries is based on a proposal that ELIAMEP had advanced in 2005. Finally, they participated in a conference on “Kosovo and the EU: Views from Athens”. Due to the extraordinary participation of the Greek delegation in a TV discussion in Ohrid it was not possible for them to meet with representatives of the Serb community as well.





**Public Debate - After Lisbon, how can we reanimate the European project?**

*Paris, 22 April 2010*

The French portal on European issues TOUTELEUROPE held jointly with Policy Network, Terra Nova, the European Institute of London School of Economics and ELIAMEP (members of the European partner network of the portal TOUTELEUROPE) a public debate entitled ‘After Lisbon: how can we reanimate the European project?’. ELIAMEP President, Professor Loukas Tsoukalis presented the key findings of the report “An EU fit for purpose in the global age: can we rise to the challenge?”, elaborated by Policy Network in partnership with the European Institute of London School of Economics and ELIAMEP. The full programme of speakers included Walter Veltroni, Former Mayor of Rome, Pierre Moscovici, member of Parliament and Former Minister of European Affairs and James Purnell, Former Minister of Culture, Former Minister of Labour and current member of the British Parliament. Olivier Ferrand, President of Terra Nova, moderated the session. The discussion took place on Thursday 22 April at Mairie du 11<sup>e</sup> arrondissement in Paris.



**ELIAMEP delegation met with representatives of institutes for international relations and media of FYROM**

*Skopje, 21 April 2010*

An ELIAMEP delegation, consisting of the Foundation’s Vice-President, Prof. Thanos Veremis, and Special Advisers Dr. Evangelos Kofos and Ambassador a.h. Alexandros Mallias, visited Skopje with the aim of explaining the point of view of the Greek side to the civil society of the neighboring country. The delegation met with representatives of local institutes for international relations, as well as of the most authoritative media of the country, with whom they exchanged views on the bilateral relations between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and on the significance of finding a mutually acceptable solution. As local interlocutors pointed out, this is the first time in four years that a Greek delegation, even an unofficial one, visits the neighboring country to explain the point of view of the Greek side. The Greek participants underlined the need to find a solution that will cover all aspects of the subject, address all uses of the name and ensure that the problem will be solved definitely and not burden future generations. As was to be expected, at first the discussion faced some difficulties, but in the end it was proven that it would be useful to repeat and intensify such types of meetings and exchanges, since they can contribute significantly to the development of a positive climate and trust-building between the two societies. The meetings attracted great attention from the country’s most important media. The Greek delegation also participated in a TV discussion on the relations between the two countries, organized by the TV station A1 in Ohrid.

### Roundtable discussion - The Impact of Climate Change: A View from Bangladesh

Athens, 14 April 2010

---

The Hellenic Foundation of European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organized a roundtable discussion with H.E. Ambassador Mohamed Mijarul Quayes, Foreign Secretary of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, who discussed "The Impact of Climate Change: A View from Bangladesh". The discussion, which took place at ELIAMEP offices on Wednesday 14 April, was moderated by ELIAMEP's Director General, Dr. Thanos Dokos.



### Discussion - After the Lisbon Treaty: Where next for Europe?

Athens, 23 March 2010

---



The Hellenic Foundation of European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) and the British Embassy in Athens organised a panel discussion entitled "After the Lisbon treaty: Where next for Europe?". The British Ambassador, Dr. David Landsman, welcomed the guests and Ms. Katerina Sokou, journalist of *Kathimerini* daily newspaper moderated the panel. The panelists were Rt. Hon. Dr. Denis MacShane MP, UK Labour Party and former Europe Minister; Prof. Kevin Featherstone, London School of Economics and Advisor to the Committee for the Modernisation of the Operation of the Greek Government; Mr. Angus Lapsley, Head of EU External Relations, UK Representation to the EU; Prof. Panayiotis Ioakimidis, Professor of European Integration, University of Athens; Prof. Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP and Professor of European Organisation, University of Athens and Prof. Yannis Stournaras, Director General, Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE). The event was held on Tuesday 23 March at the British Ambassador's Residence.

### Lecture - The European Union after the economic crisis

Athens, 18 March 2010

---

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) and the Embassy of Ireland in Athens organized a lecture by Dr FitzGerald, former Prime Minister of Ireland on "The European Union after the economic crisis". Professor Panayiotis Ioakimidis, Member of the Board of Directors of ELIAMEP, moderated the discussion. The event was held on Thursday 18 March at the European Parliament's Office in Greece.



**Discussion - The relationship between the judicial system and the government in Turkey**

*Athens, 26 February 2010*

---

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organized a closed discussion on “The relationship between the judicial system and the government in Turkey”. The discussion took place on Friday 26 February at ELIAMEP.

**Workshop - Security Sector Reform in Serbia**

*Belgrade, 2 February 2010*

---

To evaluate the role of donor assistance in security sector reform in Serbia, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) commissioned a report that was drafted by a group of experts, under the guidance of Dr. Amadeo Watkins. Recognising the need to strengthen public dialogue in Serbia, and in order to disseminate the report more widely among stakeholders, the Balkan Fund for Democracy and ELIAMEP organized a workshop in Belgrade on 2 February on Security Sector Reform in Serbia, with the participation of high-level government officials, experts and representatives of donor organisations in Serbia. The workshop was conducted in the context of the IfP’s Security Cluster. The Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP) is supported financially by the EU and draws together the complementary geographic and thematic expertise of 10 civil society organisations (and their networks) with offices across the EU and in conflict-affected countries. IfP partners have joined together to develop and promote international knowledge and expertise in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

*Athens, 19 January 2010*

---



On Tuesday 19 January the Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) organised a roundtable discussion with Dr. Jozsef Czukor, State Secretary for EU Member States & Policy Planning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hungary. Dr. Czukor elaborated on the prospects for cooperation between Central & Southeast Europe. In preparation of Hungary’s forthcoming EU Presidency during the first half of 2011, Dr. Czukor presented key elements of his country’s prospects for regional cooperation.



With more than 170 studies, seminar and conference proceedings, working papers and monographs, both in Greek and in English, published since 1988, publications play a major role in our work, which also includes a number of books published by ELIAMEP or jointly with other publishers, as well as three series of studies and monographs known as Policy Papers, Working Papers (former Occasional Papers and Postgraduate Notes) and ELIAMEP Thesis, all referring to contemporary international issues.

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/all-publications/publications/>

## ELIAMEP Thesis

In May 2008 ELIAMEP launched a new publication series entitled ELIAMEP Thesis. This new series covers topical issues related to EU integration, Europe's role in global affairs and important developments in international affairs. ELIAMEP Thesis is published several times a year and its length does not exceed five to seven pages. This new series complements ELIAMEP's Policy Papers and aims at producing short and timely pieces of analysis and recommendations on topical issues and current developments. All issues of ELIAMEP Thesis are available at: <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/eliamepthesis/>. In 2010 the following issues were published:

### [The last chance in Cyprus negotiations and the Turkey-EU relationship](#)

*Atila Eralp, ELIAMEP Thesis 1/2010, (in English)*

Although there is a noticeable increase in diplomatic attention regarding the Cyprus problem, there is no substantial progress yet and expectations for a positive outcome remain rather limited. The present paper - the fourth published by ELIAMEP on the Cyprus issue in the last months, with one more paper to follow soon from a Turkish-Cypriot author - argues that the Turkey-EU relationship is increasingly linked to the settlement of the Cyprus problem. Recent public surveys on the island show that there is still a conducive environment for a compromise solution, but these surveys also indicate that there are strong tendencies towards a two-state solution in the North and a unitary state in the South. Whilst there is still a possibility for a solution, time is running short for a settlement on the island. All actors should realize at this point that time is not on their side; they need to focus more wisely on the time factor and not waste it again.

### [EU energy security and Russia: a re-conceptualization of threats and policy priorities](#)

*Filippos Proedrou, ELIAMEP Thesis 2/2010, (in English)*

In this issue of ELIAMEP Thesis, Filippos Proedrou, Lecturer of Politics and International Relations in City College, Thessaloniki, argues that while the global economic crisis has overshadowed most policy-making within the Eurozone, energy security remains a major issue, where Russia holds a special weight. This ELIAMEP Thesis examines the discourse in EU policy-making circles with regard to Russia and its role as a natural gas provider, on the presumption that whilst the oil market is global, natural gas markets are regional. Although LNG creates potential for the creation of a global gas market, gas trade remains, basically, pipeline-bound and shortages can thus not easily be substituted by other sources. Hence, EU-Russia gas trade carries more weight within their bilateral relationship. This essay aims to clarify the misperceptions haunting EU energy policy and to suggest a more rational working framework. Such a re-conceptualization carries with it major revisions for EU energy policy-making.

### Russia's "regeneration" and the perspectives for the Greek-Russian relations

*Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP Thesis 3/2010, (in Greek)*

In this issue of ELIAMEP Thesis, Dr. Thanos Dokos evaluates the position and role of Russia in the new geopolitical environment adopting the position that despite the difference of views on several issues, Russia is an indispensable strategic partner. Europe should therefore find a way to establish a mutually beneficial strategic relationship with Russia; if not, the cost both of a confrontation and of missed opportunities would be considerable for both sides. As far as Greek-Russian relations are concerned, the cooperation on energy matters with Russia places Greece on the 'energy-map' - although in a secondary role. On the bilateral level there is significant room for further improvement on the relations between Athens and Moscow on a number of areas. The deepening of Greek-Russian relations should be viewed as a complementary rather than as an alternative strategic choice, in relation to our country's existing European and Euro-Atlantic orientation.

### Organised crime and corruption in and around South-Eastern Europe: trends and counter-efforts

*Sappho Xenakis, ELIAMEP Thesis 4/2010, (in English)*

In this issue of ELIAMEP Thesis Dr. Sappho Xenakis suggests that with financial pressures weighing increasingly heavily on policy-making for national and non-state actors alike it now is a good time to evaluate the lessons of interventions against organised crime and corruption in South-Eastern Europe over the past two decades. After offering a review of trends in organised crime and corruption as well as of efforts to counter them, the paper distills the incipient debate over lessons to be learned for future policy-making in these areas. In particular, these lessons pertain to the relationship between local, national and international priorities and concerns, the appropriate configuration of evidence and expertise in policy-planning, and the proper geographical scope of remedial actions.

### Seasonal migration and how to regulate it

*Anna Triandafyllidou, ELIAMEP Thesis 5/2010, (in English)*

In this issue of ELIAMEP Thesis Anna Triandafyllidou states that the European Commission has recently issued a proposal for a Directive regulating the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of seasonal employment (COM (2010) 379 final). This Directive proposal is part of the Commission's strategy to regulate labour migration through a piecemeal approach; notably through regulating specific categories of migrant workers. This paper discusses what seasonal migration is and how it differs from

circular, temporary, or shuttle migration. It argues that seasonal migration is a form of temporary migration that has a seasonal character and hence concerns employment sectors which are characterised by seasons of high and low employment, including thus not only agriculture but also tourism and catering but normally excluding construction or domestic work for instance.

The essay in hand reviews critically the Directive Proposal and argues that although it may be seen as a step forward in transparency and in bringing closer Member State provisions in the area of seasonal migration, it needs a boost as regards the protection of seasonal migrants' labour conditions and employment rights. In view of regulating seasonal labour migration at the EU level, the Directive should also consider whether seasonal labour migrants should be allowed to move also between Member States. On the other hand, the proposal is evaluated positively for a number of features such as: not tying the worker to her/his employer, allowing for the right to join trade unions, and proposing a simplified bureaucratic procedure for multiple entry visas.

