



ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ

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

ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ

Annual Report **2006**



2006 was a very successful year for ELIAMEP and this was mainly underlined by its increasing participation in research projects and international fora.

For 2007 ELIAMEP will maintain a heavy involvement in its traditional areas of interest, namely developments in Southeastern Europe and the European Union.

At the same time, for the year ahead, ELIAMEP is planning a number of activities on vital topics such as climate change and its impact on regional stability; EU energy security policy; migration policies and politics; minorities and human rights; and Europe's role in the Middle East.

On the latter in particular, it is our strong belief that the Mediterranean and the Middle East are regions of critical importance for Europe's security and interests and that the current situation of very limited European political influence in those regions is simply unacceptable. Various options should be examined for a more active and substantive EU role.

ELIAMEP will try to contribute to this process through its membership in the Steering Committee and Steering Group of the Mediterranean Study Commission (EuroMeSCo) and the Secretariat of the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI).

Greek-Turkish relations, the issue of Cyprus and Greek security policy will, of course, continue to be topics of high priority for ELIAMEP, especially as Turkey has entered a period of important domestic political developments, which may have an impact on relations between Ankara and the EU.

In addition, the role of the transatlantic community in stabilising regions in Europe's periphery will remain a focal point for our activities.

ELIAMEP will continue to put strong emphasis on "Track-II" activities and training seminars, as well as policy-oriented projects and publications. Strengthening institutional links and network participation will be another priority, as well as training a new generation of analysts on issues and regions of high importance for the Foundation.

Thanos Dokos
Director General, ELIAMEP

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Research projects

EUROREG: Changing interests and identities in European border regions: EU policies, ethnic minorities and socio-political transformation in member states and accession countries (EUROREG)

Funded by the European Commission, Research DG, Sixth Framework Programme

EUROREG studies the links between European economic integration and ethnic minority mobilisation. It explores the effects of European integration on territorially concentrated ethnic minorities and their politics, as well as on their relations with national majorities and the state. We have selected nine cases of minority inhabited regions, five in EU 'old' member states and four in the new member states and accession countries of Central-East and Southeast Europe (CESE).

The project will examine how EU regional economic policies in EU member states and human rights and minority protection policies in CESE accession states affect patterns of political participation and economic activity of ethnic minorities, as well as their relations with national majorities, political parties and state administration. We shall examine how minorities and majorities in regional-local institutions and development projects view their identification with a national or ethnic community, their rights and obligations as citizens of a state, as well as how they conceptualise 'Europe.' We will compare the ways in which EU integration affects the regional mobilisation and political representation of minorities and majorities, as well as national-ethnic identities and conceptions of 'Europe' in member states and CESE accession countries. Last but not least we shall identify best practices enhancing the efficiency of regional development funding through co-operation between majority and minority groups, and develop policy suggestions for cultural measures and minority protection policies that could accompany regional development funding and facilitate minority- majority co-operation. Our findings will be disseminated among regional minority and majority actors through discussion groups organised in the regions studied, as well as at the EU level.

Our methodologies include quantitative surveys, qualitative interviews, ethnographic fieldwork, analysis of official documents and statistics and, of course, literature reviews in both English and national languages.

We expect to provide a better understanding of regional minority-majority politics, identity (trans) formation and the effect of EU and CoE policies on these. The project will promote best practices of regional cooperation and will produce policy relevant findings with a view to informing future regional development policies in an enlarged European Union.

The first collective publication of the EUROREG project has appeared in 2006: Anagnostou, D. and Triandafyllidou, A. (eds) (2005) *Regions, Minorities and European Policies: An Overview of the State of the Art in Western, Central Eastern and Southeast Europe*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, printed in 2006, EUR 21916.

Project reports analysing the relationship between regional development, minorities and European integration processes in several Western, Southern and Central Eastern European countries are available from the project's web site. On the case of Greece, you may consult:

- Anagnostou, D. Triandafyllidou, A. (2006) [Regions, minorities and European integration. A case study on the Muslims of Western Thrace, Greece](http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/files/Case_study_report_Thrace.pdf), project report, available at http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/files/Case_study_report_Thrace.pdf, March 2006.

- Anagnostou, D. Triandafyllidou, A. (2005) [Regions, minorities and European policies: A state of the art report on the Turkish Muslims of Western Thrace \(Greece\)](#), project report, available at

<http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/Document.aspx?d=11&rd=5565300&f=1320&rf=1728296600&m=3283&rm=11500027&l=1> , 2005.

Contacts: Dr. Dia Anagnostou, Research Fellow and Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP

EU – CONSENT: Wider Europe, Deeper Integration?



Funded by the European Commission, Research DG, Sixth Framework Programme

EU-CONSENT ("Constructing Europe" Network) is a Network of excellence among 48 partner institutes. It is a Network for joint research and teaching, focusing on the construction of a new Europe (2005-2008). During 2006, EU CONSENT explored the mutual reinforcing effects of deepening and widening. **ELIAMEP** is leading a team focusing on **"Economic integration: approaches, lessons and visions for the future"**. In 2006, the team coordinated by ELIAMEP produced the following publications:

ELIAMEP/ Team 3 (WP II/III), May 2006

"Economic governance and political choices in the enlarged EU: An overview." State of the Art paper by Nikos Koutsiaras.

"Developing programming and administrative capacity for EU cohesion policy in the new member states: some lessons from Greece." by George Andreou .



EMEDIATE: Media and Ethics of a European Public Sphere from the Treaty of Rome to the "War on Terror"

Funded by the European Commission, Research DG, Sixth Framework Programme

Research undertaken by the EMEDIATE Research Consortium in 13 EU member states suggests that the media of most European countries were not interested in the idea of Europe nor in issues of European importance until after the fall of the Berlin wall.

Ideas or conceptions of Europe as a geographical or historical entity or as a distinct culture were largely overshadowed by reports and debates on the EU.

This was the case in Austria, Britain, Germany (both East and West until 1989), Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Serbia (and former Yugoslavia), Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden. The only exception to the rule was France: Europe was at the heart of French media debates since the 1950s.

Interest in European issues increased as the countries got more involved in the EU integration process. EU membership gradually replaced Cold War concerns with European security. Peace, democracy and prosperity remained important buzzwords in media debates throughout the post war period.

'There is an important similarity between southern European countries' notes Anna Triandafyllidou from ELIAMEP. 'The media debates on Europe in Greece and Spain stress political stability as an important feature of "belonging to Europe". This has no doubt to do with the authoritarian regime experiences of the two countries in the post war era.' Moreover, in both countries Europe or the EU for that matter are non-issues until the 1990s.

'Media debates on Europe were triggered by important events' writes Michal Krzyzanowski. 'However it must be borne in mind that those debates referred to nationally specific events, not to events that we would define today as pan-European, such as the 1968 protest movement in Paris and Prague'.

Media debates on European issues or on European values are largely absent from the countries whose (western) 'Europeanness' is taken for granted such as Austria, Britain, Germany, Sweden or Italy. French exceptionalism, however, is once again confirmed: debates on European issues and values thrive in the French 'heart' of the continent.

Debates on what Europe is or what it stands for were also prominent in the national media of Central Eastern European countries such as Poland or Slovenia, who reclaimed their 'belonging to Europe' after 1989.

The study concludes that there is always a national filter applied to media debates: Europe is important only when it matters for national developments. Greek media debates confirm this view. In the mid 1990s, the Greek media discourse emphasizes that the 'national interest' (such as the controversy over the naming of FYROM) should remain independent from European views that fail to recognize the historical specificity and traumatic national experiences of Greece in the Balkans. However, in recent years, Greek media portray Europe as part of the national self in the context of the value debates.

In conclusion, media debates increasingly stress European values with a universal appeal such as peace, democracy, prosperity, human rights, and to a lesser extent, social solidarity.

EMEDIATE Project Reports

The following studies have been prepared by the EMEDIATE Project team at ELIAMEP:

Kontochristou, M. Steindler, C., ter Wal, J. and Triandafyllidou, A. (2006), *The Invasion of Iraq and the Outbreak of the Second Gulf War in the European Media*, EMEDIATE project report, August 2006.

Kontochristou, M. Steindler, C., ter Wal, J. and Triandafyllidou, A. (2006), *The Fall of the Berlin Wall in the European Media*, EMEDIATE project report, August 2006.

Kontochristou, M. Steindler, C., ter Wal, J. and Triandafyllidou, A. (2006), *The Mohammed Cartoons Crisis in the European Media*, EMEDIATE project report, August 2006.

[access to the above three reports is temporarily restricted because they are under review for publication]

Triandafyllidou, A. Ladi, S. (2005) *Annotated bibliography* of selected media studies on Europe, European identity, European values and the EU in Greece and Spain (works reviewed include all relevant works in English, Greek and Spanish).

Triandafyllidou, A. Ladi, S. (2005) *Report on Media Research: Greece and Spain*, ELIAMEP, Athens, November 2005, available at: http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/research/research_projects/emediate/report_european_values/en/

Contact: Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow, ELIAMEP

JURISTRAS: The Strasbourg Court, Democracy and the Human Rights of Individuals and Communities: Patterns of Litigation, State Implementation and Domestic Reform

Funded by the European Commission, Research DG, Sixth Framework Programme

The project is co-ordinated by ELIAMEP and includes Kent University at Canterbury, the University of Sienna, Boltzman Institute for Human Rights in Vienna, the Romanian Academy of Sciences, the Centre for Liberal Studies in Sofia, Bielefeld University, Free University of Brussels, and Yildiz University in Istanbul.

JURISTRAS comparatively explores processes of human rights litigation in the European Court of

Human Rights judgments, and its effects in national legislative reforms and policy making in a number of EU member states and Associate Candidate States.

JURISTRAS seeks to explore domestic processes of implementation of Strasbourg Court judgments and their impact on the legal norms, institutional structures, politics and policy-making of these states that are parties to the Convention.

The project examines under what conditions Strasbourg Court judgments that find state authorities to have breached Convention provisions promote broader domestic reform or policy-change and expand justice for individuals and communities. It explores the hypothesis that patterns of state compliance and national implementation of Court judgments depend on and are mediated by domestic processes of societal mobilization, public support and elite learning.

Researchers will formulate recommendations concerning the rights of religious, ethnic and immigrant minorities, the combating of discrimination, and protection of personal privacy, as well as the establishment and improvement of national- and EU-level mechanisms for addressing human rights claims and resolving disputes between individual rights and state interests.

Contact: Dr. Dia Anagnostou, Research Fellow, ELIAMEP

MULTICULTURAL EUROPE: Policy, School Dynamics and Youth Identities in Germany, England and Greece

Funded by the European Commission, Research DG, Sixth Framework Programme, Marie Curie Intra European Fellowships

[1 December 2006—30 November 2008]

In December 2006, ELIAMEP has welcomed an Intra European Marie Curie Fellow, Dr. Daniel Faas, from Germany. Daniel received recently his PhD from Cambridge University in the U.K. and has joined ELIAMEP to work with Anna Triandafyllidou on a project analysing educational policies in Greece, Germany and the United Kingdom. More specifically, his project focuses on the challenge of constructing and promoting an inclusive multi-ethnic concept of Europe. Research will be undertaken on the ways in which:

- (a) EU policy-makers and politicians combine multicultural and European agendas and address the presence of Muslim communities in Europe;
- (b) national educators and policy-makers in European countries with sizeable Muslim populations perceive European and multicultural agendas; and,
- (c) school curricula address notions of multiculturalism and Europe.

The case studies will concentrate on three EU member states [Germany, Greece and the UK] that have placed different emphasis on their multicultural and European agendas.

The findings are meant to contribute to a larger debate on the future of multicultural Europe.

Contacts: Dr. Daniel Faas, Marie Curie Research Fellow and Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Scientist in Charge at ELIAMEP

Activities

ELIAMEP Annual lecture 2006: "Deepening and Enlarging: The False Dichotomy"

Athens, 9 March 2006

ELIAMEP's Annual Lecture 2006 honoured **Dr. Olli Rehn**, EU Commissioner for Enlargement, who spoke on "Deepening and Enlarging: The False Dichotomy". Mr. Rehn argued that the 2004 enlargement was associated with hopes but also fears and prejudices. However, an objective look at facts and figures today tells us that these concerns were largely unjustified. Even though difficulties surfaced, particularly on typically sensitive issues like the budgetary framework and of course the Constitutional Treaty, according to Mr. Rehn, it would be unfair to depict the new Member States as having blocked progress in those areas.

The Commissioner identified 2005 overall as 'a sad year' in our common European history. The two negative results of the referendums on the Constitutional Treaty in two founding states, France and the Netherlands, interrupted the momentum of political integration. Moreover, they revealed what had been suspected in the previous years: a degree of distrust and disaffection on the part of European citizens' with the political elites and with the EU. According to Mr. Rehn, the best way out of the constitutional dilemma is to focus on concrete measures aimed at improving the way the European Union works and to produce concrete results for our citizens, rather than a long theoretical debate.

