

# PROGRAMME ON TURKEY

THE FIRST THREE YEARS: 2020-2023

October 2023



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

# OVERVIEW

## JULY 2020 - JUNE 2023



**37** Policy Papers & Briefs



**2** Further ELIAMEP Publications



**37** Podcast Episodes



**37** Academic Publications



**36** Programme Events



**71** External Events



**8** Projects & Partnerships

# THE PROGRAMME TEAM

- *Head of Programme:* [Ioannis N. Grigoriadis](#), Senior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP; Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair of European Studies, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Bilkent University
- *Senior Non-Resident Fellow:* [Nicholas Danforth](#), Senior Visiting Fellow for the German Marshall Fund
- *Senior Non-Resident Fellow:* [Ekrem Güzeldere](#), Project Manager at Berghof Foundation's Turkey Project within the "Regional Peace Support" Department
- *Non-Resident Scholar:* [Ahmet Erdi Öztürk](#), Lecturer of Politics and International Relations, London Metropolitan University
- *Non-Resident Scholar:* [Dimitris Tsarouhas](#), Associate Professor at the Department of International Relations, Bilkent University; Visiting Researcher at the BMW Center, Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University
- *Research Associate:* [Evangelos Areteos](#), Journalist
- *Non-Resident Scholar:* [Bahar Baser](#), Associate Professor in Middle East Politics Durham University
- *Non-Resident Scholar:* [Eliza Gheroghe](#), Research Associate at the ROCCA Lab at Vanderbilt University and an Assistant Professor in the International Relations Department, Bilkent University
- *Non-Resident Scholar:* [İştar Gözaydın](#), Professor
- *Project Manager:* [Alexia Mitsikostas](#)

Throughout the Programme's first three years, the Programme Team was supported by ELIAMEP's senior management and the administrative staff in terms of operations, financial management, events organization, communication & dissemination, quality control of deliverables and any other ad hoc support if and as needed.

Overall supervision and strategic guidance was provided by the **Director General, Prof. George Pagoulatos**, whereas operational and administrative support was coordinated by the **Director of Operations, Elizabeth Phocas**. In terms of organization of communication and dissemination, the **Head of Communications, Odin Linardatou** was readily available to provide her advice and insights to the team.

# RESEARCH EXPERTS

## ELIAMEP RESEARCH EXPERTS

[Kalliopi Amygdalou](#), Research Fellow  
[Georgios Christidis](#), Research Fellow  
[Angeliki Dimitriadi](#), Senior Research Fellow  
[Maria Gavouneli](#), Senior Policy Advisor  
[Elena Lazarou](#), Research Fellow  
[Athanassios Manis](#), Research Fellow  
[Panagiota Manoli](#), Research Fellow  
[Efthymios Papastavridis](#), Research Associate  
[Sotiris Serbos](#), Research Fellow  
[Panayotis Tsakonas](#), Senior Research Fellow

## EXTERNAL RESEARCH EXPERTS

**Senem Aydın-Düzgit**, Sabancı University  
**Dimitar Bechev**, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill  
**Saban Kardas**, TOBB University  
**Suat Kınıklıoğlu**, SWP  
**Michael Tanchum**, Atlantic Council  
**Vahram Ter-Matevosyan**, American University of Armenia  
**İlke Toygür**, Elcano Royal Institute  
**Kıvanç Ulusoy**, Istanbul University

# INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

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**Günter Seufert**, *SWP*

**Nathalie Tocci**, *IAI*

**Jenny White**, *University of Stockholm*

**[Thanos Veremis](#)**, *ELIAMEP*

# OVERVIEW OF PROGRAMME ACTIVITIES

Between 1 July 2020 and 30 June 2023, the following papers were published:

## POLICY PAPERS

E. Güzeldere – [‘Turkey’s Soft Power in the Balkans Reaching its Limits’](#) (1 July 2021)

I. N. Grigoriadis and G. C. Kostaras – [‘Turkey’s African adventure: Taking stock of a new chapter in EU-Turkey relations’](#) (17 September 2021)

A. E. Öztürk and B. Baser – [‘New Turkey’s new diasporic constellations: The Gezi generation and beyond’](#) (8 October 2021)

E. Güzeldere – [‘Germany’s New Government Coalition: A Red, Yellow or Green Light for German-Turkish Relations?’](#) (10 December 2021)

I. N. Grigoriadis – [‘Crucial issues for Turkey in 2022’](#) in [2022 Outlook: Special Edition – New Year Projections by the ELIAMEP experts](#) (30 December 2021)

I. N. Grigoriadis and D. Fusiek – [‘Turkey’s “anti-colonial” pivot to Mali: French-Turkish competition and the role of the European Union in the Sahel’](#) (21 January 2022)

A. Öztürk – [‘CHP within “New Turkey”: The formation of a government party?’](#) (11 March 2022)

I. N. Grigoriadis, E. Gheorghe – [‘The Akkuyu NPP and Russian-Turkish Nuclear Cooperation: Asymmetries and risks’](#) (20 May 2022)

N. Danforth – [‘A New History for a New Turkey: What a 12th-grade textbook has to say about Turkey’s future’](#) (26 May 2022)

I.N. Grigoriadis, P. Manoli, E. Areteos – [‘Greece and Turkey in the world today: the public’s view’](#) (24 June 2022)