### Kosovo after the Hague

*Alexandros Mallias, ELIAMEP Thesis 6/2010, (in English)*

In this issue of ELIAMEP Thesis Alexandros Mallias states that the International Court of Justice's (ICJ) Advisory Opinion of 22 July 2010 led to an increasing public debate in relation to future developments not only in the Balkan region but also in other parts of the world. The following paper elaborates on this Opinion by examining various parameters of it and referring to the content of specific paragraphs. It clarifies, for instance, that the Court examined Kosovo's declaration of independence only in the context of international and not domestic law. Furthermore, the paper analyses whether the Kosovo case does constitute a precedent by focusing on the main differences between this issue and others such as the Cyprus one. It, finally, concentrates on the possibility of future negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo suggesting that the latter's UN admission perspective along with its European membership objective will be the catalyst in the attempt of the international community to provide adequate political incentives towards a negotiated settlement.

# ELIAMEP Policy Papers

All ELIAMEP Policy Papers are available at:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/all-publications/policy-papers/>

## We can't go on like this: Greek debt crisis and the euro

*Loukas Tsoukalis, ELIAMEP (Special Paper) (in English)*

## An EU 'fit-for-purpose' in the global age: can we rise to the challenge?

*Loukas Tsoukalis, Olaf Cramme και Roger Liddle, ELIAMEP, PP13 (in Greek)*

ELIAMEP's Policy Paper no. 13 co-authored by Loukas Tsoukalis, Olaf Cramme and Roger Liddle, presents a compact analysis of how the EU needs to evolve and operate if it is to live up to the expectations and hopes of many of its citizens. This document underlines the fact that European integration started as an inward-looking venture: the fathers of Europe began, in the wake of the destruction of the Second World War, by laying the foundations for peace and reconciliation in a new Europe. Global order was taken as a given and shaped by external factors. As progress ensued, greater prosperity, through the elimination of economic borders, became a key objective. Thus, over time, Europeanisation acquired a much broader dimension.

Europe no longer occupies centre stage. Power has gravitated elsewhere and mainly eastwards. The relative weight of individual European countries, measured in terms of population, income and trade, has been steadily declining for more than two decades; it can only go further down in the foreseeable future. On their own, European countries no longer hold much sway in the company of big powers, and will count even less tomorrow. This is a hard reality to come to terms with, especially when it concerns the old great powers of Europe. In the next few years, the key challenge for Europeans will be to identify and collectively defend common interests and values in a world where size still matters a great deal.

The present policy paper is a synthesis report, based on the individual contributions to the three volumes. It is available in Greek, English, French and Spanish language: <http://www.policy-network.net/publications/publications.aspx?id=3322> .

## Greek-Iranian relations and their significance to the European Union

*Evangelos Venetis, ELIAMEP, PP14 (in Greek)*

This policy paper, authored by Dr. Evangelos Venetis, aims at creating a political action framework encompassing a triptych of countries and organizations which, each of them from its own part, have a particular geopolitical significance in the region of Eurasia, Middle East and East Mediterranean. In this triptych, Greece is suggested for the first time to play a central role as an intermediary country and political actor. The time frame, during which the creation of the abovementioned framework is put forward, is particularly important for Greece, which suffers from the ongoing economic crisis, as well as for Iran, which finds itself in direct confrontation with the European Union over a number of issues, but mainly its nuclear programme, and the EU, which is in a stage of forming and systematically applying a foreign policy framework in the Middle East and beyond. The present paper analyses the basic elements and parameters in pairs of countries and organizations, and submits proposals towards the development of a specific and systematic action vis-à-vis the formation of the above mentioned triptych.

# ELIAMEP Working Papers

All ELIAMEP Working Papers are available at:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/all-publications/working-papers/>

## Economic Fact Sheet Greece 2009/2010

*Jens Bastian, ELIAMEP, WP05, 2010, (in English)*

## The dynamic balance of European integration: the past, present and future of the Euro

*Giorgos Glynos, ELIAMEP, WP06, 2010, (in Greek)*

ELIAMEP's Working paper no 6, by Giorgos Glynos, aims to examine the future of the Eurozone in the context of the current economic crisis and especially in the context of the Greek financial crisis. It expresses the view that the Greek financial crisis, despite the obvious responsibilities of the Greek governments, is also a crisis of the very system of the Eurozone. It ascertains that the coordination processes of the national financial policies, exclusively via the observance of the rules of the Stability and Growth Pact and the imposition of penalties for the countries that do not conform to the rules, do not sufficiently safeguard the stability of the Euro. The paper proceeds to a brief and selective presentation of the past, the present and the challenges ahead in the future of the Euro. The main conclusion is that the point of equilibrium of the European political integration which led to the creation of EMU is pressed to move towards a positive direction with the creation and reliable function of the financial assistance mechanism.

## Solutions proposed by a Greek Think-Tank for the Kosovo Conundrum

*Thanos Veremis, ELIAMEP, WP07, 2010 (in English)*

ELIAMEP's Working Paper no 7 by Thanos Veremis, ELIAMEP's Vice President and Professor of History, University of Athens, presents the solutions proposed for the Kosovo Conundrum by the Greek think-tank, The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), which was one of the first European institutes to deal with the Kosovo problem. A research project, financed by the Ford Foundation, began in 1995 on conflict prevention in the region involving various Balkan scholars, including Albanians and Serbs. The author argues that the cleavage between the autonomy that the international community was willing to offer the Kosovar Albanians, and the full independence they demanded, could have been bridged by the ELIAMEP proposal of June, 1998. Evangelos Kofos who was responsible for drafting the proposal, introduced a timeframe that would allow a careful transition from one phase to another with a minimum of friction. It is difficult to foresee the full spectrum of consequences that Kosovar independence will generate. In principle it will create a precedent that will make it impossible for Western states to deny self-determination to other candidates under similar circumstances.

## The Davutoğlu Doctrine and Turkish Foreign Policy

*Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, ELIAMEP, WP08, 2010 (in English)*

ELIAMEP's Working Paper no 8 by Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, ELIAMEP Research Fellow and Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Bilkent University, aims to examine the Turkish foreign policy under the AKP



administration, which has been associated with the name of Ahmet Davutoğlu. Davutoğlu was the chief foreign policy advisor of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan before he was appointed foreign minister in 2009. As an academic, he has outlined his foreign policy doctrine in several writings, most important of which is his book “Strategic Depth.” This study, the first in the context of ELIAMEP’s Middle Eastern Studies Programme, explores Davutoğlu’s strategic vision and Turkey’s policies vis-à-vis various neighbouring countries. The author argues that there are two contradictions which might undermine the ‘Davutoglu doctrine’s’ successful implementation. First, by distancing itself from the West on the question of Iran’s nuclear ambitions, Turkey undertakes a considerable risk. Second, there is a serious contradiction in relegating Turkey’s EU membership ambition to simply one of Turkish strategic priorities.

### Europeanisation and democratic deficits: the concept of “legitimization crisis”

*Manos Papazoglou, ELIAMEP, WP09, 2010 (in Greek)*

ELIAMEP’s Working Paper no 9, by Dr. Manos Papazoglou, argues that the concept of europeanisation in contemporary political discourse is often being understood mainly as a process of modernization. It is disregarded, however, that europeanisation presupposes the merger of the nations’ and the union’s institutional elements. To the degree that this merger is underestimated or becomes obscure, the process of europeanisation might lead to democratic deficits and consequently it will not fulfill the goals of modernization. The paper focuses, in particular, on the effects caused by the delays in dealing with cases of conflict between national and supranational institutional elements. The author proposes the concept of legitimization crisis to describe these cases. This is an original concept which contributes to the discussion about the democratic deficits of the European Union (EU). Specifically, it sheds light on the responsibility of national governments, who need to secure the (political and social) legitimization of the europeanisation process by acting timely and accurately, beyond the procedural guarantees provided by the constitutions and the EU Treaties.

### Acts and dimensions of the Islamic capital in Turkey: the MÜSIAD and TUSKON business groups

*Maria Ververidou, ELIAMEP, WP10, 2010 (in Greek)*

ELIAMEP’s Working Paper no 10 by Maria Ververidou, Turkish policy expert in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, attempts to sketch the development of the Islamic capital in Turkey using terms of political rather than economic analysis, by presenting the course and development of two of its main organizations, the Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen (MÜSIAD) and the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON) and their contribution to the country’s economic and public diplomacy. The (organised) Islamic capital is approached, initially, within the general framework formed in the 1980s influencing the forces of the Islamic movement and it is then analysed as one of the parameters in the contemporary Turkish scene where the religious ‘countryside’ (Anatolia) conquers the ‘centre’, thus forming the new Turkish elites. The examples of the (conservative) MÜSIAD and the (liberal) TUSKON, the two better known business organisations representative of the tendencies observed among the ranks of (Turkish) Islam, are selected to underline certain dimensions of the dynamic presence of these elites in present Turkey.

### Short Dictionary of Greek-Turkish relations

*Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP, WP11, 2010 (in Greek)*

ELIAMEP’s Working paper no 11 by Dr. Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP’s Director General and Visiting Lecturer PD. 407 in the department of Turkish and Contemporary Asian Studies of the University of Athens, underlines that in

the course of the last fifty years, Greece and Turkey have several times been dragged into serious crises or even the verge of warfare: Septemvriana (1955), crises in Cyprus (1963-1964, 1967, 1974), Aegean (1976, 1987, 1996-Imia), Cyprus S-300 (1997-98), the case of Otsalan (1999). In the same period and, especially, from 1974-1999, an intense and progressively climatic arms race has been observed between the two countries. In essence, a low intensity conflict has been taking place over this entire period (with remission intervals). The present paper is published on the occasion of the Turkish Prime Minister's, Rejep Tagip Erdogan, visit to Greece, attempting to provide the average reader with a concise picture of the general state of Greek-Turkish relations and the bilateral problems. It is hoped that this - inevitably - short "dictionary" of complicated legal and political issues will not work against the accurate depiction of reality.

### Short Dictionary of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

*Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP, WP12 (in Greek)*

In ELIAMEP's Working Paper no 12 the author, Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP's Director General and Visiting Lecturer in the Department of Turkish and Contemporary Asian Studies of the University of Athens, notes that sixty-three years after its official birth and 17 years after the Oslo Peace Settlement the Palestinian problem continues to torment the Middle East. What and who's to blame for the failure of the peace efforts until now? There are multiple explanations and none of them is absolutely satisfactory. Some, even, lead to utterly pessimistic conclusions for the future.

### Analyzing Turkish foreign policy: the role of governmental organizations in the context of Ankara's development diplomacy

*Pantelis Touloumakos, ELIAMEP, WP13 (in Greek)*

ELIAMEP's Working Paper no 13 authored by Pantelis Touloumakos, PhD candidate in the Department of Turkish and Modern Asian Studies at the University of Athens and research associate in ELIAMEP's Middle Eastern Studies Programme, elaborates on the geopolitical impact of the Soviet Union collapse in the region of Transcaucasia-Central Asia and the Balkans. The efforts of Turkey to increase its sphere of influence in this region gradually focused on expanding its cultural and educational links, as well as on developing its trade and investments. From this perspective, Ankara actively moved towards strengthening and re-establishing a pre-existing kind of diplomatic policy, which functions in parallel with the "traditional diplomacy"; that is development diplomacy. The present essay aims to study the policy of three state organizations, the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency ((Türk İşbirliği ve Kalkınma Ajansı - TİKA), the Union of Turkish World Municipalities (Türk Dünyası Belediyeler Birliği - TDBB), and the Union for Turkish People Abroad and Relative Communities (Dünya Türkleri ve Akraba Toplulukları Hizmet Derneği) in the context of development diplomacy covering the period from September 2006 until the beginning of 2010 and evaluating to what extent they operate complementarily to the official Turkish diplomacy.