Meanwhile, the crucial question remains on how to proceed with enlargement. On the one hand, Mr Rehn stated that we certainly need to pace ourselves after the '2004 Big Bang,' when ten new members joined the Union. But, on the other hand, it would be irresponsible, according to the Commissioner, to disrupt a valuable process that is helping to build stable and effective partners, especially in Southeast Europe.

Does this mean that enlargement should continue irrespective of the current confusion surrounding the constitutional debate? Or, as the euro-jargon puts it, can widening go on while deepening is stuck? This is a sensible question, according to Mr. Rehn, provided that it is not based on the assumption that enlargement, as such, would be a brake on further integration. The Commissioner argued that nothing is more wrong than that, as the history of the EU tells us. Widening versus deepening is indeed a false dichotomy. The EU has always pursued these two objectives in parallel, and never was the one an obstacle for the other. The EU's ability to respond to its citizens' concerns must increase, but enlargement does not stop it from doing so. It is, consequently, utterly wrong to believe that Europe's progress has slowed down because it has welcomed new members.

Mr. Rehn concluded his speech by offering a short overview on where we stand as regards the Western Balkans and Turkey. Regarding the **Western Balkans** he expressed the need to solve the remaining status questions (Kosovo, Montenegro) with patience and determination. He also argued that it was time to move the region beyond the era of war, in part through ensuring that the last remaining persons indicted for war crimes go to The Hague. On Kosovo, he repeated that the European Union encourages both Belgrade and Pristina to engage constructively, to enable a negotiated solution, and that the European Council has confirmed that the future of the Western Balkans lies in the EU. The prospect of moving to the next stage in relations with the Union is a powerful incentive for countries to transform themselves and to adopt EU standards and values. The journey towards membership has value in itself, even in cases where accession is many years away. Even though, this journey is often difficult, Mr. Rehn believes that it is essential for the EU to stay engaged throughout the process, and committed to the outcome.

As regards **Turkey**, Mr. Rehn underlined that the European Union needs, for its own interest, a stable, democratic, stable and prosperous Turkey, which respects human rights and the rule of law, and that is able to implement European Union policies and standards, and which remains a

strong and reliable ally in today's world. It is clear, according to him, that it will be a long and winding road before accession can take place. Mr. Rehn believes that a lot still needs to be done to meet EU criteria and as a result the pace of reforms in Turkey will determine the progress in negotiations and it will be up to Turkey to carry out the necessary efforts.

As regards **Cyprus**, he expressed the hope that the recent signals the European Union received, including the meeting between UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and President Tassos Papadopoulos, will pave the way for a new process under the auspices of the UN leading to a comprehensive settlement as soon as possible. He found encouraging that the leaders of both communities on the island have agreed to start a dialogue on a range of issues at a technical level. This will, according to the Commissioner, hopefully re-build confidence and encourage the resumption of negotiations on a comprehensive settlement within the UN framework. In line with its long standing position, the Commission stands ready to support this process.

In conclusion, Mr. Rehn stressed that the debate on EU enlargement is welcome. Nevertheless, it should not be used to question the European Union's existing commitments under the consolidated enlargement agenda in South-Eastern Europe – that is, Bulgaria, Romania, the Western Balkans and Turkey. This would weaken the EU's ability to work for stability and democracy in the whole region.

"Europe: Mind the Gaps" in the framework of the Halki International Seminars



Spetses, 21-25 June 2006

Over the last couple of years, many have been proclaiming that Europe has reached its limits, or even that it is already in reverse gear. So, the 2006 Halki International Seminar (HIS2006) *Europe: Mind the Gaps* aimed at critically discussing the particular issues or even 'gaps' upon which these assumptions have been based.

Forty-five participants from across EU member, candidate and accession states took part in this year's seminar. There was a balanced mix between more senior fellows and professors, younger researchers and PhD students, journalists and practitioners. This varied background brought diverse perspectives and raised different sets of concerns about future European integration.

We concentrated on the role of the citizens in the European project and in particular the younger generations. The case was made for the need to increase both output and input legitimacy while arguments were expressed both for and against the need to politicize the EU, directly elect officials at the EU level and narrate a new grand, common project.

Improving the quality of primary and secondary education in particular was identified as a priority not only to better understand the EU and its growing diversity, but also to engage the younger generations in the current debates on Europe's future.



Group picture of the HIS2006 participants

Indifference towards the EU, growing 'Euroscepticism', 'Eurorealism,' or even 'Europhobia' particularly on behalf of the (real, perceived or potential) economic 'losers' of European integration were widely discussed. In effect, the increasing trend of inequalities within countries and the widely held perception that there is little distinction between the process of globalization and that of EU integration is taking increasing political implications. In light of this, the pressing need to revisit the relation between the state and the market and to push forward with necessary reforms was underlined.

In parallel, HIS2006 focused on the European public sphere and European media by drawing from the underlying discussions on democracy, public opinion formation and active citizenship. It was noted that across all Member States, EU matters are perceived through national and regional

filters, and a number of proposals were put forward to communicate Europe in a simpler and better manner. Moreover, it was argued that an independent European News Agency ought to be created composed of journalists from all Member States encouraged to write 'stories' relevant for the local, regional or national levels but with a European twist.



Against this background, the relationships between diversity, democracy and further enlargement and integration were also explored. In an increasingly diverse EU, new modes of governance are required, while the close inter-relation between widening and deepening that has characterized EU integration so far will largely depend on the new member states' ability to address diversity challenges, multiculturalism pressures and the impacts of subsequent enlargements.

Finally, the seminar participants were broken into three smaller working groups that focused on (i) enlargement and economic policy, (ii) democratic institutional change and (iii) institutional reforms and enlargement in order to go into more detail on potential and feasible scenarios for the EU's future. In all cases, the core questions posed consisted of *what can be done together* (i.e. in which policy areas is there a willingness or possibility to further integrate), *what kind of integration*, *who* is willing and able to proceed, and *how* will the next steps be taken?

HIS2006 was organised with the support of the EC Commission (DG EAC) - Jean Monnet Action, and with the cooperation of EMEDIATE, EU-CONSENT and Istanbul Bilgi University. Special thanks are also extended to the EU Institute for Security Studies (Paris), the General Secretariat for Youth (Athens), the Ministry of Culture (Athens) and the National Bank of Greece.

"The European Court of Human Rights, Protection of Civil Rights and Minorities: State Compliance and Domestic Reform"

Athens, 2 June 2006

The past twenty years have witnessed a phenomenal increase of the case load of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), indicating a remarkable growth in the judicial authority of what is widely recognized to be the most effective, supranational and legally-binding human rights mechanism in Europe.

The aim of this international workshop organized by ELIAMEP, Kingston University and the University of Siena was to explore whether and how the Court's judgments reverberate domestically (or fail to do so) in policies, structures and institutions, with a specific focus on religion-state relations, ethnic, religious or national minorities and immigrants.

Christos Rozakis from the ECtHR, Nicos Sitaropoulos from the Council of Europe, Astrid Steinkellner from Boltzman Institute for Human Rights in Vienna, Eleni Micha from the University of Athens, Nicholas Hatzis from City University and Dogu Ergil from Ankara University were among the speakers in this workshop coordinated by Dr. Anagnostou, Research Fellow, ELIAMEP.



*EU Commissioner
Dr. Olli Rehn*

"Europe's Next Transformation: Enlargement and the Future of the EU" Lecture by Mr. Olli Rehn, EU Commissioner for Enlargement

Athens, 20 October 2006

On the occasion of the publication of his new book 'Europe's Next Frontiers', Mr. Olli Rehn delivered a speech on the contemporary issues characterising the current debate on Europe's future to a full amphitheatre at the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In contrast to the current debate on Europe's limits and borders, Mr. Rehn offered a vision of functional and innovative frontiers facing Europe today.

He identified three urgent challenges defining Europe's next steps. First, rebuilding confidence in

the EU economy and enhancing its competitiveness, innovation and job-creation capacity. Second, he encouraged the political revival of Europe and posited that differentiated integration has enabled the Union to maintain dynamism and push integration initiatives forward. Provided that such projects are open to all member states and that they are decided within the EU framework, this may be the way to pursue Europe’s political project in parallel to enlargement. Finally, the third frontier he presented involves extending the European zone of peace, liberty and prosperity by better projecting the EU’s soft power, especially through a gradual, rigorous and carefully managed accession process.

Building a consensus on enlargement and proceeding with the much needed institutional reforms were reiterated, as was the need for rigorous conditionality throughout the accession process.

The Balkan’s EU perspective and the challenges facing Turkey’s accession negotiations were the main issues raised by journalists, diplomats and politicians present.

Roundtable Discussion on “EU–Russia Relations: Developments & Prospects”

Athens, 19 October 2006



From left to right: Director of the EU-Russia Centre Dr. Fraser Cameron, ELIAMEP President Prof. Loukas Tsoukalis, and Dr. Dimitris Triantaphyllou, Director of ICBSS

The roundtable discussion was organised in cooperation with the EU-Russia centre and brought together 35 representatives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the media, the business sector, NGOs, and think tanks.

Presentations were made by Dr. Fraser Cameron, Director of the EU-Russia Centre, and Dr. Dimitris Triantaphyllou, Director of ICBSS. Prof. Tsoukalis coordinated the exchange of views that followed.

Current pressures on EU-Russia relations were highlighted while the importance and interdependent nature of this relationship was reiterated. Concerns were raised regarding the lack of coherence among the Member States in implementing the EU common strategy, and the value of strategic partnerships.

Energy security was at the centre of the debate along with increased EU-Russian cooperation in the business sector and especially in developing Russia’s market economy. A consensus was reached on the need for greater coherence within the EU towards Russia and to help improve Russia’s democratic governance.

ELIAMEP Policy Paper Presentation: “Higher Education in Greece in the New European and International Environment”

Athens, 8 November 2006

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) conducted a wide empirical research on the state of higher education in Greece in order to contribute to the current debate for the reform of the public universities.

This research, conducted between September 2005 and June 2006, is based on the collection and analysis of statistical data; interviews with relevant stakeholders in universities across Greece; public opinion polls and surveys focused specifically on students, recent alumni and employers. It also includes a comparative analysis of the experience of other European countries.

The main findings and conclusions of the research as well as specific policy proposals for the reform of higher education in Greece are



ELIAMEP’s Policy Paper and the full detailed presentation of ELIAMEP’s research on higher education can be downloaded from ELIAMEP’s website www.eliamep.gr

This information is available in Greek only.

included in ELIAMEP's Policy Paper entitled: "Higher Education in Greece in the New European and International Environment", edited by Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, President of the Board of Directors of ELIAMEP.

The policy paper was presented at a well attended event which took place at the amphitheatre of the Megaron Karatza of the National Bank of Greece, on the 9th of November. Among others, the event was attended by the former President of the Hellenic Republic **Mr. Costis Stefanopoulos**, **MPs Nikos Georgiadis, Anna Diamantopoulou, Stefanos Manos** and **Georgios Floridis**, the President of the Supreme Court, **Mr. Romyllos Kedikoglou**, the Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister of Greece, **Prof. Eleni Louri**, the President of the National Committee on Education, **Prof. Thanos Veremis**, the President of the Federation of Greek Industries, **Mr. Dimitris Daskalopoulos**, as well as representatives of the academic world and civil society organizations.

In his presentation, **Professor Tsoukalis** emphasised that "the higher educational system in Greece is characterised by intrusive state control with systematic interventions on behalf of the political parties; a lack of transparency; inefficient internal controls; and lack of social accountability. It is also characterised by unique features such as the university administration's electoral process, the so-called 'eternal students,' the single and free-of-charge textbook, and the abuse of the university asylum institution. No other country follows Greece's paradigm. The reform of the public universities of this country is imperative."

ELIAMEP's proposals can be summarised in three key words: higher autonomy for the universities, greater competition among them, and systematic evaluation of their performance, in combination with the effective use of increased public and private funds.

A necessary precondition would be a complete change in the way the state regulates and manages higher education in our country, substantial self-administration for the universities combined with a meaningful performance-based incentive and 'penalty' system. ELIAMEP's policy proposals are also referring to the need of the Greek universities to open up to the outside world and to participate in the international 'trafficking' of knowledge and ideas through offering more foreign language courses, attracting more foreign students and scientists, and taking advantage of the Greek scientists who live and work abroad through flexible forms of cooperation. Proposals for the financial support of students from low income families are also included in ELIAMEP's policy proposals."

Commenting on ELIAMEP's policy paper, **George Krimbas**, Professor Emeritus of the University of Athens, argued that "there is an urgent need for an independent institution to formulate general rules for the higher education system and to promote higher quality and improved transparency. This institution would act at the same time as counselor and comptroller of universities."

The public discussion continued with Professor **Haralambos Moutsopoulos** of the Medical School of the University of Athens who noted that "professors are also to be blamed for many of the problems of higher education. Internal and external evaluation of the faculty members is an imperative need and an indispensable condition for the modernization of our higher educational system." Furthermore, he strongly made the case for a system of two parallel review processes, one 'internal' and one 'external,' for each University's' performance.