E. Güzeldere – [‘Turkey in Afghanistan: more than one reason to stay’](#) (15 July 2022)

M. Pierini – [‘Threats, Instability and Disruption in Europe's South’](#) (21 July 2022)

N. Danforth – [‘A Contested Conquest: The Many Meanings of 1453 in Turkish Political Rhetoric’](#) (23 September 2022)

S. Nasi – [‘What is new about the reset between Israel and Turkey?’](#) (21 October 2022)

İ. Gözaydın and A. E. Öztürk – [‘Turkey’s 2023 Election: Which Candidates Can Defeat Erdoğan at the Polls?’](#) (22 December 2022)

I. N. Grigoriadis – [‘Crucial issues for Turkey in 2023’](#) in [“ELIAMEP Outlook – Predictions for 2023”](#) (30 December 2022)

D. Tsarouhas – [‘Governance Practices in Turkey: A Comparative Perspective’](#) (5 January 2023)



Turkey’s “anti-colonial” pivot to Mali:  
French-Turkish competition and  
the role of the European Union in the Sahel

TURKEY PROGRAMME  
Ioannis N. GRIGORIADIS & Dawid A. FUSIEK

# OVERVIEW OF PROGRAMME ACTIVITIES CTD.

## **POLICY BRIEFS**

- I. N. Grigoriadis, L. T. Belke – [UNCLOS and the Delimitation of Maritime Zones in the Eastern Mediterranean](#) (17 September 2020)
- C. Ellinas – [Settling East Med EEZ Disputes: A Path Ahead](#) (8 October 2020)
- I. N. Grigoriadis, U. E. Aras – [US-Turkey Relations Hanging by a Thread: Trump's Re-Election](#) (30 October 2020)
- N. Danforth – [New Dynamics, Old Problems: Turkey's Rapprochement Overtures in the Eastern Mediterranean](#) (7 January 2022)
- E. Areteos – [Nationalism, enmity and reconciliation: Turkish party supporters' polarized views on Greece](#) (1 April 2022)
- I. N. Grigoriadis – [Turkey's Pivot to Eurasia: The Effect of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine](#) (7 April 2022)
- E. Yanardağoğlu – [Media and Democratic Backsliding – Lessons from the Turkish Case](#) (6 June 2022)
- D. Tsarouhas – [Why Turkey's Gender Inequality Matters](#) (23 June 2022)
- E. Güzeldere – [Democratic values against authoritarianism? In the end it will be \[again\] the economy, stupid!](#) (28 July 2022)
- E. Areteos and C. Kapodistria – [Alcohol consumption in modern Turkey: Kulturkampf and polarization](#) (17 November 2022)
- B. Baser – [Youth Politics and Activism in Turkey](#) (30 November 2022)
- N. Danforth – [Post-Kemalism and the Future of Turkish Governance](#) (16 December 2022)
- E. Gheorghe – [Nuclear energy and proliferation in Turkey's Asian Politics](#) (4 January 2023)

# TURKISH ELECTIONS 2023: COUNTDOWN SERIES



Turkey  
Election

Countdown

- E. Areteos, E. Güzeldere - ['Turkey's Kurds: Kingmakers in the upcoming elections?'](#) (26 January 2023)
- E. Güzeldere - ['Dersimli Kemal for President?'](#) (22 March 2023)
- N. Danforth – ['A New New Turkey? What an Opposition Victory Would Mean for Ankara's Foreign Policy'](#) (6 April 2023)
- E. Areteos – ['“Scent of a woman”: Women as a crucial factor in the upcoming Turkish elections'](#) (20 April 2023)
- E. Areteos – ['“The Youth of a Nation are the trustees of posterity ” How younger generations can shape Turkey through the upcoming Turkish elections'](#) (3 May 2023)
- E. Areteos – ['Autocratization vs. democratization: The new framework for understanding political competition in Turkey in view of the elections and beyond'](#) (9 May 2023)
- E. Areteos – ['Turkey's new Cabinet: intellectuals and 'men of state' as Erdoğan's operatives'](#) (13 July 2023)

# ACADEMIC OUTPUT

## The Remaking of Republican Turkey

Memory and Modernity since  
the Fall of the Ottoman Empire

Nicholas L. Danforth



- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis & Arzu Opçin-Kidal (2020) [Imagining Turan: homeland and its political implications in the literary work of Hüseyinzade Ali \[Turan\] and Mehmet Ziya \[Gökalp\]](#), *Middle Eastern Studies*, 56:3, 482-495
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis and Evgeniia Shahin (2020) [Between Ethnic Group and Nation: Mihail Cakir's Histories of the Gagauz](#), *East European Politics and Societies*
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2020) 'Greek-Turkish Relations', in Kevin Featherstone and Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos (eds.), [The Oxford Handbook of Modern Greek Politics](#) (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2020) '[The Eastern Mediterranean as an Emerging Crisis Zone: Greece and Cyprus in a Volatile Regional Environment](#)', in Michael Tanchum (ed.), *Eastern Mediterranean in Uncharted Waters: Perspectives on Emerging Geo-Political Realities* (Ankara: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) Turkey) pp.25-30
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Taptuk Emre Erkoc and Salih Dogan (2020) '[Turkey's Battle with Covid-19: A Multifaced Investigation](#)', *Middle East Policy*, 27:3
- Nicholas N. Danforth (2021) '[US-Turkey Relations during the Biden Administration: New beginnings or New depths?](#)', *Turkish Area Studies (TAS) Review*
- Nicholas Danforth, together with Ilke Toygür, Funda Tekin, and Eduard Soler i Lecha (2022) '[Turkey's foreign policy and its consequences for the EU](#)', *European Parliament Directorate General for External Policies of the Union*
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2021) '[The European Union in the Eastern Mediterranean in 2020: Whither Strategic Autonomy](#)', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 63:1
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk (2021) '[Islam and Foreign Policy: Turkey's Ambivalent Religious Soft Power in the Authoritarian Turn](#)', *Religions*, 12:38
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk (2021) [Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century](#), Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk (2021) '[Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century](#)', *Edinburgh University Press Blog*
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2021) '[Between citizenship and the millet: the Greek minority in republican Turkey](#)', *Middle Eastern Studies*