### Matching ambitions with realities: Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East

*Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, ELIAMEP, WP14 (in English)*

## Other ELIAMEP publications

### Critical assessment of the Green Bible's proposals regarding a future European Union marine policy

*Sotiris Theodoropoulos...[et al.], ELIAMEP, 2010*

As part of its contribution to the consultation process for the preparation of a European White Bible for Marine Policy, the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs (via the Scientific Centre of Analysis and Planning) has assigned to the Hellenic Foundation of European & Foreign Policy the preparation of a study entitled “Critical assessment of the Green Bible’s proposals regarding a future European Union marine policy”. Research coordinator of the project is Dr. Thanos Dokos and authors include among others Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou. The team of experts that worked in the framework of this program, within the context of the EU policy for a “European marine policy which will cover all fields concerning oceans and seas and will include a holistic, cross-sectoral and multidisciplinary approach leading to a thriving marine economy and ecological sustainability” prepared a high level study, which presents the Greek view on a series of issues regarding marine policy. The present study underlines that for a country like Greece, with island configuration, a significant dependence on tourism and the largest merchant fleet in the world (accounting for ships of foreign shipping register but of Greek interests), the sea and the activities related to it can only be matters of high priority. The regulation of the marine environment, whether it concerns fisheries, marine transports, environmental protection, the economic development of coastal and island regions, or security matters constitutes an especially important issue both for Greece and the EU.



# Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies

Currently in its eleventh year of publication, the *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* has established itself as a core academic reference for the regions of the Black Sea and Southeast Europe.

This year the Europeanization process in Southeast Europe, political reform and the prospects of Turkey's EU accession process, politics and geopolitics in the Black Sea region, and aspects of the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation were some of the issues explored in the Journal. Moreover, two Special Issues were published. Ian Bache and George Andreou edited a Special Issue on "Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession aid in SE Europe" (Vol.10:1, March 2010) which examines the effects of the Europeanization process and multi-level governance in Southeast Europe assessing the failures and successes of EU cohesion policy in a number of cases-studies including Greece, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Croatia and FYROM. Dimitrios Triantaphyllou edited a Special Issue entitled "The Black Sea Region in Focus" (Vol. 10: 3, September 2010) in direct response to the publication of the report "A 2020 Vision for the Black Sea". The issue examines four topics; economic development and welfare, peace and security, democratic institutions and good governance, and finally regional cooperation while the articles in this volume are revamped academic versions of the papers written by the contributors for the Commission on the Black Sea.



All articles published in the JSEEBSS undergo rigorous peer-review, and the Journal is included in the ISI Social Science Citation Index since 2007. According to Thomson Reuters, 2010 Journal Citation Reports, the Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies has been ranked 15<sup>th</sup> out of 60 journals in the category Area Studies

For further information see:

<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/journal-of-see-and-black-sea-studies/>

To submit a manuscript contact:

Dr. Jens Bastian  
Managing Editor, JSEEBSS ELIAMEP,  
49 Vas. Sofias Avenue  
106 76 Athens, Greece  
journal@eliamep.gr

# Publications by ELIAMEP's Researchers

## Aftershocks: economic crisis and institutional choice

*Anton Hemerijck, Ben Knapen, Ellen van Doorne (eds.), with a preface by Loukas Tsoukalis, Papazisis Publications, 2010 (in Greek)*

This book, with a preface by ELIAMEP's President, Prof. Loukas Tsoukalis, is the Greek translation of a collective volume, published by the Amsterdam University Press in 2009. In a series of workshops on the economic crisis, organized in conjunction with the network of strategists of a number of Dutch ministries, it became evident that there was a wide breadth of insight developing on this very new subject. This book is a special project supported by the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy, and proposes to explore and document the institutional features of these new debates. It contains essays based on semi-structured interviews held from May to September 2009 with twenty-four experts from a broad range of fields and disciplines, including, among others, ELIAMEP President Loukas Tsoukalis, and Tony Atkison, Suzanne Berger, Anthony Giddens, Jacques Delors, Helmut Schmidt. These essays reflect on the origins of the crisis as well as the possible social, economic and political transformations it may engender. The volume covers a wide range of topics: from the need for a new European narrative that helps to position the European Union in a world order shaped by a new geopolitical and economic balance of power, to the need to reform the academic discipline of economics. The volume clearly shows that we cannot and should not wish to return, either theoretically or institutionally, to the world that preceded the crisis and demonstrates the need for new paradigms, institutions, wisdom and ideas.

## The European Court of Human Rights and the rights of marginalised individuals and minorities in national context

*Dia Anagnostou, Evangelia Psychogiopoulou (eds.), NIJHOFF, 2010*

This volume explores the role of the ECtHR in protecting marginalised individuals and minorities. What factors and conditions have led growing numbers of such individuals and minorities to pursue their rights and freedoms in front of the ECtHR and how has the latter responded to these? Does the Convention and the jurisprudence of the Strasbourg Court enhance the protection of vulnerable groups and expand their rights? Or do they mainly tend to fill in relatively minor gaps or occasional lapses in national rights guarantees? Comprising a set of eight country-based case studies, this volume examines litigation on behalf of marginalised individuals and minorities, and the relevant ECtHR jurisprudence across the following countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Greece, France, Italy, Turkey and the UK.



## Migration in 21st century Greece

*Anna Triandafyllidou and Thanos Maroukis (eds.), Kritiki, 2010 (in Greek)*

The collective volume entitled “Migration in 21st century Greece”, edited by Anna Triandafyllidou and Thanos Maroukis, explores the Greek immigration experience in the national context as well as within the contemporary European environment. The authors offer an overview of the phenomenon of migration, presenting the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the immigrants, their integration in the labour market, as well as their broader sociopolitical integration in the Greek society. They also put forward specific proposals for a Greek immigration policy adapted to the needs of our times. Migration in 21st century Greece is a compelling manual for graduates and academic researchers and a useful tool for journalists and professionals, as well as for every reader who needs a contemporary and recapitulative analysis of the emigrational phenomenon in our country.

### Muslims in the 21st century Europe: structural and cultural perspectives

Anna Triandafyllidou (ed.), Routledge, 2010



The collective volume “Muslims in 21st Century Europe”, edited by Anna Triandafyllidou, explores the interaction between native majorities and Muslim minorities in various European countries with a view to highlighting different paths of integration of immigrant and native Muslims. Starting with a critical overview of the institutionalisation of Islam in Europe and a discussion on the nature of Muslimophobia as a social phenomenon, this book shows how socio-economic, institutional and political parameters set the frame for Muslim integration in Europe. Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden are selected as case studies among the ‘old’ migration hosts. Italy, Spain and Greece are included to highlight the issues arising and the policies adopted in southern Europe to accommodate Muslim claims and needs. The book highlights the internal diversity of both minority and majority populations, and analyses critically the political and institutional responses to the presence of Muslims.

### Migration, variation and institutions of reception in Greece: the best of social inclusion

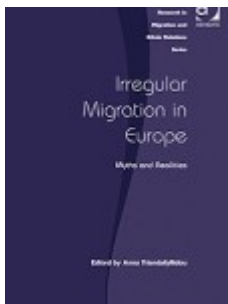
N. Andriotis, A. Triandafyllidou, M. Marouf...[et al.], Andreas Takis (editing & foreword), Sakkoulas, 2010 (in Greek)

The book entitled “Migration, variation and institutions of reception in Greece” authored among others by Anna Triandafyllidou and Michaela Marouf highlights the fact that Greece has changed from a sending country of immigrants to a migrant receiving country. It is hard to determine their exact number, given the extent of illegal entries into Greek territory. Most of them come from societies with a different cultural background, leading them to different behavioural patterns than those of the indigenous people, a fact which is linked to their marginalization. Migrants are the “others”, the “foreigners”, the “weirdoes”. Under these circumstances the migrants’ integration in the Greek society, of which they are active members, seems impossible or to the least, demands of them to abandon their cultural identity.

Nevertheless, their integration in the social web is a crucial test for the Greek society's democratic maturity and its political system. From this point of view, the related legal initiative constitutes a bold step. The reactions which provoke phobic syndromes by invoking ideations should not lead to the annulment of the project or its limiting to frail regulations. There is no doubt that this issue is linked to many parameters and it is not only a matter of legal policy. The essays of this volume explore the multidimensional character contributing in a comprehensive way to its resolution beyond intolerance and populism.

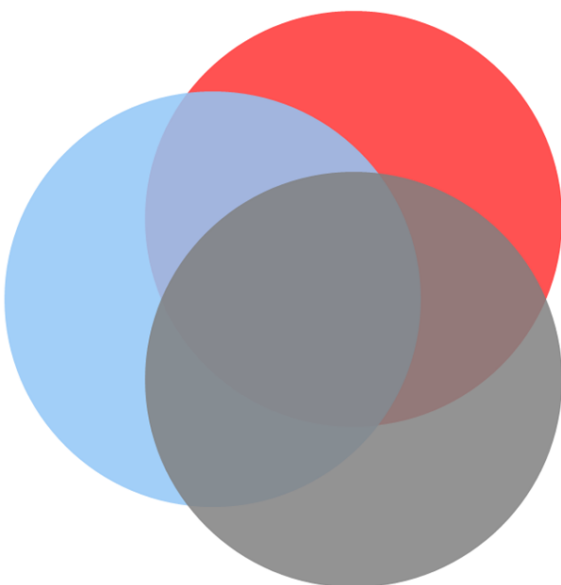
### Irregular migration in Europe: myths and realities

*Anna Triandafyllidou (ed.), Ashgate, 2010*



Irregular Migration in Europe, edited by Anna Triandafyllidou, contributes to our knowledge of the scale and nature of the much discussed but under-researched phenomenon of irregular migration in Europe, whilst improving our understanding of the dynamics of irregular migration and its relation to European societies and economies. Presenting a comparative analysis of the experiences and policies of different EU member states, this book draws on an extensive range sources, many of which have so far been absent from English-language analyses, to offer an overall picture of irregular migration in twelve EU member states.

This volume will be of interest to policy makers and researchers within the fields of migration, sociology and social anthropology, political science, European integration and European studies, political science and public administration.





## LIBRARY

### Information and Documentation Centre



One of ELIAMEP's primary goals over the years has been the creation of an information and documentation centre on European and international security, political and economic data. A specialised library was accordingly created as the basis of the documentation centre.

The library's collection includes scientific books and journals (in printed and electronic form), offprints, booklets, CD-ROMs, DVDs, working papers, yearbooks, thematically directed in the cognitive field of social and political sciences. More specifically, its collection consists of approximately 7,000 titles of books and 45 titles of foreign and Greek journals, as well as an

additional 360 titles of foreign and Greek journals acquired through the exchange of publications with corresponding institutions in Greece and abroad.

During 2010, ELIAMEP's library focused on the electronic cataloguing of its monographs according to the international bibliographic standards and the enlargement of its collection. It also continued to collaborate and exchange publications with other related Greek and foreign institutions. In addition, over 120 users including researchers, students and academic staff visited the library for research purposes.

ELIAMEP's library is a member of the EINIRAS Network (European Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies). In the framework of this partnership, ELIAMEP's tasks are focused on creating a multilingual political science thesaurus, updating the ELIAMEP publications database on the website of the International Security Network (ISN), placing part of ELIAMEP's library information base on the European Database Network and communicating with the EINIRAS Council for the coordination of future activities.

### Funding



Until October 2010, the main source of financing of the Library derived from the annual sponsoring of the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation which was used mainly for the enrichment of Library's collection with books, periodical publications, electronic resources of information as well as the Library's operational needs.



## NETWORKS

Attributing great value to developing contacts with peer institutions throughout the world and engaging in cross-border debates and exchanges, ELIAMEP participates in a large number of institutional networks, including the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI); the Black Sea Research Network; the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission (EuroMeSCO); the European Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies (EINIRAS); the European Policy Institute Network (EPIN); the Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP); and the International Relations and Security Network (ISN). In 2009 the Foundation continued playing an active and constructive role in these networks, taking part in conferences, meetings and other initiatives organized within these frameworks.