Finally, **Vassilis Papazoglou**, Professor of the National Technical University of Athens observed that "the essential elements included in ELIAMEP's research is the need for a new, simpler legislative framework to provide universities with the necessary academic, administrative and financial autonomy. Each institution or school will then be able to formulate its own internal regulations based on specific needs and requirements." He concluded by stating that "the generous increase of public funds for universities and the parallel application of transparent procedures on the management of funds and all other activities of the universities remains an issue of vital importance."

“Sustainable Agriculture and Communities: The Future of Rural Europe”

1 December, Thessaloniki



From left to right: Tasos Haniotis, Nikos Efthymiadis, Simon Gass, Thanos Dokos, John Moverley

Europe’s farming workforce is shrinking, rural areas are witnessing rapid depopulation and external pressure to further modify the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is increasing. How should European agriculture and rural communities evolve to meet the challenges of the 21st century?

The British Embassy and ELIAMEP put this question to a select band of thirty-five experts from British, Greek and Brussels-based organisations – and they responded with a very rich crop of ideas.

Britain and Greece represent very different agricultural and general rural models; this diversity provided insight into the challenges for a genuinely CAP. Speakers included **Tasos Haniotis**, Head of the Agricultural Trade Policy Analysis Unit in the European Commission; **Professor Mark Shucksmith**, First Vice-President of the International Rural Sociological Association; **Costas Verginis**, New Democracy MP for Lefkada and **Simon Berry**, Chief Executive of rural development charity *ruralnet|uk*.

The first session focussed on agriculture. It became apparent that farmers in Britain, Greece and elsewhere in Europe, are receiving diminished incomes. The CAP gave them payments in return for the provision of a public good, yet many were not clear what that public good was. Was it food safety, food supply security, environmental guardianship or simply keeping the rural economy going? Several delegates thought that a proper public debate was required on what role farmers were expected to perform; this in turn would offer farmers the opportunity to justify subsidies to European taxpayers.

Shared problems faced by farmers include bureaucracy; a lack of tools to develop and expand their businesses; and uncertainty over the future direction of the CAP which hindered business planning. A number of interventions centred on the need for the correct speed of transition to a more economically sustainable agricultural sector, although many did not doubt the endgame of an European agricultural sector with much less - if any - public subsidy.

Education and training were seen as key to an effective transition; but, it was also noted that new technologies which could assist agricultural productivity were not always embraced by an ageing farming population. U.S. farm policy received some criticism; one delegate provided statistics of subsidies to U.S. farmers in key sectors which were in excess of European equivalents.

Heritage and tradition also loomed large in discussions. One participant declared that Europe had a duty to protect its heritage of small, family farms. Another responded that family farms could be preserved, but they might have to increase in size to be competitive.

The ‘commonness’ of the CAP, was questioned citing for example the full versus partial decoupling policy options given to Member States.

Of course, no discussion of the challenges of the 21st century would be complete without a look at the effects of climate change and energy issues. What would the mass planting of biofuels do to the grain market, and what knock-on effects would price rises have on, for example, the meat industry? How would the farming sector deal with the expected water shortages from global warming? And on the other hand, how carbon-intensive was the European farming sector?

Moving on to sustainable rural communities, interventions highlighted the problems of rural depopulation in much of Europe (though the UK was cited as being mostly atypical here, except for the remotest areas). Greece was seen to be sustaining particularly severe rural depopulation among the younger population.

Most agreed that diversification of rural economies away from simply farming was necessary, and that the countryside had to look to its own assets as growth-stimulants rather than to external cash injections. Some delegates lamented that the non-farm rural component of the CAP was insufficient. If we were serious about rural development, why could support payments not be made, for example, to any promising business in a rural area?

On cohesion across the EU, several people noted that the CAP did not facilitate this goal: it generally made rich regions and Member States richer, and poor regions and Member States poorer. The CAP was not about cohesion, retorted one delegate. This reverted the discussion once again to the question: what is the CAP for in the 21st century?

A trip in winter sunshine the next day to the Gerovassiliou winery in nearby Epanomi showed off the best in European agriculture: a determined craftsman exploiting local traditions and finding world markets and critical acclaim. The quality of the wine was matched only by the charm and generosity of the host, Evangelos Gerovassiliou; our thanks go once again to him, his family and colleagues for their hospitality.

Other events

"The Search for a European Identity?"

Athens, 12 January 2006 Panel discussion on "The Search for a European Identity" organized in collaboration with the Institute of Greek – German Relations of the University of Athens.

"Europe: Does it Sell?"

Athens, 22 March 2006 ELIAMEP held a discussion on information regarding European issues in Greece, which took place at ESIEA. The panel included Professor Ilias Nikolakopoulos, University of Athens, the journalists Manolis Kottakis (Apogevmatini, NET), Giorgos Kapopoulos (Imerisia, NET) and Ierotheos Papadopoulos (European Commission). The discussion was moderated by Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, University of Athens and President, ELIAMEP.

"Europe in the Globalized Economy"

Athens, 25 May 2006 Symposium organized by ELIAMEP, the Institute of Greek-German Relations of the University of Athens, the Austrian Embassy in Athens and the Faculty of Economics, University of Athens, on the occasion of the EU Austrian Presidency in the first half of 2006.

"Greek - German Relations"

Athens, 1 December 2006 Event organized by the Embassy of Denmark in cooperation with ELIAMEP on Greek - German Relations from 1949 up to the present, following the recent publication of the book by Mogens Pelt, titled "Tying Greece to the West: US – West German – Greek Relations 1949-74".

Balkans

"The Future Status of Kosovo"

Athens, 11 January 2006



From left to right: Dr. Alexandros Yannis, Mr. Veton Surroi, Ambassador Dusan Batakovic & Professor Theodore Couloumbis

Kosovo remains at the top of the European agenda and with negotiations on its future status currently underway, all parties involved are faced with sensitive decisions. On 11 January 2006, as part of ELIAMEP's continued efforts to promote public discussion on issues that challenge growth, stability and good neighbourly relations in the Balkans, a public discussion was held on '**The future status of Kosovo: Euro-Atlantic integration or a return to a time of conflict?**' This conference was organized in the context of the **FONSI** project funded by the **German Marshall Fund of the US** and was designed to inform the Greek public about the views of the two negotiating partners.

Ambassador Dusan Batakovic, Special Adviser to President Tadic and Member of the Negotiating Team of Serbia referred to Kosovo as one of the most difficult inter-ethnic conflicts and a regional problem that requires a peaceful solution. He refuted any reference to the Serbian community as a minority noting that any viable solution must protect the interests of both communities. Ambassador Batakovic also stressed Greece's key role as a factor of stability in the Balkans.

Mr. Veton Surroi, Leader of the ORA party and Member of the Kosovo Albanian Negotiating Team, observed that Kosovo, as an international protectorate has introduced a degree of self-rule. But, he noted, quasi-measures do not develop a culture of responsibility, accountability and ownership resulting in a rather dysfunctional system. He argued firmly that the question was no longer about whether Kosovo was going to be independent, but how this independence was to be set up, since independence is the way through which to establish a functioning, democratic state and to move further along the path to Euro-Atlantic integration.

Dr. Alexandros Yannis from the Council of the European Union in Brussels, stated that the current situation was no longer viable and that a solution had to be found under the auspices of the UN. He emphasised that the EU will assist the UN envoy in his task and will also work with the USA, Russia and other regional actors, 'to ensure that Belgrade and Pristina find themselves closer to Brussels.'

Diplomats, journalists, leading experts, prominent academics and a large student audience took part in the public discussion that followed focusing primarily on the role of the EU, on the US involvement and on the status issue.

This event, along with ELIAMEP's non paper on "**Establishing a Serbian Orthodox Monastic Community (SOMC) in Kosovo**", adds to the efforts to engage in a transparent and comprehensive discussion on the "future status" settlement.

It is in this context that ELIAMEP has been working in close contact with **Amb. Albert Rohan, Deputy to UN Status Envoy Martti Ahtisaari**, and also plans to organize a number of events and workshops on unfolding developments in the region.

"Kosovo: A Messy Denouement" Presentation by Dr. Laza Kekic, Economist Intelligence Unit

Athens, 4th April 2006

With international status negotiations on Kosovo approaching, Dr. Laza Kekic, Regional Director of the Economist Intelligence Unit, discussed some of the core challenges for the region and for international affairs with a group of Greek journalists and experts on the Balkans.

Mr. Kekic assessed the international implications of the various scenarios and the motivations of the key actors involved. He focused on the recent increasing facility in the use of the term 'independence' that seems to be characterizing international officials' discourse but also highlighted the key issues that will have to be addressed for any viable, negotiated solution.

The role of Russia was extensively discussed as were the consequences of these negotiations on Serbia's domestic political scene. Possible scenarios as regards political developments in Serbia and Kosovo were also discussed in this context.

Expert Workshop on "The Balkans: Looking Back, Looking Forward"

Athens, 20 September 2006

Approximately 30 experts participated in this workshop organised by the European Policy Centre and the Conflict Prevention Partnership in cooperation with ELIAMEP.

The workshop assessed EU policies in the Balkans since the early 1990s through an identification of issues that restricted the member states' common actions and areas where the EU could have been more proactive. Special attention was given to the role, mission and expectations of the Stability Pact for SE Europe as well as the lessons that may be drawn from the Dayton and Ohrid agreements.

The workshop focused equally on the current state of affairs in EU-SEE relations and particularly on the SAA. Gaps between short-term pressures and long term aims were underlined, as was the need for cogent intermediate actions on behalf of the EU —such as a visa facilitation schemes. These are necessary to maintain the reform rhythm and direction.

Relations with Serbia, the status of Kosovo and ways to maintain the accession momentum after Bulgaria and Romania join were discussed in depth. Lastly, the role of the people of the region in bringing about required reforms was reaffirmed.

"Towards a Common Economic Space in Southeast Europe" Meeting of Southeast European Parliamentarians



Sounion, 29 September 2006

The conference was organised by the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB), with the support of the Hellenic Parliament and in cooperation with the World Bank and ELIAMEP.

The event was attended by some 40 parliamentarians from the following countries and entities: Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Kosovo, FYR Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, and Turkey together with World Bank Country Directors and donors and groups active in the region, including the EU and the Stability Pact.

The meeting came at a critical time in the process of European integration. As EU integration takes its course, the conference was aimed at exploring actions required in order to achieve stronger economic ties, reduce poverty, and improve Southeast European cooperation. The objective was to examine how the region can move forward on building a common economic space in Southeast Europe.

In this context, participants took part in brainstorming sessions focusing on issues common to all

countries. These were: energy, governance, labour markets and immigration, as well as trade and transport.

Each session was chaired by a parliamentarian, and research was presented from the World Bank as well as contributions from other discussants and independent organizations. Given that parliamentarians represent their constituents' needs and views, their involvement in these sessions was aimed at producing concrete and action oriented ideas for moving forward on the issues. The Southeast European conference explored the idea of creating an informal branch of the PNoWB of interested parliamentarians from the region and ways to strengthen collective accountability and cooperation.

Greek Minister of Economy and Finance, **Mr. George Alogoskoufis** addressed the conference on the EU perspective as a catalyst for economic reform in the Balkans. Finally, **Ms. Anna Diamantopoulou**, Member of the Greek Parliament and former EU Commissioner, gave a speech on regional and European integration as factors of change for the region.

"Economic Development Challenges in Europe & Central Asia with a Focus on the Southeast Region" - Roundtable Discussion with Mr. Shigeo Katsu, Regional Vice-President, The World Bank



World Bank Vice-President Mr. Shigeo Katsu and General Secretary for International Economic Affairs, MFA, Mr. Theodore Skylakakis

Athens, 2 October 2006

During the roundtable discussion moderated by **Mr. Theodore Skylakakis**, General Secretary for International Economic Relations of the Hellenic Ministry for Foreign Affairs, **Mr. Shigeo Katsu**, the World Bank Regional Vice-President for Europe and Central Asia presented on current economic development challenges facing SE Europe today.

Focus was placed on trade and transportation matters, economic governance, labour markets and the energy sectors. The meeting was attended by representatives of Greek ministries, the media, NGOs and think-tanks as well as policy makers. An informal discussion and exchange of views followed on SE Europe's development trends.

"The Future Status of Kosovo: The View from Prishtina"

Lecture by HE Mr. Agim Ceku, Prime Minister of the Provisional Institutions of the Self Government of Kosovo

Athens, 15 November 2006

PM Ceku presented the case for an independent Kosovo to over 200 diplomats, journalists, academics and students. Arguing that Kosovo is already in practice a working state and therefore ready for status, he emphasised the institutional and democratic progress that has been accomplished.

The future of Kosovo presented by Mr. Ceku involves a multi-ethnic state with structures and rules that protect the rights and promote participation of all citizens. He argued that independence is tantamount to stability not only for Kosovo, but for the region as a whole. He also focused on the 'uniqueness' of the Kosovo case and urged for clarity in the proposal that will be put forward by UN Special Envoy Maarti Ahtisaari.

He identified reconciliation and meaningful integration as the core challenges for Kosovo. The need to develop the region's economic potential, particularly in terms of its lignite reserves, and the further privatisation of its telecom market was also stressed. Kosovo's young population was also pointed out as a significant potential for the region's economic development.