## ACADEMIC OUTPUT CTD.

- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis and Onur T. Karabiçak (2021) '[Baudrillard in Ankara: mainstream media and the production of \*simulacra\* in the Turkish public sphere](#)', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis and Zeliha Asli Elitsoy (2021) '[Inside Outsiders: Comparing State Policies towards Citizens of Palestinian and Kurdish Descent in Israel and Turkey](#)', *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*
- Nicholas Danforth (2021) [The Remaking of Republican Turkey: Memory and Modernity since the Fall of the Ottoman Empire](#), Cambridge University Press
- Ekrem Guzeldere (2021) [WeltTrends Journal](#)
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2021) 'Το Κυπριακό και η Ελληνική Εξωτερική Πολιτική', Χαράλαμπος Τσαρδανίδης, Εκάβη Αθανασοπούλου και Ευστάθιος Φακιολάς (επιμ.), *Ελληνική Εξωτερική Πολιτική* (Αθήνα: Παπαζήση) ['The Cyprus Issue and Greek Foreign Policy', in Charalambos Tsardanidis, Ekave Athanasopoulou and Efstathios Fakiolas (eds.), *Greek Foreign Policy* (Athens: Papazisi)]
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2022) '[The Ecumenical Patriarchate: Bridging Greece, the Diaspora, and the Orthodox World](#)' in: Anastasakis, O., Pratsinakis, M., Kalantzi, F., Kamaras, A. (eds) *Diaspora Engagement in Times of Severe Economic Crisis. Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Evangelos Areteos (2022) '[Attempting to Map the Turkish Electorate: The Turkish Opposition and the Challenge of the Undecided Vote](#)', Diplomatic Academy of the University of Nicosia
- Evangelos Areteos (2022) '[Attempting to Map the Turkish Electorate: AKP's Challenge of Religious Voters' Diasaffection](#)', Diplomatic Academy of the University of Nicosia
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2022) '[Between escalation and détente: Greek-Turkish relations in the aftermath of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis](#)', *Turkish Studies*
- Evangelos Areteos (2022) '[Abdulhamid II and the Mobilization of History in Current Politics](#)', Diplomatic Academy of the University of Nicosia

## ACADEMIC OUTPUT CTD

- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk (2022) '[Turkey and the Balkans: Questioning the Europeanisation/De-Europeanisation Nexus into Question](#)', *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies Journal*, 22:1, 1-10
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk (2022) '[Turkish Foreign Policy in the Balkans Amidst 'Soft Power' and 'De-Europeanization](#)', *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies Journal*, 22:1, 45-63
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk (2022) '[A Paradoxical Tale: Reading the Transformation of Erdoğan's Turkey Through the Lens of Religion](#)', *Oasis International Foundation*
- Ekrem Guzeldere (2022) '[Turkey: From successful mediator to partisan actor – back to successful mediator?](#)', in *Handbook of Regional Conflict Resolution Initiatives in the Global South*
- Erdi Ozturk and Nukhet Ahu Sandal (2022) 'Critical Junctures of Securitisation: The Case of the AK Party in Turkey', *Alternatives*
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2022) '[Turkey Amidst Economic Turbulence and Elections](#)', Institute of Studies for Politics and Democracy
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2022) '[Antioch's Last Heirs: The Hatay Greek Orthodox Community between Greece, Syria and Turkey](#)', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 46:2, 263-279
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2022) '[Villain or Hero? Shifting Views of Abdülhamid ii and His Era in Republican Turkey](#)', *Turkish Historical Review*, 13:1-2, 141-156
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis & Gerasimos Tsourapas (2022) '[Understanding Greece's new foreign policy towards the Arab world: Instrumentalisation, balancing, and emerging opportunities](#)', *Mediterranean Politics*

# ACADEMIC OUTPUT CTD

- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2023) '[The European Union in the Eastern Mediterranean in 2020: Whither Strategic Autonomy](#)', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61:4, e1-e11
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2023) '[Developing Archaeology and Museology in the Ottoman Empire, Turkey and Greece: Théodore Macridy, an Ottoman Greek 'liminal scientist'](#)', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 26:2, 209-225
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis and Ümit Erol Aras(2023) '[Distrusted Partnership: Unpacking Anti-Americanism in Turkey](#)', *Middle East Policy*, 30:1, 122-136
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (2023) '[Greek-Turkish Relations since 2019 – Between Turbulence and Détente](#)', *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen*, 63:3-4, 43-52
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis and Olgu Dervişler (2023) '[From Silicon Valley to the Levant: Tracing and Promoting Innovation in the Eastern Mediterranean](#)', *Middle East Policy*, 30:3, 53-69
- Ioannis N. Grigoriadis and Ece Advıye Işık Canpolat (2024) 'Elite Universities as Populist Scapegoats: Evidence from Hungary and Turkey', *East European Politics and Societies*