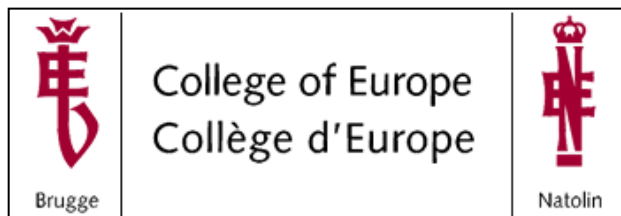
**ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ**  **ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ**

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ & ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ  
HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY



## PARTNERSHIPS

### College of Europe



Hosting the Greek Selection Committee for the College of Europe, ELIAMEP provides Greek students with the opportunity to continue their studies in the Master's Programme of the College of Europe. The College of Europe is a centre of academic

excellence offering five one-year programmes leading to a Master's degree and operating in two campuses, in Bruges (Belgium) and Natolin (Poland): Politics/Administration, Law, Economics, and EU International Relations in Bruges, and an Inter-disciplinary programme in Natolin.

### ELIAMEP Europe Direct Information Center



Since 2009 ELIAMEP is one of the 17 institutions in Greece, chosen by the European Commission to host Europe Direct Information Centers for the programming period 2009-2012. The center aims at bringing citizens living in Greece closer to the European Union by offering them multifaceted and well-documented information on European issues that are of interest to them. Citizens can contact the center to ask for information regarding the structure and functioning of European institutions; European legislation; citizens' rights; ways of participating in European policy making and in European political life; funding opportunities offered by the EU; studying or working in other EU

member states, etc. The center also offers free copies of official EU publications, Internet access in order for visitors to search for online information with the help of the center's specialized staff, as well as access to ELIAMEP's rich library. Last but not least, it disseminates information about the EU and contributes to promoting the public debate on European issues through running a special website, organizing round-table discussions, visits to schools and other events, and maintaining contacts with the media.

For further information see:

<http://europedirect.eliamep.gr/>

## American & European Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) Program 2009

ELIAMEP is the Coordinator of the Marshall Memorial Fellowship programme in Greece. The MMF programme aims at creating a network of young European and American leaders in an attempt to strengthen transatlantic relations. The German Marshall Fund (GMF) awards more than 100 Marshall Memorial Fellowships each year to leaders in politics, government, business,



media, and the non-profit sector who travel and explore people, societies and institutions on the other side of the Atlantic. During their visits, American and European Fellows meet formally and informally with a range of policymakers and prominent members of the business, government, NGO, and media communities. The program is structured around the fellows' professional interests and includes a number of group meetings with senior state and government officials, businesspersons, NGO leaders and members of local administration. Moreover, each fellow attends individual appointments according to his or her stated preferences.

## Onassis Foundation Programme of Scholarships for Foreigners



From 2001 until 2010, ELIAMEP cooperated with the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, within the framework of the Onassis Foundation Programme of Scholarships for Foreigners. In the context of the cooperation agreement between the two Foundations, Onassis Fellows used the Onassis workplaces at the ELIAMEP premises and had access to ELIAMEP's library



## ELIAMEP in the Press

Year after year, ELIAMEP's presence in Greek and foreign media becomes more intense serving one of its main objectives which is to raise public awareness on issues related to European policy and international affairs. In 2010, ELIAMEP academic staff and research fellows had a dynamic presence with articles, interviews and quotations in Greek and foreign media.

Articles written by ELIAMEP researchers and associates were published in well-known, widely circulated Greek newspapers, such as *Kathimerini*, *Ta Nea*, *To Vima*, *Athens Plus*, but also in foreign press and magazines, as *Le Temps*, *Europe's World*, *Koha Ditore*, *The Iranian Review of Foreign Affairs* etc. Furthermore, in response to current important internal and international issues, such as the economic crisis, the European policy and international political issues, the Foundation's representatives have given interviews to Greek and foreign television and radio stations and printed media. A remarkable example has been the large number of interviews of researchers in media from all around the world, such as *the New York Times*, *the Financial Times*, *the International Herald Tribune*, *Bloomberg BusinessWeek*, *the Economist*, *Reuters TV*, *BBC Radio*, *ARD*, *Tagesschau*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *BILD* and *Die Zeit* from Germany, *Der Standard* from Austria, *Alliance Geo Strategique*, *Le Croix*, *L'Express*, *Les Echos* and *L'Extension* from France, *El Mundo* from Spain, *La Repubblica* and *RAI 3* from Italy, *NOS News* and *Trouw* from the Netherlands, *Politiken* from Denmark, *Haberler*, *Zaman* and *Yeni Safak* from Turkey, *Kyodo News* and *the Asahi Shimbun* from Japan, *the Economic Observer* from China, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and *Radio Swiss Romande* from Switzerland, *Radio Canada*, *Jornal de Negócios* and *Publico* from Portugal, *O Globo* from Brazil, the Finish *Aamulehti*, etc.

This increased presence proves that ELIAMEP is regarded as an important, independent and reliable reference point for both Greek and foreign media on matters of national, European and global interest.



## MULTIMEDIA

[www.eliamep.eu](http://www.eliamep.eu)

[blogs.eliamep.gr/en](http://blogs.eliamep.gr/en)

In 2010 ELIAMEP continued its efforts to further develop the web-based environment created two years ago. In this respect, the Foundation's main website reinforced its role as a central channel of communication for disseminating information on a daily basis about our activities, publications, events etc. Our collective blog section hosted a variety of articles and focused analyses on current issues of interest enhancing the generation and promotion of creative and innovative ideas. The large number of articles submitted on a monthly basis is a proof that ELIAMEP blogs considerably improved its visibility and succeeded to catch the attention of a broad community of stakeholders.

Furthermore, ELIAMEP launched an online public dialogue on sustainable development in Greece entitled "Moving on to a greener Greece 2010-2020". Participating in the dialogue are academics, specialists, local administration representatives, NGO members and business executives with expert knowledge on specific issues of sustainable development (energy, transport, industry, urban planning, tourism, agriculture, forestry etc.). The purpose of this initiative is to compare and exchange positions over specialised questions on green development, all the while bringing forward practical and applicable tools and new policy suggestions. Based on the submitted proposals, the scientific committee that has been formed, will attempt to collect the proposed political and technological priorities for Greece and codify the basic methods towards their realisation, in the form of a Report.

Besides, ELIAMEP continued to develop its content partnerships with the renowned European information portals EURACTIV and TOUTELEUROPE.

According to the latest statistics, today ELIAMEP's webpages receive on average 18.000 unique visits a month, originating mostly from Greece, Europe and the United States.



## Board of Directors

**President** Loukas TSOUKALIS,  
Professor of European Organisation, University of Athens  
Board of Directors

**Vice President** Thanos VEREMIS,  
Professor of History, University of Athens

**Vice President** Theodore COULOUMBIS,  
Professor Emeritus of International Relations, University  
of Athens

**Secretary General** Alexis PAPAHELAS,  
Managing Editor, Kathimerini, Athens

**Treasurer** Panagis VOURLOUMIS,  
Chairman of the Board of Directors & CEO - OTE S.A.,  
Athens

### **Board Members**

Georgios ANTONETSIS, General (ret.), Former Chief of the  
Hellenic Air Force

George DAVID, Chairman, Coca Cola HBC, Athens

Thanos DOKOS, Director General, ELIAMEP, Athens

Panayiotis C. IOAKIMIDIS, Professor of European  
Integration, University of Athens

Achilleas MITSOS, Former Director General, Directorate  
General for Research, European Commission

Eleni PAPAKONSTANTINOY, Lawyer, Athens

Alexandros PHILON, Ambassador (ret.), Director General,  
Scientific Centre for Planning and Analysis, Ministry of  
Foreign Affairs, Athens

Minos ZOMBANAKIS, President, GISE A.G., Athens

## Honorary Council

Stathis EFSTATHIADIS, Journalist, TO VIMA, Athens

Niki GOULANDRI, President, The Goulandris Natural  
History Museum, Athens

Kostas IORDANIDIS, Journalist, Kathimerini, Athens

Ioannis KARTALIS, Chief Editor «TO VIMA / Sunday  
Edition»

Panos KAZAKOS, Professor, University of Athens

Evangelos KOFOS, Historian - Expert on the Balkans, Athens

Nikolaos LAZARIDES, Lieutenant General (ret.), Honorary  
Inspector General, Hellenic Army, Athens

Theodore PAPAEXOPOULOS, Senior Advisor to the Board  
of TITAN S.A., Athens

Stefanos STATHATOS, Ambassador (ret.), Athens

Constantine ZEPOS, Ambassador (ret.), Athens

## ELIAMEP Staff

Thanos DOKOS, **Director General**

Elizabeth PHOCAS, **Deputy Director**

## Senior Research Fellows

Ekavi ATHANASSOPOULOU, Lecturer of International  
Relations, Faculty of Political Science and Public  
Administration, University of Athens, US Foreign Policy,  
Turkey, Israel, Organised Crime

Dia ANAGNOSTOU, Lecturer of Politics, Department of  
Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies, Macedonia University of  
Thessaloniki, Minorities, Theories of Nationalism,  
Southeastern and Eastern Europe

Jens BASTIAN, Managing Editor of the Journal of Southeast  
European and Black Sea Studies (Taylor & Francis, London),  
Economist, Balkan Economy

Nikos KOUTSIARAS, Lecturer, Faculty of Political Science and  
Public Administration, University of Athens, European  
Integration, Employment and Labour Market Policy, Social  
Policy, EMU and Macroeconomic Policy

Anna TRIANDAFYLLIDOU, Assistant Professor, Department of  
Social Administration, Democritus University of Thrace and  
Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges  
Migration, European Integration, Nationalism

## Research Fellows

Filippa CHATZISTAVROU, Website Editor, European  
Governments and Administrative Integration in the EU, EU  
Institutional Law, Theories of European Integration

Ioannis N. GRIGORIADIS, Lecturer, Department of Turkish &  
Modern Asian Studies, University of Athens, Turkish Politics,  
EU Politics, Energy Politics, Nationalism, Democratisation

Ruby GROPAS, Lecturer, Law Faculty, Democritus University  
of Thrace, Komotini, Human Rights, European Integration,  
EU Foreign Policy, Balkans, Migration

Thanos MAROUKIS, Migration, Social Theory, Labour Markets  
Evangelia PSYCHOGIOPOULOU, PhD, EU/EC Law, Cultural and  
Media Policies, Human Rights, Institutional Aspects

Evangelos VENETIS, PhD, Senior Researcher, Department of  
Arabic, Persian and Turkish, School of Middle Eastern  
Studies, The University of Leiden, the Netherlands, Islamic  
and Middle Eastern Studies, Shiite Islam, Iran, Religion and  
Politics, Greek Diaspora in the Middle East

**Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow**

Giorgos Glynos, European Integration and Greek-EU  
relations (since October 2009)

#### Bodossaki Foundation Post-doctoral Fellow

George TZOGOPOULOS, Media and politics, European public sphere US and EU foreign policies, transatlantic relations

#### Marie Curie Intra-European Fellows

Effie FOKAS, PhD, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK, European Identity and Religion, Theories of Nationalism

Sappho XENAKIS, PhD, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK, European Identity and Religion, Theories of Nationalism

#### Junior Research Fellows

Dina KARYDI, European Policy & the Third Sector, Democratisation & Participations, Models of Governance, Editorial Assistant of the Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies (Taylor & Francis, London)

Michaela MAROUFOF, Migration and migration policy in Greece and the European Union

Anna KANDYLA, Political sociology, Media policy, Media effects, Political communication

Hara KOUKI, (PhD candidate), Contemporary History, Human Rights, Social Movements, Non Governmental Organizations and Civil Society

#### Administrative staff

Alexandra NIKOLAKOPOULOU, Development Officer & Europe Direct Coordinator

Lia DELIGIANNI, Library & Publications Coordinator

Nina PAPAIOANNOU, Head of Administration

Vicky FLOROU, Activities Coordinator

Matina MEIDANI, Executive Assistant to the President of the Board of Directors

Haroula HIOTI, Administrative Officer

Yannis POULAKIS, Financial Coordinator

Sofia HANTZOPOULOU, Financial Assistant

#### Special Advisors

Pavlos APOSTOLIDIS, Ambassador (ret.), former Director of the National Intelligence Agency and Former Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens

Giorgos KAPOPOULOS, Journalist, ERT Channel, Imerisia, Athens

Evangelos KOFOS, Historian / Expert on the Balkans, Athens

Alkis KOURKOULAS, Journalist, ERT Channel - TO VIMA, Athens

Alexandros MALLIAS, Ambassador (ret.)