PM Ceku underlined the intention of Kosovo to build a working and sustainable relation with all the countries of Southeast Europe and mainly with Serbia.

He ended his lecture asking for Greece's continued support in consolidating regional stability, in promoting the Balkan's EU accession process and in maintaining its role as the mentor for the region.

In the question and answer session that followed with journalists, Mr. Ceku responded to concerns regarding minority rights, risk of violence and domino effects both within Kosovo and across the region.

Middle East

"Implications of the Victory of Hamas in the Palestinian Elections" Discussion with Professor Yezid Sayigh, King's College, London

Athens, 3 February 2006

Prof. Yezid Sayigh, Chair of Middle East Studies at King's College, London, discussed the implications of Hamas' victory with a group of experts on the Middle East, journalists and diplomats. The discussion focused on the reasons that led to this unexpected electoral victory, and on the potential consequences for Palestine's relations with Israel, the wider regional implications, and the reactions of the EU and the USA.

Dr. Sayigh pointed out a number of challenges that the new government is up against. First, Hamas needs to manage Palestine's economic recession and an institutionalised informal economy. In addition, given the international community considers it a terrorist organisation, Hamas faces the risk of the EU and the US choosing to withhold financial assistance unless they renounce violence and recognise Israel. Closing the tap on these financial resources will certainly result in a huge economic meltdown given the state of the PA's economy.

Moreover, armed militants outside both Hamas and Fatah are capable of destabilising what Hamas is doing, by provoking disorder and violence in the streets.

Hamas is not expected to take a passive stance towards Israel's conduct in the West Bank and it will take a tougher position than Fatah in negotiations with Israel. Hamas wants to be considered as an important partner in the peace-process, and if it does play by the rules of the game, it is not self-evident that things will be worse than if Fatah had remained in power.

Paradoxically, Hamas' victory may also have positive implications for Palestine's internal political system since Parliament may in fact become a forum for political debate between government and opposition after its dormant state under Fatah. In any case, it is clear that the electoral victory of Hamas will necessarily influence the Israeli elections in March and that this will have longer-term repercussions for the entire region and particularly for Jordan.

Dr. Sayigh noted that Hamas' internal discipline may be a strength for the government in addressing immediate challenges— more effectively than Fatah has in the past. It was argued that, in time, Hamas might actually surprise us, not only with regards to providing efficient solutions to issues on the domestic front, but also in taking a "tougher line" on issues regarding Israel, a ceasefire, and a potential two-state solution.

Turkey—Cyprus

“The Cyprus Stalemate: What Next?”

Athens, 16 March 2006 Following the publication of the report by the **International Crisis Group** on the Cyprus issue, ELIAMEP held a closed discussion with Dr. Nicholas Whyte, Director, ICG Europe Programme, for the presentation of the report.

Discussion on “Political Developments in Turkey and EU-Turkey Relations” with Prof. Ahmet Evin, Sabanci University

Athens, 27 April 2006

Prof. Evin concentrated on Turkey’s current political environment and the country’s future relationship with the European Union. He underlined that the Cyprus issue and the debates surrounding proposals for a ‘privileged partnership’ will most likely remain contentious points in the course of the membership negotiations.

Emphasis was laid on the fact that public debates on EU enlargement are no longer concentrating solely on the Copenhagen criteria. Rather, questions are raised as to whether Turkey is adequately European, or European at all and thus if Turkey shares European values; whether Europe has the capacity to absorb Turkey; and, where do the borders of Europe end? Moreover, there is indecision as to whether Turkey should be a bridge, buffer or border for Europe towards the Islamic world.

It is clear that the resolution of these issues depends on both Turkish and EU political will. There is limited evidence of the latter in the current crisis the EU is going through (relating to the ECT, immigrant integration challenges, etc). It was, however, noted that intensified European questioning on the validity of Turkish membership is likely to disenchant Turkey’s pro-European political elites. Such a development would be reflected in internal Turkish politics.

Developments over the coming years will be largely influenced by Turkey’s Parliamentary and Presidential pro-election politics while it is expected that the European question will re-emerge in importance in Turkey’s post election arena.

Finally, the discussion concentrated on current international developments in the Middle East, and notably the situation in Iraq and Iran.

“Greece, Turkey, and the EU: Domestic Parameters, External Variables”

Istanbul, 1 June 2006 One-day conference organized by ELIAMEP, in cooperation with the Hellenic Observatory - The European Institute, LSE and the Center for European Studies, Istanbul Bilgi University.

Public discussion on “Greece, Turkey and the EU”

Athens, 5 September 2006

The public discussion on Greece, Turkey and the EU was attended by a very large and diverse audience including politicians, journalists, diplomats, university students and interested citizens. The debate was launched by the panel chair, **Mr. Alexis Papahelas** who underlined the pressing need to revisit Greek-Turkish relations in view of recent developments, and to define a new framework for Greek foreign policy.

Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs **Professor Yannis Valinakis** stated that Greece’s strategic priority is the transformation and consolidation of Southeast Europe into a European neighborhood characterised by good-neighborly relations, security, and prosperity, based on the *acquis*



From left to right: Prof. Couloumbis, MEP Mr. Papagiannakis, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Prof. Valinakis, Mr. Papahelas, MP Mr. Pangalos, Ambassador Zaharakis

communautaire. The Minister reiterated Greece's support for Turkey's EU perspective stressing that this provides Turkey with a motive to undertake further democratic reforms and frames bilateral issues within a European context. He noted that the path to accession will be long and difficult given that Turkey's progress will be evaluated and assessed repeatedly by EU and its Member States (including Greece and Cyprus).

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs **Mr. Theodore Pangalos**, questioned the extent to which Turkey's frequently intransigent behavior and bargaining mentality will be moderated with its eventual EU accession. The role of public opinion and the growing strength of social Islam were also discussed, as well as the extent of their influence on foreign policy formulation. Mr. Pangalos positioned himself in favour of continued Greek support for Turkey's EU accession and of a strict assessment at every stage of the negotiations.

MEP **Mr. Michael Papagiannakis** pointed to the growing reticence across the EU Member States on the subject of Turkish EU membership. He argued that a 'wait-and-see' attitude was not necessarily the preferred approach for Greece and Cyprus in their relations with Turkey. He also argued that there is a pressing need to engage in a renewed bilateral in depth political dialogue with Turkey.

Former Ambassador **Mr. Christos Zaharakis** emphasised the need for the EU to clearly define its borders before any discussion on future enlargement may be relevant. Representing the position that Turkey does not constitute a part of Europe neither geographically nor culturally, he made the case for a special partnership promoting mutual interests between the EU and Turkey. He pointed to the economic challenges that Turkey's accession would pose and Turkey's continued unwillingness to respect international law even though candidate status has been granted. In a very critical assessment of the last seven years since the Helsinki agreement, Ambassador Zaharakis argued that Greek foreign policy towards Turkey had not achieved any benefits or led to any improvements in bilateral relations.

Professor Theodore Couloumbis critically analysed recent developments that will unavoidably influence the course of EU-Turkish, and therefore Greek-Turkish relations. In view of the 2007 presidential elections in Turkey, he stressed that the 'window of opportunity' for tangible progress in Turkey's democratization process and concrete improvements in relations between Greece, Cyprus and Turkey was closing. He reiterated his support for Turkey's future EU accession, however, in view of growing scepticism towards Turkey within EU Member States and of developments within Turkey, he noted that future relations will unavoidably be 'special' with long-term or even permanent exclusion clauses that will be requested on different issues by many member states. Professor Couloumbis also underlined that if the prospect of EU accession becomes less and less likely, then Turkey will most probably also become less and less prepared to undertake democratic reforms with possible knock-on effects on its relations with both Greece and Cyprus. Tying Turkey well within the process of EU enlargement with strict conditions and in a wider context of constructive trans-Atlantic relations, he argued, is the way through which to ensure stability and peace within southeastern Europe.

The debate that followed with the public concentrated on the fact that the EU must apply its conditionality criteria and assess Turkey's progress in a fair yet strict manner in order to not tarnish its credibility and, that it is not possible for Turkey to expect accession if pending matters with Cyprus and Greece (*causis belli*) are not resolved. It was also stressed that irrespective of the outcome of the membership negotiations, Greece and Turkey's economic and political relations must be further expanded in order to deepen relations & inter-dependence between the two countries thereby constituting any future military conflict too costly. Finally, the dangers of populist discourse in the media when addressing Greek-Turkish relations were also discussed.

International Security

“Conflicts in 21st Century Africa” Conference organized in collaboration with the Embassy of South Africa

Athens, 31 January 2006

South Africa’s central role in assisting other African countries address the challenges of poverty, conflict and underdevelopment was the focus of this public discussion.

Mr. Aziz Pahad, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, stressed that global poverty is increasing while the importance of human security has been underestimated. Calling for a fundamental change of approach to development, he spoke of a ‘Renaissance of Africa’ through initiatives addressing poverty, underdevelopment, conflict, health and education, economic and social issues, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, international organised crime and terrorism. Reference was made to South Africa’s initiative, NEPAD, and to the central role of the African Union in preventing conflicts, wars and genocides. While he noted the progress achieved in many areas, and welcomed the election of the first woman President in Liberia, he expressed concern for the conflict currently underway in the Ivory Coast and the situation in Darfur. He concluded that ‘South Africa cannot be an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty’.

Professor Couloumbis and Mr Pahad discussed the UN Security Council reform, and Dr. Asteris Houliaras, Associate Professor of Geography at the Harokopio University of Athens, continued the discussion by drawing some interesting similarities between South Africa and Greece— two countries largely incomparable at first sight.

Dr. Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP’s Director of Studies, coordinated the public debate that followed between diplomats, academics and graduate students. The discussion concentrated on the role of multinational corporations in Africa and the extent to which they might be encouraged to re-invest in the region, as well as on the need for increased FDI.



*H.E. Mr. Shaukat Aziz,
Prime Minister of Paki-
stan*

“Globalisation: Challenges and Opportunities; The Role of Pakistan”

Athens, 15 May 2006

H.E. Mr. Shaukat Aziz, Prime Minister of Pakistan discussed the challenges and opportunities offered by globalisation and the structural reforms that have been undertaken by Pakistan recently. He focused on democracy and good governance matters in addition to the economic reforms. Particular attention was paid to the role of women and the empowerment of minorities both in Mr. Aziz’s speech and in the discussion that followed with

diplomatic representatives, Greek academics, civil society representatives, politicians, and journalists.

Relations with China and India were stressed as particularly important in trade and commerce, as well as in the fields of regional security (notably Kashmir) and energy security (particularly the gas pipelines across central Asia and oil transit from the Gulf towards China). Developments in Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine were equally discussed. Mr. Aziz repeated his country’s unqualified support to the Palestinian President Abbas and the imperative to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq.

The public debate closed with a discussion on Iran. The Pakistani Prime Minister limited his declarations on Iran to stating that ‘Iran has the right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes under appropriate international safeguards’ while underlining that Pakistan is ‘opposed to nuclear weapons proliferation by any country.’

Lecture on "Thucydides and Democratic Peace Theory" by Bruce Russett, Professor of International Relations, Dean Acheson Chair, Yale University

Athens, 8 June 2006

The Onassis Foundation and its Scholars' Association, in cooperation with ELIAMEP and the Hellenic Political Science Association hosted a lecture on 'Thucydides and Democratic Peace Theory', where Greek academics and representatives of the political sphere had the opportunity to confer with Professor Bruce Russett on the impact of power and political systems on war behaviour. The lecture compared ancient Greece and contemporary international relations on politics and the degree of democratization. Although it is hard to find evidence of democratic peace in Thucydides' volume, Professor Russett argued that Greek states -or what he referred to as radical democracies- were somewhat less likely to fight with each other than with exterior enemies.

The characteristics of democracy in ancient Greece and today were analysed in depth. Particular attention was paid to the pacifist and expansionist tendencies of democracies, as well as their ability to mobilize resources, to engage in warfare and win wars. The role of institutions was identified as a cornerstone of the democratic peace theory.

It was noted that the low degree of institutionalization in the Greek city-states provided weak restraints to state behaviour. On the contrary, today, strengthened democratic institutions are undoubtedly a factor conducive to peace between like-minded democracies. The lecture concluded with a discussion between academics, MPs, ambassadors and scientists of various backgrounds on the role leaders play in promoting peace.

It was argued that their most valuable contribution to the international system is the creation of institutions to restrain those less prudent. Moreover, the significance of all three components of the 'triangle' in preserving peace was highlighted, since economic cooperation, democratization and institutionalization tend to walk hand-in-hand.

"Globalisation and Reform"

Athens, 26 June 2006

ELIAMEP organized a public debate on globalisation and the kind of reforms that are required in order to meet contemporary challenges.



Caridimos Tsoukas from the University of Warwick and ALBA focused on the qualitative implications of globalization on our every day reality. He argued that the much needed reforms are regrettably, though understandably, faced with the reaction of citizens largely because of world-wide conditions of instability and insecurity, and the short-term approach to policy-making.