## ELIAMEP Podcast Series

[The map of Turkey's domestic politics](#) – Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (24 September 2020)

[Maritime Disputes and Current Developments in the Eastern Mediterranean](#) – Efthymios Papastavridis (29 September 2020)

[Turkey: A financial and governance crisis](#) – Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (18 November 2020)

[EU's role in the Eastern Mediterranean](#) – Panayiotis Tsakonas (5 January 2021)

[The riddle of the exploratory talks](#) – Loukas Tsoukalis (28 January 2021)

[Turkey's unpredictable foreign policy and alienation from the West](#) – Nicholas Danforth (19 February 2021)

[The two faces of Janus](#) – Dimitris Tsarouhas (9 April 2021)

[The Taliban are back. Now what?](#) – Dimitris Tsarouhas (10 September 2021)

[Turkey-Russia: energy dependence and risks](#) – Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (27 May 2022)

[The critical points of the elections in Turkey](#) – Evangelos Areteos (27 January 2023)

[Who will be the next president of Turkey?](#) – Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (12 May 2023)

## [Issues that Matter: Greek and Turkish Dialogue Podcast Series \(Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom\)](#):

Episode 1: [Media Reactions to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine](#) (3 June 2022)

Episode 2: [Information Disorder and Fact-checking initiatives in Greece and Turkey](#) (14 July 2022)

Episode 3: [Taking Stock of the Greek-Turkish Population Exchange on its Centenary](#) (25 July 2022)

Episode 4: [Social Enterprises that deal with Sustainable Development issues in Greece and Turkey](#) (16 September 2022)

Episode 5: [Literary translations between Greek and Turkish and what we learn from them](#) (18 October 2022)

Episode 6: [Renewable Energy Policies of Greece and Turkey](#) (24 October 2022)

Episode 7: [Food culture as a Bridge between Greece and Turkey](#) (1 November 2022)

Episode 8: [Start-up culture and Digital Media Innovation in Greece and Turkey](#) (24 November 2022)

Episode 9: [Climate Change: Perspectives from Greece and Turkey](#) (8 December 2022)

Episode 10: [Women's Empowerment and Media in Greece and Turkey](#) (12 December 2022)

## **Other Podcasts**

[Erdogan, Sisi and the fate of Egyptian-Turkish relations \(The Greek Current\)](#) – Nicholas Danforth (30 January 2021)

[Order from Ashes Podcast: Thaw Between Turkey and Egypt](#) – Nicholas Danforth (30 March 2021)

[America Recognizes Armenian Genocide \(War on the Rocks\)](#) – Nicholas Danforth (28 April 2021)

[The state of the US-Turkey relationship \(The Lawfare Podcast\)](#) – Nicholas Danforth (5 May 2021)

[Turkey: heading for 2023 \(The Lausanne Project\)](#) – Nicholas Danforth (24 July 2021)

[The Erdoğan-Putin summit and Turkey's balancing act between the US and Russia \(The Greek Current\)](#) - Nicholas Danforth (4 October 2021)

[Erdogan's hands are not tied by his political allies—he still has the power to reverse Turkey's downward spiral \(AI Monitor\)](#) – Nicholas Danforth (9 December 2021)

[The war in Ukraine and the history of its Greek population \(Cosmo – Sta Ellinika\)](#) – Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (9 March 2022)

[What Erdogan wants, and what can stop him \(«K» Radio – Kathimerini\)](#) – Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (27 May 2022)

[Turkish moves vis-à-vis the Cyprus issue \(The Greek Current\)](#) - Nicholas Danforth (8 June 2022)

[Russia and Turkey's nuclear cooperation at Akkuyu \(The Greek Current\)](#) - Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (14 June 2022)

[The Turkish Case \(European Student Think Tank\)](#) – Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (11 October 2022)

[Earthquake in Turkey: The disaster and what comes next \(lifo.gr\)](#) – Evangelos Areteos (8 February 2023)

[What will an opposition win mean for Turkey' foreign policy? \(The Greek Current\)](#) - Nicholas Danforth (19 April 2023)

[The polls show Kılıçdaroğlu heading for victory in Turkey \(SBS Greek\)](#) – Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (27 April 2023)

[Turkey made simple \(diaNEOsis\)](#) – Ioannis. N Grigoriadis (19 June 2023)

## **Infographics**

[Infographic on Turkey's Trade Flows](#) (30 July 2020)

[Infographic – Turkey's trade dependence on the West](#)  
(21 August 2020)

[Infographic – Turkey's top traded good \(imports – exports\)](#) (28 August 2020)

[Infographic on Trade openness in Turkey](#) (3 September 2020)

## **Other**

- Th. Dokos - [Glossary of Greek-Turkish Relations](#)
- I. N. Grigoriadis – ['Turkey Today: Opinion Leaders Reflect – II'](#) (31 March 2023)

# NEWS & MEDIA



- Throughout the three-year period the Turkey Programme developed and maintained a dynamic presence in prominent print and electronic media outlets, through interviews given and opinion articles written by members of the Programme Team on Turkey's domestic and foreign policy developments, regional developments and security questions.
- Articles and interviews were featured in *Ta Nea*, *Kathimerini*, *To Vima*, *Capital.gr*, *Proto Thema*, *Athens 9.84*, *Ant1*, *ERT*, *Skai TV*, *Proto Programma*, *Deutsche Welle*, *Foreign Policy*, *Le Monde*, *Al-Monitor*, *NPR*, *France Culture*, *France24*, *Euronews*, and *Politico*, among other media outlets.
- All news and media items, along with the latest publications, events and other output, are disseminated on a weekly basis via [ELIAMEP's newsletter](#) to an audience of over 6,500 individuals and organizations and are permanently available on ELIAMEP's website [here](#).