Constantinos MANIATOPOULOS, ex. Director General, Energy Division, European Commission

Mikhail L. MYRIANTHIS, Director General of International Activities, Hellenic Petroleum, Athens

Charalambos VLACHOUTSIKOS, Investment Consultant in the Post-Communist Countries of the Balkan and the Black Sea Region, Visiting Professor, International MBA, Athens University of Economics and Business, Athens and

at the Stockholm School of Economics Russia in St. Petersburg

#### Research Associates

Janis EMMANOULIDIS, European Integration, Common Foreign and Security Policy

Antonis Kamaras, Analyst, Levant Partners , Corporate Internationalisation, Emerging Markets

Andreas Kintis, PhD, University of Hull, UK, European Affairs

Christos Kollias, Associate Professor, University of Thessaly , Defence Economics

Stella Ladi, Lecturer, Department of Politics and History, Panteion University, Europeanization, Public Policy

Panagiotis Liargovas, Associate Professor, University of Peloponnese , International Economics

Antigoni Lyberaki, Professor, Panteion University, Small-Medium Enterprises (SMEs), Labour Market, Welfare State, Migration

George Pagoulatos, Associate Professor of Politics, Department of International & European Economic Studies, Athens University of Economics & Business and Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, European Public Policy, Political Economy

Takis Pappas, Assistant Professor, University of Macedonia [Comparative study of extraordinary leadership in democracy, mass radicalism, and patronage politics]

Dimitris A. Sotiropoulos, Assistant Professor, University of Athens, Public Administration, Welfare State, Democratisation, SE Europe

Panagiotis Tsakonas, Assistant Professor, University of the Aegean, International Relations and Security in the Mediterranean and Southeastern Europe

Dimitris Tsarouhas, Assistant Professor, Bilkent University, Europeanisation, European Political Economy, Social Democracy, Welfare Politics and Labour Relations, Greek-Turkish Relations, EU-Turkey Relations

Stefanos Vallianatos, PhD, Lancaster University [Middle East Politics, Foreign Policy Making in the Arab World, Greek-Arab Bilateral Relations]

Katia Vlachos-Dengler, PhD, RAND Graduate School, Santa Monica , Defence Policy, Defence Industry, Strategic Airlift

Stefanos Xenarios, Environmental Economics

Alexandros Yannis, PhD, Geneva University, Switzerland, Balkan Affairs

#### Junior Research Associates

Dimitris Antoniou, PhD candidate, University of Oxford, UK, Religion and Politics

Myrto Stasinopoulou, MPhil candidate, University of Oxford, UK, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Economy

Maria Vervenidou, M.A. Bilkent University-Ankara, M.A. SOAS-London , Turkish Politics

Pantelis Touloumakos, PhD candidate, Department of Turkish and Modern Asian Studies, University of Athens [History of Modern Turkey]

## Activities of ELIAMEP's Research Team

### Loukas TSOUKALIS

Loukas Tsoukalis spoke at the conference 'Post-Lisbon: The future of the European Union' organized by Policy network and IDEAS in Madrid on 26 February, which marked the launching of the Spanish translation of "An EU fit for purpose in the global age: can we rise to the challenge?". He was invited by the Special Committee on the Financial, Economic and Social Crisis of the European Parliament to speak at a public hearing on 18 March 2010. On 22-23 April 2010, he spoke at a symposium on 'The EU in 2020: fit for what purpose?' organized by Policy Network and Terra Nova in Paris for the launching of the French translation of the above report. On 28 April he spoke at the roundtable debate "Heterogeneity and Coherence in the European Union - Challenges for the EU Council Presidency of Belgium", organized by the Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations and the Bertelsmann Stiftung in Brussels. On 25 May, he was the chairperson for the session 'The New EU Framework for Confronting Global Challenges' in the Annual Global Jean Monnet Conference organized by the European Commission, in cooperation with ECSA-World, which took place in the European Parliament in Brussels. On 2 June, he took part in a panel discussion at the Brookings Institution, Washington D.C. on the theme 'From the Lisbon Treaty to the Eurozone Crisis: A New Beginning or the Unraveling of Europe?'. On 10-13 June, he ran the 7<sup>th</sup> European Seminar of ELIAMEP on 'Economic Governance in the Eurozone and the EU: Drawing lessons from the crisis' held in Sounio. On 1 July, he spoke at the internal workshop of the EPP Group and CRIS Committee of the European Parliament on "The Spread of the Crisis on Real Economy and the Public Finances in the EU". On 20 September, he spoke in the seminar 'La France et l'Europe face à la crise Économique', organized by the Centre d'Analyse of the French Government. On 30 September, he spoke about the European solidarity in the high-level forum of European think tanks organized by Notre Europe in Barcelona. On 12-15 October he delivered three lectures on "The EU in a Changing World: Domestic & Global Challenges" in the European Studies Institute in Moscow (ESI). On 15-17 October, he was one of the speakers on 'The State of the Union' at the meeting of the Trilateral Commission in Bucharest. He was also the speaker at the dinner of the Annual Conference of the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris on 21 October on the theme of '*The euro crisis' impact on the perception of the EU as a global player*'. In autumn, he gave a lecture series on the economic crisis and the future of the euro on East Coast universities. Specifically, on October 27th he spoke at Princeton University, on October 29th in the workshop, organized by American Institute for Contemporary German Studies in Washington D.C. on 'The Crisis of Capitalism: How Important are Values in American, German, and European Responses?', on November 1st at Yale University, on November 2nd at Boston University and on November 3rd at Harvard. On 11 November he participated in the round table discussion on European economic governance during the 'Les Journées de l'Economie' in Lyon, together with Mr. Jean-Claude Trichet among others. On 16 November, he spoke at a panel in Sofia, with the Bulgarian Prime Minister, Mr. Boyko Borisov, and EU Commissioner, Mrs Kristalina Georgieva, in an event organized by the Bulgarian economic newspaper Capital Weekly.



## Thanos DOKOS

In February 2010, Dr. Dokos organized, in cooperation with the Belgrade trust for Democracy, a workshop in Belgrade on “Security Sector Reform in Serbia” and in March he participated to the Brussels Forum, organized by the German Marshall Fund. In April he lectured at an Information and Training Seminar for Euro-Med Diplomats, organized by MEDAC in Malta and he spoke at a conference organized by EKEM in Athens on “Southeast Europe on the Road to the EU”. In May he participated to a Salzburg Global Seminar on “What Turkey? What Europe?” and in June he was a speaker to a workshop on CSDP and Turkey, organized in Paris by the EU Institute for Security Studies. In June he participated to a meeting of EuroMeSCo’s Steering Committee in Rome and in July he attended the Arab Reform Initiative’s annual meeting in Beirut. In September he participated to a meeting of Task Force on Preventing Nuclear Terrorism in the Black Sea, in Istanbul. In October he organized a brainstorming meeting and a public discussion with senior Turkish officials and academics in Athens on the current state of Greek-Turkish relations. Later in the month he participated to the bi-annual meeting of directors of European Institutes of International Relations in Luxemburg, on whether “Europe’s role in global affairs is about to decline” and he spoke to a conference organized in Thessaloniki by the Greek Association of Defence and Aerospace Industries on the prospects for Greek defence industry. He was also a speaker on the Mediterranean Green Development Investors Forum that took place in Athens. In November he participated to a panel discussion organized in Athens by ELIAMEP on the Palestinian problem, along with one senior academic from Israel and Palestine respectively. Dr. Dokos also participated in three meetings of the Greek-Turkish Forum in Athens, Istanbul/Ankara and Nicosia respectively. During 2010 he published one ELIAMEP Thesis on Greek-Russian relations and two ELIAMEP occasional papers, as well as books chapters on US policy in climate change negotiations and USA-Iran relations (in Greek). He also co-edited a collective volume on Southeastern Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## Dia ANAGNOSTOU

Dia Anagnostou presented a paper on legal and judicial approaches to discrimination in Greece with particular emphasis on gender equality, at the workshop “Evolution in equality and law theory”, which was held at the EUI in Florence on 29-30 January 2010. She also participated at the kick-off meeting of the MEDIADDEM project that was held in Athens on 4-5 June 2010 and in the project’s second meeting that was held in Zagreb in December 2010. In May, the International Institute for the Sociology of Law (IISL) at Onati in the Basque Country approved Anagnostou’s application for hosting a workshop in June 2011 on “Law, rights and social mobilization in a multi-level European system”. This workshop would be a follow up to the European Science Foundation exploratory workshop that was organized by ELIAMEP in Athens last October. In early 2010 Anagnostou’s book, co-edited with Evangelia Psychogiopoulou, on *The European Court of Human Rights and the Rights of Marginalised Individuals and Minorities in National Context*, was published by Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. During 2010, Anagnostou’s recent publications also appeared in the journals *International Journal of Human Rights* (2010); in *European Public Law* (co-editor and co-author of a special issue, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2010); and “Transparency and Accountability in the Parliaments of Greece and Southeast Europe (or the Gap between Institutional Rules and Democratic Practices)” (*Hellenic Studies*, Autumn 2010, co-authored with Dina Karydi). In September 2010, Dia left ELIAMEP to take up a Marie Curie Research Fellowship at the Law Department of the European University Institute to work on a book project on “Transnational civil society in the expansion of the European Court of Human Rights”.

## George PAGOULATOS

In March 2010, Professor George Pagoulatos gave an invited lecture on “The Greek Economic Crisis: What it Means for Greece and for Europe”, at the Kennedy School of Government, Kokkalis Program, Center for European Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, USA. Two days later he held a seminar on “Greece, the EU, and the Crisis”, hosted by the Hellenic Studies Program at Princeton University, Princeton, NJ. In May 2010, Professor Pagoulatos spoke at the public panel “Axes of European Economic Governance”, at the EKEME Symposium “From Crises to Europe 2020”, Karatzas Auditorium, National Bank of Greece, Athens. In June 2010 Professor Pagoulatos authored the policy paper “The Euro After the Crisis”, at the Eliamep/Bruegel conference, “Economic Governance in the Eurozone and the EU: Drawing lessons from the crisis”, held at Cape Sounion, Athens.