The discussion continued with **Theodoros Pelagidis**, University of Piraeus, who astutely focused on the rent-seeking dimension of vested interest groups while highlighting the weaknesses of the legislature, and the bureaucratic states as well as the role of the public and mass media.

A different perspective to globalization was taken on by the politicians that participated on the panel. **Nikos Georgiadis**, Member of Parliament for New Democracy, offered a more policy-oriented approach highlighting that any sort of reform effort needs the government to make very clear to the wider public: where things currently stand and what the goals are; how will reforms be undertaken, at what pace and at what cost? Equally important is the issue of how success or progress will be measured?

Konstantinos Kartalis from the University of Athens and President of the Institute of Strategic and Development Studies (ISTAME) argued that greater public support for reforms requires expectations of greater job security and clarifications as to what the welfare state stands for today.

The public debate was co-ordinated by **Loukas Tsoukalis**, President of ELIAMEP.

Transatlantic Relations

Discussion with Dr. Bruce Newsome, RAND Corporation on "The Future of British – American Security Relations"

Athens, 24th January 2006

In a closed discussion with security-sector experts and diplomats, Dr. Bruce Newsome presented the results of a project on the future of the US-UK security relationship. The project was designated to RAND Corporation by the British government in 2003.

Nine drivers have been identified by RAND's research team as the most determining levers of this relationship, both historically and in terms of their future significance: geography, institutions, democracy, UK military, UK foreign policy, UK domestic politics, economics, historical experiences and culture. The discussion concentrated on the extent of the UK government influence over these drivers and thus over the future of UK-US relations.

Dr. Newsome also compared the relative importance and inter-operability of the British and US military resources with other European countries, and in particular with France, Germany, the Netherlands and Greece. It was noted that the quality of the British military remains exceptionally valuable to the US. However, this is likely to decrease over the coming decade due to the growing capacity of the military forces of the countries of Central Europe.

Research by the RAND Corporation also suggests that while geography, democracy, common historical experiences and culture, may have been relevant to Anglo-American relations in the past and are certainly relevant in the current context, they are unlikely to bear much significance for the future. On the contrary, the UK military and UK foreign policy were identified as the most influential drivers of this relationship.

It was also argued that current trends in British domestic politics (particularly after Iraq) may challenge the future significance of the UK/US 'special relationship.'

FONSI Workshop VII: "Rethinking the European Union's Strategy in the Western Balkans"

Thessaloniki, 5-7 May 2006

Organized by ELIAMEP collaboration with the Bertelsmann Foundation and the Balkan Trust for Democracy, and with the support of The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Eurobank EFG, and The Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe - Thessaloniki Office.

The underlying theme of the workshop was to critically discuss the actual and potential costs and benefits of the existing alternative and interim plans on the rapprochement of the Western Balkans towards the EU. It related equally to the financial, political and social costs of the current and the future state of affairs. Core questions included an assessment of the costs and benefits of the following:

1. An EU and NATO enlargement versus maintaining a situation that is designed to first digest the impact of the new members and then prepare for the next wave of enlargement,
2. An EU integration involving the inclusion of the Western Balkans,
3. Proceeding with the necessary structural and market reforms, and
4. Postponing enlargement in favour of a long term association status for Western Balkan countries.

"Solving the Security Puzzle in the Mediterranean and the Broader Middle East"

Kavouri, 24-26 November

The greatest challenge for Western institutions in the twenty-first century is to expand the world of stability. The multi-dimensional character of the security environment in Europe's periphery suggests a need for a comprehensive vision of security and a holistic problem-solving approach. There is general agreement that because of the complexity of global and regional problems, no single initiative can address both the longer-term and proximate sources of instability in various regions of high interest for Europe and the US. A combination of institutions and policy tools can better produce most of the desired results.

This conference brought together high-level officials from Euro-Atlantic organizations, as well as leading strategic thinkers from Europe, America and the Middle East, and provided a forum for the presentation of their views on issues of high mutual concern, as well as for the discussion of specific ideas for the better coordination of activities and a more efficient division of labour between involved state actors and international organizations.

There was general consensus that the US remains the preponderant and most influential actor in the region. The US was described as the major security guarantor in the Middle East, thereby raising the question of how the failing situation in Iraq might affect this.

In light of this, Russia's role in the region was considered as more peripheral save on the matter of Iran. In parallel, increased EU involvement in the Middle East was explored mainly in the context of transatlantic relations at present. Areas where EU initiatives may be productive and the extent to which the US is prepared to accept this increased EU presence were also discussed in focused working groups.

It was noted that any strategy for the Middle East requires the combination of security and development dimensions. The suggestion for a new mandate for the UN in the region was also put forth, and the ways through which the international community can contribute to Security Sector Reform efforts in the Middle East were discussed at length. In addition, the politics of Arab reform, and the extent of popular demand for reform, were examined while the need to increase secular education and the role of women in the region's political life was stressed.

The Israeli-Palestinian dimension was unavoidably central to all discussions as was Israel's war in Lebanon in 2006. Similarly, the spillover effect of the situation in Iraq was highlighted as a matter of particular concern for the Gulf region mainly due to the implications it has for regional and international terrorism, the principle of territorial integrity and external interference, and for Islamic unity. Concerns were also voiced on the matter of Iran's influence both in events in Iraq and in Lebanon. It was noted that Iran seems to be undertaking a shift in the way it views Iraq: from a 'traditional' enemy, it has now become an important foreign policy opportunity in both regional and international terms.

The conference's keynote speech was delivered by Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs Ms. Dora Bakoyanni. In her speech, Minister Bakoyanni underlined that the international community cannot afford to see Lebanon's paradigm of democracy and economic development fail. She stressed the need to strengthen the Lebanese state and then proceed to normalise relations between Lebanon, Israel and Syria. Further, she spoke in favour of an EU initiative with moderate Arab states to revive the Palestinian economy and the government's authority in order to help avoid a Palestinian civil war and engage in a renewed peace effort with Israel. Stressing Greece's commitment to



"...problems are greatly interrelated. The aggravation of one, usually deteriorates the perspectives of dealing with the others. Yet, solving even just one could create a positive domino effect for the others. Such a domino effect can be created by solving the Arab-Israeli conflict. A solution to this conflict will ease tensions throughout the Middle East—and between the Muslim world and the West in general"



From left to right: Osama El Baz, Nomi Bar-Yaacov, Loukas Tsoukalis, Henry Siegman, Thanos Dokos

Iraq's territorial integrity she underlined the limitations of reliance on military force. Minister Bakoyanni therefore argued in favour of measures intended to strengthen civil society and promote understanding among Iraq's different religious and ethnic entities. She also expressed the need to organise an international conference on Iraq where all actors of the region, including Iran and Syria, should take part.

Ms. Bakoyanni concluded by stressing the interrelations between the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Lebanon, Iraq and Iran's nuclear programme, and highlighted the potential common ground that may exist between the international community's and Iran's interests in terms of energy security and regional stability. The role of the EU as

a whole and of Greece in particular, as an impartial broker was pointed out.

The conference was organised under the auspices of the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with the support of the Hellenic National Defence General Staff. ELIAMEP would also like to extend its appreciation to the Embassy of France in Greece, Dassault Aviation, the Embassy of the United States of America in Greece, and the Consolidated Contractors Company.

NEW research project

"Anglo-American security co-operation with Greece since 1974; Transferring Approaches to the Combat of Terrorism and Organised Crime"

Funded by the Greek State Scholarships Foundation (I.K.Y.) for the period 2006-2007.

Post-Doctoral Scholar: Dr. Sappho Xenakis

Supervisor: Prof. Thanos Veremis, European and International Studies Department, University of Athens; Vice-President, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Athens; and President of the Greek National Council for Education.

At its base, this research project is a study of the way in which influence is exerted by one state over another using 'soft power' rather than force. More specifically, it is a study of how, and to what extent, attitudes and practices towards certain issues can be transferred from one state to another. During the 1990s, study of the transfer of norms from one state to another and the spread of international normative regimes tended to focus more on subjects such as human rights and the environment than on security issues. Recently, particularly with regard to terrorism, the development of common approaches has received greater attention, as have the mechanisms by which common policies have been generated internationally. Often, however, the focus remains at the political level; on co-operation agreements signed between ministries and official bodies of different states and organisations, for example. This project seeks to understand the passage of norm diffusion within the internal security apparatus of one state. Through training and co-operation, the efforts that have been made to transfer a common approach to the issues of terrorism and organised crime will be recorded and assessed. This project will offer an unprecedented long-term assessment of the effectiveness of British and US policies with regard to Greece's approach to the subjects.

Research projects

POLITIS and EMILIE were selected as best-practice projects at EU level

DG Education and Culture of the European Commission organised a conference and exhibition on Intercultural Dialogue, in Brussels on 22 and 23 November 2006 on the premises of the Committee of the Regions.

This event aimed to present the results of initiatives on the theme of Intercultural Dialogue that have been supported at the EU level until now. They will also serve as part of the Commission's preparations for the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in 2008.

An independent panel of evaluators chose 29 initiatives and only two (2) research projects as best-practice projects for intercultural dialogue at the EU level out of a total of 200 EU-funded projects: **EMILIE** and **POLITIS**!

ELIAMEP is the coordinator of the EMILIE project and one of the partner institutions of POLITIS.

EMILIE focuses on legal, political and educational challenges to multi-culturalism in Europe today. It concentrates specifically on the experiences of Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Poland, Spain and the UK.

The POLITIS project focuses on understanding the conditions that frame civic participation of first generation immigrants in all 25 EU member states. Key topics are why and how immigrants become active and which conditions they describe as having been favourable or hindering.

Contacts: Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow and Dr. Ruby Gropas, Research Fellow at ELIAMEP

EMILIE: A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship: Legal, Political and Educational Challenges

Funded by the EU Commission, Research DG, Sixth Framework Programme



This interdisciplinary project is a response to the current 'crisis of multiculturalism.'

ELIAMEP is the co-ordinator of the EMILIE consortium that includes: University of Bristol (UK), INED (France), European University Viadrina - Frankfurt (Germany), CEDEM - Université de Liege (Belgium), Universitat Pompeu Fabra -Barcelona (Spain), Centre of Human Rights and Ethnic Studies (Latvia), Aarhus University (Denmark) and the Center for International Relations (Poland).

EMILIE focuses on 9 EU countries with different experiences of migration and integration. It involves a critical review of current public debates on integration and multiculturalism. Three case studies in each country will focus on: (i) educational challenges posed by migration related diversity, including multicultural education and faith schools; (ii) legal challenges with special reference to discrimination protection in the workplace; and (iii) political challenges with special reference to voting rights and civic participation.

These national experiences will be critically reviewed to consider: how integration challenges are accommodated, to what extent each country offers a distinctive 'model' of immigrant incorporation and on what value discourses this model is based on.

EMILIE shall identify the European dimensions of integrating diversity (value discourses, points of tension, best practices) and elaborate an empirically grounded theoretical model of multiculturalism appropriate to the EU experience and the current crisis. Dr. Triandafyllidou and Dr. Gropas have participated at the first project meeting held at Bristol University on 14-16 October 2006.

POLITIS: Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries

Funded by the European Commission, DG Research, Sixth Framework Programme

Populations of immigrant origin are growing and changing in Europe. In this project, the positive potential of immigrants for the development of an active European society is explored, starting with foreign students' perceptions of Europe and focusing on sustained social and political activities of immigrants.

Particularly, we seek to understand why temporary migrants and permanent immigrants from Non-EU countries become active in the receiving societies, what influences their choice of activity, and which factors promote or inhibit immigrant activism.

By civically active immigrants, we mean foreign born persons that

- *give a voice to societal concerns*, e.g. by engaging in political parties, local committees, parent associations or migrant lobby organisations.
- *organise solidarity and self-help*, e.g. by taking leadership functions in religious associations, ethnic associations or informal self-help networks.

POLITIS combines academic background research with a strong empirical dimension.

Including the perspective of third- country nationals

The innovative character of POLITIS relies largely on the participation of student researchers. More than 70 students and PhD-researchers from 40 different countries of origin in Africa, America, Asia and Europe were recruited in an open call. In a Summer School in Greece in 2005, they were trained on issues relating to EU immigration, intercultural dialogue, civic participation, and particularly interview techniques. They identified civically active immigrants and conducted a total of 176 interviews. In this way, they made it possible to collect a wide variety of immigrant experiences across 24 EU Member States. In a second summer school in Germany one year later, interviewers had the chance to discuss preliminary results and bring in their own perspective into the analysis. In 2007, POLITIS participants disseminate results not only in academic publications, but also to a wider community in as many EU countries as possible.

Country reports

35 experts were involved in the production of *Country Reports on Immigrant Civic Participation for all 25 EU Member States*. These can be downloaded from our website (<http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/9812.html>). These 25 country reports present information on national migration, integration policy, and civic participation. They offer, for the first time, a systematic information source for all 25 member states on these issues.

Working papers

Carol Brown, Norbert Cyrus, Ruby Gropas, Ankica Kopic, Anna Triandafyllidou: *A presentation of the POLITIS interview database: Structure, quality and hypotheses*. University of Oldenburg. POLITIS Working paper No. 6/2007 [POLITIS-WP6-2007](#)

Film

POLITIS – introduction to an unusual partnership gives an insight into the objectives of the project.