# TURKEY PROGRAMME EVENTS

- [The US Elections Day After: What Next for the Eastern Mediterranean](#) (11 November 2020)
- [French-Turkish Relations: Strategic Tensions – Escalation on Islam: What Next?](#) (18 November 2020)
- [Re-Thinking the Eastern Mediterranean: Diplomacy, Energy and Sustainability](#) (Co-organized with the Columbia Global Center in Istanbul) (3 December 2020)
- [The Future of Energy Security in the Eastern Mediterranean](#) (10 December 2020)
- [New President, Old Problems: The Biden Administration and the Eastern Mediterranean](#) (15 December 2020)
- [Making Sense of Turkey’s State Identity Transformation: Reasons, Actors and Implications](#) (16 February 2021)
- [Mediterranean Game Changers: Climate and the EU Green Deal](#) (4 March 2021)
- [EU-Turkey Relations following the European Council: Can a Positive Agenda work?](#) (Co-organized with the Institute for European Politics (IEP) in Berlin) (30 March 2021)
- [Cooperative Competition or Competitive Cooperation? Russian-Turkish Relations Today](#) (5 May 2021)
- [Turkish Foreign Policy in its Neighborhood](#) (18 May 2021)
- Book launch – [‘Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century’, by Ahmet Erdi Öztürk](#) (20 May 2021)
- [New Turkey’s New Diasporas](#) (16 May 2021)
- [The East-Med and Turkey during Portugal’s EU presidency](#) (Co-organized with the Instituto do Oriente of Lisbon University) (30 June 2021)
- [Turkey and the Global South](#) (13 July 2021)

**ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ**  
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ & ΕΣΤΕΡΝΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ  
HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

Tuesday, 15 December 2020 | 17:00-18:00 (EET)

## New President, Old Problems: The Biden Administration and the Eastern Mediterranean

**Speakers**

<b>Henri Barkey</b> Professor of International Relations, Lehigh University, Pennsylvania, Adjunct Senior Fellow for Middle East Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, New York			<b>Ryan Gingeras</b> Professor, Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California
<b>Caroline Rose</b> Middle East and Europe Analyst, Geopolitical Futures			<b>Moderator</b> <b>Nicholas Danforth</b> Non-Resident Senior Research Fellow, Turkey Programme, ELIAMEP

# TURKEY PROGRAMME EVENTS CTD.

- [Russian-Turkish Relations: Conflictual Camaraderie?](#) (14 October 2021)
- [Roundtable discussion on first joint Greek-Turkish opinion survey](#) (26 October 2021)
- [Turkey's Neo-Ottomanist Moment: A Eurasianist Odyssey](#) (10 November 2021)
- [Integrating gender in studies on South-East Europe and Turkey](#) (10 December 2021)
- [What does the new German government mean for Turkey and its relations with the European Union?](#) (26 January 2022)
- [Greece and Turkey: Views of Each Other II: Understanding the results of the 2<sup>nd</sup> opinion poll on bilateral relations between Greece and Turkey](#) (21 February 2022)
- [Religion in Turkey's future: Politics, society and institutions](#) (2 March 2022)
- [Black Sea Balancing Act: Turkey and the Ukraine Conflict](#) (10 March 2022)
- [Turkey's Pivot to Eurasia – Asia as an Alternative to the West](#) (15 March 2022)
- [Greece and Turkey: Views of Each Other II: Examining and understanding the results of the second opinion poll on the bilateral relations between Greece and Turkey](#) (15 March 2022)
- [Media and Democratic Backsliding in Turkey](#) (12 April 2022)

# TURKEY PROGRAMME EVENTS CTD.

- [The Role of Women in Turkey's Public Life](#) (7 June 2022)
- [Greece and Turkey: Views of Each Other – Wave III: Unpacking the results of the third opinion poll on the bilateral relations between Greece and Turkey](#) (21 June 2022)
- [Value-based opposition against authoritarianism?](#) (28 June 2022)
- Lecture: [‘The Montreux Convention: A Key to the Geopolitics of the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean’](#) (13 July 2022)
- [Youth Politics and Activism in Turkey](#) (4 October 2022)
- [Post-Kemalism and the Future of Turkish Governance](#) (24 October 2023)
- [Nuclear energy and proliferation in Turkey's Asian politics](#) (8 November 2023)
- [The Greek-Turkish Mandatory Population Exchange Agreement on its Centennial: Reflections on Politics, Law, History and Culture](#) (30 January 2023)
- [Greece and Turkey: Views of Each Other IV: Understanding the results of the 4th opinion poll on the bilateral relations between Greece and Turkey](#) (23 March 2023)
- Closed roundtable discussion: [‘Turkey’s transformed state identity’](#) (5 May 2023)
- [Turkey’s Double Elections: Domestic and International Implications](#) (12 May 2023)