In June 2010, Pagoulatos presented the paper “When EU Policy Programs Met Mixed Market Economies: Fiscal Consolidation and Structural Convergence Revisited” (co-authored with Spyros Blavoukos), at the ECPR Fifth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, held at Porto, Portugal. In October 2010, Professor Pagoulatos presented the paper “Italy and Greece: Financial Crisis as Sovereign Debt Crisis” (co-authored with Lucia Quaglia), at the conference “Financial Crisis, EMU and the Stability of Currencies and the Financial System”, held at the University of Victoria, Canada. In the same conference held at the University of Victoria, Pagoulatos spoke at the public panel “Lessons from the Global Economic Crisis: Spending, Austerity and Regulation”, on “Managing and mismanaging sovereign debt crises: Lessons from Greece”. In November 2010, Professor Pagoulatos delivered an invited lecture on the “The sociopolitics of the Greek economic crisis”, at the Boğaziçi University Political Science and International Relations Department, Boğaziçi University-TÜSİAD Foreign Policy Forum, in Istanbul. The lecture and event was covered by the newspaper Hurriyet. In 2010, George Pagoulatos published the chapter “Europe othered, Europe enlisted, Europe possessed: Greek public intellectuals and the European Union” (co-authored with Xenophon Yataganas), in J. Lacroix and K. Nikolaidis (eds) *European Stories: How National Intellectuals Debate Europe*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp.183-202. Professor Pagoulatos was interviewed and quoted extensively in the international press regarding the Greek and Eurozone debt crisis. Interviews and statements appeared on the Financial Times, the New York Times, the Washington Post, Le Monde, Time, USA Today, Associated Press, AFP, the German Spiegel, the Italian Repubblica, the Dutch Handelsblat, the Austrian Kurier, the Spanish La Vanguardia, the Brazilian O Globo, the Danish Politiken, the Portuguese magazine Publico, etc. In addition Pagoulatos spoke on radio and television news programs on Al Jazeera, the BBC, PBS, and others.

## Anna TRIANDAFYLLIDOU

During the first semester of 2010 Anna Triandafyllidou started a new project on Irregular Migrants’ Access to Fundamental Rights across Europe. She heads the ELIAMEP team (Dr. Thanos Maroukis and Ms Michaela Maroufouf) working on employment issues in particular and coordinating a Case Study on Irregular migrant Domestic Workers in 10 EU countries. During this same period Prof. Triandafyllidou and Dr. Maroukis conducted a study on the Smuggling of Migrants across the Mediterranean and via North Africa and Turkey to Greece which will be shortly published by the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC). Prof. Triandafyllidou gave the opening keynote speech to the Trinity College Dublin International Conference on ‘New Migrations, New Challenges’ in July 2010. Three books edited by Anna Triandafyllidou were published in the first semester of 2010: (with Th. Maroukis) ‘Η Μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα του 21ου αιώνα, [Migration in 21st Century Greece], Athens: Kritiki, in Greek; ‘Irregular Migration in Europe: Myths and Realities’, Aldershot: Ashgate; Muslims in 21st century Europe: Structural and Cultural Perspectives’, London: Routledge. Anna Triandafyllidou was appointed SOPEMI correspondent for Greece to the OECD group working on international migration in September 2010. She has also been asked to coordinate the EU Integration Web Site ([www.integration.eu](http://www.integration.eu)) as Country Coordinator for Greece. She and Marina Nikolova, research assistant at ELIAMEP have just

started updating the Greece home page and other sections on the relevant web site in December 2010. Anna Triandafyllidou and Thanos Maroukis have signed a contract with the London based academic publisher Palgrave for the book they are writing on Migrant Smuggling. Irregular Migration from Africa and Asia to Europe (to appear in 2011). Anna has also signed a contract with Edinburgh University Press for a paperback volume on European Multiculturalism(s) co edited with Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer. This volume comes from the EU funded project EMILIE that was coordinated by Triandafyllidou at ELIAMEP and ended in November 2009. The volume will also appear towards the end of in fall 2011. In November 2010 Triandafyllidou has published an ELIAMEP Thesis (no. 5 of 2010) on Seasonal migration: How to regulate it? On the occasion of the discussion at the European Parliament of a draft Directive regulating seasonal migration. Maroukis and Triandafyllidou (in cooperation with Michaela Marouf, Angeliki Dimitriadi, Despoina Syrri and Kleopatra Yousef) will start on 31 December 2010 a new project on the Treatment of Irregular Migrants at the EU Borders - Challenges concerning their Fundamental Rights which is coordinated by Albert Kraker at the IMCPD in Vienna and is funded by the Fundamental Rights Agency. This project is a useful continuation of the previous FRA funded programme on Irregular Migrants' Access to Fundamental Rights across Europe which ended in December 2010. In this last programme ELIAMEP was responsible for a Case Study Report on Domestic Workers. The results of this project will be launched by FRA in spring 2011.

### Ioannis N. GRIGORIADIS

Dr. Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, Research Fellow, published in January 2010 an article entitled "Friends No More?: The Rise of Anti-American Nationalism in Turkey", *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 64, No. 1, Winter 2010, pp. 51-66. On 13 January 2010 he presented his book "Trials of Europeanization: Turkish Political Culture and the European Union" at TEPAV, TOBB University, Ankara. In March 2010 he published a research paper entitled "The Davutoğlu Doctrine and Turkish Foreign Policy," *ELIAMEP Working Paper Series*, No. 8, 2010. He had presented this paper at an ELIAMEP Seminar on 25 January 2010. On 25 March 2010 he participated in the 10<sup>th</sup> Mediterranean Research Meeting at the European University Institute at Montecatini Terme, Italy, entitled "Religion as a Determinant of Foreign Policy in Secularist States: The Cases of Turkey and Syria." On 5 May 2010, he presented a paper entitled "Greek Turkish Energy Cooperation and European Energy Security" at the European Studies Centre, Middle East Technical University in Ankara. On 7 May 2010, he held a lecture entitled "Türk-Yunan İlişkileri ve Avrupa Birliği'nin Etkisi [Greek-Turkish Relations and the Influence of the European Union]" at Selçuk University, Konya. On 31 May 2010, he participated in the plenary meeting of the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI) in Beirut.

In September 2010 Dr. Grigoriadis published an article entitled "Europe and the Impasse of Centre-Left Politics in Turkey: Lessons from the Greek Experience", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Fall 2010, pp. 259-274 (with Ziya Öniş). He also published in December 2010 an article entitled "Mutations of Turkish Nationalism: From *Ulusalcılık* to the *Ergenekon* Affair", *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 4, Winter 2010, pp. 101-113 (with Irmak Özer). On 2 August 2010 he delivered a lecture on "Turkey and the European Union" at the Holy Cross Cultural Center in Damascus. On 13 and 14 October 2011 he participated in a workshop on religion and politics, organised by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Trento. On 15 November 2010 he delivered a presentation in the Young Presidents Organization conference on Greek-Turkish economic relations. From 17 to 22 November 2010 he participated in the Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association in San Diego and delivered a paper on the role of religion in the foreign policy of Turkey and Syria.

## Ruby GROPAS

In June, Ruby Gropas co-organised the 2010 European Seminar on *Economic Governance in the Eurozone and the EU: Drawing lessons from the crisis*. The seminar reflected on the current economic challenges and debates facing Europe. It was co-organised with the economic think-tank Bruegel and was supported by DG Education and Culture in the context of the Jean Monnet Programme - Information and Research Activities.

Ruby took part in the May 2010 project meeting of the IME (FP7) research project on *European and national identity construction programmes and politics, culture, history and religion*, that was held in Opatije, Croatia. Along with colleagues Anna Triandafyllidou and Hara Kouki, Ruby focused on the project's empirical research and co-authored a report on *'Identity Construction Programmes of the State and the EU'* that focuses on the ways state actors perceive Europe in relation to official discourses on modern Greek identity.

Among other publications, Ruby co-authored a chapter on "Immigrant integration in public life" in *Migration in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Greece (Η Μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα του 21ου αιώνα)*, Ed by Triandafyllidou A. & Th. Maroukis, Kritiki Publishing: Athens, and a chapter with Dia Anagnostou on "Domesticating Islam and Muslim Immigrants: Political and Church Responses to Constructing a Central Mosque in Athens," in *The Orthodox Church of Greece in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Role of Religion in Politics, Ethnicity and Culture*, Roudometof V., Makridis V. and Prodromou E. (Ed.), Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

Most importantly, in October 2010, Ruby and Loukas were blessed with Spiros coming into their life.

## Thanos MAROUKIS

During the first half of 2010, Thanos Maroukis, Research Fellow, had been working on the research project FRIM "The Fundamental Human Rights Situation of Irregular Immigrants in the EU". He participated in the FRIM kick-off meeting in January 2010 that aimed to plan the EU-wide survey on Irregular Migrants Rights in the EU, and a training workshop in Brussels in April 2010 where he and Michaela Marouf, junior researcher in ELIAMEP, coordinated a team of researchers conducting research on irregular migrant domestic workers in 10 EU countries as part of the FRIM project. During this 6 month period he also conducted research on human smuggling of Africans into Greece as part of a UNODC project on human smuggling in Northern Africa. On 22 March 2010 he presented the paper 'Human Smuggling from and through North Africa to Greece, at the UNODC Workshop *Assessment on Smuggling of Migrants in the South-East Mediterranean Region*, in Cairo, Egypt. On 29-30 March 2010 he presented the paper 'Facts and Figures of Irregular Migration in the EU: a view from the CLANDESTINO Research Project' at the *COST Workshop: Irregular Migration in the Mediterranean Region*, organised by INMP in Rome, Italy. He published the article "Irregular Migration in Greece: size and features, causes and discourses", in the volume *Irregular Migration in Europe: Myths and Realities*, edited by Anna Triandafyllidou. In February 2010 he gave 2 interviews on Greek radio about the new Greek bill on citizenship for 2<sup>nd</sup> generation migrants and voting rights. In April 2010 he gave 1 tv interview for RAI and one radio interview for the Missionary International Service News Agency (Italy) on the main challenges of Irregular migration in Greece. During the second half of the year, he co-drafted with Anna Triandafyllidou, Karin Sohler and Michaela Marouf of the Irregular Migrant Workers Case Study report based on the findings of fieldwork on irregular migrant workers' rights in 10 EU countries. He wrote a report on the *Employment-related rights of Irregular Migrants in the EU* as part of the FRIM project. Thanos Maroukis and Anna Triandafyllidou's book "*Migration in 21<sup>st</sup> century Greece*" was published by the Kritiki Publisher. His paper "*Irregular migration and informal economy in Southern and Central-Eastern Europe: breaking the vicious cycle?*" was accepted for publication to the Journal International Migration. He continued carrying out independent fieldwork on human smuggling into and out of Greece focusing on Asians (in particular, Afghans, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis). Fieldwork was concluded in early December 2010. Since December 2010 he has been co-writing with Anna Triandafyllidou the book "*Migrant Smuggling: Irregular Migration from Asia and Africa to Europe*", to be published in the Migration, Minorities and

Citizenship Series of Palgrave Macmillan Publishers. Thanos Maroukis has also conducted research on Albanian circular migration in Greece as part of the METOIKOS research project, run by the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. He presented the paper “Irregular Migrants in the EU and their fundamental employment-related rights” at the Conference “*Migration under the lense of the International, European and National Law (Η μετανάστευση υπό το πρίσμα του Διεθνούς, Ευρωπαϊκού και Εθνικού Δικαίου)*”, organised by The European Law Students’ Association (ELSA) Athens, in Athens, Greece, 3 December 2010. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of December 2010 he presented the paper *Irregular migration and Borders in Greece* at the Conference “*Geographies of Migration*” organised by the Geography Department of the Charokopeion University of Athens, in Athens. As regards further dissemination of his work, he co-wrote with the colleague Ms Marina Nikolova an article on the effect of irregular migrants on Greek health services (published in newspaper Kathimerini and cited by other newspapers and many Greek websites), filling the gap that the unfounded assertions of the Minister of Health left on this issue in Autumn 2010.