Contacts: Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow and Dr. Ruby Gropas, Research Fellow at ELIAMEP

POLITIS Summer School in Villigst, Germany on "Training and Participation in Qualitative Research Analysis"

Haus Villigst, Germany, 13-17 July 2006

The second POLITIS summer school on civic participation of immigrants in the EU took place in Haus Villigst, Schwerte, Germany, between the 13th and 17th of July 2006. Seventy-three international students and researchers reunited to reflect on the interviewing and interview analysis phase, discussed the research progress of the POLITIS project and preliminary results. Several participants used the opportunity to discuss their own ideas and papers that they have developed in the context of the research project.

The summer school is part of the research project POLITIS that is funded by the European Commission in the 6th research framework and supported by a grant of the programme INTAS.

More about this summerschool and recent POLITIS publications are available from the project website: <http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/>

MIGSYS: Immigrants, policies and migration systems: An ethnographic comparative approach

Funded by the International Metropolis Network and the Population, Migration and Environment Organisation (under their special call for project proposals regarding the governance of international migration)

Duration: February 2006-August 2007

This project studies the links between the migration plans of individual subjects and the migration policies of sending and receiving states.

Our contention is that migrants and their households are independent social agents that make choices and plans, execute these plans, and/or adapt them in accordance with changing circumstances and to their own needs and expectations. In formulating and executing their plans, migrants interact with state policies and other external factors operating in the sending, receiving or in both countries. Migrants receive and process information about receiving state policies and other issues that affect different aspects of their migration project (i.e. legal migration policy, housing and welfare benefits, labour law and working conditions, ethnic discrimination issues, but also informal labour markets, border control policies, asylum seeking opportunities, human trafficking networks, possibilities of regularising after illegal entry, possibilities of moving on to a second destination country). Such information may be more or less accurate and complete, and is usually mediated through formal and informal networks in the country of origin and in the receiving country, the media, non-state agents (e.g. specialised travel agencies, marriage brokers, NGOs, religious organisations) and criminal networks (human traffickers).

MIGSYS is based on a comparative ethnographic approach. The research consortium will study the migration projects and experiences of several groups of migrants (selected based on ethnicity, country of origin and/or transnational migration networks) in different migration systems. In particular, we will consider four systems:

- a European East-West migration system (EU countries and Eastern Europe, including Russia and some CIS states);
- a Mediterranean system (EU countries and North African states);
- a European-Asian system (EU countries and the Indian subcontinent, Indonesia and China);
- and a South-North American system including the US, Canada, and countries in Central and South America and the Caribbean.

MIGSYS will focus on the main migration flows within each system, the socio-demographic profiles of the migrating populations, the socio-economic and political profiles of the destination countries, and the existing studies analysing the relationships between immigrants and immigrant-relevant policies (including immigration control, integration and related policies, e.g. citizenship acquisition or trade agreements between sending and receiving countries). Preliminary working papers will be available as of summer 2006.

Fifteen experts on migration from Belgium (University of Liege), Canada (University of Toronto), Germany (European University Viadrina, Frankfurt a O), Greece (ELIAMEP and EKKE), Hungary (Central European University, Budapest), Italy (IOM, Rome), Poland (Centre for Migration Research, Warsaw University), Spain (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona), the UK (University of Sussex, Brighton) and the USA (University of St Louis, Missouri) took part in this meeting to present current migration patterns and trends.

Project reports are now available at the project's web site including:

Triandafyllidou, A. and Gropas, R. (2006) Immigration to Greece. The case of Poles, July 2006, Project report prepared for the MIGSYS project, available at: http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/files/MIGSYS_Greece_Poles_19_July_068938.pdf

Contacts: Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow and Dr. Ruby Gropas, Research Fellow at ELIAMEP

NEW research projects on Migration

CLANDESTINO: Undocumented Migration; Counting the Uncountable Data and Trends Across Europe

Funded by the European Commission, DG Research, Sixth Framework Programme

This interdisciplinary project will commence in September 2007. It is a response to the need for supporting policy makers in designing and implementing appropriate policies regarding undocumented migration. The project aims to provide an inventory of data and estimates on undocumented migration (stocks and flows) in selected EU countries; to discuss the ethical and methodological issues involved in the collection of data; the elaboration of estimates and their use; and to propose a new method for evaluating and classifying data/estimates on undocumented migration in the EU.

CLANDESTINO will address these aims in selected EU countries (Greece, Italy, France, Spain, Netherlands, UK, Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia). It will also look at transit migration in countries/regions used as key 'stepping stones' by undocumented migrants en route to the EU, notably Turkey, Ukraine and one Maghreb country.

The project is coordinated by ELIAMEP with the involvement of The Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw, Hamburgisches WeltWirtschaftsInstitut (HWWI), the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) University of Oxford, the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) and the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migration (PICUM).

Contacts: Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow and Dr. Ruby Gropas, Research Fellow at ELIAMEP

IDEA: Mediterranean and Eastern European Countries as new immigration destinations in the European Union

Funded by the European Commission, DG Research, Sixth Framework Programme

In this 30-month project starting in January 2007, the consortium of scientific institutions from nine EU states and managed by the University of Warsaw, will analyse the causes, characteristics and impact of migratory flows in the new European immigration destinations - Southern and Eastern Europe, and with reference to the 'established' European immigration countries.

Comparing the migrations and relevant policies will facilitate the identification of similar challenges and transfer of experiences.

The analysis will address historical, political and economic background of migration processes and its final goal will consist in preparation of a model of future migratory trends in selected parts of the European Union.

The project aims to provide support to European and national immigration policies.

Contact: Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP

Events

"Europe: A Community of Values"

Discussion with representatives of Greek NGOs and immigrant associations

ELIAMEP has published information booklets on the EU and European values. These are available in Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian and Russian!

Athens, 30 March 2006

In the context of the project Communicating EU values in Greece, ELIAMEP organized an open discussion to identify core challenges in three areas: the social, economic and cultural inclusion of immigrants in Greece; the role of the EU in developing an active civil society and European citizenship, and issues of discrimination based on racism and xenophobia in today's changing European societies.

The aim of this initiative was to include the insight and input of NGO and immigrant representatives on current migration and integration challenges in Greece, and to engage in a discussion on European values and the future of the EU with third country nationals that reside within the EU member states.

The comparative findings of the POLITIS project on active civic participation of immigrants in EU25 were also presented [see www.eliamep.gr for more on POLITIS project].

Approximately forty experts, civic activists, academics, PhD students and journalists participated in this extremely interactive day-long debate that was held at the premises of the Representation of the EU Commission in Athens. The event was organized with the support of DG Education and Culture, EU Commission.

Networking

Memorandum of understanding between ELIAMEP and the Gulf Research Center (GRC)

Athens & Dubai, January 2006

ELIAMEP and the Gulf Research Center (GRC) have entered into a Memorandum of Understanding to work together in pursuit of creating greater national, regional and international awareness on issues pertaining to security and stability in the Arabian Gulf region, the Greater Middle East and Greece.

The GRC is an independent research centre focusing on the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Through this Memorandum, the two partners aim at collaborating in research projects of mutual interest. In addition, ELIAMEP and the GRC will pool resources and provide technical assistance to national and sub-regional implementation plans relating to enhanced security and sustainable development, and to strengthen interactions between civil society, government and inter-governmental institutions in the Arab Gulf region and Greece, and with the wider international community.

For additional information, please contact Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director General, ELIAMEP.

College of Europe



ELIAMEP provides the channel for recruiting Greek students for the Master's Programme at the College of Europe through the Greek Selection Committee for the College of Europe, which operates on the ELIAMEP premises.

The College of Europe is a centre of academic excellence, with four one-year programmes leading to a Master's degree and it operates in two campuses, in Bruges (Belgium) and Natolin (Poland). The four one-year programmes are: Politics/Administration, Law, Economics in Bruges, and an Inter-disciplinary programme in Natolin. A new programme has been launched in 2006-2007 in Bruges EU International Relations and Diplomacy which will focus on the EU's external relations.

Americal Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) Programme – 2006

The MMF programme aims at creating a network of young European and American leaders in an attempt to strengthen transatlantic relations. The MMF 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.

2006 Marshall Memorial Follows' visit to Thessaloniki

Impressions and notes by Ms. Karolina Tagaris, Programme Officer, ELIAMEP

In this context, ELIAMEP welcomed six American Marshall Memorial fellows in Thessaloniki in June 2006. Over the course of one week, the fellows met with high-ranking individuals from both the business and the non-profit sector. Intensive and wide-ranging, the programme included visits to the Anthropological Museum of Petralona and the Domaine Gerovassiliou. These were complemented by a roundtable discussion on *Thessaloniki at the crossroads of the Balkans and the Black Sea Region*, as well as an informal talk on *The Europeanisation of Greece*.

Most importantly, however, the fellows were presented with an opportunity to obtain an inside perspective into Greece's judicial, educational and social sectors, and to better understand, or even



The American Marshall Memorial Fellows and the ELIAMEP host team at the American College in Thessaloniki

discover, certain institutions that lie off the beaten track.

I, too, joined the group as an observer and found myself on the grounds of the Agricultural Prisons of Kassandra, mulling over its peculiarity. Specifically: on my right stood a basketball court; in the distance a Drug Rehabilitation Centre. The presence of inmates hand-harvesting wheat made its limited security status unmissable, yet at the same time it exuded an air of orderliness. I realised, at that point, that although unique in Greece –and probably in the world– this penitentiary institution for men seems to work.

Interestingly, my observer status allowed me to perceive the abundance of similarly unconventional institutions from the inside,

yet with a distance.

I observed the intricacies of the American College of Thessaloniki; an American institution which has successfully incorporated itself into the quite different reality of higher education in Greece. Similarly, consider ARSIS, a local Youth Social Support Group. It has kept its head above water in spite of the inattention it receives from the state, and its street workers still manage, quite remarkably, to seek out young adults who have incurred (mostly) financial difficulty and re-immense them into the social sphere. Further, the Jewish Museum of Thessaloniki still maintains the Jewish Community's heritage in a city that was once the shelter for all persecuted Jews of Europe.

Besides fulfillment, the end of the programme left me with a sense of certainty - through a realisation less striking than I would have imagined - that it is possible to experience culture shock of one's own culture.

I remain convinced that, although it rests on a simple premise, the Marshall Memorial Fellowship programme offers a multifarious outcome. It transcends economic, social, and political boundaries and constitutes a pipeline for the exchange of ideas between both sides of the Atlantic. For this reason alone, the MMF remains embedded at the heart of current affairs 24 years and 1,000 fellowships since its inception.



2006 Marshall Memorial Fellows' visit to Athens

On 16-20 October 2006, ELIAMEP hosted a group of six American Marshall Memorial Fellows. Their visit to Athens aimed at getting them acquainted with contemporary Greek affairs as well as the history of the city. The Fellows, mid-career professionals from a variety of fields in the US, were on a 25-day tour of Greece and

Western and Eastern Europe.

Their schedule included briefings on Greece's foreign policy priorities, on immigration and the Greek labour market and on the reform of higher education in Greece. The Fellows attended guided visits to the Acropolis and Ancient Agora as well as a walking tour of contemporary Athens to uncover the architectural landmarks that have shaped the city into the capital of the Hellenic Republic. Finally, they visited the Lavrion Technological and Cultural Park - a project of the National Technical University of Athens and the premier educational institution for science and technology in Greece occupying more than 250,000 square metres at the former site of the Lavrion Mining Company. The Lavrion Mining Company closed in 1989 after 126 years of operation and the area was bought by the Greek government and a vast project was undertaken to clean up the area of unhealthy residue and create a mutually supportive network where business could work side by side with the university in a mutually supportive network.

While in Lavrion, the Fellows also visited the Handicraft-Industrial Educational Museum, a non

profit educational and cultural organisation. The objective of the museum is to collect, preserve, research and exhibit materials relating to the region's handicraft and industrial past and also by extension to the technological, economic, social and cultural history of Greece.

Institutional Partnership Programme

Following the ERMIS programme which started on 2004, ELIAMEP launched a new initiative for private sector entities, diplomatic representations in Greece, business associations and other institutions, aiming at creating a wide network of institutional members as well as securing financial support for our work and providing a solid basis for our activities.

With an annual subscription we offer our institutional partners periodic briefings on our work as well as privileged access to the wide variety of events we organise. Our wish is to encourage a more inter-active relationship through an open network of institutional members.

ELIAMEP would like to thank its Institutional Partners for supporting its work: A.M. NOMIKOS S.A., Athens; ALPHA BANK, Athens; Aluminion de Grece S.A.I.C., Athens; Athens Chamber of Commerce & Industry (ACCI), Athens; Bank of Greece, Athens; CHRYSSAFIDIS S.A., Athens; Coca-Cola Hellenic Bottling Company S.A., Athens; ELGEKA S.A., Thessaloniki; Eurobank EFG, Athens; FOURLIS Holdings S.A., Athens; Hellenic Petroleum S.A., Aspropyrgos; INTRACOM S.A., Athens; J&P AVAX S.A., Athens; MAHO S.A., Athens; MAMIDOIL-JETOIL S.A., Athens; PAKO S.A., Athens; PANETTAS ENTERPRISES, Athens; PAPASTRATOS S.A., Piraeus; PIRAEUS BANK, Athens; PLANET S.A., Athens; OTE S.A., Athens; Embassy of Canada, Athens; Embassy of Japan, Athens; Embassy of South Africa, Athens; Royal Netherlands Embassy, Athens.