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HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

**Turkey's Double Elections:  
Domestic and International Implications**  
Friday 12 May 2023 | Time: 16:00 - 17:30

**Speakers:**

**Nilgün Arsan Eralp**  
Director, Center for EU Studies,  
TEPAV (The Economic Policy  
Research Foundation of Turkey)

**Sotil Özet**  
Senior Lecturer,  
Kadir Has University,  
Columnist

**Wolfgang Piccoli**  
Co-President, Political Risk Advisory,  
TENEQ

**Moderator:**

**Ioannis N. Grigoriadis**  
Senior Research Fellow and  
Head of Turkey Programme, ELIAMEP;  
Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair,  
Bilkent University

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HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY

**The Greek-Turkish Mandatory Population  
Exchange Agreement on its Centennial:  
Reflections on Politics, Law, History and Culture**  
Monday 30 January 2023 | Time: 16:00 - 18:00 (EET)

**Opening Remarks:**

**Renee Hirschon**  
Senior Research Fellow, St Peter's College, University of Oxford  
Member of the Academic Advisory Committee, SEEDS  
St Antony's College, University of Oxford

**Panel 1: Law and Politics (16:00 - 17:00)**

**Speakers:**

**Ryan Gingeras**  
Professor,  
Department of  
National Security  
Affairs, Naval  
Postgraduate School

**Evanthis Hatzivassiliou**  
Professor, Department  
of History and Archaeology  
National and Kapodistrian  
University of Athens

**Moderator:**

**Ioannis N. Grigoriadis**  
Senior Research Fellow  
and Head of Turkey Programme,  
ELIAMEP, Associate Professor and  
Jean Monnet Chair, Bilkent University

**Panel 2: History, Culture and Memory (17:00 - 18:00)**

**Speakers:**

**Ayhan Aktar**  
Professor, Department of  
National Security Affairs,  
Naval Postgraduate School

**Kalliopi Amygdalou**  
Senior Research Fellow, ELIAMEP,  
Principal Investigator,  
HOMEROS

**Moderator:**

**Bruce Clark**  
Author and Journalist,  
The Economist

**Nicholas Danforth**  
Non-Resident Senior Research Fellow,  
Turkey Programme, ELIAMEP

# EVENTS IN WHICH IOANNIS N. GRIGORIADIS HAS PARTICIPATED IN HIS CAPACITY AS HEAD OF THE PROGRAMME ON TURKEY:

- Online public event hosted on '[Greece, Cyprus and the Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean](#)', 22 October 2020, Hellenic Observatory, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)
- Online morning briefing entitled '[Between Gas and Borders: What now, Europe?](#)', 29 October 2020, Europäische Akademie Berlin (EAB)
- Panel on '[Turkey at a Crossroads](#)', 5 November 2020, Thessaloniki Summit 2020
- Session entitled '[The EU and Turkish foreign policy ambitions – at odds?](#)', 25 November 2020, Crisis Group's 2020 Watch List Virtual Policy Dialogue
- Webinar on '[Eastern Mediterranean Crisis: Scenarios and Implications](#)', 25 November 2020, Al Sharq Strategic Research
- Webinar entitled '[The geopolitical gamble in the east-med: can the EU and Turkey find a way out of the crisis?](#)', 26 November 2020, EUMENIA (EU-Middle East Network in Action)
- Workshop on '[European Policy Options in the Eastern Mediterranean](#)', 1 December 2020, Robert Bosch Stiftung
- Dukakis Center Webinar on '[American Interests in the Three Seas. Policy Prospects for the Biden Administration in the Aegean, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea](#)', 7 December 2020, American College of Thessaloniki
- Webinar on '[European Immigration Management in the Eastern Mediterranean: The EU, Greece and Turkey](#)', 14 December 2020, Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence, University of Athens
- Online class at the University of Amsterdam to evaluate student presentations on Greece-Turkey relations and the Eastern Mediterranean, 11 January 2021
- Online discussion on '[Greece-Turkey in the Biden Era](#)' organized by the Progressive Policy Research Centre, 21 January 2021
- Online Conference '[International negotiations in the time of the Pandemic. Intersecting glances at international, European and national dimensions: yesterday, today, tomorrow](#)', 27 February 2021, Hellenic Society of International Law & International Relations
- Online discussion on '[Comparative Elections: What happens when the system fails? The Case of Israel and Greece](#)', 19 March 2021, Berkeley Institute for Jewish Law and Israel Studies
- Panels '[Greeks & Turks: Views of each other](#)' and '[Ottoman views of the Greek War of Independence](#)', 15 & 19 May 2021, Delphi Economic Forum