### **Evangelia PSYCHOGIOPOULOU**

Since April 2010, Dr. Evangelia Psychogiopoulou, Research fellow at ELIAMEP, has been responsible for the scientific coordination and management of the European FP7 research project MEDIADDEM ([www.mediadem.eliamep.gr](http://www.mediadem.eliamep.gr)). Research carried out in the framework of this project investigates the configuration of state media policies that target or conversely constrain the development of free and independent media in 12 EU countries and two EU candidate countries. In this context, Evangelia Psychogiopoulou co-authored two reports, one concerning the theoretical framework of the project (‘The formation and implementation of national media policies in Europe and their relationship to democratic society and media freedom and independence: A theoretical and analytical frame for the Mediadem project’, <http://www.mediadem.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/theoretical-report.pdf>), and another pertaining specifically to Greece (‘Media policies and regulatory practices in a selected set of European countries, the EU and the Council of Europe: The case of Greece’, <http://www.mediadem.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/BIR.pdf>). In June 2010, she organised the first MEDIADDEM consortium meeting which took place in Athens. In December 2010, she collaborated with the Institute for International Relations (Croatia) for the organisation of the second MEDIADDEM consortium meeting and a workshop on ‘Media Policies: Country Practices within the EU Media Regulatory Framework’ in Zagreb, where amongst others she spoke about media policy institutional structures and regulatory practices in Greece. The same year, Evangelia Psychogiopoulou published a book, co-edited with Dia Anagnostou, *The European Court of Human Rights and the Rights of Marginalised Individuals and Minorities in National Context* (Brill, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers). She also conducted research in the application of EU competition rules to state aid to the audiovisual sector, which led to the publication of an article entitled ‘The “cultural” criterion in the European Commission’s assessment of state aids to the audiovisual sector’ at *Legal Issues of Economic Integration*. Since August 2010, she has also been coordinating an interdisciplinary network of experts hosted by ELIAMEP for the provision of independent expert advice on various issues coming within the audiovisual policy mandate of the European Parliament’s Committee on Culture and Education (<http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/european-integration/provision-of-independent-expertise-to-the-european-parliament-in-the-field-of-audiovisual-policy/>).

### Evangelos VENETIS

In 2010, Evangelos Venetis' activities focused on three sectors: the 2.500 year anniversary of the Battle of Marathon, the relations between Greece and Middle East and the political and financial developments in the Muslim world. This year marked his first attempt to get involved in the field of Middle Eastern Studies. With regard to the Marathon anniversary, his activity was multifaceted, and included the publication of articles in newspapers (Kathimerini, Ta Nea), participation in exhibitions (Hellenic Parliament Foundation, Melina Mercouri Foundation), conferences (European Cultural Center of Delphi) and round table discussions (Onassis Cultural Center), as well as interviews in TV and radio shows. Thereby Venetis attempted to underline the significance of Marathon, not only for the relations between Greece and Iran, but also for the East-West relations, and the role Greece could play on this field today, on a cultural diplomacy level. Concerning the developments in the Middle East, emphasis was put on the relations between Greece and Iran, both in the framework of the relations between Iran and the EU as well as of the developments in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean. The development policy of Greece, which aims to attract investors from Middle East, was and still is one of the main targets of the present government. The geopolitical balance in the Eastern Mediterranean was another important field of action, with reference to the Palestinian issue and the creation of the anti-Israeli axis from the side of Tehran. This axis will probably affect the energy cooperation between Greece and Israel and within this framework the research will continue to focus on it in the coming year. At the same time an important part of his work was devoted to developing links between ELIAMEP and Middle Eastern countries in order to prepare the interactive ELIAMEP Middle East Report. This report is going to be a main operational tool in the relations between ELIAMEP and the Middle Eastern world.

### Giorgos GLYNOS

In April 2010, Mr. Giorgos Glynos, Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, published a Working Paper on "The dynamic balance of European integration: the past, present and future of the Euro". In June, he participated in the ELIAMEP-SWP conference, on the impact of the financial crisis on the solidarity between the member states of the EU and the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual European Seminar of ELIAMEP. Throughout the year he worked on the development of new research projects in his field of activity and contributed to ELIAMEP's goal to promote an informed public debate by publishing articles in newspapers and giving interviews to Greek and foreign media, mainly on the economic crisis.

### George TZOGOPOULOS

As a Bodossakis research fellow Dr. George Tzogopoulos explored how the Greek crisis was viewed by global media. His research was based on collecting empirical data as well as on conducting interviews with foreign correspondents and journalists. He presented parts of it in 'The Media and the Crisis' event organized at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by ELIAMEP, the German Embassy in Athens, DAAD and Freie Universität in December. His working paper is expected to be completed in the first months of 2011 to be followed by a book, which will be published in 2012. In the fourth quarter of 2010 George presented papers on neoconservatism, US foreign policy and the media at the 5th Annual Conference of the BISA US Foreign Policy Group at the University of Leeds and at the University of Liverpool as well as on European public opinion at the University of Westminster. George also taught in the Winter School 'Doing Politics in the Face of Economic and Financial Crises: European Realities and Perceptions' and contributed as a commentator to various international and domestic news organizations such as Associated Press, Reuters, L'Express, Bild, Swiss National TV, NET, Vima FM, Real Fm and Athina 9.84.

## Effie FOKAS

In the 2010 period Effie Fokas' activities include the drafting of a range of publications; delivery of keynote speeches at three conferences; participation in working group meetings for an international research project; and the conducting of research and writing on two research projects. In the 2010 period she completed six texts for publication, of which three have been published and three, contributions to edited volumes, are in the publication process. These include a book chapter on religion in the Greek public sphere; a book chapter on Greek Orthodoxy in the United States; a book chapter on religion and welfare in Greece; a book chapter presenting results of a case study on religion in relation to welfare provision in a particular Greek town; entries for the *Encyclopedia of Global Religion* (on 'secularization', 'Greece', and 'Thomas Luckmann'); and a journal article on Islam in Europe. In terms of major conferences attended, these are three at which she delivered keynote speeches. The first of these was an address on religion and the public sphere, to the Volos Academy for Theological Studies. The second focused on the European Union influence on religion in the Greek public sphere, delivered at Fordham University (New York, USA). And the third was on Islam in Europe, presented to the Nordic Conference in Sociology of Religion (Kristiansand, Norway). In this time period she also participated in two working meetings for the Volkswagen Foundation funded project on 'Europeanization, multiple modernities and collective identities - nation, religion and ethnicity in an enlarging Europe' (EUROMM), one in Gottingen and one in Athens. These she presented her research conducted for the project on intellectual, religious and political elite perspectives on certain milestones in the Greek Europeanisation process, and on media perspectives on certain other milestones in the Greek Europeanisation process. Finally, beginning in September of 2010 she embarked upon the research for her Marie Curie Fellowship on Pluralism and religious freedom in Orthodox countries in Europe (PLUREL). Thus far research has been conducted in Romania (Bucharest, in October) and Bulgaria (Sofia, in November). The research entailed in-depth interviews with religious leaders (of both the majority church and minority religions), legal advisors for religion-related court cases; NGO representatives; and academics working in the areas of Orthodoxy and religious freedom. The 50 interviews that were conducted in total were transcribed during December.

## Sappho XENAKIS

Over recent months, Dr. Sappho Xenakis has continued to progress with research for her project on security policy transfer. On the publications front, the international peer-reviewed journal *Crime, Law and Social Change* in June published her article on comparative corruption research and the British case. A paper on 'Balkanist' resistance in contemporary Greece is forthcoming this summer as a chapter in a book entitled *The Banality of Good: Roots, Rites and Sites of Resistance* (ed. L. K. Cheliotis, publ. Palgrave Macmillan). She has also written a chapter on organised crime and political violence in Greece for a book she is co-editing with Leonidas K. Cheliotis entitled *Crime and Punishment in Contemporary Greece: International Comparative Perspectives*, which will be published by Peter Lang A.G. (Oxford) later this year. Additionally, the international journal *Global Crime* has recently published her book review of *EU Criminal Law* by Valsamis Mitsilegas. Current work in progress includes a sole-authored paper on the role of expert knowledge in international co-operation against organised crime, and a paper (co-written with Leonidas Cheliotis) on the political economy of punishment in Greece.

As concerns public presentations, Sappho gave an invited lecture on the subject of comparative corruption analysis for a postgraduate criminology series at Panteion University in Athens in late January. She was also an active participant of a workshop on organised crime organised by the Standing Group on Organised Crime of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) at the annual conference of the Political Science Association (UK) in Edinburgh in March. That month she also appeared as an invited interviewee on *BBC World News* to discuss the crisis in Greece, and was interviewed again in May about the same issue by the Danish daily newspaper *Politiken* and by a journalist of the Slovakian daily newspaper *Pravda*. Further

details of her publications and activities are available at <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/successful-security-policy-transfer-how-and-when/>.

In the second half of 2010, Dr. Sappho Xenakis, Marie Curie Intra-European Fellow at ELIAMEP, conducted research on organised crime and corruption in South-East and Central Europe, which led to a 5,000-word contribution to the annual reference volume 'Central and South-East Europe 2011' published by Routledge, as well as to the *ELIAMEP Thesis* 'Organised Crime and Corruption in and around South-Eastern Europe: Trends and Counter-Efforts', the latter exploring policy implications that stemmed from the research findings. She also collaborated with Leonidas Cheliotis (School of Law, Queen Mary, University of London) on research into trends in crime, fear of crime, and punitiveness, in Greece. This research appears as a chapter in their co-edited book *Crime and Punishment in Contemporary Greece: International Comparative Perspectives* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), where it is accompanied by a commentary written by Jonathan Jackson, Monica Gerber, and Carolyn Côté-Lussier. In addition, an article written jointly by Sappho Xenakis and Leonidas Cheliotis, 'What's Neoliberalism Got to Do With It? Towards a Political Economy of Punishment in Greece', was published in the Special Issue 'Neoliberal Penalty: Reflections on the Work of Loïc Wacquant' in the journal *Criminology and Criminal Justice* in November 2010. The article was also translated into Spanish and is to appear in Igancio González Sánchez (ed.) *La Sociología de Loïc Wacquant: Teoría Social, Marginalidad Urbana y Estado Penal* [The Sociology of Loïc Wacquant: Social Theory, Urban Marginality and the Penal State] (Madrid: Dykinson, forthcoming 2011). As part of her ongoing project examining the dynamics and effects of security policy transfer to Greece, Sappho Xenakis also carried out research into the evolution of political violence in the country since 1974. As concerns public presentations, in July 2010 Sappho presented her research on comparative corruption analysis at the British Society of Criminology conference, which took place at the University of Leicester, UK. In September 2010, her papers on organised crime and political violence in Greece, and punishment in contemporary Greece from a political economy perspective (the latter co-written with Leonidas Cheliotis), were presented at the European Society of Criminology conference in Liège, Belgium.

### Dina KARYDI

In 2010 Dina Karydi, Junior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, completed the final part of the documentation of the European Thesaurus on International Relations and Area Studies in the context of EINIRAS Network. In September 2010 she participated in the academic seminar "International/South-East European Summer School for democracy" in Belgrade and in Autumn 2010 she co-authored the paper "Transparency and Accountability in the Parliaments of Greece and Southeast Europe (or the Gap between Institutional Rules and Democratic Practices) elaborating on the levels of accessibility and accountability of Parliaments across the region of SE Europe. From September 2010 she is acting as the Editorial Assistant in the Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies edited by ELIAMEP and Routledge.

### Michaela MAROUFOP

In 2010 Michaela Maroufop, Junior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, participated in the FRIM research project which examines the fundamental rights situation of irregular migrants in the European Union. Specifically she assisted in the organisation of the fieldwork of the case study on irregular migrant domestic workers by contributing to the writing of the interview materials and the training of the interviewers, she conducted the fieldwork in Greece and supervised the fieldwork in Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Spain and Sweden and finally she participated in the analysis of the results.

During the same period two of her recent papers, 'Polish migration to Greece: Past, present and future' and 'Migration from Ukraine and Georgia: the gender dimension' (with Marina Nikolova), were published in A. Triandafyllidou and T. Maroukis (eds.) 'Migration in 21st century Greece' (Η Μετανάστευση στην Ελλάδα του 21ου αιώνα) by KRITIKI and her paper 'Migrant



Settlement in Greece. Dynamics of integration and problems of registration' (with Anna Triandafyllidou) was published in A. Takis (ed.) 'Migration, diversity and reception institutions in Greece: the stake of social integration' (Μετανάστευση, ετερότητα και θεσμοί υποδοχής στην Ελλάδα: το στοίχημα της κοινωνικής ένταξης) by Sakkoulas.