Library

During 2006 ELIAMEP focused on the enlargement of its library collection. ELIAMEP's library staff made new orders of Greek and English books, accepted donations, and renewed subscriptions. 500 monographs were added to the library's collection and 32 journals' subscriptions were renewed. The library also continued the exchange of publications with around 200 research foundations and organizations in Greece and abroad.

ELIAMEP's library is a representative at 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.

Publications



➤ Policy Papers

ELIAMEP Policy Paper no.5

“Security and Strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean/ Dr. Ian O. Lesser”.

ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ Κείμενα Πολιτικής αριθμός 6

«Ελληνική μεταναστευτική πολιτική: Προβλήματα και κατευθύνσεις/ Άννα Τριανταφυλλίδου».

ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ Κείμενα Πολιτικής αριθμός 7

«Η Πανεπιστημιακή εκπαίδευση στην Ελλάδα: στο νέο και διεθνές περιβάλλον/ Λουκάς Τσούκαλης (επιμ.)»

➤ **Occasional Papers**

OP06.01

Η ραγδαία πολιτική και οικονομική άνοδος της Κίνας και οι επιπτώσεις για την παγκόσμια οικονομική και πολιτική σκηνή. Αντώνης Χριστόπουλος

OP06.02 Integrating the Balkans in the European Union: Addressing social capital, the informal economy and regional co-operation challenges in Southeast Europe. Ruby Gropas

OP06.03 When size and diversity do not really matter: the dismal political economy of social and labour market policy coordination in the EU. Nikos Koutsiaras

➤ Postgraduate Notes

PN06.01 Reflections of the European Migration Policy: Relations with countries of origin and transit. Almuth Wardemann

PN06.02 UN in Kosovo: 1999- 2005 An assessment of international administration. Ioannis Natsis

PN06.03 Το Ισλάμ στην Τουρκική κοινωνία: Ένας ανασταλτικός παράγοντας για την ενταξιακή προοπτική της Τουρκίας αλλά και για το ίδιο το μέλλον της Ευρωπαϊκής ολοκλήρωσης. Ελένη-Νεφέλη Τσάγκα

PN06.04 Ο εκδημοκρατισμός του Αραβικού κόσμου ως μείζον ζήτημα της σύγχρονης διεθνούς πολιτικής. Καρολίνα Σχισμένου

PN06.05 Οι σχέσεις της Τουρκίας με τις πρώην Σοβιετικές Τουρκογενείς δημοκρατίες. Γιώργος Λαλιώτης

PN06.06 Το Παλαιστινιακό ζήτημα: Ιστορικές, νομικές και πολιτικές διαστάσεις. Ιωάννης Σασόπουλος

PN06.07 Anti- Americanism and opinion makers in Greece during the war on Iraq, 2003. Anna-Elizabeth Tsakona

PN06.08 The adaptation of Information Technology (IT) and the revolution in Military Affairs, into the new conceptual approach in the way of fighting. Konstantinos Kypris

➤ Briefing Notes

Δημοσιεύθηκε στην ιστοσελίδα του Ιδρύματος το εξής **Briefing Note**: Κόσοβο: Ανάλυση λύσεων και επιπτώσεων στις διεθνείς σχέσεις. Δρ. Ρουμπίνη Γρώπα



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2006 Issues

Benchmarking Political Governance in Southeastern Europe (Vol. 6: 1, March 2006)

Includes articles by:

Martin Brusis "Assessing the State of Democracy, Market Economy and Political Management in Southeastern Europe."

Adelheid Feilcke-Tiemann "Albania: Gradual Consolidation Limited by Internal Political Struggle."

Florian Bieber "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Slow Progress Towards a Functional State."

Siniša Kušić "Croatia: Advancing Political and Economic Transformation."

Heinz Willemsen "FYROM: Persisting Structural Constraints to Democratic Consolidation."

Martin Brusis "Serbia and Montenegro: Democratic Consensus Susceptible to Populist Actors."

Special focus on the Black Sea Region (Vol.6: 2, June 2006)

Guest Editors: Panagiota Manoli and Thanos Veremis

Includes articles by:

Thanos Veremis "The Involvement of the International Center for Black Sea Studies in the Policy-making & Cooperation process within the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Framework: The Role of a Think-tank in the BSEC Region."

Roberto Aliboni "Globalization and the Wider Black Sea Area: Interaction with the EU, Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East."

Marius Vahl & Sergiu Celac "Ready for a Breakthrough: Elements for a EU Strategy Towards the Black Sea Region"

Sergiu Celac & Panagiota Manoli "Towards a New Model of Comprehensive Regionalism in the Black Sea Area"

John M. Roberts "The Black Sea and European Energy Security"

Nikos Efthymiadis "The Experience of the Private Sector in Doing Business and Investing in Eastern Europe and the Black Sea"

Ahmet Imre "Financial Cooperation within the Black Sea Region: The Experience of the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank"

Vsevolod Samokhvalov "Ukraine and the Orange Revolution: Democracy or a 'Velvet Restoration'?"

Special Issue on: Environmental Sustainability and Collaboration in South Eastern Europe (Vol.6: 3, September 2006)

Guest Editor: Prof. William Moomaw, The Fletcher School, Tufts University

Includes articles by:

Mihaela Papa "Rethinking conflict prevention in South Eastern Europe: An emerging environmental security agenda?"

Ioli Christopoulou and Vivi Roumeliotou "Uniting people through nature in Southeast Europe: The role (and limits) of NGOs in the Transboundary Prespes Park."

Emmanuella Doussis "Environmental protection of the Black Sea. A legal perspective."

Una Matko, Maja Ilic and Lidija Popovic "The new ecological issue off the coast of Montenegro: An Algae Invasion. An Opportunity for Regional Cooperation?"

G.G. Aperghis and Martin Gaethlich "The natural environment of Greece – an invaluable asset being destroyed."

Nicholas A. Ashford and Christi Electris "The role of the US-Greek Initiative for Technology Cooperation with the Balkans in constructing a unified environmental technology plan in the region."

Special focus section on Transnationalism in Southeast Europe (Vol. 6: 4, December 2006)

Includes articles by:

Kerem Oktem and Dimitar Bechev "(Trans)Nationalism in Southeast Europe: Constructing, Transcending, and Reinforcing Borders."

Igor Štiks "Nationality and Citizenship in the Former Yugoslavia: from Disintegration to European Integration."

Yonca Kφksal "Minority Policies in Bulgaria and Turkey: the Struggle to Define A Nation."

Christoph Ramm "Assessing Transnational Re-negotiation in the Post-1974 Turkish Cypriot Community; 'Cyprus Donkeys', 'Black Beards', and the 'EU Carrot.'"

Ayse Parla "Longing, Belonging, and Locations of Homeland Among Turkish Immigrants from Bulgaria."

Thanos M. Veremis "Intergovernmentalism, Transnationalism and the Nation State."



ABOUT US

A brief overview of some activities and publications by ELIAMEP's Team during 2006

Dia Anagnostou

In March 2006, Dia Anagnostou, Research Fellow with ELIAMEP, participated in the Geneva Center for Security Policy meeting of experts on minorities held in Maastricht. The meeting was convened with the goal of formulating concrete measures for the protection of minorities in Kosovo. In May, Dia Anagnostou together with her fellow coordinator Anna Triandafyllidou participated in the 4th meeting of the EUROREG project (FP6) hosted by the University of the Basque Country research team in Bilbao. The case study reports are available on ELIAMEP's website. As coordinator of the forthcoming JURISTRAS (FP6), Dr. Anagnostou also participated in the project management conference organised by the European Commission (DG RTD) in Brussels in 8-9 June. On 3 June 2006, Dia hosted on behalf of ELIAMEP in Athens the workshop entitled *The European Court of Human Rights, protection of civil rights and minorities: state compliance and domestic reform*. This is part of a broader set of actions on "Reflecting upon crimes against humanity and human rights in the 20th century" coordinated by Kingston University and funded with a Jean Monnet grant by the EC Commission (DG EAC). Dr. Anagnostou, participated in the 5th consortium meeting of the EUROREG research project last September in Bucharest. September 1st saw the launching of JURISTRAS, the new three-

year FP6 research project on the European Court of Human Rights judgments and ensuing patterns of litigation, state implementation and domestic reform coordinated by Dr. Anagnostou. Together with Evangelia Psychogiopoulou, Dia organised and hosted the project's kick-off meeting in Athens on 24-26 November.

Ekavi Athanassopoulou

Dr. Athanassopoulou, Senior Research Fellow with ELIAMEP published an article on "Transatlantic Relations Caught UpBy Reality", with the *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Spring 2006 [111-136].

Theodore Couloubis

Professor Theodore Couloubis, one of ELIAMEP's "Founding Fathers" (together with Thanos M. Veremis and Yannis Valinakis), left the post of Director-General of the Foundation, after an extremely successful seven year stint. In October 2006 he moved to Washington DC, where he will spend one academic year, as a Southeast Europe Policy Scholar to the Southeast Europe Project of the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars. We are all grateful to him and also happy to announce that Ted Couloubis will continue to share his wisdom and offer his valuable assistance to ELIAMEP as a Senior Advisor on Transatlantic Relations and a Vice-President of the Foundation's Board of Directors.

During the first semester of 2006 Prof. Couloubis participated in a series of activities. On 11th January, Prof. Couloubis, chaired a conference organised by the Foundation on "The Future Status of Kosovo: Euroatlantic integration or a return to a time of conflict?" He also chaired the conference jointly organized by ELIAMEP, the Austrian Embassy and the Institute for Greek-German relations at the University of Athens on "Search for a European Identity." During the first semester of 2006 Prof. Couloubis delivered lectures to the Greek National Defence Academy on Greek foreign policy priorities and on international developments and he coordinated numerous ELIAMEP events on the Balkans and Greek-Turkish relations. He also participated in the

VII FONSI Workshop on "Rethinking the EU's Strategy in the Western Balkans" in Thessaloniki with the Bertelsmann Foundation and the Balkan Trust for Democracy.

Thanos Dokos

Dr. Thanos Dokos, the erstwhile Director of Studies, has been selected to serve as the new Director-General of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). He has resumed his new position in September 2006.

In March, Dr. Thanos Dokos, lectured on "The Eastern Mediterranean, Turkey and its relations to the EU" at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. He also attended a workshop on "Democratic transitions in Europe and Latin America: What relevance for the Arab world?" organised by FRIDE and the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI) in Madrid and on the 25th he participated in the annual assembly of ARI. On April 6, he delivered a paper on "EuroAtlantic Strategy for the Black Sea Region: Practical steps towards partnership" at a conference on "International Security and Cooperation in South-Eastern Europe and the Black Sea Region" organised in Athens by the Hellenic Ministry of National Defence and the Harvard Black Sea Security Program. And on the 25th of April, he chaired an Extraordinary General Assembly of EuroMeSCo in Paris. In late April, Dr. Dokos participated in the "Brussels Forum on Transatlantic Challenges in a Global Era" organised by the German Marshall Fund of the US. In May 8, he lectured at the 20th Information and Training Seminar for Euro-Med Diplomats, organised by the Academy for Diplomatic Studies in Malta. On May 12, he attended a workshop organized by the IAI and the Bertelsmann Foundation in Rome, on "The Southern dimension of ESDP: Italy-Greece- Portugal- Spain", where he presented the Greek perspective. Dr. Dokos participated in a panel on "Turkey and the EU: A common threat assessment?" at a seminar organised in Istanbul by the Center for European Security Studies and the Istanbul Policy Center on the 12th of June and, a few days later, he presented a paper on "Peacekeeping Cooperation between NATO and the EU After 9/11", in an

international conference on peacekeeping organised by the Hellenic Centre for European Studies in Delphi, Greece. He also delivered briefings, in April, May and June, on regional security issues during the visits of the Jordanian, and Pakistani Defence Academies and the US War College to Athens, as well as to a group of Turkish journalists participating to a NATO Tour. Thanos Dokos, participated in EuroMeSCo's Annual Conference on 'Paths to Democracy and Inclusion within Diversity,' in Istanbul, 5-7 October 2006. During this conference he chaired the annual meeting of the network's General Assembly and acted as rapporteur for one of the Working Groups. Later that month, he gave a lecture on 'EU - Russia Relations - Prospects for the Future', in the EU Ambassadors' Forum, in Athens. In November, he represented ELIAMEP in the context of the 'EU's new Foreign Policy Dynamic Seminar for NGOs and Think Tanks', organised by the EU Commission in Brussels (16-17 November 2006) and he also lectured on Mediterranean Security at a conference organised by the Hellenic War College, in Thessaloniki. On 24-26 November, he organized ELIAMEP's conference on "Solving the Security Puzzle in the Mediterranean and the Broader Middle East." In December, he participated in a workshop on: 'Greater Middle East: greater crises, greater solutions?' organised by the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris, and also attended a meeting of the Greek-Turkish Forum in Istanbul.