## EVENTS IN WHICH IOANNIS N. GRIGORIADIS PARTICIPATED CTD

- Roundtable discussion on '[Rising Tensions in the Eastern Mediterranean](#)', 8 July 2021, Crisis group
- Closed meeting on '[New Energies: The European Green Deal and the EU-Turkey relationship](#)', 13 July 2021, European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR)
- Panel on '[The Greek Revolution and Ottoman Studies: Problems, Methods, and Revisions](#)', 27 August 2021, Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association (OTSA)
- Online discussion on '[Regional realities and Greece's position until 2040](#)', 21 September 2021, "Greece 2021" Committee
- Participation in '[Future of the Black Sea Region Conference](#)', 29 September 2021, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom in cooperation with the Europe-Georgia Institute
- Participation in closed SUITS-SIPRI Expert Roundtable "Turkey-EU Relations: Is There Still Room for Conditionality?", 25 October 2021
- Participation in online conference on '[Debating Regime Transformation in Turkey](#)', 6 November 2021, The Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cyprus
- Presentation in panel on '[Turkey: Communication and Memory](#)' and discussant in the panel on 'Turkish Foreign Relations, Yesterday and Today', 13-15 November 2021, Fourteenth Annual ASMEA Conference
- Participation in Conference on '[Comparative aspects of Remembrance, Memory Politics and Inter-State Conflict: Eastern, Southeastern Europe and the Middle East](#)', 12 December 2021, Co-organised by the S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, Tel Aviv University, The European Studies Programme of Tel Aviv University and the German and European Studies Programme (DES) of the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy
- Roundtable on '[Establishing Sustainable Working Routes for Turkish-Greek Relations](#)', 15 December 2021, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty
- Online Conference on '[Political Rights and Behavior of the Non-Muslim Minorities in Turkey under the High Polarized Politics](#)', 16 December 2021, Utku Özer and Burcu Taşkın and Research Centre for the Humanities (RCH)
- Online conference '[Political rights and behavior on non-Muslim minorities in Turkey under highly polarized politics](#)', 16 December 2021, Research Centre for the Humanities (RCH)

## EVENTS IN WHICH IOANNIS N. GRIGORIADIS PARTICIPATED CTD.

- Participation as an expert in European Economic and Social Committee meeting and work on “Geopolitical impact of energy transition”, 11 February 2022
- Participation as an expert in European Economic and Social Committee meeting and work on “Energy policies and strategies in the Euro-Mediterranean region”, 22 March 2022
- Presentation of paper entitled [‘Dispensable Partnership? US-Turkey Relations in the Biden Era’](#), 29 March 2022, ISA Annual Convention
- Participation in the event “Turkey’s positioning in Russia’s war against Ukraine. The pros and cons of Turkey’s balancing act from a European perspective, 25 April 2022, Centre for Applied Turkey Studies (CATS)
- Participation in closing conference of the Jean Monnet Network on EU-Middle East Relations, EUMENIA project, 16-17 June 2022, University of Amsterdam
- [Presentation of the findings of the latest opinion survey on the bilateral relations between Greece and Turkey](#), 30 June 2022, ELIAMEP 2<sup>nd</sup> Global Politics Summer Academy
- Participation in Foreign Service Institute’s online course on Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus, 29 August - 2 September 2022
- Participation in Balkan Think Tanks Convention III on “Furthering Cooperation under Geopolitical challenges”, Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA) and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), 7-9 September 2022
- Participation in online discussion on “Greco-Turkish Tensions: What It Means for NATO Unity and Regional Peace”, Middle East Institute (MEI), 20 September 2022
- Participation in Joint Conference on ‘The Geopolitics of energy strategies in the Euro-Mediterranean region’, European Economic and Social Committee, 17 October 2022
- Participation in online event on ‘1922-2022: A century of border making and refugeehood’, Modern Greek Studies Association, 9 November 2022
- Participation in 6th KEMME Scientific Symposium on the ‘Causes and Consequences of the Asia Minor Catastrophe’, 26-27 November 2022
- Presentation on ‘Prospects for offshore wind deployment in today’s geopolitical context and in the future’ in online event, The Green Tank, 30 November 2022
- Participation in conference ‘With or Without You? Searching for a New European Policy on Turkey’, Southeast Europe Society (SOG) and the Protestant Academy Loccum, 29 November – 1 December 2022
- Participation in panel on ‘Turkey today: decoding Erdogan’s strategy – will he manage to get re-elected?’, 10th Thessaloniki International Symposium in World Affairs, 11 December 2022
- Participation in event on ‘Twenty Years of the AKP in Power in Turkey and Prospects after the 14 May Elections’, University of Athens, 5 May 2023

## EVENT PARTICIPATION BY OTHER TEAM MEMBERS

- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Online discussion on '[Erdogan and the Ambivalent Nature of Turkey's Religious Soft Power](#)', Georgetown University's Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, 29 September 2020
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Webinar on '[The Politics of Religion and the launch of International Journal of Religion \(IJOR\)](#)', 27 November 2020
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Online Keynote Presentation on 'The Instrumentalisation of the Turkish Diaspora and the Ambivalent Structure of Turkish Religious Soft Power During the AKP Era', 3 December 2020, Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Ankara
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Co-chaired online workshop on 'Turkey and the Balkans: Perspectives on the Processes of Europeanisation and De-Europeanisation' with Basak Zeynep Alpan, 18 December 2020
- Nicholas Danforth, Online discussion on '[Turkish Public Opinion on Foreign Policy and Security](#)', 21 January 2021, German Marshall Fund of the United States
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Invited book launch: 'Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century', *Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft*, 2 February 2021
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Invited book launch: 'Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century', *Georgetown University's Berkley Centre*, 24 February 2021
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Book presentation: '[Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century](#)', 9 March 2021, Global Diversity and Inequalities Research Centre, London Metropolitan University
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, "Religion-Identity-Power: New Turkey's New Foreign Policy in the Age of Desecularisation", International Seminar, Defining the Post Secular Condition, Vilnius University
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Invited book launch: 'Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century', CEFTUS Online Talk, 5 March 2021
- Nicholas Danforth, CEFTUS Online Talk '[TR/GR Relationships and USA](#)', 10 March 2021, Centre for Turkish Studies (CEFTUS)
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Invited book launch: 'Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century', University of Graz, 18 March 2021