### Sofia MICHALAKI

Sofia Michalaki, Junior Research Fellow, presented a paper entitled "*Flexicurity, Flexigurança, Evasfaleia ...*" at the 9th International Conference of the Hellenic Political Science Association in May 2010. The paper, an original scientific research product, presents the flexicurity discourse as it unfolds in European quality press columns, through which governments communicate to the public the need and appropriateness of their reform program, thereby attempting to legitimize it. It is expected to be published in 2011.

### Anna KANDYLA

Anna Kandyła joined ELIAMEP in April 2010 as a research assistant for the project European Media Policies Revisited: Valuing & Reclaiming Free and Independent Media in Contemporary Democratic Systems (MEDIADDEM). In the framework of the project Anna has contributed to the preparation of the Background information report 'Media policies and regulatory practices in a selected set of European countries, the EU and the Council of Europe: The case of Greece' (with Dia Anagnostou and Evangelia Psychogiopoulou).

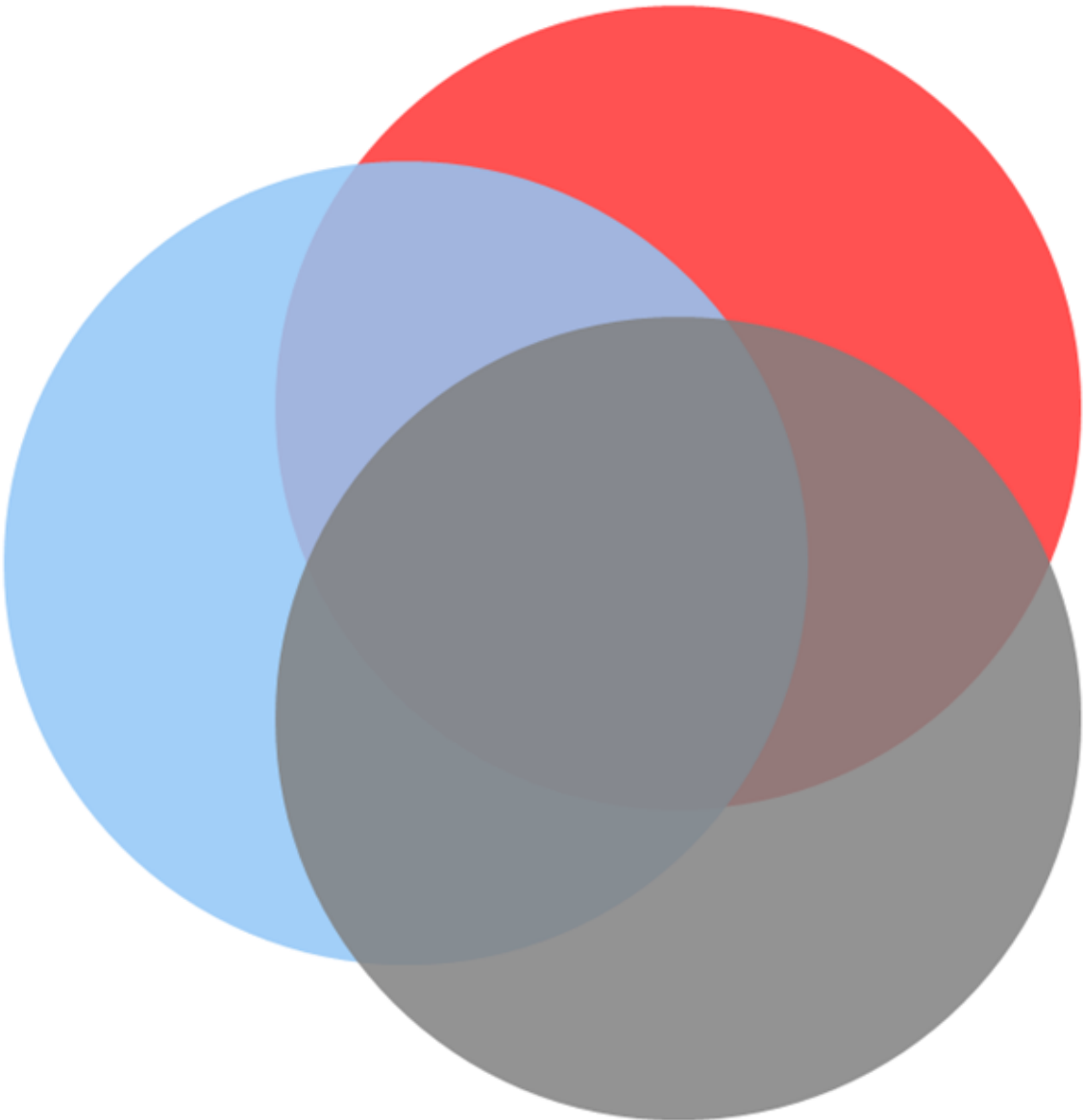
### Hara KOUKI

Hara Kouki started working as an ELIAMEP research fellow in March 2010 for the EU funded research project on European Identities and European Modernities (IME), along with Prof Anna Triandafyllidou and Dr. Ruby Gropas. IME project attempts to trace the way European identities are formed in each country and, as in 2010 it entered already in its second year, Kouki engaged directly in fieldwork research in Greece. While at a first stage (March- June 2010) study focused on state and EU attempts at identity construction, at a further point research attempted to examine through in depth interviews how NGOs' representatives and active members of civil society, as well as individual citizens, make sense of their national and European identities (July- December 2010). As a result, throughout the year Hara contributed to the editing of two work package reports based on the findings of fieldwork research, as well as to the ELIAMEP blog and was also responsible for the IME webpage editing. Moreover, Hara participated in two IME consortium meetings, the first in Opatija, Croatia (6-7 May, 2010), with Ruby Gropas, and the second in Istanbul, Turkey (5-6 October), with Anna Triandafyllidou.



# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN AND FOREIGN POLICY NON-PROFIT PRIVATE LAW ENTITY



**HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN AND FOREIGN POLICY  
NON-PROFIT PRIVATE LAW ENTITY  
BALANCE SHEET AT 31st DECEMBER 2010 (FISCAL YEAR 01/01/2010-31/12/2010)**

**ASSETS**

**LIABILITIES**

	Amounts of closing year 2010				Amounts of closing year 2010
	Gross Value	Depreciation	Net Book Value		
<b>B. FORMATION EXPENSES</b>				<b>A. EQUITY</b>	
4. Other Formation Expenses	146.533,39	146.083,39	450,00	IV. Capital Reserves	
	<u>146.533,39</u>	<u>146.083,39</u>	<u>450,00</u>	1. Reserve (surplus) of prior years	876.254,41
<b>C. FIXED ASSETS</b>				2. Reserve (surplus) of closing year	-115.795,78
II. Tangible Assets				<b>Total Equity (AI+AIV+AV)</b>	<u>760.458,63</u>
1. Land	343.000,00	0,00	343.000,00	<b>B. PROVISIONS</b>	
3. Buildings and leasehold improvements	617.252,22	246.900,88	370.351,34	2. Provisions for contingent liabilities	61.784,40
6. Furniture and fixtures	83.629,84	75.888,59	7.741,25	Total Provisions (B1)	<u>61.784,40</u>
	<u>1.043.882,06</u>	<u>322.789,47</u>	<u>721.092,59</u>	<b>C. LIABILITIES</b>	
Total Tangible Assets	<u>1.043.882,06</u>	<u>322.789,47</u>	<u>721.092,59</u>	I. Long Term Liabilities	
III. Investments and other Long-Term Receivables				2. Bank Loans	0,00
7. Other long-term receivables	419,10	0,00	419,10		<u>0,00</u>
	<u>419,10</u>	<u>0,00</u>	<u>419,10</u>	II. Current Liabilities	
Total Fixed Assets (CII+CIII)			<u>721.511,69</u>	1. Trade Creditors	16.027,28
<b>D. CURRENT ASSETS</b>				2α. Cheques payable	1.469,39
II. Receivables				5. Liabilities for taxes-dues	23.220,05
1. Trade Debtors		4.784,81		6. Social Security Organizations	10.142,88
10. Doubtful debtors		69.284,40		11. Sundry Creditors	14.959,45
11. Sundry Debtors		7.904,04			<u>65.819,05</u>
12.		1.641,48	83.614,73	Total Liabilities (CI+CII)	<u>65.819,05</u>
IV. Liquid Assets					
1. Cash in hand		4,65		D. ACCRUALS AND DIFFERED INCOME	
2. Cash at bank		465.556,02	465.560,67	1. Next years Income	382.726,51
TOTAL ASSETS (DII+DIII+DIV)			<u>549.175,40</u>	2. Accrued Expenses	348,50
E. PREPAYMENTS AND ACCRUED INCOME					<u>383.075,01</u>
1. Prepaid Expense			0,00		
2. Income Receivable			0,00		
			<u>0,00</u>		
<b>GRAND TOTAL ASSETS (B+C+D+E)</b>			<u>1.271.137,09</u>	<b>GRAND TOTAL LIABILITIES (A+B+C+D)</b>	<u>1.271.137,09</u>

**PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT AT 31st DECEMBER 2009  
(ACCOUNTING PERIOD 01/01/2009-31/12/2009)**

**I. TRADING INCOME/EXPENSES**

	AMOUNTS OF CLOSING YEAR 2010	
INCOME		
Grants & Sponsorships	544.658,36	
Donors	401.620,53	
Income from Conference Participation Fees	4.545,27	
Total Trading Income	950.824,16	
Other Services	0,00	
<b>GRAND TOTAL TRADING INCOME</b>	950.824,16	950.824,16
MINUS: 1. Research Expenses for projects	603.186,23	-603.186,23
MINUS: 1. Administrative Expenses	311.244,80	
MINUS :2. Selling Expenses	23.351,83	-334.596,63
Partial Operating (surplus) Results		13.041,30
PLUS: 4. Income from interest	383,22	
MINUS: 1. interest on Bank Loans	1.582,47	-1.199,25
Total operating (surplus) Results		11.842,05
<b>II. PLUS/MINUS: EXTRAORDINARY &amp; NON OPERATING INCOME/EXPENSES</b>		
1. Extraordinary Income		1,75
3. Prior period profits	47.573,02	
1. Extraordinary Expenses	75,90	-74,15
3. Prior period expenses	105.852,30	
4. Provisions for extraordinary contingencies	69.284,40	-127.637,83
Net Income before taxes and extra depreciation (loss)		-115.795,78
Minus: Total Depreciation of assets	36.134,76	
Minus: Depreciation on operating cost	-36.134,76	0,00

**APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT**

	AMOUNTS OF CLOSING YEAR 2010
Net results/surplus of period	-115.795,78
(+) : Balance from prior years results	876.254,41
<b>TOTAL BROUGHT FORWARD</b>	<u>760.458,63</u>

Athens, 21 February 2011

THE PRESIDENT  
**LOUKAS TSOUKALIS**  
A.Δ.T. X062271

THE HEAD OF THE ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT  
**IOANNIS POULAKIS**  
A.T X 212518  
AM O.E.E. 27696  
ΑΠΟΦ.ΑΔΕΙΑΣ Α' ΤΑΞΕΩΣ 12268

**ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ**  **ΕΛΙΑΜΕΡ**

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ & ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ  
HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

Λεωφ. Βασ. Σοφίας 49, 106 76 Αθήνα, 49 Vas. Sofias Ave., 106 76 Athens Greece, T 0030 210 7257110, F 0030 210 7257114