Effie Fokas

On 12-13 June Dr. Fokas, Research Associate with ELIAMEP, took part in an international symposium on 'Europe between Islam and the United States: Current Trends and Future Options', jointly sponsored by the Institute of International Relations, University of Warsaw; the Centre for Dialogue, La Trobe University (Australia); and the Polish Institute of International Affairs. She presented a paper examining the place of religion in contemporary Turkish politics and in contemporary EU developments.

Ruby Gropas

Ruby Gropas, Research Fellow with ELIAMEP, authored the state of the art paper on *After multiculturalism – Will Europe develop new forms of cultural and social integration?* for the Visions of Europe project coordinated by College of Europe, Bruges. This was presented at the project workshop held in early March at Sciences Po in Paris. In cooperation with Elli Siapkidou, Junior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, Ruby authored and produced the information booklets on *Europe: A Community of Values*. Dr. Gropas participated in the VII FONSI Workshop on "Rethinking the EU's Strategy in the Western Balkans" organized in Thessaloniki (5-7 May) and also presented a paper on *Kosovo: possible scenarios and consequences for international relations* for the Greek Diplomatic Academy at the Democretian University of Thrace, Komotini, on 18 May. She presented the EMILIE research project at the FP6-7 Project Management Conference organised by the EC Commission in Brussels (8-9 June). Ruby, participated in the kick-off workshop of the FP6 project EMILIE which focuses on the challenges of multiculturalism in Europe that was held in Bristol in mid-October. She also participated in the International Next Generation Leaders Program that was held in Seoul, Korea between the 28th of October and 5th of November. The programme aims at strengthening EU-Korean relations. She authored an ELIAMEP Occasional Paper (OP06.02) on *"Integrating the Balkans in the EU"* and an ELIAMEP briefing note on future challenges and scenarios for Kosovo. Her book *"Human Rights and Foreign Policy"* was published by Sakkoulas & Bruylant (Athens & Brussels), 2006: 229.

Christianna Karageorgopoulou

Christianna Karageorgopoulou, Development Coordinator at ELIAMEP, participated in the FP6-7 Project Management Conference organised by the EC Commission in Brussels (8-9 June).

Nikos Koutsiaras

Nikos Koutsiaras, Senior Research Fellow, authored an ELIAMEP Occasional Paper

(OP06.03) entitled *"When size and diversity do not really matter: the dismal political economy of social and labour market policy coordination in the EU."* This paper was also published as part of EU-CONSENT Annual Working paper series.

George Pagoulatos

George Pagoulatos, Senior Research Fellow, participated in a panel on 'Fiscal Policy Coordination in the EMU', under the ECPR Third Pan-European Conference, at the Istanbul Bilgi University in Turkey (22-23 September 2006). He presented a paper (co-authored with Spyros Blavoukos) on *"Fiscal Adjustment in Southern Europe: The Limits of EMU conditionality"* and chaired a panel on 'Monetary policy and exchange rate development in the EMU.' On 25 September, Prof. Pagoulatos participated in a panel on 'Comparative analysis of policy responses in different member states', at an expert workshop on the Social Impact of Globalization, organized by the CEPS and DG Employment, European Commission, in Brussels. On 29 September, he chaired the second plenary session of the conference 'Towards a Common Economic Space in Southeast Europe', organised in Cape Sounion by the World Bank, the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB), the Hellenic Parliament and ELIAMEP. On November 9, Prof. Pagoulatos participated in a panel on the 'Effects of EC Accession on the Greek Political System and Society,' organised by the Greek EC Studies Association. In late November he took part in the EU-CONSENT Conference on "Moving the EU Forward: Priorities of the German EU Presidency", organised in Berlin by the Institut für Europäische Politik and in December participated in the Paris opening conference of the academic network of excellence "Reconciling Work and Welfare in Europe" (RECWOWE), where ELIAMEP is a partner institution. Prof. Pagoulatos' latest book *The National Bank of Greece, 1940-2000* (NBG Historical Archives, 2006: 512) was published in December 2006.

Elizabeth Phocas

Elizabeth Phocas, Deputy Director at ELIAMEP, participated in the 1st Annual

Conference of the International Center for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS) entitled 'The Black Sea Region: Quo Vadis?' and at the inaugural meeting of the Black Sea Research Network (BSRN) which took place in Rhodes on 7-8 July 2007. On 27 – 29 October 2007, Elizabeth participated in the biennial meeting of the European Coordinators of the Marshall Memorial Fellowships (MMF) of the German Marshall Fund which took place in Berlin. The MMF provides a unique opportunity for emerging leaders from the United States and Europe to explore societies, institutions, and people on the other side of the Atlantic. ELIAMEP is coordinating the selection process of Greek fellows as well as the visits of the American fellows in Athens and Thessaloniki.

Nancy Pontika

Nancy Pontika, Coordinator of ELIAMEP's Documentation and Information Centre, participated in the EINIRAS (Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies) 16th Annual Conference on 'New Technologies and Networking in International Relations Information Management' that was held in Prague on 25-26 September 2006. She also presented on 'EINIRAS, ELIAMEP and their action for the creation of a multi-lingual thesaurus in international relations' in the context of the open-task group organised by the National Documentation Center at the 15th Panhellenic Conference of Academic Libraries that took place in Patra, 1-3 November 2006. Her article on '*The library of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)*' was published in the December 2006 issue of the e-journal for Library Science *Synergasia* published by Goethe-Institut, Athens.

Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos

Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, Senior Research Associate, coordinated with George Pagoulatos ELIAMEP's research study on Greek higher education. The study was concluded in the second half of 2006 and can be downloaded from the Research projects section of ELIAMEP's website. On 18-20 December, Dimitris participated in the kick-off meeting of RECOWOE (Reconciling Work

and Welfare), a network of excellence focusing on employment and welfare policies. The network is funded by the EU, and ELIAMEP is one of the 29 European think tanks and universities participating in the network.

Anna Triandafyllidou

Senior Research Fellow of ELIAMEP, Anna Triandafyllidou participated in an international conference on *Visions of Europe: After multiculturalism – Will Europe develop new forms of cultural and social integration?*, organised by the College of Europe in collaboration with Sciences Po, Paris, 10 March 2006. She presented a paper on *Multiculturalism at the end of the road. What next for Europe?* to an international audience of graduate students. Anna Triandafyllidou participated in a workshop on immigrants and civic activism with representatives of immigrant associations in Greece organised by ELIAMEP and presented on immigration pressures in the EU25. She also gave a lecture on immigration challenges and migration policy at the Greek Diplomatic Academy in Athens in March 2006 and a talk on 'Immigration in Greece: Problems and Prospects' at a European Workshop organised by CARITAS, in Athens, on 11 October 2006 and attended by about 40 social workers from all over Europe and several Greek immigration activists. Dr. Triandafyllidou was also a guest speaker at ANTIGONE's Annual Conference (National Contact Point for the European Centre for Monitoring Racism), where she discussed issues pertaining to educational policy related to children from immigrant and ethnic Greek returning families. The conference was held on 13 December in Athens at the conference centre of the Greek Confederation of Trade Unions (GSEE) and was attended by nearly 100 representatives of immigrant associations, trade unions, journalists and other political activists as well as academics working on migration and minority issues. Dr. Triandafyllidou gave a speech on immigrants' participation in social and political life at a conference on Immigrant participation in public dialogue, on 15 December 2006, in Athens. The conference was organised by the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, under the

auspices of the EQUAL programme. On 17 December 2006, she presented on economically motivated immigration in the conference on Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Minority and Migration Phenomena organized by the Centre for the Study of Minority Groups (KEMO), at Panteion University, in Athens. Her article on 'Nationalism, Migration and Transnational Identifications' was included in G. Delanty, K. Kumar (eds) *Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*, London: Sage, 2006 (285-294). Anna also edited a book on *Contemporary Polish Migration in Europe: Complex patterns of movement and settlement*, published by Edwin Mellen Press (Lewiston), 2006: 319.

Aristotle Tsiampiris

Dr. Tsiampiris, Research Associate with ELIAMEP, took part in the Balkan Conference on Regional Cooperation and the European Perspective. This international conference was held in Sofia (31st May - 4th June) organised by the European Institute, The Centre for Southeast European Studies and the Diplomatic Institute.

Loukas Tsoukalis

In the first six months, Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP and Special Adviser to the President of the European Commission, frequently participated in meetings in Brussels. Among other things, he also took part in the conference on the *Sound of Europe* organized by the Austrian Presidency in Salzburg; he was a speaker at the round table on UK Foreign Policy organized by the CER in collaboration with the Foreign Office; he was a member of the research project on the *European Social Model* by Policy Network and participated in several national debates on the subject; he spoke in the opening session of the *Strategy Group on the Future of Europe* organised by Bertelsmann Stiftung in Berlin. In the spring, he also lectured on EU-Russia relations in Moscow and on the post-referendum EU crisis in Montreal and Ottawa. Prof. Tsoukalis participated in several ELIAMEP events in Athens: he spoke on the challenges of a European identity in the conference jointly organized with the Austrian Embassy and the Institute for Greek-German relations at the University of

Athens; on media and public opinion; and chaired ELIAMEP's Annual Lecture delivered by Commissioner Olli Rehn. Loukas Tsoukalis also lectured at the College of Europe, Brugge and at the Institut de Sciences Politiques, Paris. During the second half of 2006 Loukas Tsoukalis, participated frequently in meetings organised by the European Commission in Brussels, including meetings of the Bureau of European Policy Advisers (BEPA). He spoke on 'The European Model in a Globalized World' at the Global Jean Monnet Conference held in Brussels; on European social policy at a seminar organised by the Centre d'Analyse Stratigique in Paris; on the same topic at the launching of the book *Global Europe Social Europe by Policy Network* in Brussels; on 'The European Perspective and Southeast Europe' at the European Investment Bank Forum 2006 held in Athens; on the accession of Cyprus to the eurozone in Nicosia. He delivered a paper on "Can or should we have a more political Europe?" at St. Antony's College, Oxford, and contributed to the online debate organised by *Notre Europe* on the politicisation of Europe. Prof. Tsoukalis also participated in the Bertelsmann Foundation International Forum in Berlin. He coordinated and edited *ELIAMEP's Policy Paper on Higher Education* aiming at contributing to the public debate currently taking place in Greece on university reform. He presented this policy paper on Greek universities in Athens and Ioannina, and also took part in various conferences and seminars organised by the Foundation. During this period, he was appointed Board Member of *Policy Network* and member of the Hellenic Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (Α.ΔΙ.Π).

Thanos Veremis

On 1st June 2006, he spoke on Turkey and Europe at the conference on "Greece, Turkey and the EU: Domestic Parameters, External Variables" organized in Istanbul by ELIAMEP in cooperation with the Hellenic Observatory - the European Institute, London School of Economics and the Center for European Studies, Istanbul Bilgi University.

More news about ELIAMEP's team

Junior Research Fellow

Evangelia Psychogiopoulou joined ELIAMEP's team in September 2006 as a Junior Research Fellow for the JURISTRAS research project. Evangelia has completed PhD research on the integration of cultural considerations in EU law and policies at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy. She participated in a consultation launched by the European Commission (DG for Education and Culture) on the role of culture in the European integration process with a view to identifying common priorities for a European cultural 'agenda' in October 2006. The results of the consultation will serve for the preparation of a 2007 Commission Communication. On 25-26 November 2006, Evangelia organised and participated in together with her fellow coordinator Dia Anagnostou the kick-off meeting of the JURISTRAS project (FP6), hosted by ELIAMEP in Athens. Evangelia delivered a presentation on ECtHR jurisprudence and human rights, highlighting the principal features of Greek human rights litigation patterns in Strasbourg.

IKY Research Fellow at ELIAMEP

Sappho Xenakis Research Associate with ELIAMEP successfully defended her DPhil on '*International Norm Diffusion and the Development of Greek Policy Against Organised Crime, 1989-2001*' at Oxford University in June 2006. On 23rd-24th June, Sappho participated in an international conference on *Corruption and Organised Crime: Bridging Criminal and Economic Policies* in Sofia, Bulgaria. The conference was organised by the Centre for the Study of Democracy.

Sappho, is IKY Research Fellow at ELIAMEP since September 2006 and will undertake post-doctoral research on 'Anglo-American security co-operation with Greece since 1974; Transferring Approaches to the Combat of Terrorism and Organised Crime'. The research is funded by the Greek State Scholarships Foundation (I.K.Y.) for the

period 2006-2007.

Marie Curie Fellow

Daniel Faas joined ELIAMEP as a Marie Curie Fellow under the EU's FP6 in December 2006. He will be working in collaboration with Anna Triandafyllidou on a project entitled 'Multicultural Europe: policy, school dynamics and youth identities in Germany, England and Greece.'

ELIAMEP

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