## EVENT PARTICIPATION BY OTHER TEAM MEMBERS CTD.

- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Invited book launch: 'Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century', University of Stockholm, Centre for Turkish Studies, 31 March 2021
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, 'Islamic Activism, Citizenship, and Foreign Policy: The Cases of United States and the United Kingdom', International Studies Association (ISA), Annual Convention, 6-9 April 2021
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, "Turkey's Ambivalent Religious Soft Power in the Illiberal Turn" International Studies Association (ISA), Annual Convention, 6-9 April 2021
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, 'Religion-Identity-Power: The Extraterritorial Dimensions of the Gulen-AKP Conflict', Embassy of Sweden in Ankara
- Nicholas Danforth, Webinar '[What would the closure of the HDP mean for Turkey and the Kurds?](#)', 8 April 2021, Washington Kurdish Institute
- Nicholas Danforth, BIAA Online Panel '[The Turkey – UK – USA relationship in the Biden Presidency. What can we expect?](#)', 15 April 2021, British Institute At Ankara
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Invited book launch: 'Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century', University of Turin, 29 April 2021
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Invited book launch: 'Religion, Identity and Power: Turkey and the Balkans in the Twenty-First Century', Sofia University, Centre for Regional Studies and Analyses
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Book presentation: '[Religion-Identity-Power: Turkey and the Balkans](#)', 26 May 2021, Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz
- Ekrem Güzeldere, [Turkey-EU Forum: Turkey between the EU, the US and Russia - Panel on Germany-Turkey relations](#), 12 June 2021, Radio Radicale
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Lecture on '[Turkey and the Balkans: Religion, Identity and Power](#)', 10 December 2021, Online International Week at National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, Romania
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Presentation on 'Islam-Populism-Authoritarianism and Regime Change in Turkey', [RISING Global Peace Forum](#), Coventry Cathedral, United Kingdom
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Presentation on 'Religious Networks and Diaspora Politics: Russia, China and Turkey', The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) Conference on Statecraft and Influence Networks
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Presentation on 'The Future of Political Islam', 29 November – 3 December 2021, The Middle East Studies Association's (MESA) 55<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting
- Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, Presentation on '[New Turkey's Diasporic Constellations: Identity, Exile and Intergroup Relations](#)', 1 December 2021, Online panel: Transnational conflicts, belongings and social interactions, Bielefeld University
- Nicholas Danforth, Presentation on 'Misunderstanding Mid-Century Turkey: Ottomanism, Academia and the rise of Erdogan', 27 January 2022, Middle East Seminar series, Harvard University Center for Middle Eastern Studies
- Nicholas Danforth, Presentation on 'NATO and Democracy in Turkey: A View from the U.S. Archives', 31 March 2022, Bilkent University's POLS TALKS series

## Projects & Partnerships

- [Columbia Global Center Istanbul](#): Joint webinar organization
- [Institute for European Politics \(IEP\) in Berlin](#): Joint webinar organization
- [Instituto do Oriente of Lisbon University](#): Joint webinar organization
- [The EU Institute for Security Studies \(ISS\)](#): Joint online event
- Support for ELIAMEP's [2<sup>nd</sup> Global Politics Summer Academy: Promoting Cooperation and Stability in the Eastern Mediterranean](#)
- Continued partnership with diaNEOsis and Istanbul Policy Centre (IPC) for the [‘Research Programme on the Bilateral Relations between Greece and Turkey’](#)
- [ELIAMEP-Medyascope Media Series \(ELIMED\)](#), a project of the [Centre for Applied Turkey Studies \(CATS\) network](#) at Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)
- [‘Issues that Matter: Greek and Turkish Dialogue Podcast Series’](#) supported by the [Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom](#)



The graphic features a world map background with four circular portraits of speakers: Eliza Gheorghe (Moderator), Rabia Akhtar, Lauren Sukin, and Francesca Giovannini. The title 'NUCLEAR ENERGY AND PROLIFERATION IN TURKEY'S ASIAN POLITICS' is prominently displayed in red. Below the title, the date and time '08.11.2022 15:00' and the platform 'YOUTUBE & FACEBOOK LIVE' are listed. At the bottom, logos for CATS Network, the German Federal Foreign Office, Stiftung Mercator, and ELIAMEP are shown, along with a note that the event is funded by the German government.

Eliza Gheorghe  
Moderator

Rabia Akhtar

Lauren Sukin

Francesca Giovannini

**NUCLEAR ENERGY AND PROLIFERATION  
IN TURKEY'S ASIAN POLITICS**

**08.11.2022 15:00**  
YOUTUBE & FACEBOOK LIVE

CATS AT SWP IN BERLIN IS FUNDED BY STIFTUNG MERCATOR AND THE FEDERAL FOREIGN OFFICE

CATS Centre for Applied Turkey Studies NETWORK

Federal Foreign Office

STIFTUNG MERCATOR

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HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN & FOREIGN POLICY



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